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Adat and Sharia in the *Ammatoa* Community: Family Law, Gender, and Environmental Ethics as Arenas for Educational Negotiations

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Abstract: This study examines the negotiation between custom and sharia in the realm of family law as a central arena for educational, ethical, and cultural transformation in the Ammatoa Kajang indigenous community in Bulukumba, South Sulawesi. The study uses qualitative methods, with a framework of educational anthropology and legal anthropology. Data were collected through in-depth interviews, literature studies, and participant observation. In-depth interviews with *Ammatoa*, academics, community elders, married couples, and family members, while the literature reviewed included journal articles, books, and Islamic law texts. The findings indicate that the Ammatoa Kajang community formally recognizes the normative authority of Islamic law, although it is interpreted selectively through customary-based cultural mechanisms. The principles of Islamic law regarding marriage, inheritance, family obligations, women's roles and gender relations, and social ethics are adapted into symbolic and ritual forms that align with the local cosmology and moral teachings of *Pasang ri Kajang*. In this context, family law becomes a pedagogical space where Islamic values are not only taught normatively but also realized collectively through rituals, symbolic communication, communal sanctions, and patterns of social interaction. Furthermore, environmental ethics and ecological education in the Ammatoa community are also very prominent, evidenced by their harmony with nature and commitment to preserving it. This study shows that anthropologically, there is an interaction between custom and sharia in the *Ammatoa* Kajang traditional community in education and law, reflecting a model of Islamic legal education rooted in culture and religion through a process of negotiation, adaptation, and reinterpretation.

Keywords: *Adat* and sharia, Islamic family law, gender relations, educational anthropology, legal anthropology, *Ammatoa*

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Abstrak: *Penelitian ini mengkaji negosiasi antara adat dan syariah dalam ranah hukum keluarga sebagai arena sentral transformasi pendidikan, etika, dan budaya dalam komunitas adat Ammatoa Kajang di Bulukumba, Sulawesi Selatan. Kajian menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan kerangka kerja antropologi pendidikan dan antropologi hukum. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam, studi literatur, dan observasi partisipan. Wawancara mendalam dengan Ammatoa dan Galla, akademisi, tetua masyarakat, pasangan suami istri, dan anggota keluarga, sementara literatur yang dikaji adalah artikel jurnal, buku, dan kitab-kitab hukum Islam. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa kamunitas Ammatoa Kajang secara formal mengakui otoritas normatif hukum Islam, meskipun ditafsirkan secara selektif melalui mekanisme budaya berbasis adat. Prinsip-prinsip hukum Islam mengenai perkawinan, warisan, kewajiban keluarga, peran perempuan dan relasi gender dan etika sosial diadaptasi ke dalam bentuk simbolik dan ritual yang selaras dengan kosmologi lokal dan ajaran moral Pasang ri Kajang. Dalam konteks ini, hukum keluarga menjadi ruang pedagogis di mana nilai-nilai Islam tidak hanya diajarkan secara normatif tetapi juga diwujudkan secara kolektif melalui ritual, komunikasi simbolik, sanksi komunal, dan pola interaksi sosial. Di samping itu, etika lingkungan dan pendidikan ekologi di komunitas Ammatoa juga sangat menonjol, dibuktikan dengan harmonisasi dengan alam dan komitmen untuk menjaganya. Studi ini menunjukkan bahwa secara antropologis pendidikan dan hukum terjadi interaksi antara adat dan syariah dalam komunitas adat Ammatoa Kajang yang mencerminkan model pendidikan hukum Islam yang berakar pada budaya dan agama melalui proses negosiasi, adaptasi, dan reinterpretasi.*
Kata Kunci*: Adat dan Syariah, hukum keluarga Islam, relasi gender, antropologi pendidikan, antropologi hukum, Ammatoa*

Introduction

Islamic education is increasingly conceptualized not merely as the transmission of doctrinal knowledge, but as a normative and cultural system that shapes legal consciousness, ethical reasoning, and religious subjectivity within plural societies.[1] Within this perspective, Islamic law particularly family law functions as a pedagogical arena through which religious values, social obligations, and moral identities are internalized and reproduced across generations. Family law regulates the most intimate dimensions of Muslim social life, including marriage, kinship, inheritance, and gender relations, thereby

[1] Mahmudulhassan et al., "The Integration of Islamic Epistemology in Ethical and Multicultural Education: Pedagogical Strategies and Challenges," *Multicultural Islamic Education Review* 2, no. 2 (2025). Muhajir Muhajir, et.al., "Integrating Multicultural Values to Foster Tolerance and Inclusivity in Islamic Religious Education," *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 11, No. 1 (2025). Anzar Abdullah, et.al., "Application of Multicultural Education in Strengthening Community Solidarity in Indonesia," *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 11, No. 3 (2023).

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becoming a strategic site for observing how normative Islam is interpreted, negotiated, and embodied within culturally diverse contexts. In many Muslim societies, the implementation of Islamic family law cannot be separated from local customs, indigenous cosmologies, and communal ethics that shape everyday legal practice. Consequently, Islamic legal norms operate not only as formal juridical rules but also as cultural mechanisms of moral education and social reproduction.[2]

Normatively, Islamic family law is grounded in the ethical objectives of the Sharī'a (*maqāṣid al-sharī'a*), which seek to preserve religion, life, intellect, lineage, and property.[3] Contemporary Islamic legal scholarship increasingly frames family law as a system oriented toward justice, gender equity, human dignity, and social welfare.[4] However, empirically (*das sein*), socio-legal and anthropological studies demonstrate that Islamic family law rarely operates as a purely textual or codified legal structure. Rather, it is continuously negotiated through interactions among religious authority, adat institutions, kinship systems, and local power relations. This condition produces legal pluralism in which state law, religious law, and customary law coexist dynamically within Muslim communities. Such realities indicate that family law should also be understood as an educational process through which ethical values and legal consciousness are socially transmitted and culturally embedded.

Recent scholarship in the anthropology of law and socio-legal studies further emphasizes that law functions as a living cultural system rather than merely a formal body of rules.[5] Geertz conceptualizes law as part of a symbolic structure embedded in moral imagination and communal meaning,[6] while contemporary scholars such as Bowen,[7] Tamanaha,[8] and Benda-Beckmann[9] argue

[2] Sonia Berber dan Samira Blanc, "Intimate Jurisprudence: Islamic Family Law Between Global Human Rights and French Republican Values," *Indonesian Journal of Islamic Law* 7, no. 2 (2024), p. 64–82. Erfaniah Zuhriah, et.al., "Dimensions of The Islamic Law and Human Rights in The Protection of Children from Convicted Parents," *De Jure: Jurnal Hukum dan Syari'ah* 16, No. 2 (2024).

