

Social Stigma and Family Identity Construction in *Pulang Balee* Marriage among Acehese Society: A Legal Anthropology Perspective

Mansari^{1*}, Zahrul Fatahillah²


¹Universitas Iskandar Muda, Indonesia

²Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Syariah (STIS) Nahdlatul Ulama Aceh, Indonesia

*Corresponding Author: mansari@unida-aceh.ac.id

Abstract: *Pulang balee* marriage is a customary marital practice that continues to exist in Acehese society, referring to the marriage between an individual and their former sibling-in-law following the death or divorce of a spouse. This practice is commonly regarded as a means of preserving kinship ties, ensuring the continuity of child care, and maintaining family stability, although it may also generate social stigma in certain communities. This study aims to examine *pulang balee* marriage in relation to the construction of family identity and the strategies employed by families to address social stigma. The research adopts an empirical legal method with a legal anthropology approach. Data were analyzed descriptively and analytically based on the social practices observed within Acehese communities. The findings indicate that *pulang balee* marriage functions to strengthen kinship relations, sustain child care, and preserve family continuity after the death of a spouse. Social stigma does not arise uniformly but is shaped by differing community perceptions of customary norms and moral values. Family identity is constructed through an ongoing negotiation between customary values, social perceptions, and lived experiences. To gain social acceptance, families reinforce customary values, emphasize child welfare, and actively participate in community life. This study contributes to legal anthropology by demonstrating that family identity in *pulang balee* marriage is dynamically negotiated through the interaction of living law, cultural values, and social perceptions.

Keywords: Pulang Balee; Social Stigma; Family Identity

Submitted: March 29, 2026	Accepted: June 29, 2026	Published: June 30, 2026
To Cite this Article: Mansari, Mansari, and Zahrul Fatahillah. "Social Stigma and Family Identity Construction in Pulang Balee Marriage among Acehese Society: A Legal Anthropology Perspective." <i>Ahlika: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam</i> 3, no. 1 (2026): 1-27. https://doi.org/10.70742/ahlika.v3i1.599		
 Copyright © 2026 by Author(s) This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License		

Abstract: Perkawinan pulang balee merupakan praktik adat yang masih dijumpai dalam masyarakat Aceh, yaitu perkawinan antara seseorang dengan iparnya setelah pasangan sebelumnya meninggal dunia atau terjadi perceraian. Praktik ini dipandang sebagai upaya menjaga hubungan kekerabatan, keberlangsungan pengasuhan anak, dan stabilitas keluarga, meskipun masih dapat menimbulkan penilaian negatif di sebagian masyarakat. Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis praktik perkawinan pulang balee dalam kaitannya dengan pembentukan identitas keluarga dan strategi menghadapi stigma sosial. Penelitian menggunakan metode hukum empiris dengan pendekatan antropologi hukum. Data dianalisis secara deskriptif-analitis berdasarkan praktik sosial yang berkembang dalam masyarakat Aceh. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa perkawinan pulang balee berfungsi memperkuat ikatan keluarga, menjaga kesinambungan pengasuhan anak, dan mempertahankan hubungan kekerabatan setelah kematian pasangan. Stigma sosial tidak selalu muncul, tetapi dipengaruhi oleh perbedaan pandangan masyarakat terhadap norma adat dan nilai moral. Identitas keluarga terbentuk melalui proses negosiasi antara nilai adat, persepsi masyarakat, dan pengalaman keluarga. Untuk memperoleh penerimaan sosial, keluarga menegaskan nilai-nilai adat, membangun narasi perlindungan anak, serta meningkatkan partisipasi dalam kehidupan bermasyarakat. Penelitian ini menegaskan bahwa identitas keluarga dalam praktik pulang balee dibentuk secara dinamis melalui interaksi antara *living law*, nilai budaya, dan persepsi sosial masyarakat.

Kata kunci: Pulang Balee; Stigma Sosial; Identitas Keluarga

Introduction

Marriage in society is not merely understood as a legal union between a man and a woman, but also as a social institution that shapes kinship structures and family identity.¹ In many traditional communities, marriage functions to maintain lineage continuity, social stability, and the sustainability of relationships between extended families.² The concept of family identity explains that family identity is a social construct shaped through interaction, shared experiences, and the continuous negotiation of values within a particular

¹ Divani 'Aina Nurlita, Elvira Damayanti, and Daffa Arjuna Arya Putra, "Perkawinan Dalam Perspektif Hukum Adat Indonesia : Ragam Sistem , Tradisi, Dan Tantangan Modern Elvira Damayanti Daffa Arjuna Arya Putra Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya," *Tarunalaw: Journal of Law and Syariah* 03, no. 02 (2025): 99-116.

² Arya Savero and Zainudin Hasan, "Prinsip-Prinsip Hukum Perkawinan Adat Lampung Pesisir Dan Peranan Dalam Menjaga Harmoni Keluarga," *Kampus Akademik Publishing* 2, no. 6 (2025): 136-44.

social environment. According to David H. Olson and his colleagues, family identity is developed through family cohesion, adaptability, communication patterns, and the roles performed by each family member³. Acehese society recognizes several forms of marriage practices that have developed from local traditions and customary norms embedded in everyday social life. One notable practice is pulang balee, a marriage between an individual and his or her in-law following the death or divorce of a previous spouse.⁴ This practice is generally intended to ensure the continuity of child care and to preserve kinship ties between the two extended families. The phenomenon illustrates how customary norms interact with religious values, family structures, and the broader social dynamics of Acehese society.⁵

From the perspective of Legal Anthropology, customary marriage practices such as pulang balee can be understood as a social response to the need to maintain family stability. Customary law is not always established through formal regulations; rather, it emerges from social practices that are accepted and internalized by the community. Such traditions develop as collective mechanisms for regulating social relations, preventing family conflicts, and maintaining community balance. Pulang balee marriage is often perceived as a way to preserve the emotional closeness of children with the maternal or paternal family. The community also regards this practice as a strategy for sustaining previously established kinship ties. This situation demonstrates that marriage is not merely an individual matter but is closely related to broader social interests and the structural organization of the community.

³ Martins, S McNamee, and C Guanaes-Lorenzi, "Family as a Discursive Achievement: A Relational Account," *Marriage & Family Review* 50, no. 7 (2014): 621-37, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01494929.2014.938290>.

⁴ Fauzi et al., "Pulang Bale Marriage Traditions and Child Care Issues: A Study of Hadanah and Family Resilience in Aceh," *JURIS Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah* 23, no. 1 (2024): 179-91, <https://doi.org/10.31958/juris.v23i1.8597>.

⁵ Muslim Zainuddin, Mansari, and Nadhilah Filzah, "Divorce Problems and Community Social Capital in Realizing Family Resilience in Aceh," *Samarah* 6, no. 2 (2022): 914-33, <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhc.v6i2.15080>.

