

The Challenges of Fulfilling Child Support Obligations After Divorce in Matrilineal Families in Tanah Datar

Firdaus¹, Yanti Mulia Roza², Kasmidin³

^{1,2}Universitas Islam Negeri Mahmud Yunus Batusangkar, Indonesia

³Universitas Islam Negeri Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau, Indonesia

Correspondence: almuqaddas12@gmail.com

Abstract. This article aims to analyze the challenges of fulfilling child support obligations after divorce within matrilineal families in Tanah Datar, West Sumatra. The study employs a qualitative approach with an exploratory narrative design to explore the experiences and perspectives of informants, including divorced mothers with child custody, as well as local customary leaders and legal experts. Data were collected through in-depth interviews and participatory observation, and then analyzed thematically to identify patterns relevant to the research objectives. The findings reveal that the Minangkabau matrilineal kinship system significantly influences the fulfillment of child support obligations after divorce, with the mother's family playing a more dominant role in child care. Factors such as the father's economic inability, distrust of the ex-wife in managing child support, and modern socio-economic dynamics are the main reasons for the father's failure to fulfill his support obligations. The discussion highlights the importance of an approach that considers Islamic law, Minangkabau customs, and socio-economic conditions in fulfilling child rights after divorce. This study also provides policy recommendations to enhance the system of fulfilling child support obligations in societies that adhere to a matrilineal kinship system, ensuring that children's rights are fairly met in accordance with applicable laws and customs.

Keywords: Matrilineal kinship; Child support; Divorce; Minangkabau customs; Socio-economic dynamics

1. Introduction

The family is the smallest unit in society, playing a crucial role in individual and social development. Within the family, children are considered assets that must be protected and guided by their parents, particularly in terms of fulfilling basic needs such as financial support. In the context of divorce, the issue of child support becomes more complex, especially in communities with a matrilineal kinship system, such as in Tanah Datar, Minangkabau. This matrilineal kinship system, which traces lineage through the mother, adds a new dimension to the arrangement of child support after divorce.

In Indonesia, Islamic law and Minangkabau customs interact in regulating rights and obligations after divorce. Islam clearly stipulates that the father is responsible for providing financial support for his children, even after divorce. However, in practice, this is often not followed according to the legal provisions, especially in the matrilineal Minangkabau community. This phenomenon presents unique challenges in fulfilling child support obligations after divorce in Tanah Datar.

Generally, in a patrilineal kinship system, the responsibility for child support lies primarily with the father. However, in the Minangkabau matrilineal system, although lineage is traced through the mother, the economic responsibility for the child remains the father's obligation. This creates a different dynamic and demands special attention to ensure that the child's needs are met in accordance with the applicable laws and customs.

Social and economic changes in Indonesia, including in Tanah Datar, have influenced perspectives and practices regarding child support. Economic uncertainty, changes in family structure, and the influence of globalization have altered societal views on parental responsibilities after divorce. Therefore, an in-depth study of the challenges of fulfilling child support obligations after divorce in matrilineal families in Tanah Datar is highly important.

Research on child support after divorce has been extensively conducted, both in the context of Islamic law and customary law. Previous studies have highlighted various aspects related to the father's responsibility to provide child support after divorce. For instance, research conducted by Firdaus et al. (2021) showed that many fathers fail to fulfill their child support obligations after divorce, even though court rulings have mandated them to do so.

Other studies have revealed that the father's inability to meet child support obligations is often due to economic factors and mistrust towards the ex-wife in managing the child support money. For example, in some cases, fathers feel that the money given is not used for the child's needs but rather for the ex-wife's personal interests. Relevant research in the context of Minangkabau matrilineal society also shows that the mother's family plays a dominant role in child-rearing and maintenance, while fathers tend to neglect their responsibilities after divorce.

Although there has been considerable research on child support after divorce, few studies focus on the specific context of matrilineal communities such as in Tanah Datar. Previous research tends to focus on formal legal aspects and does not sufficiently elaborate on how customary dynamics and kinship systems influence the fulfillment of obligations. This study fills that gap by deeply examining how the Minangkabau matrilineal system affects the fulfillment of child support obligations after divorce, which is a significant contribution to the literature in this field.

The uniqueness of this research lies in its approach, which combines the analysis of Islamic law, Minangkabau customs, and modern socio-economic conditions. Additionally, this study offers a new perspective by linking child support

responsibilities with the role of matrilineal kinship, a topic that has not been widely discussed in previous research. Therefore, this study not only contributes theoretically but also practically, by providing relevant policy recommendations to improve the fulfillment of child support obligations after divorce in matrilineal communities.