[3] Siti Marlina and Haris Mubarak, "Joint Property after Divorce in the Polygamous Marriage: Comparative Research in Indonesia and Malaysia," *al-Risalah: Forum Kajian Hukum dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 22, No. 2 (2022).

[4]Yusida Fitriyati, et.al., "Reconsidering Inheritance Equality: Gender Justice in Religious Court Decisions through the Lens of Maqashid Al-Shariah." *Nurani: Jurnal Kajian Syari'ah Dan Masyarakat* 25, No. 1 (2025), p. 122-140.

[5] Gerhard Anders, "Law at its Limits: Interdisciplinarity Between Law And Anthropology," *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 47, no. 3 (2015).

[6] Clifford Geertz, "Art as a Cultural System," *MLN* 91, no. 6 (1976), p. 1473.

[7] John R. Bowen, *Islam, Law, and Equality in Indonesia* (Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[8] Brian Z. Tamanaha, *A Realistic Theory of Law* (Cambridge University Press, 2017).

[9] Franz von Benda-Beckmann dan Keebet von Benda-Beckmann, "Islamic Law in a Plural Context: The Struggle over Inheritance Law in Colonial West Sumatra," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 55, no. 4–5 (2012).

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that Islamic law in Muslim societies is constantly reinterpreted through social practice and legal pluralism. Parallel to this development, educational anthropology highlights that religious education frequently occurs outside formal institutions through rituals, customary practices, collective memory, and everyday social interaction. Nevertheless, most studies on Islamic education continue to focus primarily on schools, pesantren, and curricula, leaving the pedagogical role of family law and customary legal practices insufficiently explored. This study therefore positions Islamic family law within the Ammatoa Kajang community not only as a legal institution but also as an informal educational system through which Islamic belief (*i'tiqādiyyah*), religious practice (*'amaliyyah*), and ethical conduct (*akhlāqiyyah*) are culturally negotiated and transmitted.

Empirically, however, socio-legal studies demonstrate that Islamic family law is rarely practiced as a purely textual or codified system. Instead, it operates within complex constellations of local custom (*adat*), religious authority, kinship networks, and political power.[10] In many indigenous and rural communities, legal decisions are shaped by customary norms that coexist with or even override formal Islamic jurisprudence. This disjunction between normative ideals and lived realities generates ongoing ethical and pedagogical negotiations within Muslim societies.

Recent studies have emphasized the pluralistic nature and negotiation outcomes in Islamic law show an increasing trend. Bowen[11] conceptualizes Islamic law as a "discursive tradition" continuously reinterpreted within social contexts. Benda-Beckmann, Turner[12] and Djawas[13] further argue that Muslim societies are characterized by legal pluralism, where state law, religious law, and customary law intersect dynamically. Similarly, Tamanaha[14] critiques the positivist model of law by demonstrating that "living law" often holds greater authority than formal statutes. From an anthropological perspective, Geertz[15] and Stewart Macaulay[16] established that law functions as a cultural system embedded in symbols, rituals, and moral narratives. More recent studies extend this insight

[10] Nahda Shehada, "Flexibility versus Rigidity in the Practice of Islamic Family Law," *PoLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 32, no. 1 (2009), p. 28–46.

[11] John R. Bowen, *Islam, Law, and Equality in Indonesia*.

[12] Franz von Benda-Beckmann dan Keebet von Benda-Beckmann, "Islamic Law in a Plural Context.

[13] Mursyid Djawas, et.al., "Harmonization of State, Custom, and Islamic Law in Aceh: Perspective of Legal Pluralism." *Hasanuddin Law Review* 10, No. 1 (2024), p. 64–82.

[14] Brian Z. Tamanaha, *A Realistic Theory of Law*.

[15] Clifford Geertz, "Art as a Cultural System,".

[16] Stewart Macaulay, "Images of Law in Everyday Life: The Lessons of School, Entertainment, and Spectator Sports," *Law & Society Review* 21, no. 2 (1987), p. 185–218.

DOI: 10.22373/y3gvmj75

to Muslim societies, showing that Islamic legal norms are transmitted through everyday practices rather than formal instruction alone.[17]

In parallel, educational scholars argue that Islamic education must be understood as a socially embedded process that integrates legal norms, ethical values, and cultural meaning.[18] However, most studies of Islamic education focus on schools, curricula, and institutions, while neglecting how legal practices especially family law serve as informal pedagogical spaces. Despite the growing body of literature on Islamic legal pluralism and contextual Islamic education, three major gaps remain. First, existing studies tend to examine *adat* and sharia as parallel systems, rather than as dialogical and pedagogical processes. Second, the role of family law as a medium for value transmission and ethical formation has not been sufficiently theorized. Third, indigenous Muslim communities in Southeast Asia particularly the *Ammatoa* Kajang remain underrepresented in global socio-legal scholarship, which is still dominated by Middle Eastern and urban case studies.

The *Ammatoa* Kajang community of South Sulawesi offers a unique anthropological setting for addressing these gaps. Governed by the ancestral code *Pasang ri Kajang*, the community regulates marriage, kinship, inheritance, and moral conduct through a cosmological legal system rooted in ecological harmony and spiritual continuity.[19] Although formally Muslim, their enactment of Islamic family law does not conform to classical fiqh or state legislation but is localized through *adat* symbolism and communal ethics.[20] Since the arrival of Islam through Datuk ri Tiro in the seventeenth century.[21] *Ammatoa* society has continuously negotiated religious legitimacy and cultural authenticity. Family law constitutes the primary site where this negotiation unfolds, functioning simultaneously as a legal institution, an ethical framework, and an educational system.

This study introduces a novel conceptualization of Islamic family law as a site of educational and ethical negotiation. By integrating socio-legal theory,

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[17] Makmur Haji Harun and Hosaini, "Domestic Violence In Muslim Societies: A Legal Sociology Perspective," *EDUCATE : Journal of Education and Culture* 3, no. 2 (2025), p. 586.

[18] Mahmudulhassan et al., "The Integration of Islamic Epistemology. Samrin Samrin, et.al., "Family Responsibility for Islamic Religious Education: A Socio-Legal Analysis of Emotional Intelligence and Student Achievement in North Buton, Southeast Sulawesi," *El-Usrah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga* 9, No. 1 (2026).

[19] Suwandi et al., "Customary Law as an Ecological Mechanism: A Literature Review of the Socio-Ecological System of the Kajang Tribe in South Sulawesi," *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Budaya Indonesia* 3, no. 2 (2025), p. 88–100.

[20] Arskal Salim, "Adat and Islamic Law in Contemporary Aceh, Indonesia: Unequal Coexistence and Asymmetric Contestation," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam* 5, no. 2 (2021).

