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# MEKHIMPAL MARRIAGE AND THE PROHIBITION OF SEPEKHINDING: AN EXAMINATION OF CUSTOMARY LAW AND ISLAMIC LAW IN THE MARRIAGE TRADITION OF THE ALAS COMMUNITY

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#### **ABSTRACT**

This study, entitled "A Study on the Customary Prohibition of Cousin Marriage in the Alas Indigenous Community: Perspectives from Customary Law and Islamic Law," aims to analyze the reasons behind the prohibition of cousin marriage in the Alas community, examine its compatibility with Islamic law, and explore its social implications within indigenous society. The research specifically investigates why marriages between paternal cousins (sepekhinding) and maternal cousins (pemekhenen) are prohibited, while marriages with the daughter of the father's sister (mekhimpal) are encouraged under the customary concept of kawin mekhimpal. The study employs a qualitative field research method, with data collected from traditional elders and community leaders in Southeast Aceh through interviews and observation. Data were analyzed descriptively to interpret the relationship between customary norms and Islamic legal principles. The findings reveal that the prohibition of sepekhinding and pemekhenen marriages is rooted in the principle of preserving family honor, maintaining the integrity of the nuclear family, and preventing internal conflict within close kinship structures. Meanwhile, the encouragement of marriage with mekhimpal cousins symbolizes reciprocal relationships that strengthen social and familial cohesion in the extended family system. The results indicate that, based on the Qur'an, Hadith, and Islamic legal analogy (qiyās), the practice of cousin marriage itself is permissible in Islam. Therefore, the customary prohibition of marriage with certain cousins, such as sepekhinding and pemekhenen, is not aligned with Islamic law, which does not restrict marriage among cousins. The discussion highlights that the Alas customary system reflects a sociocultural adaptation aimed at maintaining harmony within the community, even though it differs from Islamic legal provisions. Hence, the study concludes that the customary practice has sociological and moral value but should be reinterpreted in light of Islamic jurisprudence to ensure alignment between religious law and local tradition. This is an open access article under the CC-BY-SA license.

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# **INTRODUCTIONS**

In Islamic marriage law, a principle called the principle of selectivity is known. This means that a person who wants to get married must first select who he is allowed to marry and who he is forbidden to marry. This is so that the marriage that is carried out does not violate the rules that have been set, especially if the woman to be married belongs to the group that is forbidden to marry, which in Islam is called *mahram* (Janah et al., 2025).

In Indonesia, the state does not prohibit marriage between cousins. Based on Article 2 Paragraph (1) of Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage, it is stated that marriage is considered valid if it is carried out according to the laws of each religion and its beliefs. Meanwhile, in the United States there are state regulations that specifically regulate marriage between cousins. According to *a report by The Washington Post* sourced from the *National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL)*, there are 24 states that prohibit marriage between cousins, 20 other states and the District of Columbia that allow it, and 6 states that allow it under certain conditions. This can include when both parties are over 50, 55, or 65 years old (depending on their state's regulations), if one or both are permanently infertile, or if the couple has undergone genetic counseling. (Hasanuddin et al., 2024)

The view that Islam is a rigid religion and does not follow the development of the times is a wrong assumption. Islam always goes hand in hand with the times. However, it should be understood that changes in law in Islam only occur in laws that originate from *the proposition of zhanni* (evidence of uncertain designation), not from the proposition *of qath'i* (definite evidence). (Angelina et al., 2025)

Every nation, ethnicity, and tribe has a culture that includes seven elements, namely language, knowledge systems, social organizations, living equipment and technology systems, livelihood systems, religious systems, and arts. However, the distinctive cultural traits of a society can usually only be manifested through certain elements, especially language, art, and ceremonies. Other elements are relatively more difficult to show the distinctive character of a community's culture.