Pulang balee marriage is often associated with efforts to ensure the continuity of child care following the loss of one parent.⁶ Children who lose either their father or mother are considered to still require a stable and familiar family environment. The presence of a stepparent who already has kinship ties with the family is expected to minimize significant disruptions in the child's life. Pre-existing kinship relations are believed to facilitate emotional adaptation within the newly formed family structure. This perspective reflects the assumption that social and cultural proximity can strengthen the child-rearing system within the household. Such assumptions frequently serve as a form of social legitimacy for the practice of pulang balee in various Acehese communities.

The practice of pulang balee is not uniformly understood across all segments of society. Some communities regard it as a form of family solidarity that reflects collective responsibility for child care, while others perceive it as an unusual practice that may generate social stigma. Negative comments, gossip, or moral judgments may emerge in everyday social interactions, which can influence the social relationships of couples involved in pulang balee marriages.⁷ This situation reflects a paradox between the legitimacy of customary norms and the diverse social perceptions that exist within the community.

Social stigma associated with marriage practices is often closely related to the construction of family identity in society. Family identity is not formed solely through biological ties but also through social recognition within the surrounding community.⁸ In the context of pulang balee, the relationships between biological parents, stepparents, and extended family members may create complex identity dynamics. Families must therefore negotiate their position within the broader social structure, a process often shaped by societal views of what constitutes an ideal form of marriage. Consequently, pulang balee

⁶ Ridha Safira, Tarmizi M. Jakfar, and Gamal Akhyar, "Dampak Perkawinan Pulang Balee Dalam Kehidupan Rumah Tangga Di Kecamatan Darussalam Kabupaten Aceh Besar," *Jurnal El-Hadhanah* 1, no. 2 (2021): 205-24.

⁷ Safira, Jakfar, and Akhyar.

⁸ Katarina Wegar, "Adoption, Family Ideology, and Social Stigma: Bias in Community Attitudes, Adoption Research, and Practice," *Family Relations* 49, no. 4 (2000): 363-69, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3729.2000.00363.x>.

represents a compelling social phenomenon for analysis within the framework of Legal Anthropology.

Studies on customary marriage practices in various regions of Indonesia have been widely conducted by previous scholars. These studies generally examine the relationship between customary law, religious law, and state law in the practice of marriage.⁹ The study by A. Kumedi Ja'far focuses on the practice of turun ranjang marriage in West Java and Lampung. The findings indicate that the motivation for such marriages in West Java is primarily to maintain family relations, while in Lampung the motivation is more closely related to the preservation of family inheritance.¹⁰ Research conducted by Fauzi and colleagues analyzes pulang balee marriage from the perspective of child custody (hadhanah) for children born from a previous marriage.¹¹ Meanwhile, Ridha Safira mainly examines the factors and impacts associated with the occurrence of pulang balee marriages, without specifically addressing the issue of social stigma or the strategies used by families to avoid such stigma.¹² Several other studies also discuss the social functions of customary marriage in maintaining kinship structures and community solidarity. In the context of Aceh, research on marriage tends to emphasize the relationship between customary practices and Islamic law. The focus of these studies usually relates to the legality of marriage, customary procedures, and the role of customary institutions in resolving family conflicts. Such approaches provide important insights into the normative structure of Acehese society.

Most previous studies have primarily situated the practice of pulang balee within the framework of the social functions of marriage and child protection. The dimension of social stigma that emerges within everyday

⁹ Mursyid Djawas et al., "Harmonization of State , Custom , and Islamic Law in Aceh : Perspective of Legal Pluralism," *Hasanuddin Law Review* 10, no. 1 (2024): 64-82, <https://doi.org/10.20956/halrev.v10i1.4824>.

¹⁰ A. Kumedi Ja'far et al., "Turun Ranjang Marriage in Interdisciplinary Perspective: A Study on The Community of West Java and Lampung," *Madania Jurnal Kajian Keislaman* 24, no. 2 (2020): 213-22.

¹¹ Fauzi et al., "Pulang Bale Marriage Traditions and Child Care Issues: A Study of Hadanah and Family Resilience in Aceh."

¹² Safira, Jakfar, and Akhyar, "Dampak Perkawinan Pulang Balee Dalam Kehidupan Rumah Tangga Di Kecamatan Darussalam Kabupaten Aceh Besar."

community life has received relatively limited scholarly attention. This indicates that there remains significant research space within the field of Legal Anthropology. Earlier research also tends to treat the family as a relatively stable social unit without sufficiently examining the identity dynamics that may arise in the context of pulang balee marriages. Family identity is often assumed to be formed automatically through kinship relations. In social reality, however, family identity may undergo processes of negotiation shaped by complex social interactions. Community stigma can influence how families perceive themselves and how they position themselves within the broader social structure. Such conditions often encourage families to develop particular social strategies to preserve their honor and maintain social legitimacy. These aspects remain relatively underexplored in previous academic discussions.

Existing studies have established that pulang balee marriage is recognized as a customary practice within Acehnese society that serves to preserve kinship ties, ensure family continuity, and maintain child care following the death or divorce of a spouse. However, little is known about how families involved in pulang balee negotiate social stigma, construct their family identity, and reconcile customary norms with broader social expectations from the perspective of Legal Anthropology. This study addresses that gap by examining the interaction between customary law, social perceptions, and family identity construction, while demonstrating how living law operates in shaping the acceptance and legitimacy of pulang balee marriages within contemporary Acehnese society.

This study positions pulang balee as a social phenomenon that is not only related to family functions but also to the construction of identity and the emergence of social stigma within the community. It aims to analyze the practice of pulang balee marriage, the forms of social stigma associated with it, the construction of family identity, and the strategies employed to prevent or manage stigma from the perspective of Legal Anthropology. This research is expected to enrich academic discourse on customary marriage practices while providing a more comprehensive understanding of the social dynamics surrounding pulang balee in Aceh society.

This study employs a qualitative legal research approach aimed at gaining an in-depth understanding of the social practice of pulang balee within

Acehnese society.¹³ This approach is chosen because the phenomenon under study is not only related to legal norms but also involves social experiences, community perceptions, and the dynamics of kinship relations that develop within the community. Within the framework of Legal Anthropology, qualitative research enables the researcher to explore how customary practices are understood, implemented, and negotiated in everyday life. The focus of the study is directed toward the interaction between customary norms, community social perceptions, and the construction of family identity in the practice of pulang balee. Through this approach, the research seeks to capture the living social realities of the community in a more comprehensive and contextual manner. Accordingly, the analysis does not rely solely on normative rules but also considers the social practices that evolve within local communities.