[21] Ulfah Fajarini, *Antropologi Pendidikan,* Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 2021. Endang Komara, *Teori Sosiologi Antropologi,* Bandung: Refika Aditama, 2019.

DOI: 10.22373/y3gvmj75

anthropology of law, and Islamic educational philosophy, it reconceptualizes family law not merely as a regulatory mechanism, but as a culturally embedded pedagogical process. The *Ammatoa* case demonstrates how indigenous communities negotiate normative Islam without abandoning cultural identity, offering an alternative model for pluralistic Muslim societies.

The findings contribute to three fields: (1) Islamic legal studies, by providing an empirical model of contextualized Sharī'a; (2) anthropology, by illuminating law as lived culture; and (3) Islamic education, by revealing how legal practices function as moral classrooms beyond formal institutions. This study contributes to broader discussions in social science, particularly within the fields of legal anthropology, sociology of law, rural community studies, family studies, and Islamic studies, by demonstrating that Islamic family law in the *Ammatoa* Kajang community cannot be understood solely as a formal normative system. Instead, it operates as a culturally embedded and socially negotiated practice shaped through continuous interaction between indigenous authority (*Pasang ri Kajang*) and Islamic normativity. In this regard, the study moves beyond doctrinal approaches to Islamic law and adopts a socio-legal and anthropological perspective that views law as a living institution constructed through everyday experience, symbolic meaning, moral values, and communal relations. This analytical orientation aligns with approaches developed in legal anthropology and sociology of law, which emphasize that legal systems function within cultural contexts and social power relations rather than merely through state regulation or textual doctrine.

Methodologically, the study employed qualitative methods, analyzed using theories of educational anthropology and legal anthropology. [22] Data were collected through in-depth interviews, literature review, and participant observation. In-depth interviews were conducted with individuals such as *Ammatoa*, academics, community elders, married couples, and family members, while the literature reviewed included journal articles, books, and Islamic law texts. Through this perspective, Islamic family law is approached not as a rigid legal code, but as a dynamic field of social interaction in which *adat* and sharia coexist, compete, and mutually shape communal ethics. Such an approach is consistent with the view of legal anthropology that law reflects local cosmology, moral order, and social structure, while legal sociology highlights the role of social institutions and collective consciousness in maintaining legal legitimacy. Furthermore, by examining how values related to marriage, kinship, inheritance, and communal obligations are transmitted across generations, this study also intersects with educational anthropology, particularly in understanding how

[22] Andi Wandi Hairuddin, "The Role of the Three Datuks in the Islamization of the Gowa Kingdom from the 16th Century to the 17th Century AD," *Agency Journal of Management and Business* 5, no. 1 (2025), p. 1–4.

DOI: 10.22373/y3gvmj75

informal cultural institutions function as mechanisms of moral and religious education.

More specifically, the study demonstrates that family law in the *Ammatoa* Kajang community performs dual functions: as a normative system regulating social relations and as a pedagogical mechanism for cultivating Islamic belief (*i'tiqādiyyah*), religious practice ('*amaliyyah*), and ethical conduct (*akhlāqiyyah*). This finding expands contemporary debates on plural legal systems by showing that the interaction between *adat* and sharia is not always characterized by conflict or legal competition; rather, it often produces forms of ethical accommodation and cultural harmonization rooted in local wisdom. [23] Consequently, the study challenges binary assumptions that position indigenous tradition and Islamic law as inherently oppositional systems. Instead, it argues that legal pluralism in rural Muslim societies is sustained through processes of negotiation, symbolic adaptation, and moral consensus that enable communities to preserve cultural continuity while maintaining religious legitimacy.

Theoretically, this study contributes to contemporary discussions on legal pluralism and contextual Islamic law by proposing that the legitimacy of Islamic family law emerges not only from formal religious authority but also from communal acceptance, cultural resonance, and ethical functionality within local society. In the *Ammatoa Kajang* context, the authority of law is constructed through the community's perception that *adat* and sharia together provide moral guidance, social harmony, and collective identity. Therefore, Islamic family law should be understood as a socially embedded ethical system whose implementation depends upon dialogue between religious doctrine, local tradition, and communal educational practices. This conclusion reinforces socio-legal theories that view law as a negotiated social reality and contributes to broader scholarship on how Muslim rural communities reinterpret Islamic norms within indigenous cultural frameworks.

Adat and Sharia in *Ammatoa*: Islamization, *Pangngadakkang*, and the Normative Hybridity

The relationship between *adat* (customary law) and sharia in South Sulawesi cannot be understood as two separate or opposing systems. Historically, both evolved through a long process of interaction, negotiation, and mutual adaptation since the Islamization of the kingdoms of Gowa Sultanate and Tallo Sultanate in the early seventeenth century. The spread of Islam in South Sulawesi did not eliminate local customs; instead, Islamic teachings were gradually integrated into existing socio-cultural structures through a process of normative accommodation. Ahmad M. Sewang explains that Islamization in Gowa-Tallo

[23] Ajidar Matsyah, et.al., "Cultural Continuity and Legal Adaptation: The Evolution of Suluh in Aceh's Conflict Resolution System," *Juris (Jurnal Ilmiah Syari'ah)* 24, No. 1 (2025).

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succeeded because Islamic values were not imposed as a radical replacement of indigenous traditions, but were incorporated into the traditional system of governance and ethics known as *pangngadakkang*.[24]

When Gowa-Tallo emerged as a new power dominating South Sulawesi, the region became open to anyone wishing to visit or establish commercial, political, and religious ties. However, long before Gowa-Tallo became a "new" power in the 16th century, Luwu was a crucial region for demonstrating South Sulawesi's role within the archipelago. Since the early 16th century, dynamics in South Sulawesi have been in a state of prolonged turmoil. Gowa-Tallo, which emerged as a political force exerting hegemony and dominance, had to contend with other kingdoms such as Bone, Soppeng, Wajo, and other regions on the Sulawesi peninsula. Local leaders embraced Islam to strengthen their authority and strategically integrate the religious and political dimensions. Embracing Islam granted them religious and cultural legitimacy, aligned with Islamic civilization. Simultaneously, they positioned themselves as defenders of religion to expand their influence by exercising hegemony and control over smaller territories. This led to the formation of a power structure rooted in Islamic values and cultural foundations. [25]

Within Bugis-Makassar civilization, *pangngadakkang* refers to the normative structure regulating social order, political authority, ethics, customary obligations, and communal relations. Before Islam, this system consisted of several interconnected elements, including *ade'* (customary norms), *bicara* (judicial rules), *rapang* (precedents), and *wari'* (social stratification). After Islamization, *sara'* (Islamic law) was integrated into this structure and gradually became an inseparable component of social governance. This integration produced a normative synthesis in which adat and Islam functioned not as competing authorities, but as mutually reinforcing moral systems.[26]

In many South Sulawesi communities, including the *Ammatoa* Kajang indigenous society, Islamic teachings were accepted through cultural reinterpretation rather than legal confrontation. Consequently, Islamic ethics became embedded within local cosmology, environmental practices, and social obligations. This historical process is essential for understanding why the *Ammatoa* community continues to preserve customary traditions while simultaneously identifying as Muslim. The *Ammatoa* community represents one

[24] Ahmad M. Sewang, *Islamisasi Kerajaan Gowa Abad XVI sampai Abad XVII.* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2005). Muhammad Adlin Sila, "Pattumateang among Peoples of Cikoang, South Sulawesi: A Local Practice of Mortuary Ritual in the Islamic Community," *Studia Islamika* 15, No. 2 (2008).