The study of customary law in the archipelago has actually begun since the reign of the VOC (1602–1800). One of its pioneers was Marooned (1754–1836), a colonial employee who succeeded in collecting various data on the customs of the Sumatran people. It was followed by Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781–1826), governor of Java during British rule, and his subordinate John Crawford (1783–1868). In addition, it is also known as Muntinghe (1773–1827), an official during the British occupation of Java who also paid attention to customary law. (Agustini et al., 2024)

The relationship between Islamic law and customary law began to receive special attention from academics as Indonesian society demonstrated a strong practice of both legal systems simultaneously. Academics have a wide range of views on this relationship: some use conflict theories that highlight the dominance of one legal culture over another, while others use functional theories that see the complementarity between the two. (Golu & Masrokhin, 2024)

In her article entitled "Consanguineous Marriages: Preconception Consultation in Primary Health Care Settings," Hanan Hamamy revealed that there is a trend of intermarriage in North Africa, West Asia, and South India. Marriages between first cousins even accounted for about a third of the total marriages in the region. To reduce this number, Hamamy emphasized the importance of health counseling before inbreeding because of various risks such as birth defects, congenital abnormalities, early hearing and vision impairments, mental retardation, learning disabilities, developmental delays, congenital blood disorders, epilepsy, and infant death. (Popescu et al., 2025)

Some academics who see the reality of the relationship between customary law and Islamic law through functional theory emphasize that the two legal cultures are mutually supportive and complementary to each other. The functional study of these two legal systems can be seen, one of them, in the writings of John R. Bowen who examines the views of the Gayo people in Aceh. Bowen explained that for the Gayo people, customary law, Islamic law, and state law are an inseparable unit. They believe that carrying out customary activities means upholding Islamic law, carrying out Islamic law means complying with the provisions of the state, and violating these provisions means sinning. This statement shows that there is a strong synergy between traditional teachings, Islamic teachings, and state provisions as one system that supports and strengthens each other. (Patrick et al., 2024)

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The role of customary law, Islamic law, and state law in society is what Bowen calls legal pluralism in Indonesia. According to Bowen, the three legal systems have their own functions and scopes. Customary law (Adat Law) plays a role in regulating traditions, customs, and social norms that apply in the daily life of a community group. Islamic law carries out its role through sharia doctrine and fiqh that emphasizes the concepts of halal, haram, legitimate, and void, with the main sources of Islamic law being the Qur'an and Hadith. Meanwhile, state law plays a role in regulating the actions of society within certain limits, especially those that have been stipulated in positive law and ratified through constitutional mechanisms. Outside of these provisions, neither customary law, Islamic law, nor state law are allowed to enter each other or exceed the limits of their authority. (Resnawati & Wathoni, 2025)

One of the real proofs of legal pluralism in Indonesia to date can be seen in Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage, which states that a marriage is considered valid if it is carried out based on the laws of each religion and the beliefs of the two brides. In the following articles, the state plays an important role as an instrument of social regulation by requiring every marriage to be registered in accordance with applicable laws and regulations. This provision shows how strong legal pluralism is in Indonesia, where customary law, Islamic law, and state law coexist and continue to have an impact to this day. (Rahmawati et al., 2025)

If Bowen emphasizes more on the aspect of harmony and unity between customary law and Islamic law, then it is different from Taufik Abdullah who highlights the conflictive interaction between the two. He departed from the view that in the Minangkabau society, there is confusion in the meaning of customary law, even though in practice there is a mixture between customary law and Islamic law. The Minangkabau people understand customary law in two dimensions: first, customary is understood as local customs; Second, custom is defined as the entire structure of the social system or values that are the source of local ethics and norms. However, there are also views that seek to combine these two dimensions into a whole unit, describing how customary law and Islamic law interact dynamically with each other in the Minangkabau social and cultural context. (Janah et al., 2025)

Based on this exposure, the researcher concluded that although marriage between cousins is allowed by the state, from a health perspective there are various risks that can occur due to too close blood relations. Therefore, researchers are interested in examining this issue more deeply from the perspective of Islamic law.

The results of the researcher's initial observation in Terutung Pedi Village, Babussalam District, Southeast Aceh Regency showed that there were several families who planned to marry their own cousins. This phenomenon is the background for the researcher to raise the topic of this research in the form of a thesis entitled "A Study on the Prohibition of Customary Marriage with Cousins in the Indigenous Peoples of Alas: Perspectives on Customary Law and Islamic Law."

The formulation of the problem in this study includes three main aspects that are the focus of the study. First, what is the legal position of marrying a cousin according to the custom of Alas and Islamic law. Second, how to implement marriage between cousins in the indigenous people of Alas, both in the applicable social and customary contexts. Third, what are the social impacts arising from the implementation of the ban on marriage between cousins in the indigenous community of Alas. These three formulations of the problem are the basis for the author to explore in depth the relationship between customary norms and the provisions of Islamic law in regulating marriage between cousins, as well as its implications for the social life of the community.