The main issue to be explored in this article is the challenges faced in fulfilling child support obligations after divorce in matrilineal families in Tanah Datar. The key research questions are: How does the matrilineal kinship system affect the fulfillment of child support after divorce? What are the factors that cause fathers not to fulfill their child support obligations after divorce? And what solutions can be implemented to address these issues within the context of Islamic law and Minangkabau customs?

This research aims to identify and analyze the challenges faced in fulfilling child support obligations after divorce in matrilineal families in Tanah Datar. The expected outcomes of this research are a deeper understanding of the dynamics between Islamic law, Minangkabau customs, and social practices in fulfilling child support obligations. Additionally, this research is expected to provide policy recommendations that can be implemented by religious courts, the government, and the community to ensure that children's rights after divorce are fulfilled fairly and in accordance with applicable laws and customs.

Thus, this research will not only contribute to the development of knowledge but also have practical implications for improving the system of fulfilling child support obligations after divorce in Tanah Datar, particularly in communities that adhere to a matrilineal kinship system.

2. Method

This study employs a qualitative approach with an exploratory narrative research design. The qualitative approach was chosen because it aligns with the research objective of describing and analyzing the phenomenon of fulfilling child support obligations after divorce in matrilineal families in Tanah Datar in depth. The exploratory narrative design is used to explore the experiences and perspectives of the informants regarding the obligation to fulfill child support after divorce, as well as how this dynamic unfolds within the strong matrilineal cultural context of Minangkabau.

Data collection was conducted through in-depth interviews and participatory observation with informants, including divorced mothers with custody of their children, as well as several adat (customary law) leaders and legal experts in the Tanah Datar area. The in-depth interviews aimed to obtain a comprehensive picture of the experiences and challenges faced by these mothers in fulfilling child support needs after divorce. Participatory observation was carried out to directly observe the social and cultural interactions that influence the fulfillment of child support within this matrilineal society.

Data analysis was conducted thematically, identifying patterns that emerged from the interviews and observations. The collected data was then processed and categorized based on the main themes relevant to the research objectives. This approach

allows the researcher to gain a deep understanding of the dynamics of fulfilling child support obligations after divorce in matrilineal family environments, as well as the factors influencing its implementation.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Definition of *Hadhanah*

Hadhanah is derived from the root word *hadhnu ash-shabiy*, meaning to nurture or care for a child. In this context, *hadhn* does not refer to physically carrying a child on the side of the chest or arm. In Islamic jurisprudence, *hadhanah* refers to the care and upbringing of a child by those entitled to do so. It can also be interpreted as caring for or protecting someone who cannot meet their own needs due to being non-discerning, such as children or adults with mental disabilities. This care includes providing food, clothing, sleeping arrangements, cleaning, bathing, washing clothes, and similar tasks. *Hadhanah* encompasses educating those who cannot care for themselves in a way that benefits them and protects them from harm, even if the person has reached adulthood, such as in cases of disability or special needs.

Amir Syarifuddin equates *hadhanah* with *kafalah*, which refers to the care of a child after divorce without differentiating between whether the child is discerning (*mumayyiz*) or non-discerning, or whether they have reached puberty or not. Al-Mawardi, as cited by Wahbah Zuhayli, distinguishes between care from birth until the child reaches the age of discernment (*mumayyiz*), where they can distinguish between what is beneficial and harmful for themselves. Meanwhile, *kafalah* refers to care provided from the age of discernment until puberty.

Al-Mawardi's view aligns with Satria Efendi M. Zein, who distinguishes between two phases of child care but uses different terminology. Satria Efendi states that the care provided from birth until the child is seven or eight years old is referred to as the pre-*mumayyiz* period, while the care provided from the age of seven until just before puberty is referred to as the *mumayyiz* period.

In this writing, the focus of *hadhanah* is on children who are not yet *mumayyiz*, meaning children under the age of nine or ten.

3.2. Child Care

In this context, *hadhanah* refers to the obligation of parents to care for and educate their children in the best possible way, encompassing economic support, education, and all other essential needs of the child. Drawing from verses of the Qur'an, such as those in Surah Luqman (verses 12-19), there are eight educational values that parents must teach their children: always being grateful for Allah's blessings, not associating anything with Allah, being kind to parents as a sign of the child's gratitude, treating parents with respect, knowing that every deed, no matter how small, will be rewarded by Allah, obeying Allah's commands, not being arrogant, and being modest in behavior and speech (upholding good morals).