Data collection was conducted through in-depth interviews with several informants who possess knowledge and experience related to the practice of pulang balee.¹⁴ The research informants include village leaders (tokoh gampong), customary leaders, and community members who understand the social dynamics within the community. Interviews were carried out in an open and dialogical manner in order to explore the perspectives, experiences, and assessments of community members regarding the practice of pulang balee and the social stigma that may accompany it. This interview process allowed the researcher to obtain a more detailed understanding of how the community interprets and experiences the practice in daily life. The collected data were then analyzed qualitatively by identifying social patterns, meanings emerging from the informants' narratives, and the relationship between customary practices and community social perceptions. Through this analytical process, the study aims to develop a systematic understanding of the dynamics of pulang balee within the broader social context of Aceh society.

¹³ Irwansyah, *Penelitian Hukum Pilihan Metode & Praktik Penulisan Arikel* (Makassar: Mirra Buana Media, 2021).

¹⁴ Yulianto Mukti Fajar, *Dualisme Penelitian Hukum Normatif & Empiris* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2015).

The Practice of Pulang Balee Marriages as Understood and Practiced in Acehese Society

Field research indicates that the practice of pulang balee marriage is still recognized and practiced by segments of the community in several gampong (villages) in Aceh. This information was obtained through interviews with community leaders, village officials, and families who have experienced the practice. Informants explained that pulang balee typically occurs when a woman or a man loses a spouse due to death or divorce. In such circumstances, extended families often consider the possibility of remarriage with an in-law who remains within the same kinship network. The decision to pursue this form of marriage does not always originate from the personal choice of the couple; rather, it is frequently discussed and determined through family deliberation. This process demonstrates that marriage is often perceived as a matter involving the extended family rather than solely an individual decision.

Most informants also explained that the process leading to pulang balee marriage is generally similar to the procedures of marriage in general. According to Fatimah, the initial stage usually begins with informal discussions among senior family members. These conversations may gradually develop into a more formal family deliberation involving representatives from both families. When an agreement is reached, the next step involves determining the date for the marriage contract (akad nikah) based on mutual family consensus, which is typically conducted in a modest and simple manner.¹⁵

An interview with a customary leader in a gampong in Aceh revealed the following statement: “This practice has existed for a long time in Acehese society. Pulang balee is often regarded as a way to preserve family relationships that were established through the previous marriage. Families usually take into account the interests of young children when discussing the possibility of such a marriage. The decision is rarely made hastily. Typically, the family first sits together, carefully considers the situation, and reflects on what would be best for the children.”¹⁶

¹⁵ Interview with Fatimah, Community Member, March 22, 2026

¹⁶ Interview with Nirwan, Customary Leader, March 22, 2026.

This explanation indicates that the decision-making process occurs through collective family consideration. Several informants who had experienced pulang balee marriage described their experiences in different ways. One female participant in the study recounted her experience as follows: At first, I felt hesitant when my family proposed the idea. My previous relationship as an in-law made the situation feel somewhat awkward in the beginning. However, after many discussions with the family, I eventually accepted the decision. It felt unusual at first, but the family said that it was also for the well-being of the children.¹⁷

The account above illustrates how decisions regarding pulang balee marriage involve broader family considerations. Field findings also indicate that the extended family plays a significant role in the process through which pulang balee marriages take place. Family members are involved not only in the decision-making process but also in supporting the household after the marriage occurs. Such support may take the form of economic assistance, childcare, or emotional support. Several informants noted that the presence of the extended family helps the newly formed couple adjust to changing circumstances. This situation is particularly evident when children from a previous marriage continue to live within the family environment. The involvement of the extended family is often perceived as facilitating the adaptation process within the new household.

In several cases identified during field research, the presence of children from a previous marriage emerged as a crucial factor in discussions about pulang balee. Informants explained that families often consider the future of the children if the surviving parent were to marry someone outside the family. Such concerns are related to the possibility that the children might have to live far from their extended family network. By remarrying within the same kinship circle, the children are believed to remain within a familiar social environment. One informant stated that families tend to feel more secure when children remain among their own relatives. This explanation reflects the practical considerations that frequently arise during family deliberations.

¹⁷ Interview with Suryati, Community Member, March 24, 2026.

In addition to concerns about child care, several informants also indicated that pulang balee helps maintain the closeness of relationships between two families that were previously connected through marriage. These relationships are often perceived as continuing even after one spouse has passed away. Through the formation of a new marriage within the same family circle, the existing relationship between the two families is preserved. A community leader explained that people often view this practice as a way of maintaining family ties and social harmony. According to him, relationships between the families generally remain strong because they have already known each other for a long time. This statement highlights the importance of family and social dimensions within the practice of pulang balee in Aceh.

The findings of this study also indicate that members of the community hold diverse views regarding the practice of pulang balee. Some informants consider the practice to be a normal and accepted tradition because it has long been known within local social life. Others, however, express curiosity or offer particular comments about the practice. An informant living in an urban area explained that not everyone fully understands the tradition. According to the informant, several neighbors had questioned the reasons behind such a marriage.¹⁸ This situation reflects the diversity of perspectives within society toward the practice of pulang balee in Aceh.

Several couples interviewed in this study also reported that the early stage of the marriage often becomes a challenging period of adjustment. A relationship that was previously based on in-law ties transforms into a marital relationship between husband and wife. This transition requires time for both individuals to adapt to their new roles within the household. One participant explained that it took time before feeling comfortable in the relationship. As the participant stated, "Previously we were only in-laws, but now we must learn how to live as husband and wife." This statement illustrates the process of adaptation experienced by couples involved in pulang balee marriages.

In several families, the family identity following a pulang balee marriage continues to be understood as part of the same extended family. Children from the previous marriage are still treated as family members with equal status.

¹⁸ Interview with Fatimah, Community Member, March 22, 2026.

Informants explained that extended families often make deliberate efforts to maintain harmonious relationships among all members. The children continue to interact with grandparents and other relatives in much the same way as before.¹⁹ This situation indicates that the family structure does not undergo drastic changes. Family life continues within the same kinship network that existed prior to the new marriage.

Several informants also explained that the term *pulang balee* is commonly used by the community to describe the return of a person to a familiar family circle. The term carries symbolic meaning in the social life of the community. *Pulang balee* is understood not merely as a new marriage but also as the return of an individual to a previously established household or family environment. This meaning often appears in everyday conversations among community members. A customary leader explained that the term reflects a collective expectation that family relationships should remain preserved.²⁰ The use of this expression illustrates how communities construct and interpret the meaning of this marriage practice in Aceh.

Based on interviews with a customary leader in a *gampong* in Aceh, the decision to undertake a *pulang balee* marriage is not always easily accepted by all parties within the family. Some families require a considerable amount of time before reaching a consensus. Discussions often take place repeatedly before a final decision is made. Certain family members may initially hold differing views regarding the proposal, yet the decision is usually reached after careful consideration of various possible implications.²¹ This process illustrates that marriage decisions involve complex internal family dynamics.

