

Integrating Kyai's Authority into Sharia Mediation: A Socio-Legal Approach to Legal Pluralism and Family Law Harmony in Madura

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Abstract

This study investigates the pivotal role of the Kyai in Sharia mediation and the integration of their religious authority with the Indonesian national legal system within family law disputes in Madura. Utilizing a qualitative socio-legal approach, the research explores the dynamics of legal pluralism and the harmonization between Sharia and state law. The findings reveal that while the Madurese community predominantly favors Sharia mediation led by Kyais due to high social trust, these religious figures do not operate in isolation from formal law. Instead, Kyais actively bridge the gap by considering state legal frameworks, particularly in protecting women's rights during divorce and inheritance disputes. This study proposes the concept of "religious authority-based legal pluralism," where Kyais act as socio-legal mediators who negotiate and reinterpret the relationship between religious norms and formal statutes. The research concludes that moderate legal integration, facilitated by local authorities, is essential for creating equitable, socially acceptable, and legally valid solutions in multicultural societies.

Penelitian ini mengeksplorasi peran sentral Kyai dalam mediasi syariah dan bagaimana otoritas keagamaan mereka berintegrasi dengan sistem hukum nasional dalam konteks sengketa hukum keluarga di Madura, Indonesia. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif sosio-legal, penelitian ini menyelidiki dinamika pluralisme hukum serta harmonisasi antara hukum syariah dan hukum negara. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa meskipun masyarakat Madura lebih memilih mediasi syariah yang dipimpin oleh Kyai karena faktor kepercayaan sosial yang tinggi, para tokoh agama tersebut tidak mengabaikan hukum formal. Sebaliknya, Kyai berperan aktif menjembatani kesenjangan dengan mempertimbangkan kerangka hukum negara, terutama dalam melindungi hak-hak perempuan pada kasus perceraian dan waris. Penelitian ini menawarkan konsep "pluralisme hukum berbasis otoritas keagamaan," di mana Kyai bertindak sebagai mediator sosio-legal yang menegosiasikan dan menginterpretasikan kembali hubungan antara norma agama dan

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aturan formal. Penelitian menyimpulkan bahwa integrasi hukum moderat yang difasilitasi oleh otoritas lokal sangat penting untuk menciptakan solusi yang adil, diterima secara sosial, dan sah secara hukum dalam masyarakat multikultural.

Keywords: Sharia Mediation; Kyai's Authority; Legal Pluralism; Moslem Madura; Family Law; National Law

Introduction

Amid rapid social change, the Madurese community continues to rely on customary law and religious authority in resolving family law disputes. This phenomenon indicates that the resolution of family disputes is not solely governed by state law, but is more dominantly influenced by the religious normative system embedded within the local community.¹ Sharia mediation grounded in local religious authority holds significant potential to strengthen the principles of moderation in family law within the Madurese community. Through the involvement of religious authorities, this form of mediation facilitates outcomes that are more socially acceptable and culturally intelligible to the local population.²

The Madurese community encounters significant challenges in resolving family law disputes, which frequently arise from divergent understandings between state legal frameworks and religious doctrines.³ The complexity intensifies when the community prioritizes religious authority in resolving legal disputes, even when such practices may contradict prevailing state regulations. This condition produces tensions between the two systems, particularly in relation to women's rights, divorce, and inheritance. In practice, the community often favors religious-based mediation, which does not always possess a firm legal standing within the formal statutory framework.⁴ This phenomenon reveals a substantial gap between formal state law and the law as practiced in the everyday lives of the Madurese community.

¹ Syukron Affani, *Islam Dan Budaya Madura Tanèyan Lanjhang Ilmu Pengetahuan Islam Integratif* (UIN Madura Press, 2025),

² awaludin Robi, "Mediasi Non Litigasi Sebagai Alternatif Penyelesaian Sengketa Keluarga Ditinjau Dari Perspektif Hukum Islam Dan Perundang-Undangan Di Indonesia" (PhD Thesis, UIN Raden Intan Lampung, 2022), <https://repository.radenintan.ac.id/id/eprint/18061>.

³ Nur Asifah and Alauddin Alauddin, "Konflik Keluarga Dan Resolusinya Dalam Hukum Adat: Refleksi Atas Peran Budaya Dalam Merawat Harmoni Sosial," *Sibaliparriq: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Literasi Syariah* 2, no. 1 (2025): 1–12.

⁴ Abdulahanaa, *Strategi Mengelola Konflik Budaya Dan Agama Dalam Pernikahan*, n.d., accessed March 2, 2026, <https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Abdulahanaa-Abdulahanaa/publication>.

