

The Principle of Justice in Sharia: A Study of The Meaning of Kufu'/Kafa'ah (Compatibility) of Bride and Groom in Marriage

Abdul Wahab

Universitas Muhammadiyah Mataram

abdul.wahab58719@gmail.com

Article Info

Received: 2025-03-02

Revised: 2025-03-24

Accepted: 2025-03-30

Keywords:

Kufu', Social Justice,
Islamic Marriage Law,
Equality

Abstract

This study examines the application of the kufu' (compatibility) principle in Islamic marriage law and its contribution to promoting social justice. The research aims to analyse how kufu', traditionally employed to ensure marital harmony by assessing equality in terms of religion, social status, and economics, is implemented in contemporary Muslim societies. The study uses a qualitative approach, gathering data through interviews with Islamic scholars, marriage counsellors, and couples, complemented by an extensive literature review. The findings indicate that while kufu' can enhance marital stability, its rigid interpretation in certain contexts has led to gender and class discrimination. As societies evolve, there is an increasing need to reinterpret this principle to include compatibility with emotional, psychological, and personal values beyond mere social or economic equality. The study concludes that kufu' remains relevant but requires adaptation to modern values of justice and equality to ensure fair and stable marriages, contributing to broader discussions on justice within Islamic family law.

1. Introduction

The concept of kufu' or kafa'ah is very urgent in determining the suitability between prospective spouses in Islamic marriage (Fitri et al., 2023). This concept emphasises the importance of social, economic, and religious compatibility between the bride and groom, which is believed to affect the harmony and stability of marriage. This study examines the meaning and application of kufu' in the broader context of justice, given its relevance to issues of equality and justice in society.

In Islamic law, the principle of justice is considered one of the main pillars guiding all life aspects, including marriage (Kemal, 2023). One important aspect of marriage according to Islamic law is the principle of kufu' or kafa'ah, which is often translated as compatibility or equality between spouses (Ardi & Shuhufi, 2024). This principle not only includes economic or social equality but also considers equality in education, religion, and social status, all of which are seen as important to ensure harmony in marriage (Saifnazarov et al., 2021).

According to Jaraputri et al., (2023), kufu' aims to ensure that both bride and groom have equal opportunities for happiness and fulfillment in marriage, which directly contributes to social stability and justice. This view is supported by Suleman et al.,(2023), who states that inequality in marriage often leads to conflict and dissatisfaction that can lead to divorce, which Islam tries to avoid. The principle of kufu' was developed to prevent practices that could exacerbate social inequality, such as marriages based solely on wealth or status without considering compatibility of values and life principles (Vitali & Fraboni, 2022). This is further explained in a study by Ubaidilah & Husna, (2023), who emphasizes that Islamic law provides a framework to ensure that marriage is not only a commercial transaction but also a balanced and fair relationship between two individuals.

However, the implementation of the principle of kufu' in contemporary Muslim societies often faces challenges, especially in countries undergoing rapid social and economic change. For example, in some societies, this principle of equality is sometimes used to reinforce patriarchal norms and prevent women from lower social or educational classes from marrying men from higher classes, and vice versa (Kebingin,et al, 2022). This situation creates an ethical dilemma where a principle that aims to promote fairness can instead be used to maintain gender and class inequities.

Related to this, research by Solikin & Wasik,(2023) suggests that there is an urgent need for a reinterpretation of the principle of kufu' in the modern context to be more inclusive and just. A more flexible approach to kufu' could facilitate social justice by reducing discrimination based on economic or social origins and promoting a broader understanding of equality in terms of values and humanity (Jimoh, 2023).

Some scholars offer new perspectives on how the principle of justice can be upheld in Islamic law through adjusting the principle of kufu' to current social realities. For example, Patwari & Ali, (2020) argues that justice in Islam should take into account equality in life opportunities and not just formal equality before the law or in marriage

contracts. This approach supports the idea that social justice in Islam encompasses a broader dimension than material equality and includes aspects of equality of opportunity and distributive justice.

