

**Fenomena *Uang Panai* Pada Mahasiswa Bugis-Makassar di Yogyakarta: Kajian Negosiasi Identitas Budaya**

*Uang Panai Phenomenon among Bugis-Makassar Students in Yogyakarta: A Study of Cultural Identity Negotiation*

**Ibnu Azka,**

Postgraduate, State Islamic University Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Indonesia  
Jl. Laksda Adisucipto, Papringan, Caturtunggal, Kec. Depok, Kabupaten Sleman,  
Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta 55281, Indonesia  
Email: ibnuazka00@gmail.com

**Yusril Bariki**

State Islamic University Sunan Kalijaga  
Jl. Laksda Adisucipto, Papringan, Caturtunggal, Kec. Depok, Kabupaten Sleman,  
Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta 55281, Indonesia  
Email: yusrilpersibat@gmail.com

**Nurfadillah**

State University Of Makassar  
Jl. A. P. Pettarani, Tidung, Kec. Rappocini, Kota Makassar, Sulawesi Selatan  
90222, Indonesia  
Email: fadilahkhumairah@gmail.com

Info Artikel	Abstract
<p><b>Diterima</b> 14 Juli 2023</p> <p><b>Revisi I</b> 10 September 2023</p> <p><b>Revisi II</b> 05 November 2023</p>	<p>Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap fenomena budaya <i>Uang Panai</i> dalam konteks negosiasi identitas mahasiswa/mahasiswi suku Bugis-Makassar di Yogyakarta, dalam konteks antara cinta dan gengsi. Sejumlah fenomena, mulai dari kawin lari, pembatalan pernikahan, tekanan psikologis, bunuh diri, pernikahan paksa, hingga sekadar menjadi tamu undangan, membuka pintu bagi penelitian ini untuk mengkaji bagaimana perempuan Bugis bernegosiasi mengenai identitas budaya mereka ketika berhadapan dengan rencana pernikahan atau saat mereka sudah menikah dalam lingkungan perantauan khususnya di Yogyakarta. Penelitian ini menerapkan metode deskriptif kualitatif untuk mendalami fenomena <i>Uang Panai</i> dan menganalisisnya dengan menerapkan teori negosiasi identitas oleh Stella Ting-Toomey. Data-data penelitian diperoleh melalui pengamatan dan wawancara dengan informan kalangan mahasiswa/mahasiswi suku Bugis asli yang bermukim di Yogyakarta. Hasil</p>

Disetujui  
20  
November  
2023

penelitian ini mengungkapkan tiga temuan, yaitu: pertama, *Uang Panai* merupakan elemen budaya yang sangat dihormati oleh masyarakat suku Bugis Makassar sekaligus dipandang sebagai tanda penghargaan yang harus diberikan oleh perempuan Bugis ketika mereka hendak menikah; kedua, proses negosiasi identitas budaya *Uang Panai* sebagian besar diletakkan pada pundak perempuan Bugis, sementara peran laki-laki Bugis dalam proses ini jauh lebih terbatas; ketiga, bagi laki-laki yang ingin menikahi seorang perempuan Bugis, ia memiliki kewajiban mutlak untuk menyiapkan *Uang Panai*. Keputusan dua insan yang akan menuju jenjang perkawinan, modal cinta saja tidaklah mencukupi, tanpa pemenuhan *Uang Panai*, maka proses pernikahan tidak akan dapat terwujud.

**Kata Kunci :** *Uang Panai*,negosiasi identitas,budaya

*This article aims to reveal the cultural phenomenon of Uang Panai in the context of negotiating the identity of Bugis-Makassar students in Yogyakarta, in the context of love and prestige. A number of phenomena, ranging from elopement, marriage annulment, psychological pressure, suicide, forced marriage, to simply being an invited guest, opened the door for this research to examine how Bugis women negotiate their cultural identity when faced with marriage plans or when they have marrying in an overseas environment, especially in Yogyakarta. This research applies a qualitative descriptive method to explore the Uang Panai phenomenon and analyzes it by applying the identity negotiation theory by Stella Ting-Toomey. Research data was obtained through observations and interviews with informants among indigenous Bugis students who live in Jogjakarta. The results of this research reveal three findings, namely: first, Uang Panai is a cultural element that is highly respected by the Bugis tribe of Makassar and is also seen as a sign of respect that must be given by Bugis women when they want to get married; second, the process of negotiating the cultural identity of Uang Panai is largely placed on the shoulders of Bugis women, while the role of Bugis men in this process is much more limited; third, for a man who wants to marry a Bugis woman, he has an absolute obligation to prepare Uang Panai. In the decision of two people who are going to marriage, the capital of love alone is not sufficient, without fulfilling Panai Money', the marriage process will not be possible.*