The process of child care and education will be most effective if both parents work together and support each other. This can be done well if the family truly embodies a harmonious and loving environment. The obligations and responsibilities of the family (parents) towards the child are explained in Law No. 23 of 2002, amended by Law No. 35 of 2014 concerning Child Protection, Article 26.

3.3. Requirements for a *Hadhin* (Caretaker)

The care of a child is conditional on the qualifications of the *hadhin* (caretaker), as the character of a caretaker has a significant impact on the child's development, maturity, and education. The basic characteristics of human beings are dynamic, independent, and social. Therefore, during this period, a child should receive the most comprehensive education, such as being taught to recognize God as the foundation of their faith and spirit.

A *hadhin* (foster mother) responsible for the care and interests of a young child must meet certain requirements. If any of these conditions are not met, the eligibility to undertake *hadhanah* is forfeited. These requirements include: 1) sound mind, 2) adulthood, 3) ability to educate, 4) trustworthiness and good character, 5) Islam (Qur'an 4:141), 6) the mother has not remarried; if she remarries another man, she loses her right to *hadhanah*, 7) freedom (not enslaved)

A *hadhin* must be capable of educating the child; thus, a person who is blind, ill, constrained, or in any way incapacitated and neglectful is not entitled to care for a child. The criteria for a *hadhin* in everyday societal contexts depend heavily on the competence of the caretaker and the child's condition, especially if the child has special needs (disabilities). The requirements for a caretaker go beyond being mature, sane, and a Muslim; they must also possess religious, social, legal, and economic competence. *Hadhanah* is a responsibility-laden task. Consequently, a mother suffering from mental illness or memory loss is unfit to undertake *hadhanah*, as stated by Ahmad bin Hanbal. The *hadhin* must also be free from contagious diseases. The *hadhin* must be able and willing to care for and educate the child (*mahduun*) and should not be tied to any job that could lead to the neglect of *hadhanah* duties. A person entrusted with *hadhanah* must be trustworthy and morally upright, as someone with poor character cannot serve as a good role model for the child under their care.

Childcare is of paramount importance, which is why Islam establishes two main foundations for addressing children's issues. First, the status and rights of the child; second, guidance throughout their growth. In the context of modern life, marked by globalization in all aspects of human existence, childcare needs to be understood in a broader and more comprehensive manner. This approach ensures that parents do not only prioritize fulfilling the child's material needs but also emphasize the need for love and affection from both parents, which is crucial in shaping the child's personality. If these needs are unmet, the child is more likely to be negatively influenced by their interactions outside the home. This principle serves as a reference in Islamic law.

3.4. Kinship System in Minangkabau

The Minangkabau ethnic group is quite unique in Indonesia, as it adheres to a matrilineal kinship system. Umar Junus, as quoted by Hajizar, stated:

"The Minangkabau cultural adherents are considered a society with a peculiar family system among the more advanced ethnic groups in Indonesia, which is based on a matrilineal family system. This is usually considered one of the elements that give identity to Minangkabau culture, especially popularized by the novels of Balai Pustaka during the first period of the 20th century." (Junus in Hajizar, 1988:46).

The principle of kinship in Minangkabau society is matrilineal descent, which regulates familial relationships through the maternal line. According to this principle, a child inherits their mother's clan. This lineage also plays a role in the inheritance of property, where a child inherits according to the maternal line. The inheritance in question includes ancestral property passed down through the mother's line. In broader terms, inheritance (*pusako*) can be categorized into two types: *pusako tinggi* and *pusako randah*. *Pusako tinggi* refers to property inherited from the mother, passed down through generations, while *pusako randah* refers to property acquired through the joint efforts of the mother and father during their marriage.

The consequence of the *pusaka tinggi* inheritance system is that inheritance is passed down to the daughters, and sons do not have ownership rights; they only have the right to manage the property. Daughters have the right to own the property until it is passed down to their children. A man may take a portion of the income generated from the inheritance according to his efforts but cannot pass it down to his own children. If he passes away, the property returns to his mother, his sister, or his nieces.