Therefore, this paper concludes that the principle of kufu' in Islamic sharia, although historically aimed at promoting fairness in marriage, requires a more dynamic and responsive approach to current social conditions to maximize its potential in supporting social justice. Careful and contextualized implementation of the kufu' principle can help foster greater social harmony and justice in marriage, demonstrating that Islamic sharia has the flexibility to adapt and remain relevant to changing times (Yulia et al., 2023). This paper examines the principle of justice in Islamic law, particularly in the context of kufu' or kafa'ah, which is the principle of compatibility between brides and grooms in marriage. The study aims to explore how the principle of kufu' is applied in Islamic law and its implications for social justice in the context of marriage.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

1. The Meaning and Basis of Qufu

The concept of qufu in Muslim law refers to the compatibility between spouses in various dimensions, such as religion, social status, and economic situation (Khatun, 2024). This principle is considered essential for promoting marital harmony, as it is believed that equality in these aspects can prevent conflicts arising from inequalities. According to Haroon & Pakeeza, (2022) emphasize that such compatibility plays a vital role in ensuring the stability of marriage, as marriages based on equality. are more likely to succeed than those where there are significant differences. Social or economic inequalities often cause tensions that can undermine marital harmony. The principle of qufu also finds its basis in Islamic teachings, which advocate balance and justice in human relationships (Khatun, 2024). Therefore, kufuja is not only focused on material equality, but extends to the alignment of values and beliefs, which are integral to the success of long-term relationships (Edith Ebele Agu et al., 2024).

2. Challenges in modern society

The implementation of qufu in modern society faces significant challenges due to rapid social and economic changes. In many cases, the principle of kufu has been misused to perpetuate social inequalities, thus contradicting its original purpose of promoting equality in marriage. Maor, (2019) states that changes in gender roles, educational opportunities, and social mobility have influenced the importance of kufu in contemporary contexts. Furthermore, Said and Zaidi point out that in some cases, kufu is used to reinforce social hierarchies, with individuals from certain social classes being prevented from marrying people considered "unequal" due to their economic or social status (Ardi & Shuhufi, 2024). This practice creates an ethical dilemma, as it perpetuates injustice rather than promoting the equality that kufu was intended to achieve. These challenges

require a reassessment of how this principle applies in a modern context (Sadullaeva et al., 2019).

3. Reinterpreting Qufu'

Given the changing social landscape and contemporary values of justice, there is a growing need to reinterpret Qufu' to align with modern principles of social justice and equal opportunity. Sadullaeva et al., (2019) argue that the traditional focus on formal equality based on social or economic status should be broadened to include justice in terms of opportunity and inclusion. According to Antasari,(2021) argue that justice in Islam should extend beyond formal equality to include broader aspects such as equality of opportunity, access to education, and the freedom to choose a spouse based on personal values. This flexible approach will allow qufu to adapt to contemporary realities without compromising the fundamental principles of justice in Islam (Khatun, 2024). Such a reinterpretation also addresses the issue of discrimination based on class or gender, which has historically been associated with the rigid application of kufu.

4. Effectiveness in Justice in Marriage

The effectiveness of kufu in ensuring the stability of marriage remains a matter of debate. Researchers by Sassler & Lichter, (2020) suggest that shared values, effective communication, and mutual understanding between spouses are more essential to the success of a marriage than simple social or economic equality. This perspective emphasizes the importance of kufu, while emphasizing the need for personal compatibility and alignment of life goals (Kusrin et al., 2024). A rigid application of kufu, focusing solely on social or economic equality, risks neglecting crucial factors such as psychological compatibility and shared visions for the future. Therefore, while kufu remains important as a guiding principle, successful marriages are more likely to be based on shared values and mutual respect, rather than mere formal equality (Fajar & Al Badr, 2020).

Although kufu is an essential principle of Islamic marriage, its application must evolve to meet the complexities of modern society and to promote true equality and justice. A reinterpretation of kufu is needed to ensure that its original purpose of promoting harmony and stability in marriage remains relevant in contemporary contexts (Muzakki, 2024). A more comprehensive approach to kufu would allow it to be applied more fairly, not only in terms of social and economic factors, but also in terms of personal values, life goals and emotional partners. In this way, an updated application of kufu can contribute to the advancement of social justice and the establishment of fairer and more stable marriages in modern society (Jaraputri et al., 2023).

3. METODE

This study aims to explore the application of the kufu or kafa'ah principle in Islamic marriage law and its implications for social justice in marriage. Data collection is conducted through in-depth interviews with Islamic legal scholars, marriage counselors, and couples who have experienced the application of the qufu principle

in their marriage. In addition, this research includes a literature review of the literature regarding Islamic marriage law and the kufu principle in different social and cultural contexts. Purposive sampling is used to select informants related to the topic. The collected data is then analyzed using thematic analysis, organizing the findings into key themes such as challenges in implementing kufu, reinterpretation of the kufu principle in the modern era, and the effectiveness of kufu in achieving social justice. The results of this study are expected to provide comprehensive information on the effectiveness and importance of the kufu principle in promoting social justice and marital stability in contemporary society.