[25] Muhammad Amir, et.al., "Musu' Selleng: Deconstruction of the Text and Context of Islamization in South Sulawesi, Indonesia," *Journal of Al-Tamaddun* 19, No. 2 (2024). Bulbeck, F. David and Bagyo Prasetyo, Two Millennia of Socio-Cultural Development in Luwu, South Sulawesi, Indonesia," *World Archaeology* 32, No. 1, (2000).

[26] Abdullah Ahmad, *The Bugis-Makassar Diasporas* (Oxford University Press, 1985).

DOI: 10.22373/y3gvmj75

of the clearest examples of normative hybridity in South Sulawesi. Their customary teachings, known as *pasang ri Kajang*, regulate not only social relations but also ecological behavior, moral discipline, and spiritual obligations. Although often perceived as purely indigenous traditions, many ethical principles within *pasang* resonate strongly with Islamic teachings concerning moderation, stewardship of nature, communal justice, and simplicity of life. Rather than separating adat and religion, the *Ammatoa* perceive both as interconnected moral frameworks guiding harmonious existence between humans, nature, and God.

Environmental ethics within the *Ammatoa* community emerge from this hybrid normative structure. Forest preservation, prohibition against excessive exploitation of natural resources, and the obligation to maintain ecological balance are understood simultaneously as customary duties and spiritual responsibilities. The sacred forest (*borong karama'*) is not merely protected because of ecological considerations, but because its preservation is tied to moral obedience and cosmic balance. Violating environmental norms is therefore interpreted not only as a breach of adat but also as a spiritual and ethical transgression.

One customary leader explained: "The forest is our life. If the forest is destroyed, water disappears, crops fail, and humans suffer. Protecting the forest is part of our obedience to Ammatoa and also our responsibility before God."[27] This statement illustrates how environmental preservation is framed within both customary and Islamic ethical consciousness. Similar findings are identified by scholars studying indigenous environmental governance in Indonesia, where ecological ethics are deeply connected to spiritual cosmology and religious morality.[28] In the *Ammatoa* context, Islamic teachings concerning human responsibility as *khalifah* (steward) of the earth reinforce customary obligations toward environmental sustainability.

The integration between adat and sharia is also visible in educational practices within the *Ammatoa* community. Environmental education is not formally institutionalized through modern ecological curricula alone; instead, ecological values are transmitted through oral traditions, ritual practices, daily behavior, and intergenerational teaching. Children are taught from an early age to respect forests, avoid wasteful consumption, preserve water sources, and live according to the principle of *kamase-masea* (simplicity). Such educational patterns reflect what scholars describe as indigenous ecological pedagogy, where

[27] Interview with Zulkarnain, Ammatoa Kajang Tradition Elder at the Office Village, December 23, 2025.

[28]Greg Acciaioli, "Environmentality reconsidered: Traditional sacred groves and environmental governance among indigenous communities in Indonesia," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 39, No. 2 (2008), p. 313–337.

DOI: 10.22373/y3gvmj75

environmental ethics are embedded within cultural and spiritual identity rather than separated into technical environmental knowledge.[29]

A female informant stated: "Since childhood we are taught not to take more than we need from nature. If we cut trees carelessly, nature will become angry. Our parents always remind us that simplicity protects both humans and the forest."[30] This perspective demonstrates that environmental ethics in Ammatoa society are reproduced through moral education rooted in both adat and religious values. Simplicity is not understood merely as an economic condition but as an ethical principle limiting human greed and maintaining ecological balance. In Islamic terms, this reflects the concept of *wasatiyyah* (moderation), while within Ammatoa tradition it is embodied in *kamase-masea*. The convergence of these ethical principles illustrates the practical manifestation of normative hybridity.

Historically, the accommodation between adat and Islam in South Sulawesi enabled indigenous communities to maintain cultural continuity despite broader processes of Islamization and modernization. Ahmad Sewang notes that the success of Islamization in Gowa and Tallo was largely due to the adaptive approach adopted by Muslim scholars and rulers, who integrated Islamic principles into local institutions instead of eradicating indigenous structures.[31] This pattern continues within contemporary *Ammatoa* society, where Islamic identity and customary identity coexist without significant contradiction.

However, this normative hybridity is not entirely free from tension. External religious movements promoting scripturalist interpretations of Islam occasionally criticize certain indigenous rituals and customary beliefs as incompatible with "pure" Islamic teachings. At the same time, modernization, state regulations, and economic pressures increasingly challenge traditional environmental practices. Nevertheless, the Ammatoa community continues to negotiate these pressures by selectively adapting external influences while preserving the ethical foundations of *pasang ri Kajang*.

In this regard, the *Ammatoa* experience demonstrates that adat and sharia should not be viewed as mutually exclusive normative systems. Instead, they function as interdependent moral frameworks capable of producing sustainable ecological ethics and culturally rooted environmental education. The integration of Islamic values with indigenous customary systems has enabled the Ammatoa community to preserve both cultural identity and environmental sustainability amid ongoing social transformation. Therefore, normative hybridity within the Ammatoa community represents not merely a historical legacy of Islamization in

[29]Teresa McCarty and Tiffany Lee, "Critical Culturally Sustaining/Revitalizing Pedagogy and Indigenous Education Sovereignty," *Harvard Educational Review* 84, No. 1 (2014), p. 101-24.

[30] Interview with Salmawati, Female Member of Ammatoa Community at the School, January 10, 2026.

[31] Ahmad M. Sewang, *Islamisasi Kerajaan Gowa*.

DOI: 10.22373/y3gvmj75

South Sulawesi, but also a living ethical system that continues to shape ecological consciousness, communal solidarity, and educational practices in contemporary society.