**Keywords:** *uang panai,identity negotiation,culture*

## INTRODUCTION

This article aims to discuss the marriage culture of the Bugis-Makassar tribe outside the region regarding the phenomenon of *Uang Panai* as a cultural identity which is currently still a social problem among the Bugis people. According to Olga Sandrela, marriage is a dream for men and

women to form a harmonious family and is considered an important event in social life which is considered sacred (Jannah, 2022). In the socio-cultural context, marriage regulates human behavior related to their biological life. From an Islamic perspective, marriage is considered a sacred bond because two individuals of different sexes can

live together with the blessings of religion and the state (Atabik & Mudhiiah, 2014). However, marriages in Indonesia have many variations due to the diversity of cultural customs, and this certainly affects the marriage customs in each region. One example is the custom of marriage carried out by the Bugis-Makassarese indigenous people, where the groom has the obligation to give an advance money before the wedding (Harmita Sari, 2019).

The culture of marriage in each region is always interesting to study, both from the point of view of the cultural background of marriage and the complexity of the marriage itself. Marriage is not just combining two individuals who love each other, but also involves considering values that are inseparable, such as social status, economy, and cultural values from each region. One of the wedding cultures that attracts attention is the marriage of the Bugis-Makassar tribe in South Sulawesi. In South Sulawesi, the marriage culture of the Bugis-Makassar tribe has attracted attention because there is one element that is inherent and has become a hallmark of their marriage, namely *Uang Panai* (money up) or known by the local community as *dui' menre'* (in Bugis language) (Basri & Fikri, 2018).

*Uang Panai* or *dui' menre'* in Buginese is an amount of money given by the groom when the *mappettu ada* (*mappasienrekeng*) event takes place (Daeng, 2019). This tradition is generally carried out by the bride to measure the groom's willingness and ability to sacrifice, as a concrete form of their desire to become a member of the family. According to Suaedi, *Uang Panai* is the cost used to hold a

wedding celebration and is a condition for a valid marriage according to custom (Harmita Sari, 2019). Besides that, according to Sehe, *Uang Panai* is also a symbol of a woman's dignity in showing her existence as a valued woman (Harmita Sari, 2019).

Although there have been many studies on the phenomenon of *Uang Panai* using various approaches, the phenomenon of *Uang Panai* in the context of the relationship between love and prestige has not been widely discussed in the existing discussions. The research that has been conducted tends to focus on discussions about *Uang Panai* as part of the culture, reviews of positive laws and Islamic laws related to dowry, and reviews of the impact of high value *Uang Panai* on cases of annulled marriages and potential suicides. *Uang Panai* phenomenon does not only occur specifically in South Sulawesi, but also in several other provinces in Indonesia, including Yogyakarta.

The uniqueness of Yogyakarta has attracted the attention of many people to come to study and vacation, so that the student population there is very diverse and also includes students from the Bugis-Makassar tribe. Even though they have migrated for educational purposes or chose to settle outside their area of origin, they still maintain the *Uang Panai* tradition as part of their marriage culture. Therefore, this research will in depth look at how students of the Bugis-Makassar ethnic group negotiate their cultural identity with people outside the Bugis ethnic group, especially those who have relationships or relationships with them.

## Literature Review

There are several previous studies that discuss *Uang Panai*, including research conducted by Nadia Ananda Putri et al., regarding "*The Position of Uang Panai as a Condition for Marriage in the Bugis Tradition According to Islamic Law*". burden the man in the wedding procession so that it can cancel the marriage or elopement which is forbidden by religion (Princess, 2021). In addition, there is also research conducted by Asriani Alimuddin on the "*Symbolic Meaning of Panai Money*" in *Makassar Bugis Traditional Marriages in Makassar City*". which is dedicated to the woman he loves, so that before the wedding the groom must prepare money to marry his lover (Alimuddin, 2020). A similar research was also conducted by Syarifuddin and Ratna about "*Story of Bride Price: A Criticism of the Uang Panai Phenomenon for the Makassar Tribe*". can reflect Islamic law in order to facilitate the course of the wedding procession (Syarifuddin & Damayanti, 2015).