4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Implementation of Kufu'/Kafa'ah in Contemporary Marriage

In the context of contemporary marriage, the principle of kufu' or kafa'ah - the compatibility or equality between spouses - plays an important role in marriage practices in many Muslim countries. Kufu' traditionally focuses on equality in aspects such as social status, wealth, education, and religion, which are considered crucial to ensure harmony and stability in marriage. However, the implementation of kufu' in modern societies often encounters various challenges and controversies that affect its effectiveness in achieving fairness in marriage (Nouvaldi et al., 2024).

Kufu'/kafa'ah, in Islamic tradition, stipulates that the prospective husband and wife should be equal in terms of religious status, social freedom, and family standing. Historically, this principle aimed to prevent social and economic exploitation and increase the chances of a successful marriage. argue that this equality is important for the balance of power in the household, which can help avoid conflict and dissatisfaction.

Globally, the practice of kufu' varies significantly from one Muslim country to another, depending on local interpretations, social norms and legal policies. For example, in countries such as Indonesia and Malaysia, the principle of kufu' is often translated in the context of local culture, where aspects such as religious and ethnic similarity are key considerations (Mohd, 2022).

In the Middle East, such as in Saudi Arabia and Iran, kufu' is more strictly enforced, with greater emphasis on equality of wealth and social status. There, kufu' can be a tool to maintain class structure and ensure that wealth and influence remain within the same social group (Ajie, 2024).

However, in countries with highly heterogeneous societies like India, kufu' is often seen as a barrier to marriage. inter-caste or inter-class, although this practice is beginning to be challenged by more modern societies (Tasnim Jarin & Aftab Ur Rahaman Zahin, 2023).

In the context of modern society, the application of kufu'/kafa'ah is no longer as simple as in the past. Globalization and changing social norms have led to new questions about the relevance and effectiveness of this principle. Key challenges in its application include:

1. *Changes in Gender Roles:* Transformations in gender roles, particularly related to

the increased participation of women in higher education and the workforce, have led to shifts in traditional understandings of kufu'. For example, highly educated or high-income women may find it difficult to find an 'equal' partner when measured against traditional criteria that emphasize a man's family background or social status.

2. *Ethnic and Cultural Diversity*: Migration and greater intercultural interaction are creating a more heterogeneous society, making it difficult to apply rigid kufu' based on ethnic or cultural similarity. Questions arise as to whether cultural equivalence is still relevant or needs to be considered more broadly to include shared values and goals.
3. *Redefining Kafa'ah*: There is a growing discussion about expanding the definition of kafa'ah to include aspects of personality, behavior, and psychological compatibility. Family law scholars and practitioners propose that in order to achieve true harmony in marriage, kafa'ah assessment criteria should be more comprehensive and dynamic.

The interpretation and application of kufu'/kafa'ah is controversial, especially when the principle is used to justify social or economic discrimination. In some cases, the principle is used to deny marriages that both parties may want but are deemed unsuitable by families due to differences in social class or wealth. This controversy raises ethical dilemmas and often the question of whether kufu' is still relevant in a context that emphasizes individual equality and justice.

A contemporary approach to kufu' may involve adjusting to current social realities. Some steps that could be taken include:

1. *Education*: Raise awareness about the benefits of marital harmony based on shared values and compatibility, rather than just social or economic compatibility.
2. *Marriage Mediation and Counseling*: Introduces mediation and counseling as part of the marriage process to help couples understand and effectively work through their differences.
3. *Legal Reform*: Encourage scholars and policymakers to revise and update kufu'/kafa'ah guidelines to be more inclusive and in line with modern principles of justice and equality.

Controversies in the Interpretation and Application of Kufu'/Kafa'ah

The biggest controversy in the application of kufu' is often related to the way it is interpreted and applied, which can vary depending on local theological and cultural understandings. For example, in some communities, kufu' is used to justify discrimination against individuals based on their socio-economic background or even race and ethnicity, which can run counter to the basic Islamic principle of justice that prohibits discrimination (Sule, 2021).