Another finding indicates that the daily lives of families who undergo *pulang balee* marriages are not significantly different from those of other families in general. They continue to engage in ordinary social activities such as working, attending family gatherings, and interacting with neighbors. Several couples explained that, over time, members of the surrounding community gradually become accustomed to the situation. Relationships with neighbors

¹⁹ Interview with Aidil, Customary Leader, March 25, 2026.

²⁰ Interview with Fatimah, Community Member, March 22, 2026

²¹ Interview with M. Yusuf, Customary Leader, March 25, 2026.

typically continue as usual. Children also maintain their routines, including attending school and interacting with their social environment. These observations suggest that family life generally proceeds in a normal and stable manner within the community.

In addition, families who undergo pulang balee marriages often continue to maintain relationships with the family of the deceased spouse. These relationships do not automatically cease after the new marriage takes place. Several informants explained that they still frequently visit one another or attend family gatherings together. This situation illustrates that kinship ties are actively maintained in everyday social life. Children also continue to recognize and interact with the family of their deceased parent. Such patterns of interaction demonstrate the continuity of social networks within the extended family in Aceh.

Negotiation Strategies in Responding to Social Stigma among Individuals Involved in Pulang Balee Marriage

The phenomenon of social stigma directed toward individuals involved in pulang balee marriages illustrates how customary practices are not always uniformly accepted within society. Field data indicate that couples who enter into such marriages frequently encounter diverse social responses, ranging from acceptance to skepticism from members of the surrounding community. This situation requires individuals and their families to develop certain strategies in order to maintain their social position within the community. From the perspective of Legal Anthropology, these strategies can be understood as forms of social negotiation in response to the norms that operate within society. Norms do not function solely through structural mechanisms such as customary rules, but also through social perceptions that shape interpersonal relationships. The negotiation strategies adopted by couples in pulang balee marriages therefore provide an important entry point for understanding the dynamic relationship between family identity and social stigma in Aceh.

Stigma theory explains how social labels are formed through interaction and the collective judgments of society toward particular behaviors. Individuals who experience stigma typically respond through various strategies, such as

adaptation, the reaffirmation of identity, or even forms of social resistance.²² The concept of family identity in kinship-based societies emphasizes that family honor is not determined solely by blood relations, but also by social recognition within the community. In the context of pulang balee marriage in Aceh, these two conceptual frameworks help explain how couples develop strategies to maintain their social legitimacy.²³ This approach enables a deeper analysis of how stigma is negotiated within everyday social life, particularly in communities where customary norms and social perceptions strongly influence family identity and social acceptance.

Several strategies are employed by members of the community who practice pulang balee marriage. The first is the reaffirmation of customary legitimacy as a basis for social justification. Many couples and families emphasize the narrative that pulang balee constitutes part of a long-standing tradition within the society of Aceh. This affirmation of customary practice functions as a means of building social legitimacy in the eyes of the community, positioning tradition as a source of moral authority capable of mitigating social criticism. This strategy demonstrates that customary norms do not merely serve as guidelines for behavior, but also operate as symbolic instruments for maintaining family honor.

The second strategy involves strengthening the narrative of child protection as the moral foundation of pulang balee marriage. Many couples emphasize that the decision to remarry is primarily motivated by the need to ensure stability in the lives of children who have lost a parent.²⁴ This narrative functions as a moral argument that is easily accepted within the community because it resonates with widely shared values of care and responsibility toward children. From the perspective of stigma theory, this strategy can be understood as an effort to redefine the social meaning of an action that might otherwise be

²² Arthur Kleinman and Rachel Hall-Clifford, "Stigma: A Social, Cultural, and Moral Process," *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 63, no. 6 (2008): 2-7.

²³ GiordaTY - JOUR et al., "Honour between Different Cultures and Legal Systems: Social Status, Reputation, Struggles for Recognition," *European Review* 24, no. 03 (2016): 417-25, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1062798716000144>.

²⁴ Muhammad Irvan Hidayanan et al., "Hak Asuh Anak Pasca Perceraian Orangtua Dalam Putusan Hakim Mahkamah Syar'iyah Banda Aceh," *Gender Equality: International Journal of Child and Gender Studies* 4, no. 2 (2018): 103-24.

perceived as deviant. In this context, the marriage is no longer viewed merely as a relationship between in-laws, but rather as an expression of familial responsibility toward the well-being of children. This strategy illustrates how moral reasoning can be mobilized to negotiate social stigma within the community.

The third strategy involves strengthening solidarity within the extended family. Family support becomes a crucial factor in shaping the community's social perception of the marriage. When the extended family openly demonstrates acceptance and support for the union, external social pressure tends to diminish. From the perspective of Legal Anthropology, family solidarity can be understood as a social mechanism that reinforces the individual's position within the community.²⁵ Such support is not only emotional but also symbolic, as it signals that the decision has received collective family legitimacy. In this way, the family functions as a form of social protection that helps the couple confront and manage the stigma that may arise within the broader community in Aceh.

The fourth strategy involves building social interaction selectively. Some couples choose to limit discussions about the background of their marriage within certain social settings. This approach represents a form of identity management aimed at reducing the potential emergence of new stigma. From the perspective of stigma theory, this strategy is known as social information control, in which individuals regulate the information they disclose to others in order to avoid negative labeling.²⁶ This approach demonstrates that the negotiation of stigma does not always occur through open confrontation, but may also take place through more subtle communication strategies.

The fifth strategy is normalization through active participation in community social life. Couples involved in pulang balee marriages strive to remain engaged in various social activities, such as customary events, religious

²⁵ K G Narzullayevna, "Psychological Effects of Motivation of Marriage in Young People on Family Strength," *Academica: An International Multidisciplinary Research Journal* 12, no. 6 (2022): 301-3.

²⁶ Achmad Faried and Hudi Yusuf, "Penerapan Teori Teori Kriminologi Dalam Sistem Kontrol Sosial," *Integrative Perspectives of Social and Science Journal (IPSSJ)* 2, no. 2 (2025): 2709-15.

gatherings, and community initiatives. Active presence in these social spaces helps them maintain positive relationships with the surrounding community. This strategy creates the impression that their family life is not different from that of other families. Within the framework of social interaction, such normalization helps reduce social distance between the couple and the broader community. Through this process, stigma may gradually weaken as people observe that the family's daily life continues in a normal and stable manner in Aceh.

When compared with previous research on customary marriage practices in Indonesia, the negotiation strategies identified in this study reveal more complex social dynamics. Earlier studies generally emphasized the social function of customary marriage in maintaining family structures and strengthening community solidarity. However, the findings of this research show that such practices also involve ongoing processes of identity negotiation that are not always straightforward. Individuals and families must continuously adapt to changing social perceptions within the community. In this context, *pulang balee* should be understood not only as a customary marriage practice but also as a dynamic arena of social interaction in which families negotiate social acceptance and legitimacy.