In the matrilineal kinship system, one traditional house (*rumah gadang*) is inhabited by one family. This house serves both as a residence and a place for customary activities. The family that lives in the *rumah gadang* consists of people from the same lineage, called *saparuik* (from one womb) or those who share blood ties through the maternal line. This group includes the mother, her sons and daughters, her brothers, her sisters and their children, or her grandchildren from her daughters – all of whom follow the maternal line. The father (the mother's husband) is not considered part of the family in his wife's *rumah gadang* but remains a member of the *paruik* family of the *rumah gadang* where he was born (his mother's house) (Hajizar, 1988:46-47).

According to the matrilineal system, women have full rights within the *rumah gadang*, while men are considered guests. Married daughters live in rooms within the *rumah gadang* with their husbands, while unmarried daughters sleep with other female relatives in the central area. Boys, once they reach the age of seven, are sent to learn and stay at the *surau* (a small mosque). In Minangkabau society, boys are essentially forced to live separately from their parents and female relatives from a young age. They are required to live in groups at the *surau* and no longer reside in the *rumah gadang* with their mothers (Amir, MS, 1999:26).

Although women hold full rights within the *rumah gadang*, the authority to lead and maintain household harmony is held by the *mamak rumah*, a male relative from the

maternal line of the *saparuik* chosen to lead the entire lineage. This *mamak rumah* is known as *tungganai* and bears the title *Datuak*, a hereditary title passed down within the *paruik*.

In the matrilineal system, the *mamak* (the mother's brother) plays a significant role, while the father is considered *urang sumando* (a person who marries into the family). The father's rights over his children are minimal, as the *mamak* holds more power (Radjab, 1969:85). Marriage in Minangkabau does not create a new nuclear family. Both the husband and wife remain members of their respective maternal lineages (Navis, 1984:20). In everyday life, Minangkabau people are strongly tied to the extended family, particularly the mother's side. The father's family, known as *bako*, plays a minimal role in daily life. Therefore, the concept of a nuclear family, where the father plays a dominant role, is not evident in Minangkabau. Instead, the *mamak* plays a more significant role. A father also serves as a *mamak* to his nieces and nephews in his mother's and sisters' household (Suwondo, 1978:19-20).

3.5. *Hadhanah* Cases After Divorce in Tanah Datar

Case Number 361/Pdt.G/2021/PA.Bsk: In this case, Mrs. ZL explained that she had divorced her husband. During the trial, she did not request alimony from her ex-husband. Since she did not ask for alimony, her husband has never provided financial support for their children, nor has he contributed to their living expenses or needs. As the mother and primary caregiver, she has two children with her ex-husband: the first child is 3 years old, and the second is 18 months old.

It is unfortunate that in this case, when she gave birth to their second child, the father did not help with any delivery expenses. To this day, the ex-husband only inquires about the children but never provides financial support.

Case Number 285/Pdt.G/2021/PA.Bsk: In this case, although LA did not receive alimony after her divorce, her children thankfully receive financial support. The father consistently provides child support every week, amounting to IDR 2,000,000 per month, in addition to covering their educational expenses. They have two children: the first child is 9.5 years old, and the second is 4.5 years old.

Case Number 0282/Pdt.G/2015/PA.Bsk: In this case, the court did not mandate alimony. When requested, the ex-husband, who is a member of the military, referred her to the local military command (Kodim). Initially, he provided IDR 400,000, which was later increased to IDR 700,000. However, because the father has a mental health issue, the children's grandmother provides for their needs. The children are 20 and 17 years old, with the younger one still in high school.

Case Number 0348/Pdt.G/2012/PA.Bsk: In this case, FY explained that after the court's decision, the father did not fully provide child support. Occasionally, when they meet, the father gives just IDR 10,000, and each year, he buys the child a new outfit for the holidays. FY has one child with her ex-husband who is still in school, aged 11. In this case, most of the child's needs are provided by the mother and maternal grandmother.

SF: SF has remarried and handed over the divorce certificate to the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA). The child support for her two children, who are in elementary

and middle school and have been separated from their father since they were 2 and 9 years old, is provided once a year, amounting to IDR 1,000,000. It is suspected that this money is given by the children's grandmother (the ex-husband's mother) since it is directly handed over by her.

In various cases of child support in Pariangan Subdistrict that I have encountered, most involve divorce initiated by the wife. As a result, the court rulings often do not specify the amount of support, leaving the father's commitment to fulfilling his financial obligations to his children uncertain.