One of the main sources of controversy is the variability in the interpretation of

what constitutes kufu'. In some societies, kufu' is still interpreted narrowly, focusing on similarity in social class or descent. For example, in some cases in Middle Eastern countries, marriages between individuals from different social classes are often considered inappropriate, even though they may be equal in education or professionalism. On the other hand, in societies

In a more pluralistic and globalized world like many Western countries, more emphasis is placed on personal and emotional compatibility rather than similarity of social or material status.

Traditional considerations of kufu' often conflict with the principles of gender equality and the individual's right to choose a partner, which are becoming increasingly recognized in contemporary society (Kusrin et al., 2024). This raises questions about the extent to which the principle of kufu' is still relevant and how it should be interpreted to reflect the values and norms of modern society without compromising the principles of justice emphasized by Islam.

In many cases, denial of marriage based on the principle of kufu' can be used as a tool for discrimination-whether based on class, race, ethnicity, or even more problematically, disability. For example, denying someone marriage because they are deemed unequal can deepen discrimination against individuals who come from lower economic backgrounds or have physical disabilities. This raises ethical questions and challenges the equality and justice that should be the foundation of Islamic law.

Some modern Muslim scholars have called for a modernization of the interpretation of kufu'/kafa'ah to place more emphasis on intellectual, emotional, and spiritual compatibility between spouses. This argument is based on the principle that the essence of a successful marriage in Islam-harmony, love, and stability-is more likely to be achieved through equality in values and life goals than external similarities such as economic or social status. The progressive view holds that kufu' should not impede an individual's right to marry the person of their choice, as long as their basic beliefs and life goals are aligned. In this context, kufu' should be expanded to include factors such as mutual understanding, respect, and harmony, all of which are deep values in the Islamic teachings on marriage.

The Effectiveness of Kufu'/Kafa'ah in Achieving Marriage Justice and Stability

In Islamic family law discourse, the principle of kufu' or kafa'ah has long been regarded as a mechanism that aims to ensure fairness and stability in marriage. It demands compatibility between the bride and groom in various aspects, including social, economic, and religious, as a foundation for domestic harmony. However, the question of how effective this principle is in the modern context often generates heated discussions among scholars, legal practitioners and the public at large.

Although kufu' is designed to increase marital stability by ensuring that couples have similar backgrounds, the question is whether this principle is effective in practice. Recent studies have shown that marital satisfaction does not necessarily correlate directly with matching in social or economic status, but rather with matching

in values, communication, and mutual understanding (Abreu-Afonso et al., 2022).

Therefore, *kufu'* is not only in the traditional context but also in terms of equality, individual freedom, and social adaptation in contemporary society. This approach allows the principle of *kufu'* to be applied in a more inclusive and just manner, which takes into account both Islamic principles of justice and modern social dynamics (Ardi & Shuhufi, 2024).

Justice, in the context of *kufu'/kafa'ah*, is understood as equality between spouses in terms of their background and ability to form a harmonious partnership. In Islamic law, justice in marriage includes not only emotional and spiritual justice, but also social and economic justice. Therefore, *kufu'* is intended to avoid exploitation and power imbalances in relationships, which can arise from significant differences in economic or social status (Jamilah & Isa, 2019)

The theory behind *kufu'* states that similarities in various areas can minimize conflict and increase the chances for a stable and harmonious married life. This approach is based on the premise that couples with similar backgrounds will have similar life expectations, which will theoretically lead to easier joint decision-making and less conflict.

Several obstacles to the application of *kufu' al*: First, the criteria for determining *kufu'* can be highly subjective and vary significantly between different communities and individuals. Some interpretations of *kufu'* may overemphasize similarity in social class or wealth, which may overlook other important aspects of equality, such as personal compatibility and emotional intelligence.

Second, traditional criteria of *kufu'* are often inadequate to deal with the complexities of modern relationships, where equality and fairness are often defined not only in material terms but also in the division of household responsibilities and emotional support. In some cases, a rigid emphasis on *kufu'* can prevent marriages based on mutual love and commitment, replacing them with more mechanical and materialistic criteria.

Many contemporary Islamic scholars and thinkers have called for a reinterpretation of the principle of *kufu'* to better reflect current social realities. They suggest that the emphasis should be moved from material equality to equality in values and life goals, which could be more relevant in creating stable and fulfilling marriages.