Another implication of this study relates to the development of culturally sensitive social policies. Many family policies are designed without sufficiently considering the customary practices that continue to shape social life within communities. In reality, *pulang balee* marriage performs important social functions in maintaining family stability. The findings suggest that effective policy design requires a deeper understanding of local social contexts. A culturally grounded approach may help produce policies that are more responsive to community needs. This perspective highlights the importance of integrating anthropological insights into social policy formulation in Aceh, particularly in the development of family law regulations currently being discussed by the Aceh People's Representative Council.²⁷

²⁷ Jailani and Fakhurrazi M. Yunus, "Legislasi Qanun Hukum Keluarga (Ahwal Al-Syakhshiyah) (Analisis Metode Penalaran Hukum Islam Dalam Proses Taqin Di Aceh)" (Banda Aceh, 2020).

The findings are also relevant to international academic discussions on marriage in kinship-based societies. Many communities across different regions maintain marital practices aimed at preserving family relationships after the death of a spouse. In several societies in Africa and South Asia, similar arrangements are known as levirate or sororate marriages.²⁸ This study demonstrates that such practices are not only related to family structure but also to the dynamics of social stigma within communities. The analysis from Aceh offers a new perspective on how these practices are negotiated within contemporary Muslim societies and contributes to cross-cultural discussions on traditional marriage systems.

The international contribution of this research lies in its explanation of the relationship between local traditions and the dynamics of social stigma in modern societies. Global studies of stigma often focus on health issues, gender identity, or minority groups.²⁹ This study shows that stigma may also arise in cultural practices that actually possess strong local legitimacy. It therefore broadens the scope of stigma studies by demonstrating that stigma is not always linked to legal deviance, but can also emerge from social perceptions of traditional practices. In this way, the findings from Aceh contribute to the development of stigma theory within Social Anthropology.

***Pulang Balee* Marriage Practices: Between Customary Values, Family Interests, and Social Dynamics**

The *pulang balee* marriage practice is not merely understood as a form of intra-family marriage but as a social mechanism arising from the need to maintain family continuity and ensure child care. Extended families often occupy a central role in decision-making across various aspects of social life.³⁰ Consequently, marriage is not solely a personal matter but a collective decision

²⁸ A E M J Pans, "The Junior Levirate and Junior Sororate: A Cross-Cultural Study," *Cross-Cultural Research* 26 (1992): 37-56, <https://doi.org/10.1177/106939719202600102>.

²⁹ Bidasari Jamil, Nilawati Uly, and Andi Alim, "Stigma, Layanan, Dan Intervensi HIV: Kajian Literature Review Terhadap Tantangan Dan Strategi Global," *Borneo Nursing Journal (BNJ)* 8, no. 1 (2025): 317-27.

³⁰ Putri Yani et al., "Analisis Tindakan Sosial Orang Tua Terhadap Penetapan Mahar," *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Humaniora* 2, no. 1 (2026): 440-49.

shaped by social, cultural, and emotional considerations.³¹ When one spouse dies or a divorce occurs, families seek solutions deemed safest for the child's future and for sustaining inter-family relationships. *Pulang balee* emerges as one such solution, considered capable of preserving family stability. This phenomenon underscores the enduring influence of kinship structures in shaping marriage patterns within the community.³²

From a legal anthropology perspective, *pulang balee* illustrates how customary norms function as a living social regulatory system. Law is not only written rules but also collectively practiced community norms. This tradition provides an internal mechanism to address family disruptions, ensuring collective responsibility and social cohesion, making *pulang balee* both a marital practice and a means to maintain community balance.

The findings also indicate that decisions to engage in *pulang balee* are often closely linked to the welfare of children.³³ Similar to the observations of Fauzi and Ridha Safira, many families view this practice as a means to ensure that children remain within a familiar and safe environment. From a family theory perspective, this reflects an effort to maintain stability in the family system following major changes. The presence of a stepparent who shares kinship ties is seen as helping to minimize potential emotional disruption for the child. Preexisting familial relationships facilitate adaptation within the new household. This underscores that *pulang balee* is frequently motivated by practical considerations aimed at securing the continuity and well-being of children.

The study also found that *pulang balee* is not uniformly accepted within the community. While some members perceive it as a legitimate tradition with social value, others respond with hesitation or even assign stigma. This variation can be understood through social stigma theory, which emphasizes that

³¹ Sri Asuti A. Samad and Munawwarah, "Adat Pernikahan Dan Nilai-Nilai Islami Dalam Masyarakat Aceh Menurut Hukum Islam Sri," *El-Ussrah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga* 3, no. 2 (2020): 289–302.

³² Dara Devina and Zainuddin Hasan, "Peranan Sistem Kekerabatan Dan Struktur Sosial Pada Masyarakat Adat Lampung," *Journal of Education and Humanities (JEH)* 1, no. 2 (2025): 85–96.

³³ Fauzi et al., "Pulang Bale Marriage Traditions and Child Care Issues: A Study of Hadanah and Family Resilience in Aceh."

collective perceptions shape societal judgments of behaviors deemed unconventional.³⁴ Although pulang balee carries customary legitimacy, public perception does not always align with traditional norms. These differing views create a space for social negotiation for families engaging in the practice.

Families engaging in pulang balee marriages develop various strategies to maintain their social standing amid community stigma. One notable approach is emphasizing that the marriage decision is grounded in family and child welfare. This narrative frames the union not merely as a personal choice but as a form of familial responsibility.³⁵ The strategy aligns with identity management concepts in social interaction theory, wherein individuals or groups shape community perceptions of themselves through specific narratives. In this way, stigma can be gradually mitigated through ongoing social communication. Another strategy emerging from the field findings is the strengthening of extended family solidarity. Family support plays a crucial role in shaping social perceptions of pulang balee couples. When the extended family demonstrates acceptance and backing, the community tends to view the marriage as a carefully considered decision. This solidarity highlights the enduring role of the family as a strong social institution in Acehese society. From a family sociology perspective, social support from relatives can function as a buffer against external social pressures.

The study also indicates that active participation in community life serves as a key strategy for mitigating stigma. Pulang balee couples tend to engage in social activities such as religious events, village gatherings, and extended family meetings. Their visible involvement conveys the impression that their family life proceeds normally, similar to other households. From a symbolic interactionist perspective, such social participation helps construct new meanings around the pulang balee practice.³⁶ Through repeated interactions, the community gradually understands the practice within a

³⁴ Ayu Arbia and Arif Sugitanata, "Integrasi Teori Stigma Erving Goffman Terhadap Keadilan Sosial Bagi Good Looking Dan Diskriminasi Untuk Bad Looking," *Jurnal Darussalam: Pemikiran Hukum Tata Negara Dan Perbandingan Hukum* 4, no. 1 (2024): 110-24.

