Harmonization Of Religious and State Law In The Context Of Siri's Marriage: A Case Study In Bogor Regency

Rifaatun Miladina

Universitas Logistik dan Bisnis Internsional (ULBI) Bandung, Jawa Barat, Indonesia
e-mail: rmiladina@gmail.com

*Correspondence: rmiladina@gmail.com

Abstract

Article History

Siri marriage, as a legally valid marriage practice but not recorded in the state administration, raises legal and social problems, especially for the protection of women and children. This study aims to analyze the perception and practice of siri marriage among religious leaders and understand their role in shaping social legitimacy towards this practice. Using a qualitative approach with a legal-social framework, data were collected through in-depth interviews and participatory observation of five religious leaders in Bogor Regency. The study results show that religious leaders hold cultural and spiritual authority in facilitating siri marriage, with the primary motivation being economic reasons, social pressure, and the meaning of Islamic law. Although some figures have begun to realize the importance of legal records, there is still tension between religious norms and state regulations. This study recommends increasing legal literacy and collaborative dialogue between the government and religious leaders as a strategy for legal harmonization. The implications of this study are essential for developing a family policy that is fair, inclusive, and harmonized between religious law and state law.

Keywords:
Siri Marriage, Religious Leaders, Social Legitimacy, Islamic Family Law, Legal Harmonization

Introduction

The phenomenon of siri marriage—which is the practice of marriage that is religiously valid but not administratively recorded in state institutions—is still a crucial issue in the dynamics of Islamic family law in Indonesia. (M. Y. Hidayatullah et al., 2022) Although this kind of marriage fulfills the essential elements and conditions from a fiqh perspective, its lack of inclusion in the state legal system poses serious problems, especially in terms of the protection of the rights of women and children. (Raharso, 2022) In the socio-religious context, religious leaders' roles are significant because they often act as moral authorities and role models in society's religious practices, including the implementation of serial marriages. (Suryadi et al., 2024) Bogor Regency, as a region with religious character and social diversity, reflects the reality in which this practice continues with religious justifications and diverse interpretations of Islam.

As the need for harmony between religious law and positive law grows, it is essential to trace how religious leaders' perceptions and practices of siri marriage are formed, disseminated, and maintained. When the state emphasizes the importance of marriage registration as a form of legal protection, some religious leaders see registration as a secondary element that does not affect the validity of marriage according to Sharia (Damasynta, 2022) The tension between religious and state authorities on this issue shows that siri marriage is not solely an administrative issue, but part of a broader discourse on legal authority, social piety, and the relationship between religious norms and state norms (Dali et al., 2022) Therefore, this study places the role of religious leaders as a central point in analyzing the sustainability and socio-legal legitimacy of serial marriage at the grassroots level.

Although siri marriage has become a widely accepted religious practice in the Muslim community in Indonesia, including in Bogor Regency, it raises several legal and social issues that have not been fully answered. Unregistered status has a direct impact on legal protection for wives and children and creates vulnerabilities in terms of inheritance rights, divorce, and legal recognition. (Hafidzi et al., 2022) In the midst of this complexity, religious leaders play an important role in shaping public perceptions of the validity and legitimacy of serial marriage. However, not many studies systematically explore how religious leaders interpret and practice siri marriage in contemporary social and legal contexts and how they balance religious authority and state regulation.

The main problem raised in this study is the gap between religious leaders' normative views regarding siri marriage and the juridical reality regulated by the state. In many cases, religious leaders are the main facilitators of the practice of siri marriage without encouraging registration at the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA), which has the potential to strengthen legal exclusion for women and children. (Rosyidah & Kustini, 2022) This problem indicates a conflict of roles and authority between religious institutions and the state in regulating the lives of Muslim families. (Ulfah, 2024) Therefore, this study aims to identify the root of these differences in perception and analyze how the practice of siri marriage is influenced by the social constructs and legal legitimacy built by religious leaders at the local level.

Several previous studies have discussed the practice of serial marriage from various approaches, such as normative Islamic law, a perspective on women's protection, to a juridical analysis of the legal status of unrecorded marriage in Indonesia. Studies such as those conducted by Syahrul Syahrul (Syahrul & Syalviana, 2020) Aulia Ulfah (Ulfah, 2024) Adira Mutiara Jasmine (Jasmine & Ramadhani, 2024) and Nurfika Palilati (Palilati et al., 2025) emphasize the tension between state law and religious law in marriage regulation. At the same time, other local studies have highlighted the social and economic implications of serial marriages on women and children. However, there is a significant gap in the literature related to the strategic role of religious leaders as the leading actors in the normalization of the practice of serial marriage, especially in local contexts such as Bogor Regency. There has not been much research that empirically and critically analyzes the social constructs and religious authorities that underlie this practice, as well as how it interacts with the country's legal system. As such, this study exists to fill in the gap, contributing

to a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of legal and religious authority in contemporary Muslim family practice.