Once a court decision is made, the issue becomes a private matter. From the cases I have studied, the challenges in fathers providing child support can be summarized as follows:

- **Economic Factors:** Many of the parties involved come from lower-middle-class backgrounds. The failure to provide support is often not due to unwillingness but is influenced by economic constraints. The father may have remarried and now has additional financial obligations, including supporting children from the previous marriage.
- **Lack of Awareness:** Some fathers do not understand that children are their responsibility, and they are legally required to provide financial support until the children reach adulthood, as mandated by law.
- **Cultural Influences:** Minangkabau customs may discourage fathers from fulfilling their financial obligations. Since the children live with their mother and remain in her home, the father may feel uncomfortable visiting his ex-wife's house, even if it is just to deliver child support.
- **Legal Inexperience:** Many women lack understanding of legal proceedings and do not demand what they are entitled to in court, resulting in many rights being overlooked.
- **Remarriage of the Father:** After a divorce, both the father and the mother have the right to remarry. However, if the father remarries, it can complicate his ability to fulfill the child support obligations set by the court.
- **Distrust:** Some fathers may distrust their ex-wives, believing that the child support they provide will not be used for the children but rather for the ex-wife's own needs. This mistrust can lead to reluctance in fulfilling court-ordered child support obligations.

The basis of the argument presented in this writing is the *Ultra Petitem Partium* principle, which states that a court's ruling cannot exceed the claims made in the lawsuit. A judge who grants more than what is requested is considered to be overstepping their authority, except in cases where the ruling pertains to obligations inherent to the wife. The ex officio authority of a judge can be utilized in religious courts, particularly in divorce cases, where the effects of divorce are still relevant to the wife, especially concerning *nafkah iddah* (maintenance during the waiting period), child support, and

mut'ah (a gift to the wife upon divorce), as outlined in Article 149 of the Compilation of Islamic Law.

In cases where child support is a concern, the presiding judge should also consider the matter of child custody. Children are the future of the family, and it is essential that they are raised properly. Therefore, the court should grant claims related to child support based on considerations of the child's welfare and the standard of living as determined by custom (*'urf*) or common practice.

Regarding the implementation of child support following divorce in Pariangan, the research reveals a diversity of fulfillment patterns. In some cases, child support obligations are met, while in others, they are not. The father's income does not necessarily influence the court's ruling, even in situations where the father's earnings are insufficient to meet the child's needs after divorce.

According to information provided by the mothers, most parents believe that fulfilling a child's rights means providing for all the child's needs. Therefore, when parents meet these needs, they consider themselves to have fulfilled their child support obligations.

There is no room for excuses to avoid parental obligations as per Article 26, paragraph 1 of Law No. 23 of 2002 on Child Protection. This article states that parents are obliged and responsible for (a) nurturing, caring for, educating, and protecting the child, (b) developing the child's potential according to their abilities, talents, and interests, and (c) preventing child marriage.

The substance of this article aligns with Article 41, which is one of the principles of the 1974 Marriage Law concerning the consequences of divorce. Article 41 also explains that a father's responsibility towards his child does not cease even if the parents are divorced or remarried. Therefore, when a child is still a minor, the mother has custody, but the father is responsible for covering all expenses.

Article 41, paragraph (c), states that the court may require the father to provide financial support and possibly impose certain obligations on the former wife. This article clarifies that it is not solely the mother's responsibility to bear all the costs of raising the child. The mother's role, as mentioned in this article, is to be close to the child, to educate, care for, and encourage the child towards good behavior. Sometimes, the mother provides financial support only to assist the former husband.

The father, as the *qawwam* (protector and maintainer) of women, is obligated to support and educate his children to the best of his ability. This obligation remains in effect even after the marriage has ended. Therefore, a child who has not yet reached the age of discernment (*mumayyiz*) is entitled to be under the mother's care, while the father remains responsible for the child's maintenance. Additionally, Article 156 explains that, in the event of a divorce, a child who has not reached the age of discernment has the right to be cared for by the mother unless the mother has passed away, in which case the role is passed to: women in the maternal line, the father, women in the paternal line, the

child's sisters, or female relatives from the paternal side. A child who has reached the age of discernment can choose whether to be under the care of the father or the mother.

In cases where parents separate, children usually stay with the mother, especially in Tanah Datar, where children are more closely associated with the mother's family than the father's. The husband, known as *sumando*, lives in the wife's house, and when they divorce, it is the husband who leaves. As a result, child support obligations are often neglected, as previously discussed. Many fathers believe that once they are separated, the obligation to provide for the child falls solely on the mother, while they contribute only as they see fit. This is a consequence of the matrilineal family structure.