³⁵ Nikmah Suryandari, "Teori Manajemen Identitas : Kajian Tentang Faceworks Dalam Hubungan Antar Budaya," *Jurnal Komunikasi* 14, no. 1 (2020): 95-104.

³⁶ Muhammad Luthfie et al., "Interaksi Simbolik Organisasi Masyarakat Dalam Pembangunan Desa," *Informasi* 47, no. 1 (2017): 19-34.

broader social context. This process demonstrates that social perceptions can evolve through sustained communal engagement.

Upon closer examination, the pulang balee phenomenon is not solely relevant to Acehnese society. Similar practices exist across various regions of Indonesia, often aimed at maintaining family continuity after the death of a spouse. This indicates that kinship-based marriage is not entirely unique, though each community interprets and enacts the practice according to its local cultural values. The study demonstrates that local traditions frequently serve as social adaptation mechanisms in response to changes within the family. Consequently, examining pulang balee offers valuable insights into broader dynamics of family life in Indonesia.

The phenomenon of pulang balee marriage within the national context is also closely related to debates concerning the relationship between state law, religious law, and customary law. As a culturally diverse country, Indonesia frequently encounters situations in which customary practices operate alongside the formal legal system.³⁷ In this context, pulang balee marriage functions as a social solution developed by communities, even though it is not explicitly regulated in state legislation. State law primarily stipulates categories of prohibited marriages, yet marriage with a deceased spouse's sibling—whether a younger or older in-law—is not specifically addressed in the regulatory framework. This situation highlights the importance of understanding law as a social practice that operates within everyday community life.³⁸ From the perspective of Legal Anthropology, the interaction between customary norms and broader social values becomes essential for explaining how communities interpret and apply norms in practice. Such an approach enables scholars to examine how legal pluralism functions in society, particularly in contexts where customary traditions continue to influence family and social arrangements.³⁹

³⁷ Muslim Zainuddin et al., "Protection of Women and Children in the Perspective of Legal Pluralism: A Study in Aceh and West Nusa Tenggara," *Samarah* 8, no. 3 (2024): 1948–73, <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v8i3.22203>.

³⁸ M. Idris, "Hukum Menikahi Kakak/Adik Ipar," *Jurnal Al'Adl* 9, no. 1 (2016): 113–26.

³⁹ Sinta Sabelau, Seno Lamsir, and Andy Savero, "Pengaruh Budaya Terhadap Pembentukan Sistem Hukum Dalam Perspektif Sosiologi Dan Antropologi," *Lentera Karya: Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan, Sejarah Dan Humaniora* 9, no. 2 (2025): 15–26.

The findings of this study also contribute to academic discourse on the relationship between tradition and social change. Modernization and social mobility are often assumed to weaken customary practices within society; however, empirical realities indicate that certain traditions persist because they continue to serve relevant social functions for the community.⁴⁰ In this regard, pulang balee represents an example of how a tradition can adapt to new social circumstances without losing its fundamental meaning. This adaptation is reflected in the ways families negotiate the practice in relation to evolving social norms within the community. Such processes demonstrate that traditions are not inherently static but instead undergo continuous adjustment in response to changing social conditions. Consequently, the persistence of pulang balee in Aceh illustrates how customary practices can remain socially meaningful while simultaneously adapting to broader transformations occurring within Indonesia.

This study demonstrates that local cultural practices can make significant contributions to understanding family dynamics within society. Traditions such as pulang balee illustrate that the family functions not merely as a biological unit, but also as a social institution capable of developing adaptive strategies in response to change. In this context, customary practices can be interpreted as forms of social knowledge that emerge from the collective experiences of a community. Such an understanding opens space for viewing traditions more constructively within academic discourse. Local practices may therefore offer new perspectives for examining family dynamics across different social contexts.

The findings of this study confirm that the practice of pulang balee constitutes a complex social phenomenon that cannot be understood from a single perspective. The tradition exists at the intersection of customary values, family interests, and broader social perceptions within the community. Families involved in this practice continuously negotiate their social identity in order to remain accepted within their social environment. This process indicates that the relationship between tradition and society is inherently dynamic. Through

⁴⁰ Afthon Yazid et al., "The Role of Bales Nae Tradition in Strengthening Family Harmony and Social Cohesion in the Sasak Community of Lombok, Indonesia," *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Syir'ah* 22, no. 1 (2024): 79-94.

this analysis, pulang balee can be understood not merely as a local tradition in Aceh, but also as part of broader social dynamics within Indonesia.

The phenomenon of pulang balee marriage in Aceh can be more comprehensively understood when situated within a broader framework of diverse marriage practices found in indigenous communities across Indonesia. Various local communities develop specific social mechanisms to maintain family continuity following the death of a spouse or the dissolution of a marital relationship. These practices demonstrate that marriage is not solely perceived as a personal relationship between two individuals, but also as a social strategy for preserving kinship structures, sustaining family economic relations, and maintaining community stability. In this regard, pulang balee shares similarities with several forms of customary marriage found in different regions of Indonesia, although each practice has distinct terminology and procedures shaped by its respective local traditions.

The first point of comparison can be observed in the concept of levirate marriage, widely discussed in studies of family anthropology. In this system, a man marries the widow of his deceased brother with the aim of preserving lineage continuity and ensuring protection for the children left behind. Such practices have been documented in various traditional societies around the world and are also recognized in several communities in Indonesia. When compared with pulang balee in Aceh, a fundamental similarity becomes apparent: marriage takes place within the same family circle following the death of a previous spouse. Both practices place the family as the primary institution responsible for maintaining social continuity and child care. In this sense, pulang balee can be interpreted as a localized form of the levirate tradition that has evolved in accordance with the cultural values of Acehnese society.

Another similarity can be observed in the practice of periparan marriage among the Sundanese community in West Java and Lampung, commonly referred to as kawin turun ranjang.⁴¹ Periparan refers to a marital relationship between individuals who are related through in-law ties, such as a man marrying his wife's sister or the reverse. Although this practice does not always occur after

⁴¹ Ja'far et al., "Turun Ranjang Marriage in Interdisciplinary Perspective: A Study on The Community of West Java and Lampung."

the death of a spouse, it demonstrates that marital relationships can be extended within the same family network. The similarity with pulang balee lies in how communities perceive in-law relations as social ties that can facilitate the formation of new marriages. Pre-existing kinship bonds are often considered to ease the process of adaptation within the household. Both practices illustrate how kinship systems significantly influence patterns of marriage within society.

Another comparison can be observed in marriage practices aimed at preserving family continuity within several customary communities in eastern Indonesia. In a number of indigenous communities, marriage functions as a mechanism for maintaining bonds between families or kinship groups. Although these practices do not always take the form of marriage with an in-law, their underlying principle remains closely related to sustaining previously established social relationships. This indicates that, in traditional societies, marriage often carries broader social functions beyond the personal relationship between two individuals. In a similar manner, pulang balee in Aceh operates within the same framework by maintaining the relationship between two families that were previously connected through marriage.