This research offers novelty by integrating a sociological-legal approach to examine the perception and practice of serial marriage among religious leaders, a dimension that has received little attention in academic studies. Most previous studies have focused on the normative aspects of Islamic law or on the social impact of siri marriage in general, but not many have explicitly explored how religious authorities play an active role in shaping and sustaining such practices at the local community level. This approach not only expands the theoretical scope in the study of Islamic family law, but also makes a relevant empirical contribution to the formulation of public policy, especially in efforts to harmonize religious law and state law. By highlighting religious practices that are intertwined with social reality and formal legal frameworks, this research is expected to enrich the scientific discourse on the transformation of religious authority and its relationship with modern legal structures in the context of Indonesian Muslim society.

Methods

This study employed a qualitative research approach within a socio-legal framework (Law, 2025) in order to gain a comprehensive and in-depth understanding of the dynamics of religious authority and legal harmonization in the practice of *siri* marriage in Bogor Regency, Indonesia. The case study strategy was deliberately chosen, as it provides an opportunity to explore the phenomenon in its natural context while capturing the interplay between socio-cultural realities and normative legal frameworks. Data were collected over a three-month period (January–March 2025) using two primary techniques, namely participant observation and in-depth semi-structured interviews. Participant observation enabled the researcher to obtain firsthand insight into community practices, religious rituals, and the interactions between local actors, while interviews were conducted with five purposively selected informants consisting of a prominent religious leader, two village officials, and two legal practitioners, all of whom possessed direct knowledge and substantive experience regarding *siri* marriage. The purposive sampling technique ensured that the selected participants were not only knowledgeable but also represented different yet interrelated spheres of authority, thereby enhancing the depth and diversity of the data.

All interview sessions were recorded with prior consent and subsequently transcribed verbatim to ensure accuracy and completeness of information. The data were then analyzed through thematic analysis, following a systematic and iterative process. This process began with careful transcription and repeated reading for familiarization, followed by open coding to identify key statements and concepts, then clustering of codes into categories, and finally synthesizing them into broader themes that captured recurring patterns relevant to the research focus. This analytic process allowed the study to reveal the complexities of the interaction between religious norms, community practices, and state legal frameworks in the context of *siri* marriage. To ensure the credibility and trustworthiness of the findings, triangulation was employed both in terms of data sources and methods. Data obtained from religious, administrative, and legal perspectives were cross-validated, while the use of multiple techniques, including observation, interviews, and document review, strengthened the robustness of the analysis. Reliability was further enhanced through the maintenance of an audit trail, which documented field notes, coding decisions, and analytic procedures to ensure transparency and consistency throughout the research process. Researcher reflexivity was also practiced to minimize bias and maintain objectivity in interpretation.

Ethical considerations were rigorously observed in this study. Before commencing data collection, all participants were provided with detailed information regarding the objectives, procedures, and potential implications of the research, after which informed consent was obtained. The principles of confidentiality and anonymity were upheld by assigning pseudonyms to participants and restricting access to sensitive information solely to the research team. Participants were also assured of their right to withdraw from the study at any stage without consequence.

Through this methodological design, which integrates contextual sensitivity, analytical rigor, and ethical responsibility, the study ensures that its findings are not only academically robust but also aligned with international scholarly standards for qualitative socio-legal research.

Results and Discussion
The Dynamics of Religious Leaders' Perceptions of the Legality of Marriage Siri
framework for understanding how social norms and legal authority are formed and maintained in society (Nisak & Nisa', 2021). The legality of a marriage practice, such as siri marriage, can be seen as the result of the interaction between the formal laws of the country and the religious norms inherent in a particular community. Weber emphasized that the legitimacy of religious authority can be traditional, charismatic, or rational-legal (Yuniarsih, 2024). In the context of siri marriage, religious figures—who often act not only as spiritual leaders but also as mediators in the marriage process—typically hold traditional and charismatic legitimacy roles, which provide a strong basis for the continuation of this practice despite dealing with more rational-legal state laws (Baihaqi et al., 2024). Religious leaders' understanding of the legality of *siri* marriage is very diverse and influenced by *fiqh* interpretations and the socio-cultural context in which they operate.