3.6. Analysis of Factors Influencing Child Support Fulfillment

3.6.1. Economic and Social Factors

Child support fulfillment after divorce is significantly influenced by the economic and social conditions of the parents, particularly the father, who has the financial obligation to support his children. Economically, a father's ability to provide support is often determined by job stability, income, and other financial resources. In many cases in Tanah Datar, fathers with stable jobs or steady income sources are more likely to meet their child support obligations compared to those with uncertain economic conditions. However, even those with financial resources do not always consistently fulfill their support obligations, depending on social factors that influence their decisions.

Social factors play a crucial role in influencing how child support is fulfilled. In the Minangkabau community, which is deeply rooted in social values and customs, the surrounding environment often dictates a father's attitude towards his child support obligations. Fathers in strong communities, where family responsibility is highly valued, tend to be more responsible in meeting their children's needs. Conversely, in communities that may be more permissive or where social norms do not strongly emphasize the importance of child support, fathers may feel less responsible or even neglect their obligations.

Social pressure from the extended family also plays a role in child support fulfillment. In Tanah Datar, the extended family, particularly from the mother's side, can act as a reminder or even enforcer of the father's responsibility to provide support. However, there are also cases where the extended family takes over the support role, leading the father to feel that he no longer needs to provide financial assistance. In this context, the father's responsibility may be shifted or neglected due to economic support from the extended family, particularly in the matrilineal system where inheritance and wealth are passed down through the mother's line.

The matrilineal customs in Tanah Datar, where land and property are inherited through the maternal line, often create different economic dynamics compared to patrilineal societies. Fathers may feel that their responsibility towards their children has been fulfilled through the inheritance of land or property managed by the mother's

family. However, this perception often leads fathers to feel less responsible for daily support, as they believe their children already have economic support from the mother's family.

On the other hand, there are broader economic factors, such as national or regional economic instability, that directly impact a father's ability to provide support. Economic crises or high unemployment can lead many fathers to lose their jobs or experience significant income reductions. In such situations, even fathers who were initially responsible may struggle to meet their support obligations. This creates a situation where the mother, along with her extended family, must bear a greater economic burden to meet the children's needs.

From a social perspective, societal perceptions of the roles of fathers and mothers also influence child support fulfillment. In a matrilineal culture, although fathers are recognized as having the obligation to provide support, caregiving roles are often more associated with the mother. This can lead fathers to believe that minimal financial support is sufficient, as the primary responsibility for childcare is considered to lie with the mother. Strong gender stereotypes in society can exacerbate this situation, where fathers may feel they do not need to be more involved in their children's lives post-divorce.

3.6.2. The Influence of Matrilineal Customs

Matrilineal customs in Minangkabau, particularly in Tanah Datar, have a significant influence on the relationship between fathers and children after divorce. In a matrilineal kinship system, lineage and property ownership are passed down through the mother's side, giving the mother and her extended family control over the household and children. This custom influences the father's role in the children's lives after divorce, making it less dominant, especially in matters of caregiving and decision-making related to the children.

In some cases, matrilineal customs can worsen a father's sense of responsibility towards his children after divorce. Since the mother and her family have greater authority in caregiving, the father may feel that he no longer has significant authority or a crucial role in the children's lives. This feeling can lead fathers to be less involved in matters related to the children's welfare, including fulfilling support obligations. Fathers who feel marginalized by this traditional structure may choose to distance themselves from their responsibilities, assuming that their role has been replaced by the mother's family.

However, matrilineal customs also have positive aspects that can support child support fulfillment. In Minangkabau society, there is a concept called "ranji," where responsibility for the children does not only lie with the parents but also with the entire extended family. This concept can act as a safety net for children whose parents are divorced, as the extended family will participate in ensuring that the children's needs are met. Nevertheless, this can also be a double-edged sword, as fathers may feel that

their responsibilities have been fulfilled by the extended family, and therefore, they do not need to provide additional support.

Matrilineal customs also affect how fathers and children interact after divorce. Since children usually live with their mother in the *rumah gadang* (traditional house), fathers may feel that they do not have a significant place or role in their children's daily lives. This can reduce a father's motivation to remain involved, both emotionally and financially. In some cases, fathers who feel unrecognized in the matrilineal family structure may completely withdraw from their children's lives, negatively impacting child support fulfillment.