From the perspective of Legal Anthropology, the similarities between pulang balee and various customary marriage practices demonstrate that communities develop their own mechanisms for responding to changes in family structures. When the death of a spouse occurs, communities often create social arrangements that are considered capable of preserving family stability. Such practices are not always formally regulated within state law, yet they continue to possess strong social legitimacy within the community. In this context, pulang balee can be understood as a form of social adaptation that emerges from the collective experiences of Acehnese society. The tradition illustrates how customary law operates as a living system of social regulation that continues to evolve within society.⁴²

The relationship between pulang balee and customary marriage practices in other regions also indicates that the primary values preserved in

⁴² Anthony Diala, "The Concept of Living Customary Law: A Critique," *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 49, no. 2 (2017): 143–65, <https://doi.org/10.1080/07329113.2017.1331301>.

such traditions are family continuity and child protection.⁴³ Many traditional societies regard children as a crucial component of the family structure whose well-being and continuity must be safeguarded. When one parent dies, the community often seeks solutions that ensure the child remains within a stable and secure family environment. In this context, pulang balee offers such a solution by allowing the child to remain within a familiar kinship network. This arrangement aligns with principles found in many traditional kinship systems, where the extended family assumes collective responsibility for the welfare of children.

This comparison also suggests that pulang balee possesses broader social dimensions beyond its status as a local tradition in Aceh. The phenomenon can be understood as part of a broader pattern in societies that prioritize family solidarity when responding to social change. By comparing it with similar practices found in different regions of Indonesia, pulang balee may be situated within a national context as one variation of kinship-based marriage systems. This perspective illustrates that local traditions often share structural similarities with cultural practices in other regions, even though they may differ in form and terminology. Based on this discussion, pulang balee should not be understood solely as a social phenomenon specific to Aceh, but also as part of the broader dynamics of kinship systems within Indonesian society. Such comparative analysis enriches our understanding of how marriage traditions evolve as responses to the social needs of communities. Consequently, the study of pulang balee can make a broader contribution to understanding the relationship between customary norms, family structures, and social change within the diverse social landscape of Indonesia.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that individuals involved in pulang balee marriages face not only challenges related to family relationships but also the dynamics of social stigma within the community. Couples and their families develop various forms of social negotiation strategies, such as reaffirming the legitimacy of customary norms, constructing narratives of child protection, strengthening

⁴³ Khairiyatin et al., "The Existence of Turun Ranjang Marriage as an Effort to Enhance Family Harmony in Bakeong Village, Guluk-Guluk, Sumenep," *MAQASIDI: Jurnal Syariah Dan Hukum* 4, no. 2 (2024): 335-44, <https://doi.org/10.47498/maqasidi.v4i2.3637>.

support from the extended family, and normalizing the marriage through active participation in community life. These strategies function to maintain family identity while simultaneously reducing social pressure from the surrounding community. The findings indicate that stigma is not static but is continuously negotiated through social interaction and the construction of meaning within the community.

From a theoretical perspective, this study contributes to the field of Legal Anthropology by demonstrating that customary practices such as pulang balee are not only related to the social functions of the family but also to processes of identity construction and the negotiation of stigma within society. From a practical standpoint, the findings suggest that pulang balee should be understood within a broader social and cultural context, particularly in relation to child protection and the continuity of family relationships. The study also contributes to the international discourse on kinship-based marriage practices and the dynamics of social stigma in traditional societies undergoing social change.

Nevertheless, this research has several limitations. It primarily emphasizes the social perspectives of families in responding to community stigma, while the formal legal dimensions—particularly the position of pulang balee within the national legal system and Islamic family law—have not been examined in depth. In addition, the research focuses specifically on the context of Aceh society, meaning that the findings largely reflect local cultural characteristics and do not yet provide comparative insights with similar practices in other regions of Indonesia. Future studies should therefore adopt comparative and multidisciplinary approaches to explore the relationships between customary law, Islamic law, and state law, as well as to examine the long-term impacts of pulang balee on family dynamics and child development.

Acknowledgement

The authors would like to express their sincere gratitude to all individuals and institutions that provided support throughout the completion of this research. The authors also extend their appreciation to the anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments and suggestions, which significantly improved the quality of this manuscript.

Author Contributions Statement

All authors made substantial contributions to the conception, design, and preparation of this manuscript. MA, was responsible for data collection, legal

analysis, and drafting the manuscript. ZF, contributed to the development of the conceptual framework, critical review, and revision of the manuscript. All authors have read and approved the final version of the manuscript.

AI Usage Statement

Artificial Intelligence (AI) tools were used solely to assist with language editing, grammar correction, and improving the clarity of the academic writing.

Conflict of Interest

The authors declare that they have no financial, professional, or personal conflicts of interest that could have influenced the conduct or outcomes of this research. This study was conducted independently without any intervention or undue influence from any individual or institution.

References

- Arbia, Ayu, and Arif Sugitanata. "Integrasi Teori Stigma Erving Goffman Terhadap Keadilan Sosial Bagi Good Looking Dan Diskriminasi Untuk Bad Looking." *Jurnal Darussalam: Pemikiran Hukum Tata Negara Dan Perbandingan Hukum* 4, no. 1 (2024): 110–24.
- Devina, Dara, and Zainuddin Hasan. "Peranan Sistem Kekerabatan Dan Struktur Sosial Pada Masyarakat Adat Lampung." *Journal of Education and Humanities (JEH)* 1, no. 2 (2025): 85–96.
- Diala, Anthony. "The Concept of Living Customary Law: A Critique." *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 49, no. 2 (2017): 143–65. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07329113.2017.1331301>.
- Djawas, Mursyid, Abidin Nurdin, Muslim Zainuddin, and Zahratul Idami. "Harmonization of State , Custom , and Islamic Law in Aceh : Perspective of Legal Pluralism." *Hasanuddin Law Review* 10, no. 1 (2024): 64–82. <https://doi.org/10.20956/halrev.v10i1.4824>.
- Fariied, Achmad, and Hudi Yusuf. "Penerapan Teori Teori Kriminologi Dalam Sistem Kontrol Sosial." *Integrative Perspectives of Social and Science Journal (IPSSJ)* 2, no. 2 (2025): 2709–15.
- Fauzi, Lukman Hakim, Ahmad Sunawari Long, and Taslim HM. Yasin. "Pulang Bale Marriage Traditions and Child Care Issues: A Study of Hadanah and Family Resilience in Aceh." *JURIS Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah* 23, no. 1 (2024): 179–91. <https://doi.org/10.31958/juris.v23i1.8597>.
- Hidayanan, Muhammad Irvan, Mansari, Azhari Yahya, and Iman Jauhari. "Hak Asuh Anak Pasca Perceraian Orangtua Dalam Putusan Hakim Mahkamah