The difference between this research and previous research lies in the subject and analysis of the study. This research will be conducted on students from the Bugis tribe in Yogyakarta on the panai money phenomenon between love and prestige. The debate that to this day never ends is regarding the setting of *Uang Panai* which is so high that it causes many problems, some people use *Uang Panai* as a means of prestige and a way to show social status. This phenomenon gives a special stigma to people outside the Makassar Bugis tribe, because they think that the application process in the Bugis tribe is very expensive and the process is quite

long, so that quite a few of the introduction processes and progress to marriage are cancelled. Based on this background, this paper wants to answer the following questions: First, how do Bugis-Makassar students understand *Uang Panai* ? Second, how do they negotiate their cultural identity ? Third, how their views on love and prestige in the marriage process ?

This research will use the identity negotiation theory approach. In the context of intercultural communication, every time you communicate with people from different cultures, you will definitely negotiate your own cultural identity within the individual. People will negotiate with themselves about their inherent cultural identity and other cultural identities. Identity is defined as a self-reflective construction that is visible, built, and communicated in the context of certain cultural interactions. Meanwhile, negotiation means transactional interaction where individuals who are in an intercultural situation will process the self-concept of others and themselves. The identity negotiation theory presented by Stella Ting Toomey has the assumption, (Gudykunst, William B., Ed. *Theorizing about Intercultural Communication*. Sage, 2005).

## METHOD

In this article, a qualitative descriptive approach is used with a phenomenological approach based on the identity negotiation theory by Stella Ting-Toomey (Bennett, 2015). The research focus is on the personal experiences of the informants in negotiating their cultural identity. To gain an in-depth understanding of this experience, the researcher conducted direct interviews with students of the

Bugis-Makassar tribe in Yogyakarta, with the aim of obtaining accurate data. Research data were collected through in-depth observation and interviews, then analyzed using a qualitative approach. The findings from the data will be described and analyzed, and conclusions will be drawn based on the results of the analysis.

## DISCUSSION

### 1. Overview of *Uang Panai*

In the Bugis wedding tradition, *Uang Panai* or *Dui' Menre'* is an amount of money given by the groom to the bride's family. The money has a purpose to be used in expenses for the wedding. *Uang Panai* has a very important role and is considered as one of the pillars in a traditional Bugis marriage. Giving *Uang Panai* is an obligation that cannot be neglected. If no *Uang Panai* is given, then the marriage cannot be carried out (Rahayu & Yudi, 2015).

Based on the results of an interview with Azhar, a student from Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University, he said:

*"Uang Panai is a series of activities that exist in the Bugis environment, Uang Panai is defined as a contribution to respecting women" (Interview. Azhar, 26/9/2022)*

Meanwhile, according to Ahmad Aryadi said that

*"Uang Panai is a dowry or dowry money given by a man to a woman he wants to marry, Uang Panai in my view is a tradition of the Makassar Bugis where men give awards to the bride." (Interview. AA 27/09/2022)*

Panai' culture is the process of determining the amount of money spent on weddings originating from the province of South Sulawesi. This culture is also still strongly maintained by most of the Bugis-Makassar people overseas. Even though they have left their ancestral area for many years, and have even been born in an overseas area, panai' culture is still used in the application process before marriage. This culture creates anxiety for the men, both from the Bugis community and from outside the Bugis community, related to the high amount of money that will be given by the male family. Based on the results of an interview with Dhea, he said that:

*"Uang Panai is not something new, it has become a necessity for someone who wants to get married" (Interview. Dhea 29/09/2022)*

Pratiwi added that she thinks *Uang Panai* is often a problem when a man wants to propose to his girlfriend. He stated that

*"Uang Panai is a tradition that is often a problem" (Interview. Pratiwi 1/10/2022)*

For parents who have sons and are in a modest financial situation, they may feel worried and stressed about the challenges of providing funds for *Uang Panai* or *dui' menre'*. On the other hand, women who are waiting for a marriage proposal from a man also feel restless and anxious because they are worried that there will not be a man who is willing to fulfill the demands of the *Uang Panai* set by his family, in accordance with the customs prevailing in Bugis society. Marriage requirements are more burdened on the male side. Almost all costs associated

with marriage, including spending money (known in Bugis as *doi menre* or *Uang Panai*), *sompa/dowry*, *leko/sirih pinang*, *mappaota*, and *pallawa tana*, must be borne by the man (Harmita Sari, 2019).