The perception of religious leaders towards siri marriage is greatly influenced by their understanding of sharia principles, especially regarding the marriage contract and the fulfillment of the legal requirements of marriage according to Islamic jurisprudence. According to some scholars, siri marriage is still considered religiously valid as long as it fulfills the pillars and conditions of marriage, even though it is not recorded in the state (Kurniawati et al., 2025) This gives rise to the perception that the legality of religion can stand on its own without the need to follow state procedures, which are often considered bureaucratic and convoluted (Fageh & Najah, 2022) This difference shows the dualism of the legal system that is not fully synchronized between religious law and positive law in Indonesia, which is a source of conflict and legal ambiguity in society.

Furthermore, the perception of religious leaders on the legality of serial marriage is influenced by historical and cultural factors that develop in society. In some communities, siri marriage is considered a practical and quick solution to address various social problems, such as high marriage costs or the administrative unpreparedness of couples (Rajafi & Susanti, 2023) Religious leaders play the role of mediators who facilitate this process in accordance with religious norms, while maintaining social stability (Marwah et al., 2022) This perception reinforces the social legitimacy of serial marriage, even though its legal status is not officially recognized by the state.

However, religious leaders' attitudes towards state laws regarding marriage registration also vary, depending on their level of understanding of the functions and benefits of state regulations. Some religious leaders see marriage registration as an important step to protect the legal rights of spouses and children, while others view it as state interference that reduces religious autonomy (Imron, 2024) This tension shows the need for further dialogue between the government and religious leaders to create regulations that are harmonious and acceptable to all parties.

This perception dynamics can also be analyzed through the theory of social legitimacy put forward by Suchman (1995), which states that the legitimacy of a practice depends on public perception of the practice's adherence to applicable social norms. Siri marriage often gains social legitimacy because it is supported by religious figures who have a strong influence in the community. Religious leaders act as guardians of religious norms as well as shaping public opinion, so that their perceptions have a significant impact on determining the social acceptance of serial marriage.

The involvement of religious leaders in facilitating siri marriage is often based on the principle of maslahat (benefit) in Islamic law, which is an effort to achieve goodness and prevent harm (Izat, 2020) In this context, religious leaders consider siri marriage as a pragmatic solution that protects the honor and social status of couples who marry without official registration. This maslahat approach shows the flexibility of Islamic law in adjusting to social reality, as well as being

the main reason why religious leaders continue to support the practice of siri marriage even though they are faced with state regulations (Devriansyah, 2019)

Furthermore, religious leaders' perceptions of siri marriage are also related to their education and legal knowledge factors. Religious leaders who have a deep understanding of state law and Islamic law tend to be better able to bridge the two legal systems in providing guidance to the community (Syamsia et al., 2023) On the contrary, a lack of legal knowledge can reinforce ambivalent attitudes or even reject official marriage registration (Ma'arif, 2019) Therefore, capacity building and legal education for religious leaders is one of the keys in reducing the tension between state law and religious practices.

Finally, it is important to understand that religious leaders' perceptions of the legality of marriage do not only have an impact on legal and social aspects, but also have implications for the protection of the rights of women and children in the family. Uncertainty in the legal status of marital status often creates vulnerability for wives and children in terms of inheritance, alimony, and social recognition (Said & Zuhri, 2021). Therefore, a more progressive understanding of religious leaders and collaboration with the state are very important to ensure that the practice of siri marriage does not ignore the basic rights of family members, while maintaining social and religious harmony in society.

Social Practice of Marriage Series: Between Religious Legitimacy and the Void of State Law

In this study, the author interviewed five key informants—AL, AM, AN, NB, and MT—religious leaders residing in Bogor Regency who have direct experience in siri marriage cases in the community. These informants offered in-depth insights into the economic, social, and religious motivations behind the practice, revealing that many couples choose siri marriage due to financial constraints, the desire to preserve personal or family honor, to avoid zina (unlawful sexual relations), to engage in polygamy without the consent of a legal spouse, or due to administrative barriers and social pressures. They also highlighted how religious legitimacy is often used to justify the practice, despite its lack of legal recognition by the state. Furthermore, the interviews underscored the adverse impacts experienced by women, particularly regarding unprotected legal rights. These findings, which were later organized into thematic tables, align with existing academic literature that portrays siri marriage as a complex issue encompassing not only religious dimensions but also social, legal, and cultural challenges.