Based on the formulation of the problem, this research is limited so that the discussion does not expand and remains focused on the subject of the study. The limitations of the problem in the thesis entitled "Study on the Prohibition of Customary Marriage with Cousins in the Indigenous Peoples of Alas: Perspectives of Customary Law and Islamic Law" is an analysis of the customary prohibition of marrying cousins among the indigenous people of Alas, focusing on two main types of prohibitions, namely the prohibition of marrying cousins of seayah (sepekhinding) and cousins of seibu (pemekhenen). In addition, this study also discusses the permissibility of marriage with the child of the father's sister or the child of the mother's brother (mekhimpal), which is traditionally considered an ideal form of marriage. This limitation was set so that the research could focus on the analysis of the customary law of Alas and



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the review of Islamic law on the practice of the cousin's marriage, as well as understanding the social and religious values behind it.

This study uses three main approaches to examine the prohibition of marrying cousins (clan marriage) in the Alas Indigenous people. First, the Statute Approach focuses on the analysis of written legal norms, including the Marriage Law, Compilation of Islamic Law, Regional Regulations, and Customary Law, to understand the position, legitimacy, and effectiveness of the prohibition in the context of national and customary law. Second, the Anthropological Approach to Islamic Law examines the interaction between customary law norms and Islamic teachings, focusing on the aspects of culture, tradition, and religious values that shape social rules related to marriage. Third, the Historical Approach is used to examine the origins, developments, and changes of the prohibition over time in the context of customary law and Islamic law, as well as socio-cultural influences.

### **METHOD**

The type of research used in this thesis is empirical juridical, which is research whose data collection is carried out in the field, such as in the community, institutions, community organizations, and government institutions. The research pattern used is qualitative, namely by observing subjects in their environment, interacting with them, and trying to understand their language and interpretation of the surrounding world. Specifically, the type of research used is qualitative descriptive, which is a type of research that provides an overview or description of a situation as clearly as possible without any treatment of the object being studied, where the researcher observes and interacts with the community related to the impact of Sepekhinding and Pemkhenen Marriage. (Mahendra et al., 2024)

In addition, to explore social aspects in society, the author also uses sociological legal research methods. Sociological law research conceptualizes law as a social institution that is actually associated with other social variables. If law is studied as an empirical social phenomenon, studied as an independent variable that causes influence and consequences on various aspects of social life, then the study is a sociological legal study. However, if law is studied as a dependent variable that arises as a result of various forces in the social process, the study is a sociology of law. The Anthropological Approach of Islamic Law examines the dimensions of socio-religious interaction, focusing on how the customary law norms of Alas interact with and are influenced by Islamic teachings, as well as how aspects of culture, tradition, and religious values shape social rules related to the prohibition.

# **RESULT AND DISCUSSIONS**

## Analysis of the Impact of Sepekhinding and Pengekhenen Marriage in Southeast Aceh

Marriage is an important legal event in human life and has a number of legal consequences. Therefore, the law regulates in detail the issues related to marriage. Marriage is defined as a physical and mental bond between husband and wife in a family, with the aim of achieving happiness in this world and the hereafter based on the One Godhead, which must be recorded in accordance with the applicable laws and regulations. (Huda & Ashady, 2025)

Marriage is a central issue in society and is a place where different customs are applied in each region. Not only is the wedding procession sacred and filled with a series of customs, but there are also several hereditary rules that become customs before stepping into the main event. In fact, in society, not all women can be married even if they are not mahram. One of them is the prohibition of marrying cousins in some areas, even though it is known that cousins are not mahrams. The prohibition of cousin marriage in various regions of Indonesia has complex roots, namely a combination of local traditions, customs, and community beliefs, which have not been fully influenced by Islamic law. (Dani & Rahmawati, 2024)

In some areas, marriage between cousins is prioritized, even encouraged, because it is believed to strengthen kinship relationships, maintain lineage, and preserve the inheritance of family wealth. Some parents match their children with their own cousins because they already know each other and are worried about the bad consequences of marrying outsiders or distant relatives. They think that the lack of recognition can have a bad impact on marriage. However, this view is different in Southeast Aceh. The people there think that cousin marriage can actually strain



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family relationships and cause awkwardness between parents who are now besan. Cousins are considered like siblings, so marriage with cousins is considered unpermissible, just like marrying siblings.