The Bugis people will say that a man can marry if he is “able to walk around the kitchen seven times a day” which means that a man is only considered capable of marrying if he can fulfill everything he needs to cook in the kitchen.

Based on the results of an interview with Ahmad Aryadi, when he wants to get married, the man must prepare funds according to the wishes of the bride's parents.

*"In my opinion, at this time, men have to prepare a minimum of 50-100 million rupiah for a Panai' attack, because as you know, many Bugis women now have university degrees, so you have to see how much money you have for a hike." (Interview. AA 27/9/2022)*

This opinion is different from Muh. Azka, according to him that:

*"There is no need for a benchmark, the nominal amount depends on the condition of the man. As long as he is able there is no problem" (Interview. Muh. Azka 2/10/2022)*

Even though there are differences of opinion, in fact this money is something that needs to be prepared, even according to Dhea this obligation will be even higher because the prices of basic commodities are always rising day by day.

*"100 million, the reason is because at this time all the*

*prices of basic commodities have increased which of course has a very big impact on the money that must be prepared by the prospective groom." (Interview. Dhea 29/9/2022)*

This situation has given a frightening stigma to men who want to propose to the women they love. In fact, because the cost of *Uang Panai* is too high, many cases of failed marriages occur. According to Arifuddin, in reality today there is still the term "old maid" which refers to women who are mature but not yet married because there are no men who are able to meet the requirements of the *Uang Panai* or because no man dares to propose to her because of the problem of the exorbitant cost of the *Uang Panai*. In addition, Arifuddin also quoted the headline of the East Tribune on the Monday, April 4 2013 edition, which reported a stabbing case that occurred due to an insufficient amount of Rp. (Harmita Sari, 2019). In the name of honor and blood that must be spilled, Arifuddin revealed that the headlines about the stabbing case related to *Uang Panai* had become an event that was often featured in daily newspapers. Countless wedding plans were forced to be canceled because the parents or guardians of the women insisted on a certain amount of money. Over time, *Uang Panai* has become a matter of concern, especially for the younger generation. Another phenomenon that has emerged is the view of young people on *Uang Panai* as a price agreement, so that Panai' culture is seen as a transaction between men and women (Rahayu & Yudi, 2015).

In addition to the opinions above, the results of this study also

describe the reality that makes *Uang Panai* high. One of the factors is the influence of prestige among the Bugis-Makassarese people. Based on the results of an interview with Azhar, he is of the opinion that:

*"Prestige has become a determinant among the people, this is due to rapidly growing urbanization, as well as its main attraction, economic value being the most reckoned commodity"* (Interview. Azhar 26/9/2022)

Meanwhile, according to Pratiwi that:

*"In my opinion, Love and Prestige are the most dominant things. Because in our area (South Sulawesi) we uphold the word Siri' na Pacce. But still love is number one and prestige is second or even go hand in hand."* (Interview. Pratiwi 1/10/2022)

Even though prestige is one of the determinants of the level of *Uang Panai*, according to Dhea this only happened in a few cases, not in all regions. As stated that:

*"In some cases, it does happen that way if prestige and love are the determinants of how high or low money goes. However, this does not apply in general, again in several cases"* (Interview. Dhea 29/9/2022)

Dhea further said that the prestige was influenced by several factors:

*"The first is what people say, the second is social status in society, this concerns (material and non-material, such as recent education)"* (Interview. Dhea 29/9/2022)

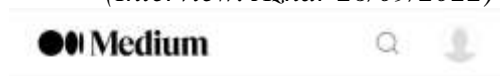
Based on this opinion, the meaning of *Uang Panai* has shifted from its substance, which was originally to respect women, to become a venue for prestige and style in society. As revealed by Rahayu, this *Uang Panai* has shifted from its true purpose (Rahayu & Yudi, 2015). *Uang Panai* has become a means to show prestige in an exaggerated way in showing economic ability. Often, to meet the demands of the *Uang Panai*, the prospective groom must be willing to owe, with the aim of maintaining the dignity of the family because of the consideration of how the reception will be by other people outside the families of the two bride and groom, such as neighbors, friends of the father, friends of the mother, and so on. In the context of marriage, the main concern is often how much money is given. If the preconditions for *Uang Panai* are not met, it will be considered as a disgrace or tarnished honor.