- Syar'iyah Banda Aceh." *Gender Equality: International Journal of Child and Gender Studies* 4, no. 2 (2018): 103-24.
- Idris, M. "Hukum Menikahi Kakak/Adik Ipar." *Jurnal Al'Adl* 9, no. 1 (2016): 113-26.
- Irwansyah. *Penelitian Hukum Pilihan Metode & Praktik Penulisan Arikel*. Makassar: Mirra Buana Media, 2021.
- Ja'far, A. Kumedi, Gandhi Liyorba Indra, Linda Firdawaty, and Rohmadi. "Turun Ranjang Marriage in Interdisciplinary Perspective: A Study on The Community of West Java and Lampung." *Madania Jurnal Kajian Keislaman* 24, no. 2 (2020): 213-22.
- Jailani, and Fakhurrrazi M. Yunus. "Legislasi Qanun Hukum Keluarga (Ahwal Al-Syakhshiyah) (Analisis Metode Penalaran Hukum Islam Dalam Proses Taqnin Di Aceh)." Banda Aceh, 2020.
- Jamil, Bidasari, Nilawati Uly, and Andi Alim. "Stigma, Layanan, Dan Intervensi HIV: Kajian Literature Review Terhadap Tantangan Dan Strategi Global." *Borneo Nursing Journal (BNJ)* 8, no. 1 (2025): 317-27.
- JOUR, GiordaTY -, K. G. AU - Narzullayevna, PY - 2022, TI - Psychological effects of motivation of marriage in young people on family Strength, JO - *Academica: An International Multidisciplinary Research Journal*, VL - 12, IS - 6, SP - 301, EP - 303, and Christian ER -no. "Honour between Different Cultures and Legal Systems: Social Status, Reputation, Struggles for Recognition." *European Review* 24, no. 03 (2016): 417-25. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1062798716000144>.
- Khairiyatin, Fitri Annisa Hatta, Raudatul Jannah, and Eko Wahyu Nurdiansyah. "The Existence of Turun Ranjang Marriage as an Effort to Enhance Family Harmony in Bakeong Village, Guluk-Guluk, Sumenep." *MAQASIDI: Jurnal Syariah Dan Hukum* 4, no. 2 (2024): 335-44. <https://doi.org/10.47498/maqasidi.v4i2.3637>.
- Kleinman, Arthur, and Rachel Hall-Clifford. "Stigma : A Social, Cultural, and Moral Process." *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 63, no. 6 (2008): 2-7.
- Luthfie, Muhammad, Aida Viyala S Hubeis, Amiruddin Saleh, and Basita Ginting. "Interaksi Simbolik Organisasi Masyarakat Dalam Pembangunan Desa." *Informasi* 47, no. 1 (2017): 19-34.
- Martins, P P S, S McNamee, and C Guanaes-Lorenzi. "Family as a Discursive Achievement: A Relational Account." *Marriage & Family Review* 50, no. 7 (2014): 621-37. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01494929.2014.938290>.
- Mukti Fajar, Yulianto. *Dualisme Penelitian Hukum Normatif & Empiris*.

- Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2015.
- Narzullayevna, K G. "Psychological Effects of Motivation of Marriage in Young People on Family Strength." *Academica: An International Multidisciplinary Research Journal* 12, no. 6 (2022): 301-3.
- Nurlita, Divani 'Aina, Elvira Damayanti, and Daffa Arjuna Arya Putra. "Perkawinan Dalam Perspektif Hukum Adat Indonesia : Ragam Sistem , Tradisi, Dan Tantangan Modern Elvira Damayanti Daffa Arjuna Arya Putra Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya." *Tarunalaw: Journal of Law and Syariah* 03, no. 02 (2025): 99-116.
- Pans, A E M J. "The Junior Levirate and Junior Sororate: A Cross-Cultural Study." *Cross-Cultural Research* 26 (1992): 37-56. <https://doi.org/10.1177/106939719202600102>.
- Sabelau, Sinta, Seno Lamsir, and Andy Savero. "Pengaruh Budaya Terhadap Pembentukan Sistem Hukum Dalam Perspektif Sosiologi Dan Antropologi." *Lentera Karya: Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan, Sejarah Dan Humaniora* 9, no. 2 (2025): 15-26.
- Safira, Ridha, Tarmizi M. Jakfar, and Gamal Akhyar. "Dampak Perkawinan Pulang Balee Dalam Kehidupan Rumah Tangga Di Kecamatan Darussalam Kabupaten Aceh Besar." *Jurnal ElHadhanah* 1, no. 2 (2021): 205-24.
- Samad, Sri Asuti A., and Munawwarah. "Adat Pernikahan Dan Nilai-Nilai Islami Dalam Masyarakat Aceh Menurut Hukum Islam Sri." *ElUsrah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga* 3, no. 2 (2020): 289-302.
- Savero, Arya, and Zainudin Hasan. "Prinsip-Prinsip Hukum Perkawinan Adat Lampung Pesisir Dan Peranan Dalam Menjaga Harmoni Keluarga." *Kampus Akademik Publishing* 2, no. 6 (2025): 136-44.
- Suryandari, Nikmah. "Teori Manajemen Identitas : Kajian Tentang Faceworks Dalam Hubungan Antar Budaya." *Jurnal Komunikasi* 14, no. 1 (2020): 95-104.
- Wegar, Katarina. "Adoption, Family Ideology, and Social Stigma: Bias in Community Attitudes, Adoption Research, and Practice." *Family Relations* 49, no. 4 (2000): 363-69. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3729.2000.00363.x>.
- Yani, Putri, Ibnu Phonna Nurdin, Firdaus Mirza Nusuary, and Bukhari. "Analisis Tindakan Sosial Orang Tua Terhadap Penetapan Mahar." *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Humaniora* 2, no. 1 (2026): 440-49.
- Yazid, Afthon, Arif Sugitanata, Fadila Hasan, Fauzia Ulirrahmi, and Siti

Khamidatus Sholikhah. "The Role of Bales Nae Tradition in Strengthening Family Harmony and Social Cohesion in the Sasak Community of Lombok, Indonesia." *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Syir'ah* 22, no. 1 (2024): 79-94.

Zainuddin, Muslim, Mansari, and Nadhilah Filzah. "Divorce Problems and Community Social Capital in Realizing Family Resilience in Aceh." *Samarah* 6, no. 2 (2022): 914-33. <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhc.v6i2.15080>.

Zainuddin, Muslim, Mukhsin Nyak Umar, Dedy Sumardi, Mansari, and Zakki Fuad Khalil. "Protection of Women and Children in the Perspective of Legal Pluralism: A Study in Aceh and West Nusa Tenggara." *Samarah* 8, no. 3 (2024): 1948-73. <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhc.v8i3.22203>.