Siri marriage is often a pragmatic choice for couples who face economic and administrative obstacles in realizing a formal marriage. This condition reflects the socio-economic reality of some Indonesian people who have not been able to meet bureaucratic requirements, such as the cost of registering marriages at the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA), document requirements, or even the blessing of the family. Ustadz AL explained that many couples feel burdened by the costs and procedures of official marriage, so they look for simpler alternatives but still religiously valid (AL, 2025) Social factors also play a role, such as family pressure, social status, and the need to maintain honor due to relationships that have crossed boundaries. In this context, siri marriage is seen as a quick and 'halal' way out to avoid adultery (Khodijah et al., 2024) The literature as stated by Sam'ani in a socio-religious journal states that economic motives are a strong driver in the increase in the practice of serial marriage, especially among the lower middle class (Sam'ani et al., 2023) In other words, siri marriage is a reflection of the gap in access to state services and the fulfillment of the right to marriage that is legally recorded. However, this choice carries legal and social consequences that are often not carefully considered by the perpetrators.

Religious leaders have a strategic position in the practice of marriage siri because they are trusted by the community as authoritative figures in religious affairs. They are often asked to be penghulu, wali muhakkam, or spiritual consultants in serial marriage processions, especially when couples face legal or social barriers to marrying officially. Ustadz AM explained that in many cases,

people actually prioritize religious legality over state legality. Religious leaders are considered to have moral and spiritual legitimacy to hold marriages, even though they are not recorded by the state (AM, 2025) This role shows how religious leaders are key actors in upholding Islamic sharia values, but at the same time also have the potential to strengthen informal practices that are outside the legal umbrella of the state. A study from Basar Dikuraisyin shows that religious leaders play a dual role: as guardians of religious norms as well as servants of the needs of society in terms of marriage (Dikuraisyin et al., 2024) In this context, they are in a dilemma between practicing religious teachings and complying with state regulations. Therefore, their role needs to be reviewed in a broader framework, namely as mediators who are able to bridge the interests of religion and state law in a balanced and responsible manner.

Although siri marriage has no formal legal force in the eyes of the state, this practice still gains recognition and acceptance in society because it is considered religiously valid. Ustadz AN said that as long as the conditions and pillars of marriage are fulfilled according to Islamic law—such as the presence of a guardian, two witnesses, ijab-qabul, and dowry—then the marriage is considered valid by the Muslim community. This social legitimacy is rooted in the understanding of society that places religious law above state law in sacred issues such as marriage (AN, 2025) This condition creates a legal dualism, where religious law operates in parallel with state law. Literature from Yanuar Ilham emphasizes that people often view that the validity of a marriage does not depend on state registration, but on whether it is valid according to religion (Ilham et al., 2023) This has led many couples to feel comfortable with social and religious recognition, even though they are legally unprotected. On the one hand, this shows the power of religious culture in society, but on the other hand it reflects the inefficiency of the legal system in reaching complex social realities. Therefore, efforts are needed to reconstruct legal awareness that integrates religious values and formal legal provisions in a harmonious manner.

Women who become wives in serial marriages often face serious legal uncertainty and vulnerability (Setiawan et al., 2023) Because their marriages are not recorded by the state, they are legally not entitled to various forms of protection, such as alimony, inheritance rights, alimony, and protection from domestic violence (M. S. Hidayatullah & Praya, 2024) Ustadz NB and MT emphasized that many women enter serial marriages without understanding the legal risks that follow, so that when there is a domestic conflict, they have difficulty accessing legal channels (NB & MT, 2025) Women who are abandoned or unilaterally divorced in serial marriages often do not have a strong legal basis to claim their rights. A study from the Kotabumi Regency Government and an article in Perqara show that ignorance of the law and gender inequality are the main factors in women's vulnerability in serial marriage. In addition, women are also faced with social stigma if their serial marriages are exposed or deemed invalid by the environment. Therefore, there needs to be stronger legal education for women regarding the rights and risks in choosing a serial marriage. The state also needs to create alternative regulations or emergency protection pathways for women in unregistered marriages, so that they continue to have access to justice and equal protection.