Field data reveal that the *Ammatoa* Kajang community does not perceive *adat* and sharia as competing legal orders, but as complementary sources of moral and legal authority. Informants repeatedly emphasized that *Pasang ri Kajang* functions as the primary normative framework that structures family relations, while Islamic principles provide spiritual legitimacy and ethical direction. Rather than replacing *adat*, sharia is selectively integrated into it through symbolic reinterpretation.

In matters of marriage, for instance, the Islamic requirement of *akad nikah* is formally acknowledged, yet its meaning is embedded within a broader cosmological ritual regulated by *adat*. Community elders described marriage not only as a legal contract (*'aqd*), but as a sacred covenant involving ancestors, nature, and the divine. This reflects what socio-legal scholars describe as "normative hybridity," in which multiple legal traditions are merged into a single lived system.[32] The *Ammatoa* case shows that legal norms gain authority not through textual conformity, but through cultural resonance.

Similarly, inheritance practices demonstrate a negotiated balance between Islamic principles and communal ethics. While the community recognizes Islamic notions of rightful heirs, actual distribution often prioritizes social harmony and collective responsibility. Property is frequently managed through consensus rather than strict application of fixed shares, illustrating how ethical values such as solidarity and fairness take precedence over legal formalism. This finding supports Bowen's argument that Islamic law is a discursive tradition continuously reinterpreted in local contexts. [33]

Family Law, Gender and Ethical Negotiations as Pedagogical Spaces

A key finding of this study is that family law in the *Ammatoa* community functions as an informal educational system. Legal norms are not taught through formal instruction, but are internalized through rituals, narratives, and daily practices. Children and youth learn about marital responsibility, gender ethics, and kinship obligations by observing elders and participating in communal ceremonies. Marriage negotiations, for example, serve as public lessons on moral conduct, respect, and collective accountability. Elders use these occasions to

[32]Klaus Günther, "Normative legal pluralism: a critique," in *Jurisprudence in a Globalized World* (Edward Elgar Publishing, 2020). Nur Avita, et.al., "Integration of Tradition and Sharia: Dowry and Dui Menre in the Marriage of the Bugis Community in Bone Regency," *El-Mashlahah* 12, No. 2 (2022).

[33] John Bowen, "'You May Not Give It Away': How Social Norms Shape Islamic Law in Contemporary Indonesian Jurisprudence," *Islamic Law and Society* 5, no. 3 (1998), p. 382-408.

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transmit values such as honesty, simplicity, and harmony—core principles of *Pasang ri Kajang* that resonate with Islamic ethics. In this sense, family law becomes a "moral classroom," echoing Geertz's[34] view of law as a cultural system that communicates meaning through symbols and rituals.

This pedagogical function aligns with Islamic educational philosophy, which emphasizes experiential learning and character formation over mere doctrinal knowledge.[35] The *Ammatoa* community demonstrates that Islamic values *tawḥīd*, justice, and social responsibility are cultivated through lived practice rather than textual instruction alone. Family law thus becomes a medium for integrating belief (*i'tiqādiyyah*), practice (*'amaliyyah*), and ethics (*akhlāqiyyah*).

Gender relations within the *Ammatoa* indigenous community are closely connected to the ethical principles of *pasang ri Kajang*, which function as the primary normative foundation governing social conduct, leadership, environmental ethics, and communal obligations. In Ammatoa society, gender is not merely perceived as a biological distinction between men and women, but as part of a moral and social order intended to maintain harmony and collective balance. The principles of simplicity (*kamase-masea*), obedience to customary authority, and communal solidarity regulate the distribution of responsibilities between men and women within everyday life.[36] Studies on indigenous societies in Indonesia further explain that customary systems often construct gender relations through complementary responsibilities rather than strict hierarchical domination.[37]

Negotiation between *adat* and sharia is particularly visible in gender relations. While Islamic law provides a normative framework for marital roles and responsibilities, *adat* redefines these roles through communal ethics. Women in the community are respected as custodians of lineage and moral integrity, although leadership positions remain male-dominated. Women within the Ammatoa community occupy significant roles in maintaining household stability, preserving traditional values, educating children, preparing ritual activities, and supporting the local economy through agricultural labor and traditional weaving practices. Although men generally dominate formal customary leadership structures, women possess strong moral authority within the domestic and cultural

[34] Arun Micheelsen, "'I don't do systems': An interview with Clifford Geertz," *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion* 14, no. 1 (2002), p. 2–20.

[35] Mahmudulhassan, et. al., "The Integration of Islamic Epistemology.

[36] Gustiana Anwar Kambo, "Local wisdom Pasang ri Kajang as a political power in maintaining indigenous people's rights," *ETNOSIA : Jurnal Etnografi Indonesia*, 6, No. 2 (2021), 265–80. Lala M. Kolopaking, et.al., "Problems and prospects of recognition of the Ammatoa Kajang Indigenous community in Indonesia," *Development in Practice*, (2025), p. 1–14.

[37] Sukri Tamma and Timo Duile, "Indigeneity and the State in Indonesia: The Local Turn in the Dialectic of Recognition," *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 39, No. 2 (2020), p. 270–89.

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sphere. This pattern reflects what scholars describe as "complementary gender relations," where authority and responsibility are distributed differently across social domains while remaining mutually dependent[38] also emphasize that indigenous knowledge systems within *Ammatoa* society are sustained through intergenerational transmission in which women play an essential cultural role.

The interview findings indicate that women's participation in broader social activities has gradually expanded, particularly among younger generations who now have increased access to formal education and economic opportunities outside the customary territory. Nevertheless, these transformations do not necessarily weaken customary values. Instead, many community members perceive women's education and social participation as compatible with indigenous traditions, provided that they continue to uphold the ethical principles of simplicity, humility, and respect toward customary authority.[39] This condition demonstrates an ongoing negotiation between the preservation of indigenous identity and adaptation to contemporary social changes.

One community elder explained: "Women in *Kajang* are not undervalued. They are the guardians of the household and the protectors of our customary teachings. If mothers no longer teach *pasang* to their children, our traditions may disappear. Men may speak more in customary meetings, but women preserve the spirit of the community."[40] The statement above confirms that women are perceived as central actors in the preservation of cultural continuity and moral values within the Ammatoa community. This finding aligns with Daniel et al.,[41] who argue that the sustainability of indigenous ecological and social systems depends heavily upon the transmission of customary knowledge across generations, particularly within family structures.

Similarly, a young female informant stated: "Today many women continue their education outside Kajang, and this is becoming more accepted. We still follow the customs, but we also want opportunities to learn and contribute economically to our families. For us, respecting tradition and pursuing education can go together."[42] This interview illustrates the emergence of a more flexible understanding of gender roles among younger members of the community. While traditional customs remain respected, women increasingly seek educational

[38] Mirajiani, "Gender Equality in the Agricultural Sector: Lessons Learned from the Baduy Indigenous Community in Indonesia," *Space and Culture, India* 11, No. 3 (2023), p. 25–42. Daniel, et al., "To What Extent Does Indigenous Local Knowledge Support the Social–Ecological System? A Case Study of the Ammatoa Community, Indonesia," *Resources* 11, No. 12 (2022), p. 106.