## **2. *Uang Panai* Cultural Identity Negotiations**

For Bugis men who leave the Sulawesi region to migrate and find a mate, this is not a problem, because several cases show that men who migrate and marry women from outside the Bugis tribe actually make it easier for the bride's family. In contrast to Bugis women, whether they live in Sulawesi or are overseas, studying or working, as long as the woman is a member of the Makassar Bugis ethnic group, *panai'* will continue to apply with a nominal amount that is not small, it can even be more expensive than it should be.

As the result of an interview with Azhar, he said that:

*"If a man goes abroad it's a bit easier for him, because one of my family married a person outside Sulawesi who wasn't of the Bugis ethnicity, instead he didn't use a panai'. But still, there is love for the bride, as a form of appreciation, and that is very different from the custom in South Sulawesi, which can reach tens of millions and even M-man" (Interview. Azhar 26/09/2022)*



## Bersatunya Suku Bugis dan Suku Jawa dalam Ikatan Pernikahan

Nabilah Luthfiyyah · Follow  
4 min read · Oct 18, 2022



Source :

<https://medium.com/@nabilahluthfiyyah69/bersatunya-suku-bugis-dan-suku-jawa-dalam-ikatan-pernikahan-3c36dc7f8bb3>

The picture above shows a Bugis man who lives in Balikpapan City but is of Sulawesi descent who is about to propose to his girlfriend of Javanese descent.

He further said that:

*"But if a woman has no influence, as long as she is of*

*the Makassar Bugis ethnicity. It is certain that the traditional procession will still be carried out as it should, meaning that the price of the wedding money must be according to the agreement of the bride's family, for example, there is a female friend who works in Bandung, and there is a man who wants to marry a man from there, the man must follow all the traditional processions that applies, so you can get married if you only have love capital. You have to make sacrifices with the prevailing customary processions." (Interview. Azhar 26/9/2022)*



## Wanita Sulawesi Batal Nikah dengan Kekasih Asal Jawa karena Terhalang Panai

Hafis Hamdan - detikSulsel

Sabtu, 14 Jan 2023, 15:53 WIB



Foto: Dokumen istimewa

Source : <https://www.detik.com/sulsel/berita/d-6515509/wanita-sulawesi-batal-nikah-dengan-kekasih-asal-jawa-karena-terhalang-panai>

The picture above is one of the phenomena of a man's marriage being canceled who wants to marry his girlfriend. The man from East Java, who had originally proposed to his girlfriend in Sulawesi, never delivered



the agreed panai money of 75 million to the woman's family.

So, in the process of negotiating cultural identity, it is for the men who benefit from migrating and marrying women outside Sulawesi, because the cultural identity is only embedded by Makassar Bugis women. If a Bugis woman leaves the area and is going to marry a person outside the Bugis ethnic group, they must also comply with all applicable traditional processions. This also causes many marriages to be cancelled, because the man is unable to meet the nominal amount of money for the bride's party. In addition, prestige is also a frightening specter and continues to be ingrained by the Bugis people. Based on the results of an interview with Pratiwi, he said that:

*"Actually the issue of cultural identity is an individual problem, because each family has its own way of determining whether this should be done or not. But, as far as my observations go, while he is a Bugis tribe, it is mandatory that there must be money. Because it's useless to love each other, but parents or family don't approve. Like it or not, we have to follow the existing traditional procession."* (Interview. Pratiwi 1/10/2022)

Even though they have left South Sulawesi for many years, this culture has not suddenly disappeared, in fact it still exists and is still being maintained, because some families think that it will continue to exist with the times. The implication actually appears scorn from society to the family of men and women. There are several causes of high *Uang Panai*, including: First, the economic status of

the woman's family. Second, the level of women's education. Third, lineage. Fourth, the physical condition of women. Based on this opinion, then the benchmark in determining the money Panai' which is usually done through a process of negotiation between men and women is the most important economic status.