## **Negative Impacts: Health Sector (Genetics Review)**

From a health perspective, consanguine marriage, including marriage with cousins, significantly increases the risk of offspring abnormalities. According to dr. Rico N. from Alodokter, interbreeding increases the risk of diseases with autosomal recessive properties, such as hemophilia and albino. This increased risk is due to the high chance for two individuals who are both carriers to meet and inherit these traits. In medical genetics, inbreeding includes kinship relationships up to second-degree cousins, where marrying a child of the mother's older brother (one-time cousin) is still classified as *a consanguine marriage*. (Hajiku et al., 2025)

These findings are in line with research conducted by Ummi Kalsum and her team in Jambi, which stated that marriage with close relatives is closely related to stunting cases in children. Marriage with close relatives, such as cousins, is the dominant factor that can increase the risk of stunting by up to 3.45 times compared to marriages that are not close relatives. Further, marrying a one-time cousin from the paternal line may increase the risk of health problems in offspring, although this risk tends to be higher if it comes from the paternal line. Some of the reasons that may be behind the high risk of the paternal path are:

- a) Genetic Influences: One-time cousins of the paternal line have greater genetic similarities to the paternity, so the risk of health problems inherited from the paternity is higher.
- b) Y chromosome: The father has only one Y chromosome.
- c) Autosomal Genetic Influences: Greater autosomal genetic similarity (genetics not related to sex chromosomes) between one-time cousins of the paternal line and paternal lines also increases the risk of inherited health disorders.
- d) Environmental Influence: Fathers often have greater influence on the family environment. If the father has a health problem related to the environment, the risk of a decrease in the disorder in the child is also higher.
- e) Influence of Genetic Mutations: One-time cousins of the paternal line have greater genetic similarities. This increases the risk of genetic mutations inherited from the father. The concerns of the people of Southeast Aceh are in line with these health findings. As conveyed by Mrs. Ilrmayanti, the marriage of a single cousin in Southeast Aceh is considered a marriage with a very close blood bond. Biologically, children born from such marriage (sepekhinding and pemekhenen) are susceptible to congenital diseases or genetic defects due to the possibility that their parents or even grandparents have similar congenital diseases. Based on the experience that has occurred, the community strictly prohibits the implementation of one-time cousin marriages. (Zerly, 2024)

#### Genetic and Health Risks in Cousin Marriage

Intermarriage between close families, such as cousins (children of uncles and aunts), increases genetic risk in offspring due to the presence of a significant percentage of gene similarity. If the genes owned also have damage, the risk of defects in the offspring will be greater. Each individual inherits genes from both parents. Within each nucleus of a normal cell there are 46 chromosomes and an estimated 30,000 to 50,000 genes. These genes originate from the union of the mother's egg and the father's sperm cells during gamete formation, and the genes control the manufacture of proteins that define the characteristics of the body. Errors in genes during fetal development often lead to abnormal fetal development. (Pangestu et al., 2025)

Research by Bitlles and Black shows that marriage between family members can affect fertility and health issues, as well as have a significant impact on child birth and death. Some of the health risks that lurk in children of cousins, as explained on the Alodokter page, include:

a) Birth Defects: The risk of giving birth to a baby with a congenital defect is increased by 2–3% in cousin couples compared to couples who do not have family ties.

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- b) Immune System Disorders: Cousin couples are more at risk of giving birth to a child with a genetic disorder Primary Immune Deficiency (PID), which causes defects in the immune system, making the child susceptible to infections and autoimmune diseases.
- c) Stillbirth: The risk of a stillborn baby can also increase, especially if the marriage involves a first cousin (a child of the father's or mother's first brother).
- d) Mental Disorders: Children's mental health is also vulnerable, with an increased risk of experiencing mood disorders (such as depression and anxiety), and even psychotic disorders, which are difficulties distinguishing between reality and imagination (hallucinations or delusions). (Silalahi & Amal, 2025)

Professor Hanan Hamamy, a human geneticist, asserts that inbreeding raises concerns due to a range of risks, including birth defects, early hearing and vision impairment, mental retardation, stunted growth, congenital blood disorders, and even infant death. Although some countries consider cousin marriage common, the discourse regarding genetic risks in consanguinity marriage (second or closer cousins) has become widespread. These studies support the idea that there are health problems associated with family marriage, especially those involving cousins. This is in line with the statement of Mrs. Rahayati, a resident of Terutung Pedi Village, who stated that, "Usually it is if Sepekhinding and the married couple have one of their children who has health problems." The above two cases suggest that cousin marriages have varying genetic risks. Although there are couples who experience genetic problems in their offspring and some who do not, please be aware that healthy lifestyle habits can also be a factor that decreases the likelihood of health problems in offspring.