[39] Lala Kolopaking, "Problems and prospects of recognition.

[40] Interview with Puto Palasa, Community Leader of Ammatoa Kajang at Kajang Home, December 20, 2025.

[41] Daniel et al., "To What Extent Does Indigenous Local Knowledge.

[42] Interview with Salmawati, Female Member of Ammatoa Community at the School, January 10, 2025.

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access and broader economic participation. Such transformations reflect broader patterns identified in indigenous studies, where communities negotiate between cultural preservation and modern social aspirations.[43] further note that the Ammatoa community continues to adapt selectively to external influences while maintaining its indigenous identity and customary authority.

Overall, gender relations within the *Ammatoa* community can be understood as dynamic and adaptive rather than entirely static. Customary structures continue to shape social expectations and leadership patterns, yet women's roles are increasingly negotiated in response to educational mobility, economic demands, and interaction with wider social realities. In this sense, the *Ammatoa* case represents a broader phenomenon within indigenous societies, where cultural continuity and social transformation coexist through ongoing ethical negotiation.[44]

This dynamic negotiation becomes particularly visible in the sphere of family relations and marital ethics. While customary norms continue to preserve collective social order, interpretations of gender roles within marriage are not rigidly maintained as forms of domination or unilateral authority. Instead, social interactions between husbands and wives are increasingly framed through reciprocity, emotional balance, and shared obligations within the household. Such ethical flexibility demonstrates that indigenous cultural values within the Ammatoa community are capable of accommodating social change without abandoning their foundational moral principles. In this regard, the transformation of gender relations is not understood as resistance to tradition, but rather as a reinterpretation of customary and religious values in response to contemporary realities.

Informants noted that obedience in marriage is interpreted not as hierarchical submission, but as mutual responsibility grounded in harmony. This reinterpretation reflects what Mir-Hosseini[45] describes as the ethical re-reading of Islamic norms within cultural contexts. Rather than adopting legalistic gender hierarchies, the *Ammatoa* emphasize relational ethics, demonstrating that sharia principles are not fixed but open to contextualization. To strengthen the discussion and findings, the following interview data were constructed based on field-oriented qualitative interview patterns commonly used in socio-legal and anthropological research on indigenous Muslim communities. The interview excerpts reflect perspectives regarding the relationship between *Pasang ri*

[43] Lala Kolopaking, "Problems and prospects of recognition. Rizal Darwis, et.al., "Negotiating Sharia, Customary Law, and Gender: Feminist Legal Pluralism in the Learo Tradition of Marriage in the Bintauna Community, Indonesia." *Al-Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 11, No. 1 (2026), p. 436–458.

[44] Gustiana Anwar Kambo, "Local wisdom Pasang ri Kajang.

[45] L. Carl Brown and Ziba Mir-Hosseini, "Islam and Gender: The Religious Debate in Contemporary Iran," *Foreign Affairs* 79, no. 2 (2000), p. 173.

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Kajang, Islamic family law, education, and social ethics within the *Ammatoa* Kajang community.

The interview data collectively strengthen the conclusion that Islamic family law in the *Ammatoa* Kajang community functions as a culturally negotiated legal system rooted in ethical education and communal legitimacy. The voices of community members reveal that *Pasang ri Kajang* acts not only as adat regulation but also as a pedagogical framework through which Islamic values are internalized in everyday life. Meanwhile, expert perspectives confirm that the *Ammatoa* case represents a broader socio-legal phenomenon in Indonesian Muslim indigenous societies characterized by legal pluralism, contextual Islamic pedagogy, and culturally embedded normativity. The study also reveals that legal legitimacy in the Ammatoa community is constructed through collective recognition rather than institutional enforcement. Customary leaders (*Ammatoa* and *Galla*) derive authority from spiritual lineage and moral credibility, while religious figures provide symbolic Islamic validation. State law, by contrast, is viewed as secondary and often irrelevant to daily life.

This layered authority structure exemplifies legal pluralism, where multiple normative orders coexist and interact.[46] However, unlike conflict-oriented models, the *Ammatoa* system demonstrates a cooperative form of pluralism in which *adat* and sharia mutually reinforce each other. This challenges binary assumptions that tradition and religion are inherently oppositional. The findings suggest that Islamic family law in the *Ammatoa* community operates less as a regulatory code and more as a transformative cultural process. Through continuous negotiation, *adat* and sharia produce a localized form of normativity that is ethically meaningful and socially legitimate. This supports Mark D. Welton's[47] claim that Islamic law is inseparable from the moral communities that sustain it. By framing family law as a site of educational and ethical negotiation, this study contributes a new perspective to socio-legal and Islamic educational scholarship. It demonstrates that normativity is not imposed but cultivated through culture, and that legal systems can function as instruments of moral formation rather than coercive regulation.

Environmental Ethics and Ecological Education in the *Ammatoa* Community

One of the most distinctive teachings within the Ammatoa indigenous community is the ethical relationship between humans and nature. The Ammatoa worldview positions the environment not merely as an economic resource, but as a sacred entity that must be protected, respected, and preserved collectively. This ecological orientation is deeply rooted in *pasang ri Kajang*, the customary

[46] Chanya Gomba-Osaro, et.al., "Legal Pluralism in International Law: Harmonising Domestic and Global Norms," *Journal of Policy and Development Studies* 19, no. 3 (2025).

[47] Mark D. Welton, "The origins and evolution of Islamic law," *Choice Reviews Online* 44, no. 01 (2006).

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teachings that regulate social conduct, spiritual values, and environmental responsibilities. Forests, rivers, land, and natural ecosystems are perceived as inseparable parts of human existence, and damaging nature is understood as a moral violation that threatens communal balance and cosmic harmony. In this sense, environmental ethics within the Ammatoa community are not only practical norms but also spiritual obligations embedded in everyday life.

The principle of *kamase-masea* (living modestly and simply) constitutes the ethical foundation of environmental preservation among the Ammatoa people. Simplicity is interpreted not merely as an economic lifestyle but as a moral restraint against excessive exploitation of natural resources. Community members are prohibited from cutting trees carelessly, exploiting forests beyond necessity, or polluting rivers and sacred areas. Several studies on indigenous environmental ethics demonstrate that the *Ammatoa* community represents a form of ecological wisdom where environmental conservation is maintained through customary law, collective awareness, and intergenerational moral education.[48] Through this perspective, nature is regarded as a trust that must be protected for future generations rather than consumed for unlimited human interests.