However, there are also situations where matrilineal customs reinforce a father's responsibility. Some fathers may feel compelled to demonstrate that they still play an important role in their children's lives, even if they do not live with them. In such cases, customs and social norms can encourage fathers to continue fulfilling their support obligations as a way to maintain a relationship with their children. Customs can also be a tool for mothers or extended families to demand support from the father, using community values as social pressure.

Literature on matrilineal customs and father-child relationships after divorce shows that the father's role in this context greatly depends on how these customs are practiced within specific families and communities. Interviews with informants in Tanah Datar reveal that while some fathers feel no need to provide support because they believe their responsibility has been taken over by the extended family, there are also fathers who remain committed to fulfilling their obligations even after divorce. Factors such as economic status, social support, and individual understanding of customs play a crucial role in determining the extent of a father's involvement in fulfilling child support obligations.

Overall, matrilineal customs in Tanah Datar create a unique dynamic in father-child relationships after divorce. Although these customs provide strong support to mothers and their families in child-rearing, they can also lead fathers to feel less responsible or less involved in their children's lives. Economic and social factors, reinforced by customary norms, play a critical role in determining whether fathers will fulfill their child support obligations. This research shows that while matrilineal customs can be a barrier to fatherly involvement, they also have the potential to be used as a tool to encourage greater responsibility from fathers in fulfilling child support obligations post-divorce.

4. Conclusion

This study highlights the dynamics of child support fulfillment post-divorce within matrilineal families in Tanah Datar. The findings indicate that although Islamic law mandates fathers to provide for their children, the implementation of this rule is often hindered by the strong influence of matrilineal customs, where the mother's extended family takes on the primary role in child-rearing. Consequently, the father's

responsibilities are often diminished, both economically and socially, leading to a gap between legal norms and practical realities.

Furthermore, the study reveals that economic, social, and customary factors significantly influence the fulfillment of child support. The father's economic condition, prevailing social norms, and the matrilineal customs that prioritize the mother's lineage all contribute to whether the father's financial obligations are met or neglected. These findings underscore the urgent need to integrate an understanding of customs and Islamic law into more effective policies and practices at the local level.

The main conclusion of this research is the necessity for a more comprehensive and adaptive approach to the socio-cultural context in the implementation of laws related to child support post-divorce. Implementing policies that consider customary norms, increasing legal awareness, and providing support for post-divorce families are crucial steps to ensure that children's rights are protected and fulfilled fairly in Tanah Datar.

References

- Arfiansyah, A., Amalia, N., & Widyanto, A. (2023). Matrifocality and Its Implication to the Practice of Islamic Family Law in the Patriarchal Muslim Society of Gayo, Indonesia. *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura*, 23(2), 380–403. <https://doi.org/10.22373/jiif.v23i2.18209>
- Bahri, S. (2014). Marriage Aspects Of Minangkabau Matrilineal Systems In Hamka's Tenggelmnya Kapal Van Der Wijck. *BAHAS*, 25(3), 1–7. <https://doi.org/10.24114/bhs.v25i3.2546>
- Dwi Poespasari, E. (2019). Perspective of Islamic and Custom Law toward the Position of Mamak Kepala Waris in Managing High Ancestral Inheritance in Minangkabau. *Open Journal for Legal Studies*, 2(2), 53–58. <https://doi.org/10.32591/coas.ojls.0202.03053p>
- Elfira, M. (2023). Minangkabau mothers and daughters in contemporary “rantau” society; Regaining power with modified matrilineal principles and patriarchal “rantau” norms. *Wacana, Journal of the Humanities of Indonesia*, 24(2), 197–224. <https://doi.org/10.17510/wacana.v24i2.1170>
- Eranita, Y., & Fatmariza, F. (2022). The Contribution of Saparui's Matrilineal Relatives in Fulfilling Children's Educational Rights After Divorce (case Study in Nagari Salayo, Kubung District, Solok Regency). *JHSS (JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL STUDIES)*, 6(2), 226–234. <https://doi.org/10.33751/jhss.v6i2.5395>
- Fatmariza, Febriani, R., & Salleh, S. (2024). Resilience and Matriarchal Values: A Study of Women and Single Mothers in the Minangkabau Community. *KnE Social Sciences*, 252–264. <https://doi.org/10.18502/kss.v9i23.16715>
- Halim, S. H., & Abdurrazaq, M. (2022). Settlement of the Hadhanah Dispute After Divorce of a Husband and Wife of Different Ethnicities in Indonesia (Case Study of Rao Pasaman). *Jurnal Al-Qadau: Peradilan dan Hukum Keluarga Islam*, 9(2), 112–123. <https://doi.org/10.24252/al-qadau.v9i2.32032>
- Hanif, A., Yuliani, T., Rikarno, R., & Budiman, N. (2023). Sociological Studies Minangkabau Traditional Marriage. *Melayu Arts and Performance Journal*, 6(1), Article 1. <https://doi.org/10.26887/mapj.v6i1.3739>