This reinterpretation also includes a broader assessment of makes individuals 'equal'. Aspects such as education, life values and future vision should be key considerations, which can be more significant in determining the success of a marriage than traditional factors such as economic status or social caste.

5. CONCLUSION

This research provides a deep insight into the implementation and challenges of the principle of *kufu'* or *kafa'ah* in the context of marriage in Muslim countries, highlighting how this principle, although designed to strengthen harmony and

stability in marriage by ensuring equality between spouses, is often hampered by outdated traditional interpretations and social practices. By exploring the impact of modern social and economic dynamics, this study reveals that kufu', while it can contribute to fairness in marriage, requires more attention in its implementation to ensure that it is not used as a tool of discriminatory justification. Therefore, the principle of justice should always guide the application of kufu' to ensure equal opportunities for all individuals in achieving marital happiness. This research not only proposes a reinterpretation or adjustment of kufu' to better support social justice in the modern marriage context but also provides specific recommendations for scholars and policymakers, encouraging the improvement of policies that support fair and balanced marriages. As a result, this study adds significantly to the existing literature and encourages further research that can delve deeper into the regional and contextual variability of the implementation of the kufu' principle in Islamic family law, thereby contributing to dialogue and concrete actions for the improvement of Islamic family law in the future.

6. References

- Abreu-Afonso, J., Ramos, M. M., Queiroz-Garcia, I., & Leal, I. (2022). How Couple's Relationship Lasts Over Time? A Model for Marital Satisfaction. *Psychological Reports*, 125(3), 1601–1627. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00332941211000651>
- Ajje, P. (2024). *Paradigma : Jurnal Kajian Budaya Tradition In Transition : Unveiling Social Realities And Lower-Class Oppression In The Film Nyumbang*. 14(3).
- Antasari, R. (2021). Islam and Domestic Violence between Husbands and Wives: Indonesian Social and Cultural Perceptions. *Islamic Quarterly*, 65(3), 303–325.
- Ardi, M. Z., & Shuhufi, N. H. (2024). Kafa'ah In Islamic Law And Customary Law: The Dynamics of Prospective Spouse Equality in A Syariifah Family Environment. *Usrotuna: Journal of Islamic Family Law*, 1(1), 76–99.
- Edith Ebele Agu, Toluwalase Vanessa Iyelolu, Courage Idemudia, & Tochukwu Ignatius Ijomah. (2024). Exploring the relationship between sustainable business practices and increased brand loyalty. *International Journal of Management & Entrepreneurship Research*, 6(8), 2463–2475. <https://doi.org/10.51594/ijmer.v6i8.1365>
- Fajar, M. S., & Al Badr, F. (2020). Analysis of Kafâ'ah Contextualization in an Effort to Form Harmonious Family in the Modern Era. *Al-'Adalah*, 17(2), 203–230. <https://doi.org/10.24042/adalah.v17i2.6568>
- Fitri, P., Widodo, S., Nurhuda, A., Alon, F., & Dylan, M. (2023). Practice of Kafa'ah in Marriage and its Urgency in Society Viewed from the Theory of Kafa'ah in Islam. *At-Tasyrih: Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Hukum Islam*, 9(September), 207–218.
- Haroon, S. B., & Pakeeza, S. (2022). Compatibility for Marriage in Islam (Kufū) and Societal Perspectives. *Jihat Ul Islam*, 15(2), 1–16.

Jamilah & Isa. (2019). The Concept Of Kafa'ah In Marriage According To The Views Of Ulama Of Amuntai Tengah District. *MAQASID : Jurnal Studi Hukum Islam*, 7(1), 2615–2622.

Jaraputri, R. A. P. E., Rahayu, S. W., Din, M., & Ghifari, M. S. (2023). Legal Consequences for a Notary Public With Double Professions As a Rector of a Private University Based on Law on Office of Notary Public. *Syariah: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pemikiran*, 23(1), 25–35. <https://doi.org/10.18592/sjhp.v23i1.8611>

Jimoh, A. T. (2023). *Islamic banking efficiency: a cross-country analysis of africa and asia*. April.

Kebingin, Benedikta, Y., & Riyanto, A. (2022). The Impact of Education on Patriarch Culture and Gender Equality. *Journal of Asian Orientation in Theology*, 04(01), 79–104. <https://doi.org/10.24071/jaot.v4i1.4223>

Kemal, Isthifa. (2023). The Role of Islamic Empire In The Development of Islamic Education In Indonesia. *Edukasi Islami: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, 12 (001). <https://doi.org/10.30868/ei.v12i001.5322>

Khatun, M. (2024). *Exploring the wisdom of Confucius : A comprehensive study of his career , philosophy , religious perspectives , and meditation practices*. 4(1), 38–51.