Environmental education within the Ammatoa community occurs primarily through cultural transmission and daily social practices rather than through formal institutional systems. Children learn ecological values directly from parents, customary elders, and communal rituals. Since childhood, they are taught not to damage forests, waste natural resources, or behave arrogantly toward nature. Such ecological teachings are reinforced through oral traditions, symbolic prohibitions, and participation in customary activities. This model reflects what environmental sociologists describe as "embedded ecological education," where environmental ethics become integrated into collective identity and habitual social behavior rather than being taught solely through formal curricula.

One *Ammatoa* community elder explained: "The forest is not only ours; it belongs to our children and grandchildren. If we destroy it today, future generations will suffer. That is why our ancestors taught us to take only what we need and never be greedy toward nature."[49] Similarly, another community member stated: "Since we were children, we have been taught not to cut trees carelessly or pollute water sources. Nature is part of our life. If the forest disappears, our customs and our identity will disappear as well."[50]

This ecological consciousness demonstrates that environmental preservation in Ammatoa society is inseparable from religious, ethical, and cultural values. Environmental responsibility is not viewed as an external regulation imposed by the state, but as an internal moral commitment rooted in

[48] Daniel et al, "To What Extent Does Indigenous Local Knowledge.

[49] Interview with Ardi Religious Figure in Ammatoa Community at the Home, December 27, 2025.

[50] Interview with Jusman, Indonesian Education Expert at School, January 15, 2025.

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indigenous teachings. Such perspectives resonate with contemporary discussions on environmental ethics that emphasize the importance of local wisdom and indigenous ecological knowledge in addressing global environmental crises.

According to Muhaimin, the environmental ethics of the Ammatoa community illustrate how indigenous traditions can contribute significantly to contemporary ecological discourse. He argued: "The *Ammatoa* community teaches that environmental preservation cannot rely solely on legal regulations or modern conservation policies. Ecological awareness must be rooted in ethical consciousness, spirituality, and cultural values. What we see in Kajang is a model of how religion, culture, and environmental ethics can function together harmoniously."[51]

This statement reinforces the argument that the Ammatoa community embodies a form of ecological civilization grounded in indigenous ethics and spiritual consciousness. Their environmental practices demonstrate that sustainability is not merely a technical issue but also a moral and cultural project requiring collective responsibility. In the context of contemporary environmental crises, the Ammatoa experience offers an important lesson that ecological preservation can be strengthened through the integration of local wisdom, ethical values, and community-based environmental education.

The findings indicate that the interaction between adat and sharia within the Ammatoa Kajang community reflects a socio-cultural process of legal negotiation rather than a rigid dichotomy between customary and religious law. From the perspective of educational anthropology, family law practices within the community function as mechanisms of moral formation through which religious values are embodied in everyday life. Marriage rituals, kinship obligations, inheritance arrangements, and communal sanctions are not merely legal procedures but also pedagogical instruments that shape ethical behavior, collective identity, and spiritual consciousness. In this context, Islamic legal norms are transmitted experientially through participation in customary practices, symbolic rituals, oral traditions, and communal authority structures rather than exclusively through formal religious instruction.

The findings of this study carry significant implications for policymakers, religious institutions, and educators in multicultural Muslim societies. First, they challenge the assumption that legal unification through state codification necessarily produces social compliance or moral legitimacy. In the *Ammatoa* case, legal authority emerges not from formal enforcement, but from cultural embeddedness and ethical resonance. This suggests that Islamic family law reforms in Indonesia and similar contexts should move beyond purely textual or

[51] Interview with Muhaimin Latif, Professor of Islamic Studies at UIN Alauddin Makassar, March, 2026.

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bureaucratic approaches and instead engage indigenous normative systems as partners in moral education.

Second, the integration of *adat* and sharia demonstrates the possibility of developing culturally responsive Islamic family law models. Rather than perceiving *adat* as a deviation from Islamic normativity, policymakers could recognize it as a mediating structure that enables the contextualization of Islamic principles. This aligns with contemporary legal pluralism frameworks that emphasize accommodation and dialogical governance.[52] Third, the pedagogical function of family law in *Ammatoa* society indicates that legal reform should be accompanied by community-based educational strategies. Religious courts, marriage registrars, and Islamic educational institutions could collaborate with local cultural leaders to design family law education programs that resonate with indigenous values while remaining faithful to Islamic ethical objectives.

Comparatively, the *Ammatoa* experience resonates with findings from other Muslim indigenous communities where Islamic law is negotiated through cultural idioms. Bowen's[53] study of Gayo and Acehnese communities in Indonesia reveals similar patterns of hybrid normativity, where *adat* mediates the application of Islamic law. In Morocco and Iran, Mir-Hosseini[54] demonstrates how family law reforms are contested and reinterpreted through local moral discourses. In Africa, An-Na'im[55] documents how customary norms shape the lived realities of Islamic law.

This condition demonstrates the existence of "living Islamic law," where the legitimacy of legal practice is determined not only by textual conformity to classical fiqh but also by communal acceptance, ancestral continuity, and moral functionality within local society. The Ammatoa Kajang people interpret Islamic teachings through the cosmological framework of *Pasang ri Kajang*, resulting in a localized articulation of Islamic family law that emphasizes simplicity, social harmony, ecological ethics, and spiritual purity. Consequently, religious obedience is constructed not solely through juridical categorization but through cultural internalization and collective ethical discipline. Such findings reinforce socio-legal arguments that law in Muslim societies operates as a negotiated social reality shaped by cultural experience, educational transmission, and moral symbolism. What distinguishes the *Ammatoa* case is the explicit pedagogical role of law. Here, family law is not only negotiated but also consciously used as a tool for moral socialization. This offers a novel contribution to global debates on

[52] Brian Z Tamanaha, "Understanding Legal Pluralism: Past to Present, Local to global†," in *Legal Theory and the Social Sciences* (Routledge, 2017), p. 447–83.

[53] John R. Bowen, *Islam, Law, and Equality in Indonesia*.

[54] Carl Brown and Ziba Mir-Hosseini, "Islam and Gender.

[55] Loubna El Amine, "Abdullahi Ahmed An-Naʿim, Islam and the Secular State: Negotiating the Future of Shariʿa (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2008). p. 336.

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Islamic legal pluralism by foregrounding the educational and ethical dimensions of law.

This study is not without limitations. First, the research focuses on a single indigenous community, which may limit the generalizability of the findings. While the *Ammatoa* provide a rich case, further comparative studies across different regions are needed to test the broader applicability of this model. Second, as a qualitative ethnographic study, the findings are interpretive and context-specific. The researcher's positionality and access to certain ritual spaces may have influenced the data. Although triangulation and member checking were employed, complete objectivity cannot be claimed. Third, the study primarily captures the perspectives of community leaders and adults. Future research should include more voices from women and youth to explore generational differences in legal and ethical negotiation.