Table 1: Religious Leaders' Perceptions and Motivations in Mediating SiriMarriages in Bogor Regencyin Bogor Regency

No	Name of Ustadz	Perspective	Key Issues Emphasized
1	Ustadz AL	Unregistered marriage is often chosen due to economic and administrative reasons.	Economic motivation and social stigma towards wives and children from unregistered marriages
2	Ustadz AM	The community seeks assistance from religious figures for unregistered marriages; he actively educates the public.	The role of religious leaders and the importance of marriage registration awareness

3	Ustadz AN	Emphasizes that society views unregistered marriages as religiously valid; calls for harmonization between religious and state laws.	Socio-religious legitimacy and legal dualism
4	Ustadz NB	Highlights the legal impact on women in unregistered marriages who are not legally protected.	Injustice and vulnerability of women in unregistered marriages
5	Ustadz MT	Explains that children from unregistered marriages are often not legally recognized and face barriers to public services.	Legal protection for children and the importance of birth certificates

Religious Authority and the Challenge of Legal Harmonization

In the social structure of Muslim society in Indonesia, religious leaders hold authoritative positions that are not only spiritual, but also social and cultural. They are often considered the guardians of collective morality and the main source of reference in resolving religious issues, including marriage matters. In the context of serial marriage, the authority of religious leaders gives strong legitimacy because this practice is considered valid according to shari'i if it has fulfilled the pillars and requirements of marriage according to Islamic jurisprudence (Kusmayanti & Ramadhanty, 2021) Therefore, even though it is not recorded in the state administration, many people still feel at peace in their hearts because they have received the blessing of religious leaders. This role shows that the strength of religious leaders does not simply lie in the degree of clergy, but also in their ability to influence the perception of the law, ethics, and social values of the community. As a result, the practice of serial marriage is not only seen as an individual act, but as a product of social interactions legitimized by religious authorities.

Social cohesion in the community is often formed from an understanding of values strengthened by religious leaders. They become the guardians of community stability by mediating domestic conflicts, legalizing religious marriages, and providing spiritual guidance that is believed to be the truth. In this context, religious figures not only represent science, but also become symbols of collective identity and moral reference. When the state is considered too bureaucratic or less responsive to local realities, people tend to rely on religious figures as an alternative to authority. This shows the power of informality that is very effective in shaping a religion-based legal culture (Zaenurrosyid et al., 2021) Therefore, the understanding of the authority of religious leaders needs to be expanded, not only as agents of da'wah, but as social actors who play an important role in the normalization of practices such as siri marriage that do not receive state recognition, but are widely accepted in the community.

Conflicts between religious law and state law in the practice of marriage have become a latent issue in family law governance in Indonesia. The state through Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage affirms the importance of marriage registration as legal evidence (Syahrul & Syalviana, 2020) However, some religious leaders still practice siri marriage on the basis that the validity of marriage depends on the fulfillment of the pillars and conditions according to Islam, not state registration. This paradigm difference has caused tension, especially when it comes to the rights of women and children. The state views registration as a form of legal protection, while some people, through the authority of religious leaders, consider registration to be administrative, not essential (Rokhim, 2023) This tension shows the dualism of the legal system that is not fully integrated and tends to cause confusion in the understanding of the law at the grassroots level.

The obstacles to the synchronization of law between the state and religion stem not only from differences in normative norms, but also from cultural resistance and distrust of state institutions. Many people feel more trusting in religious leaders they know personally than in state officials who are considered bureaucratic and insensitive to the local context (Ambarwati et al., 2024) In addition, there are still cases of structural discrimination, such as economic difficulties in accessing marriage registration services or illegal levies practices in the field, strengthening the

position of religious leaders as an alternative solution. In this situation, religious leaders face a dilemma: on the one hand they want to maintain obedience to the sharia, on the other hand they are faced with the complexity of state law (Setiawan et al., 2023) The absence of an integrative approach leads to the emergence of an overlap of jurisdiction between religious and state law, which has an impact on legal uncertainty for serial marriage perpetrators, especially women and children.

Efforts to harmonize state law and religious law require a dialogical and participatory approach that involves religious leaders as the main stakeholders. In this context, religious figures are not solely objects of regulation, but must be involved as subjects in policy formulation (Obviarezqi, 2023) The harmonization strategy can be started through a deliberative forum that connects religious institutions, academics, and the government in developing a marriage model that is legal under state law, but still accommodating to religious values. Increasing legal literacy among religious leaders is also an important step, so that they can become strategic partners of the government in socializing the importance of marriage registration without having to sacrifice sharia values. Through this collaborative approach, the conflict of authority between state law and religion can be reduced towards a more constructive normative consensus.