This is actually different from what was expressed by Muh. Azka, based on the results of an interview with him, said that:

*"Actually, people who make panai' are expensive, precisely because they are jealous of their neighbors, they are competing and don't want to lose out. Basically, if A's child has 80 million, B's child will definitely want more than that, well, that's usually expensive. And this was actually done by the woman's family, in this case her aunts"*(Interview. Muh. Azka 2/10/2022)



Source: <https://www.detik.com/sulsel/berita/d-6209434/pernikahan-fantastis-gadis-di-pinrang-panai-rp-5-m-datangkan-7-artis>

The picture above shows how fantastic marriages in the Bugis tribe are, the prestige and social status factors will be the main concern in accepting a man's proposal. This is what makes some Bugis men migrate and choose to marry outside the Bugis tribe.

Someone who has a high social status will be very concerned about people's views, this is because of *tastesiri'* or ashamed of the Bugis people. For men from the Bugis tribe, fulfilling the amount of the women's *Uang Panai* is a challenge as well as an obligation that must be completed, because if they cannot fulfill it, the men will feel *siri'* to his potential partner. Because very often it happens that a man who wants to propose to the woman he adores doesn't succeed because of his inability to fulfill the nominal request of the woman's family. Finally, many men migrate and earn money by doing whatever they can to make ends meet.

## CLOSING

Based on the *Uang Panai* phenomenon described above, several conclusions can be drawn. First, *Uang Panai* is a culture that is highly respected by the Bugis-Makassarese community as a form of appreciation given by Bugis women when they want to get married. Second, the process of negotiating cultural identity that occurs in this context tends to be carried out by the women, while the Bugis men are not involved in the negotiation process. Third, for men who want to marry Bugis women, it is their obligation to prepare *Uang Panai*, and this is not based solely on love. If the *Uang Panai*

requirements are not met, the marriage process will not take place.

## Recommendations

There needs to be ongoing research regarding the *Uang Panai* phenomenon, in particular, the history of determining the nominal value of money based on the social strata of Bugis-Makassar women. This can be done both in Sulawesi and other provinces where many Bugis people live.

## Acknowledgments

Thank you to all the informants who have been willing to give their time and information about the research we are doing. Do not forget to also thank all the lecturers who have provided insight into the lecture material so that we can complete this research in the form of scientific work.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alimuddin, A. (2020). Makna Simbolik *Uang Panai* Pada Perkawinan Adat Suku Bugis Makassar Di Kota Makassar. *Al Qisthi*, 10(2), hal 119.
- Atabik, A., & Mudhiiah, K. (2014). Pernikahan dan Hikmahnya Perspektif Hukum Islam. *Yudisia*, 5(2), 293–294.
- Basri, R., & Fikri, F. (2018). Sompas and Dui Menre in Wedding Traditions of Bugis Society. *IBDA` : Jurnal Kajian Islam Dan Budaya*, 16(1), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.24090/ibda.v16i1.1101>
- Bennett, J. M. (2015). Identity Negotiation Theory. *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Intercultural*

- Competence*, May 2015. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781483346267.n143>
- Daeng, R., Rumampuk, S., & Damis, M. (2019). Tradisi Uang Panai ' Sebagai Budaya Bugis (Studi Kasus Kota Bitung Propinsi Sulawesi Utara). *Holistik*, 12(2), 11.
- Gudykunst, William B., ed. *Theorizing about intercultural communication*. Sage, 2005. (n.d.).
- Harmita Sari, dkk. (2019). *UANG PANAI ' : Fenomena Pernikahan Adat Bugis UANG PANAI ' : Fenomena Pernikahan Adat Bugis* (Cetakan Pertama (Ed.)). LPPI UM Palopo.
- Jannah, S., CH, M., & Suwandi, S. (2022). *Uang Panai of Bugis' Customary Marriage in the Perspective of Islamic Law and Positive Law in Indonesia*. *Journal of Transcendental Law*, 3(2), 98–111. <https://doi.org/10.23917/jtl.v3i2.17375>
- Putri, N. A., Saiban, K., & Laila, K. (2021). Perkawinan Dalam Adat Suku Bugis Menurut Hukum Islam. *Bhirawa Law Journal*, 2(1), 33–44.
- Rahayu, S., & Yudi. (2015). Uang Nai': Antara Cinta dan Gengsi. *Jurnal Akuntansi Multiparadigma*, 6(2), 224. <https://doi.org/10.18202/jamal.2015.08.6018>
- Syarifuddin, & Damayanti, R. A. (2015). Story of Bride Price: Sebuah Kritik atas Fenomena *Uang Panai* Suku Makassar. *Jurnal Akuntansi Multiparadigma*, 1979. <https://doi.org/10.18202/jamal.2015.04.6007>