# Social and Indigenous Impacts (Prohibition in Southeast Aceh)

Marriage in society has rules or guidelines that aim to maintain family integrity and harmony. While some cultures consider cousin marriage (sepekhinding and pemekhenen) commonplace, even advocating it, the people of Southeast Aceh actually consider the social impact to ban it. This prohibition is driven by the desire to expand social interaction and establish friendship through marriage with families who are not related by blood.

Marriage between a pepekhinding and a peekhenen in Southeast Aceh is considered a shameful disgrace and has become the talk of the community. This has become customary law and social norms; Violators will be subject to social sanctions, such as being ostracized by their families, stretching family harmony, and becoming the subject of discussion among residents. In addition, the local community still strongly believes that violation of this prohibition can wreak havoc that damages family relationships. (Widow, 2024)

Although the sanction given is not in the form of invalidity of marriage, but social sanctions based on community agreement, basically the prohibition of one-time cousin marriage is something that is abandoned (makruh or tahrim in custom) because it is considered bad and has a bad impact on the views of the people of Southeast Aceh. The consideration of this prohibition tradition is strengthened by customary and social impacts, such as the difficulty of achieving the goal of marriage (sakinah mawadah warahmah) due to disharmonious post-marriage family relationships, as well as public beliefs about the potential for genetic problems and child developmental disorders. Avoiding this social impact is a legitimate consideration for not performing the marriage and is a way to achieve social benefits in Southeast Aceh. This is in line with the goal of Islamic Sharia which is oriented towards achieving human happiness by seeking benefits and keeping away from harm. (Maulana & Amruzi, 2024)

Brother Irawan also said that, "The marriage of sepekhinding and pemekhenng also opens a wide avenue for the occurrence of rifts in relationships between families, finally affecting the marriage, some of whom eventually divorce. Although in some areas this marriage is considered to strengthen family relationships, but because the problem is that it is prohibited and then violated, more problems arise." The family is embarrassed that one-time cousins should be considered their own siblings, and they think that it is better not to be a brother because it is seen as unkind and strained the relationship. When unresolved problems occur, a rift in the relationship between the two parties in the family can occur, even leading to divorce. These problems sometimes carry over for years and have an

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impact on their social relationships. These things are believed by the community to be the cause of the tradition of prohibiting one-time cousin marriages, or same-sex and pemekhenen marriages.

#### Analysis of the Prohibition of Sepekhinding and Pemekhenen Marriage in Southeast Aceh Regency

Marriage is crucial for human survival, and a valid marriage is the foundation for the establishment of a relationship of mutual respect between men and women. Considered a sacred act, the institution of marriage is regulated and maintained by all religions. Regarding marriage with close relatives, such as the children of uncles and aunts (cousins) on both the father's and mother's sides, Kitab Fatawa Asy Shabakah Al Islamiah states that this marriage is basically allowed by Allah. However, scholars disagree about this ability, which is divided into three views:

First Opinion (Makruh): This is the opinion of the Shafi'i and Hanabilah madhhab. They argue based on the hadith of dhaif which reads, "Do not marry a close relative, for children will be created weakly." Second Opinion (Mubah): This is the opinion of the Malikiyah madhhab. Their evidence includes: a. The generality of Allah's saying: "So marry (other) women whom you like" (Q.S. An-Nisa: 3). b. The marriage of the Messenger of Allah (peace and blessings of Allaah be upon him) to the daughter of his aunt, Zainab. c. The Messenger of Allah (peace and blessings of Allaah be upon him) married his daughter, Fatimah, to Ali RA and married Zainab to her aunt's daughter. Third Opinion (Sunnah): This is the opinion of the Az-Zhahiriyah madhhab. Their evidence is the same as that of the second group, but they interpret the deeds of the Messenger of Allah (peace and blessings of Allaah be upon him) as something that is permissible. (Janah et al., 2025)