The implications of this legal harmonization are very significant for public policy, especially in ensuring fairer and more comprehensive legal protection for all citizens, especially women and children from serial marriages (Prabowo et al., 2023) When state law and religious law can complement and strengthen each other, the social protection structure will be stronger. This can also reduce the practice of unregistered serial marriages, as people no longer see a conflict between religious beliefs and legal obligations (Zainuddin et al., 2022) Harmonization also allows for policies based on cultural and religious approaches, not solely legalistic approaches (Lestari & Erma, 2023) For example, through the involvement of religious leaders in family law counseling activities, the government can expand the reach of legal education to the community level. Thus, inclusive public policies that are responsive to local realities can be achieved.

However, the success of legal harmonization cannot be separated from the political will and consistency of state institutions in enforcing the law fairly and accommodatively (Muslih, 2021) If the law enforcement acts discriminatory or makes it difficult to register marriages, then public trust will still be inclined towards religious leaders. Therefore, the state must ensure that marriage registration services can be accessed easily, cheaply, and free from corrupt practices. Meanwhile, religious leaders need to be empowered through legal training in order to understand the importance of formal legal protection. A good collaboration between these two authorities will create a family law system that is not only legally legal in the state, but also religiously dignified (Purba et al., 2025) In the long run, this approach will strengthen a more a social structure and harmonious, as well as narrowing the gap between positive law and religious norms.

In conclusion, the challenge of harmonizing religious law and state law in the context of siri marriage reflects the complex legal dynamics in a pluralistic society like Indonesia. The role of religious leaders is very central in bridging the gap between the normative laws of the state and the reality of religious-based social practices. Therefore, building synergy between the two legal systems is not only a matter of technical regulation, but also a matter of building collective awareness about the importance of fair and dignified legal protection. Going forward, an integrative approach that recognizes religious authority while upholding the rule of law of the state is a realistic middle ground. This will open up space for the formulation of family policies that are responsive to social diversity, as well as create an inclusive, humane, and just legal system for all elements of society.

Table 2: Role of Religious Figures and Legal Conflicts in the Practice of Unregistered (Siri marriage) Marriages in Bogor Regency

No.	Main Theme	Role of Religious Figures	Conflict with State Law	Recommendations / Policy Implications

1	Legitimacy of Siri marriage	Providing religious legitimacy despite the absence of state registration	Incompatibility between state registration and Islamic law	Religious figures as agents for shaping social norms
2	Social Cohesion and Stability	Mediators in conflicts, moral symbols of the community	Public distrust in state bureaucracy	Expanding the understanding of religious leaders as social actors
3	Legal Dualism	Upholding religious law in marriage matters	Tensions related to women's and children's rights	Legal integration needed for fair legal protection
4	Synchronization Barriers	Religious figures as trusted legal alternatives	Bureaucratic practices and extortion in civil registration	Reforming registration services to be more accessible and transparent
5	Harmonization Strategies	Involving religious figures in dialogue and policy-making	Conflicts of legal authority can be minimized	Improving legal literacy and fostering collaboration between the government and clerics

Conclusion

This research reveals that the authority of religious leaders in Bogor Regency plays a central role in the formation of social norms and the legitimacy of the practice of serial marriage, which, although not recorded in the state, is still widely accepted in the community. Conflicts between state and religious law are still the main challenges in family law governance, especially in protecting women's and children's rights. These tensions are exacerbated by cultural and bureaucratic barriers that hinder the integration of the legal system. However, through a dialogical and participatory approach involving religious leaders as strategic partners, harmonization of Islamic family law with state law can be realized. This approach strengthens inclusive legal protections, improves social cohesion, and reduces the practice of unofficially registered serial marriage.

To optimize legal harmonization in Bogor Regency, it is recommended that the government improve legal literacy for religious leaders through continuous training and workshops so that they can become agents of change in socializing the importance of legal marriage registration. In addition, there is a need for administrative reforms that facilitate public access to marriage registration services, including the elimination of illegal levies and burdensome bureaucracy. Multi-stakeholder dialogue involving religious institutions, academics, and policymakers should continue to be promoted as a platform for formulating family policies that accommodate religious values and state law. Finally, further studies involving various regions in Indonesia are strongly encouraged to enrich the comparative understanding of the harmonization of family law in diverse social and cultural contexts.

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