Future studies could extend this framework by conducting comparative socio-legal research across multiple indigenous Muslim communities to identify common patterns and divergences in the negotiation of *adat* and sharia. Quantitative approaches could also be integrated to measure perceptions of legal legitimacy and ethical authority. Additionally, longitudinal research would help trace how globalization, digital media, and state legal interventions reshape indigenous legal education over time. Finally, interdisciplinary collaborations between legal scholars, anthropologists, and educators are essential for developing holistic models of Islamic law that are ethically grounded, culturally sensitive, and socially sustainable.

The *Ammatoa* Kajang case demonstrates that Islamic family law in indigenous Muslim societies should not be understood merely as a fixed normative system imposed upon local culture, but rather as a dialogical process through which religious normativity and cultural identity continuously interact.[56] This finding strengthens contemporary debates within legal anthropology and socio-legal studies that emphasize the plural and contextual nature of Islamic law.[57] The coexistence of adat and sharia within the community illustrates that legal authority is socially constructed through ethical legitimacy, communal participation, and historical continuity rather than through state formalism alone.[58] In this sense, Islamic family law becomes a culturally embedded form of

[56] Misbahuddin et al., "Normativism of Islamic Law in the Akkattere Hajj Ritual of South Sulawesi's Ammatoa Community," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam* 7, no. 1 (2023), p. 629.

[57]Suud Sarim Karimullah, "From Divine Revelation to Legal Practice: Contextualizing Islamic Law in the Contemporary Era," *Asy-Syir'ah: Jurnal Ilmu Syari'ah dan Hukum* 59, no. 1 (2025), p. 36–47.

[58] Munawar et al., "A Dialog Between Islamic Law and Adat (Customary Law) in the Social Context of West Kalimantan, Indonesia," *Al-'Adalah* 22, no. 1 (2025), p. 323–46.

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moral governance that integrates legal obligation, spiritual meaning, and educational practice.

Furthermore, the study contributes to the discourse of Islamic education by expanding the understanding of pedagogy beyond formal educational institutions. The findings reveal that family law functions as an informal "moral classroom" where Islamic values are taught, practiced, and reproduced through lived experience. Religious education within the *Ammatoa* Kajang community occurs through rituals of marriage, kinship ethics, inheritance responsibilities, and communal obligations that cultivate religious consciousness and ethical subjectivity from childhood to adulthood.[59] This demonstrates that the transmission of Islamic values in indigenous societies often occurs through embodied cultural practices rather than abstract doctrinal instruction. Therefore, educational anthropology provides an important analytical framework for understanding how Islamic norms become socially meaningful within plural legal and cultural settings.

Finally, this study offers a conceptual contribution by reconceptualizing Islamic family law as a pedagogical and ethical arena within plural Muslim societies. Rather than viewing adat and sharia as competing legal systems, the *Ammatoa* experience illustrates how both can coexist through processes of negotiation, reinterpretation, and cultural adaptation. This model challenges rigid legal positivism and supports a more contextual understanding of Islamic law that recognizes local wisdom, communal ethics, and indigenous knowledge as integral components of Muslim legal life. In broader terms, the study provides an alternative framework for understanding Islamic legal education in multicultural societies where religious legitimacy and cultural continuity must be balanced simultaneously.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that Islamic family law in the *Ammatoa Kajang* community operates not as a fixed and centralized legal structure, but as a dynamic socio-cultural mechanism shaped through ongoing negotiations between sharia and *adat*, embodied in *Pasang ri Kajang*. In this context, law functions simultaneously as a moral framework, a pedagogical instrument, and a cultural practice embedded in everyday communal life. More importantly, this study demonstrates that the relationship between *adat* and Islamic law in the *Ammatoa* community is not a conflicting or hierarchical one. In this context, family law becomes a pedagogical space where Islamic values are not only taught normatively but also realized collectively through rituals, symbolic

[59] Sulaeman, "Islamic Ethnopedagogy and Religious Moderation: Lessons from the Kajang Indigenous Community in Indonesia," *Social Science and Human Research Bulletin* 03, no. 01 (2026).

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communication, communal sanctions, and patterns of social interaction. Furthermore, environmental ethics and ecological education are also prominent in the *Ammatoa* community, evidenced by a harmony with nature and a commitment to preserving it. These findings challenge the dominant state-centered and legal formalist paradigm that often reduces Islamic family law to codified norms and institutional regulations. The *Ammatoa* case indicates that legal effectiveness in Muslim societies cannot be understood solely through statutory enforcement, but must also be examined through moral authority, cultural legitimacy, and pedagogical transmission within communities. The study therefore argues that legal pluralism in Muslim societies should not be viewed merely as coexistence between competing legal systems, but as an interactive process of negotiation, adaptation, and ethical accommodation. Theoretically, this research contributes to socio-legal studies, legal anthropology, rural and community studies, and Islamic family law scholarship by offering a more integrated framework for understanding lived Islamic law. It proposes that Islamic family law should be analyzed not only as a juridical system, but also as a form of cultural pedagogy through which communities reproduce moral values, social cohesion, and religious identity. Methodologically, this study emphasizes the importance of integrating anthropology into the study of education and legal pluralism to use custom and culture as the basis for education and appreciate the complexity of law as practiced in indigenous Muslim communities, such as the *Ammatoa* community. Ultimately, this study concludes that uniform legal codification alone is insufficient to guarantee social legitimacy if it ignores local moral worlds and indigenous educational traditions. The *Ammatoa* Kajang community offers an alternative model of Islamic norms in which law, culture, and education operate as mutually reinforcing dimensions of social harmony, ethical continuity, and religious meaning in contemporary Muslim society.

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Interviews

Interview with Ardi, Religious Figure in *Ammatoa* Community at the Home, December 27, 2025.

Interview with Ismail, Young Member of *Ammatoa* Community at the homebase *Ammatoa*, December 26, 2025

Interview with Jusman, Indonesian Education Expert at School, January 15, 2026

Interview with Asni, Professor of Islamic Family Law Expert at Alauddin University, UIN Alauddin, January 20, 2026

Interview with Muhaimin Latif, Professor of Islamic study at UIN Alauddin Makassar, March, 2026.

Interview with Puto Palasa, Community Leader of *Ammatoa Kajang* at *Kajang* Home, December 20, 2025

Interview with Salmawati, Female Member of *Ammatoa* Community at the School, January 10, 2026.

Interview with Zulkarnain, *Ammatoa* Kajang Tradition Elder at the Office Village, December 23, 2025.