In Indonesia, Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage, in Article 2 paragraph 1, states, "Marriage is legal, if it is carried out according to the laws of each religion and belief." Thus, the status of whether or not a marriage is permissible must refer to the laws of each religion. In this context, the above view of Islamic law is a reference for reviewing the status of marriage between a pepekhinding and a peekhen. (Putra et al., 2024)

Marriage as worship to Allah must be preceded by a sincere intention solely to obtain His pleasure and blessings. Marriage based on good intentions aims to bring happiness and achieve sharia goals, such as avoiding adultery, protecting offspring, and ensuring the existence of Muslims. Therefore, marriage must be accompanied by good intentions for worship, in accordance with the hadith of the Prophet (peace and blessings of Allaah be upon him) which emphasizes the importance of intention in every practice. (Wulandari et al., 2024)

In the history of Islam, the practice of marriage with close relatives occurred a lot, even in the family of the Prophet (peace and blessings of Allaah be upon him). He himself married his cousin, Zainab bint Jahsy bin Rayyab, the daughter of his aunt. In addition, the Messenger of Allah (peace and blessings of Allaah be upon him) also married his daughter, Fatimah, to Ali bin Abi Talib, who was the Prophet's cousin from the paternal line. Cousin marriage was a common practice among the Arabs during the time of the Prophet Muhammad (peace and blessings of Allaah be upon him). Some of the Prophet's companions also married their cousins, including:

- a) Ali bin Abi Talib: Married Fatimah az-Zahra, daughter of the Prophet Muhammad (peace and blessings of Allaah be upon him), who was Ali's cousin from the paternal line.
- b) Abdullah bin Abbas: Married the daughter of his father's brother (his own cousin).
- c) Abdullah bin Umar: Married the daughter of his father's brother (his own cousin).

The purpose of marriage in the context of Islam cannot be separated from the aspects of Islamic Law that aim to create a harmonious family. The ban on marrying with knife wax in Sampal Village has a significant impact, so it needs to be reviewed from the perspective of Maqashid Syariah (the goals and principles of sharia in Islam). In this context, the ban on pissel shampoo marriage makes health and progeny aspects the main concern. Although the prohibition of one-time cousin marriage is a hereditary tradition of the region's ancestors, its negative impact on individual health and social stability can threaten the achievement of welfare goals in Islamic Law. The Shari'ah regulates marriage as a form of benefit that meets biological requirements. However, it becomes a fundamental

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question of how to respond to a practice (such as cousin marriage) if the anticipated benefits come at the same time as the losses to others or descendants.

## **CONCLUSION**

This study found that there is a fundamental conflict between Alas Customary Law and Islamic Law related to the practice of cousin marriage (Sepekhinding and Pemekhen) in Southeast Aceh Regency. Normatively, Islamic Law allows the marriage of cousins, even practicing it during the time of the Prophet PBUH. However, the Customary Law of Alas strictly prohibits this marriage, considering cousins as siblings and its implementation as a great disgrace. This customary prohibition is reinforced by research findings, where the practice of marriage is very rare (only two cases) and accompanied by severe social sanctions such as ridicule and ostracism. Substantively, the basis for the prohibition by the people of Alas is a practical consideration of Maqashid Shariah, which is to avoid harm in two crucial aspects: health and heredity (risk of genetic defects, illness, and death in children) and social stability (family rifts, divorce, and customary sanctions). Thus, even though cousin marriage is religiously mubah, the people of Southeast Aceh choose to prioritize customary norms as a preventive mechanism to maintain benefits and prevent real losses from occurring.

These findings show that there is a gap between Islamic Law (which allows) and Alas Customary Law (which prohibits). The people of Southeast Aceh tend to prioritize and strengthen customary norms (as urf or local customs) based on practical considerations of Maqashid Syariah (sharia goals), namely avoiding mafsadah (damage), especially in the aspect of hifzhu al-nasl (protecting offspring) from proven genetic health risks, as well as hifzhu al-irdh (maintaining honor/social) from exclusion sanctions. Thus, although religious cousin marriage is mubah, customary prohibition serves as a preventive mechanism supported by the negative impacts experienced by the community (health problems, divorce, and social exclusion), which are contrary to the positive impact that should be (strengthening the family and preserving heritage).

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