- Hartati, N., Minza, W. M., & Yuniarti, K. W. (2021). How children of divorce interpret the matrilineal kinship support in changing society? : A phenomenology study from Minangkabau, West Sumatra, Indonesia. *Journal of Divorce & Remarriage*, 62(4), 276–294. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10502556.2021.1871836>
- Iqbal, M. (2020). The System of Inheritance Law in Minangkabau: A Social History Study. *Indonesian Journal of Education, Social Sciences and Research (IJESSR)*, 1(2), 87–93. <https://doi.org/10.30596/ijessr.v1i2.5047>
- Lira, M. A. (2023). The Father's Responsibility for the Fulfillment of Child Support Post-Divorce. *SIGN Jurnal Hukum*, 5(2), 276–291. <https://doi.org/10.37276/sjh.v5i2.291>
- Meiyenti, S., & Afrida, A. (2018). The Inequality of Right and Obligation of Minangkabau Men in Matrilineal System. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Mamangan*, 7(1), 12–22. <https://doi.org/10.22202/mamangan.2466>
- Poespasari, E. D. (2019). Perspective of Islamic and Custom Law toward the Position of Mamak Kepala Waris in Managing High Ancestral Inheritance in Minangkabau. *Open Journal for Legal Studies*, 2(2). <https://centerprode.com/ojls/ojls0202/coas.ojls.0202.03053p.html>
- Putri, D. E., Jaewon, C., & Simone, S. (2023). Provisions Regarding Low Heritage In The Compilation Of Islamic Law (Study In Nagari Koto Gadang, Koto Besar District Dharmasraya District). *Sharia Oikonomia Law Journal*, 1(1), 16–28. <https://doi.org/10.55849/solj.v1i1.70>
- Retnowulandari, W. (2018). A Review of The “Head Of The Family” Concept From The Family Law, Gender Perspective. In A. Raharjo & T. Sudrajat (Eds.), *SHS Web of Conferences* (Vol. 54, pp. 1–9). <https://doi.org/10.1051/shsconf/20185402008>
- Sabri, R., Yusran, R., Putri, D., Refnandes, R., & Putra, A. (2021). The Experience of the Minang Family Caring for an Older who Lives in the Core Family of Children in Padang City. *Xi'an Shiyou Daxue Xuebao (Ziran Kexue Ban)/Journal of Xi'an Shiyou University*. <https://doi.org/10.17605/OSF.IO/6ZNCA>
- Schrijvers, J., & Postel-Coster, E. (1977). Minangkabau women: Change in a matrilineal society. *Archipel*, 13, 79–103. <https://doi.org/10.3406/arch.1977.1328>
- Syahrizal, S., & Meiyenti, S. (2022). Kinship System of Minangkabau Matrilineal Fisherman Society in The City of Padang. *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Gender, Culture and Society, ICGCS 2021, 30-31 August 2021, Padang, Indonesia*. 1st International Conference on Gender, Culture and Society, ICGCS 2021, 30-31 August 2021, Padang, Indonesia, Padang, Indonesia. <https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.30-8-2021.2316305>
- Wandi, J. I., & Reflianto, R. (2018). Gender Equality Issues, Perception and Divorce. *Justicia Islamica*, 15(2), Article 2. <https://doi.org/10.21154/justicia.v15i2.1461>
- Watson, C. W. (1992). Islamic Family Law and the Minangkabau of West Sumatra. *Cambridge Anthropology*, 16(2), 69–84. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23817349>
- Zulfitriyani, Nuruddin, & Rafli, Z. (2022). Kinship in the novel limpapeh as a post-reformation Minangkabau local color literature. *KEMBARA: Jurnal Keilmuan Bahasa, Sastra, Dan Pengajarannya*, 8(2), 458–471. <https://doi.org/10.22219/kembara.v8i2.22416>