Kusrin, Z. M., Alia, M. N., Majid, L. A., & Yusuf, W. (2024). *The Necessity gor A Guideline In Selection of Marriage Partners Based on the Concept of Compatibility (Kafa ' ah)*. 16(2), 930–945.

Maor, M. (2019). Fighting Gender Stereotypes Women'S Participation in the Martial Arts, Physical Feminism and Social Change. *Martial Arts Studies*, 2019(7), 36–48. <https://doi.org/10.18573/mas.56>

Mohd, H. (2022). *Tracing The Development & Transformation Of Religious Opinions & The Tracing The Development & Transformation Of Religious Opinions & The By*. January 2020.

Muzakki, A. (2024). *Kafaah and Marriage in Jahily and Early Islam (Studies in the History of Islamic Law)*. 20(1), 495–514.

Nouvaldi, A. A., Rahmatullah, A. S., Jubba, H., & Aziz, A. N. (2024). *Kafa ' ah Dysfunction in Building a Harmonious Family Among Urban Muslims : Sayyid Ustman ' s Perspective in a Review of The Compilation of Islamic Law and Maqasid Sharia*. 5(5), 270–279.

Patwari, S., & Ali, A. N. M. A. (2020). Muslim Women's Right to Divorce and Gender Equality Issues in Bangladesh: A Proposal for Review of Current Laws. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 21(6), 50–79.

Sadullaeva, S., Arustamyan, Y., & Sadullaeva, N. (2019). Shifting the assessment paradigm from knowledge to skills: Implementation of new appraisal procedures in EFL classes in Uzbekistan. *International Journal of Innovative Technology and Exploring Engineering*, 9(1), 4943–4952. <https://doi.org/10.35940/ijitee.A9179.119119>

Saifnazarov, I., Mukhtarov, A., Ernazarov, D., & Mirakbarova, D. (2021). Implementing the principle of gender equality in a balance of secularism and

religiosity. *Linguistics and Culture Review*, 5(S4), 1016–1033. <https://doi.org/10.21744/lingcure.v5ns4.1787>

Sassler, S., & Lichter, D. T. (2020). Cohabitation and Marriage: Complexity and Diversity in Union-Formation Patterns. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 82(1), 35–61. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12617>

Solikin, N., & Wasik, M. (2023). The Construction Of Family Law In The Compilation Of Islamic Law In Indonesia: A Review of John Rawls's Concept of Justice and Jasser Auda's Maqashid al-Shari'a. *Ulumuna*, 27(1), 315–340. <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujs.v27i1.708>

Sule, K. A. (2021). *PhD Thesis - Hisbah Complementary Policing in Northwest geo-Political*, . October.

Suleman, D., Kashif, A., Tilwani, S. A., & Rabeea, L. K. (2023). Impacts of Unjust Traditional Practices on Unhappy Marriage Life: An Empirical Assessment of the Social Context in the Kurdish Region. *Kurdish Studies*, 4883, 145–160.

Tasnim Jarin, & Aftab Ur Rahaman Zahin. (2023). Inter-Caste Gender Performativity in Indian Hindu Culture: A Postcolonial Gender Study in Mulk Raj Anand's Untouchable and Arundhati Roy's The God of Small Things. *Zakariya Journal of Social Science*, 2(1), 11–22. <https://doi.org/10.59075/zjss.v2i1.228>

Ubaidilah, N., & Husna, A. (2023). *Regulation of Maintenance in Islamic Family Law : Implications for Family Welfare*. 5(4), 601–612. <https://doi.org/10.56338/ijhess.v5i4.6639>

Vitali, A., & Fraboni, R. (2022). Pooling of Wealth in Marriage: The Role of Premarital Cohabitation. In *European Journal of Population* (Vol. 38, Issue 4). Springer Netherlands. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10680-022-09627-2>

Yulia, R., Prakarsa, A., & Bustami, M. R. (2023). Harmonizing Adat Obligations and State Law: A Case Study of Murder and Rape Cases in Baduy's Indonesia. *Journal of Indonesian Legal Studies*, 8(2), 803–854. <https://doi.org/10.15294/jils.v8i2.72283>