Empirical findings suggest that the Madurese community predominantly opts for Sharia-based mediation to resolve family disputes, rather than referring such matters to formal state legal institutions.⁵ This preference is largely driven by the perception that Sharia mediation is more consistent with prevailing religious values and is more socially acceptable. Nevertheless, tensions emerge when the outcomes of such mediation do not fully align with the principles of justice embodied in state law, particularly in cases of divorce and inheritance, where women's rights may not be adequately protected. This imbalance points to the potential for harmonizing Sharia-based family law with state legal frameworks through a more moderate approach mediated by local religious authority.

In legal studies, legal pluralism is understood as the coexistence of multiple legal systems operating within the same social field (Griffiths, 1986). However, this perspective extends beyond merely acknowledging the presence of diverse legal systems, to examining how these systems interact, negotiate, and at times dominate one another. Merry (2006) further argues that law is not always applied in a direct manner, but is often translated and adapted to local contexts through social actors in a process known as *vernacularization*. Within this framework, state law and religious law do not necessarily operate in parallel; rather, they undergo processes of adaptation mediated by local actors who possess social and cultural authority. This study positions Kyai as key actors in this process, who not only implement legal norms but also interpret and negotiate legal pluralism within everyday social practice.

Previous scholarship has widely explored Sharia mediation in the context of family law, both in Indonesia and across Muslim-majority societies. While many studies highlight the significance of religion-based mediation in resolving family disputes, they predominantly focus on formal legal dimensions and offer limited analysis of the substantive role played by local religious authorities in shaping mediation practices.⁶ Furthermore, much of the existing literature overlooks the role of moderation in the application of religion-based family law, despite its importance in addressing persistent social inequalities. This gap calls for more context-sensitive research that explores the harmonization between state law and Sharia-based family law, particularly within the Madurese context.

⁵ Robi, "Mediasi Non Litigasi Sebagai Alternatif Penyelesaian Sengketa Keluarga Ditinjau Dari Perspektif Hukum Islam Dan Perundang-Undangan Di Indonesia."

⁶ Yuliana Yuliana et al., "Optimalisasi Peran Tokoh Agama Dalam Mendorong Kepatuhan Hukum Dan Ketertiban Sosial Berdasarkan Prinsip Siyasa Syar'iyah," *Diligente: Jurnal Advokasi Dan Pengabdian* 1 (2021): 30–36.

A key limitation of prior studies is their limited engagement with local dynamics and the active role of religious authorities in shaping legal moderation within family mediation practices. Most studies tend to frame Sharia mediation within a universalistic legal perspective, thereby overlooking the socio-cultural conditions that influence its operation in specific local settings.⁷ without adequately considering the cultural and religious differences that exist across regions. This study aims to fill this gap by adopting a more contextual approach, focusing on the significant role of local religious authorities in Madura. In doing so, this research contributes to the development of a more moderate and contextually relevant theory of Sharia-based family law.

The novelty of this study lies in its effort to examine the harmonization of Sharia mediation with state family law through the involvement of local religious authorities in Madura. Previous research has predominantly emphasized theoretical analyses of Sharia mediation, often overlooking the practical and contextual roles that local religious authorities can play in strengthening legal moderation. This study is therefore highly relevant, as it offers more applicable solutions for addressing complex family law issues that are deeply intertwined with local customs and religious values. By focusing on the interplay between state law and Sharia, this research aims to contribute to the development of a more inclusive and equitable legal system.

This study seeks to address a fundamental question regarding how the harmonization of Sharia mediation, grounded in local religious authority in Madura, can strengthen the moderation of family law. The main argument proposed is that the involvement of local religious authorities, who possess a deeper understanding of the community's socio-cultural context, enables Sharia mediation to produce outcomes that are both socially acceptable and aligned with principles of justice embedded in state law. Accordingly, this research offers a meaningful contribution to the formulation of alternative mechanisms for resolving family law disputes that are more equitable, culturally grounded, and consistent with broader legal standards of justice.

This study does not merely provide a descriptive account of Sharia mediation practices, but also offers a theoretical contribution to the study of legal pluralism. It proposes the concept of *religious authority-based legal pluralism*, in which Kyai are not only interpreters of Islamic law, but also act as socio-legal mediators who connect, negotiate, and reinterpret the relationship between state law and religious norms within a local context. Thus, legal pluralism in this

⁷ Sumardi Efendi, "Prinsip Keadilan Dalam Proses Penyelesaian Sengketa Hukum Islam," *Constitutio: Jurnal Riset Hukum Kenegaraan Dan Politik* 1, no. 2 (2022): 87–96.

study is understood not simply as the coexistence of multiple legal systems, but as a dynamic process mediated by religious authority endowed with strong social and cultural legitimacy within the community.

Method

This study employs a qualitative research design using a case study approach. The case study method enables the researcher to obtain in-depth and contextual insights into the dynamics of family law within the Madurese community. By focusing on a specific location and community, this study explores how Sharia mediation practices operate within local cultural and religious contexts, and how these processes shape the moderation of family law. This approach also provides a framework for understanding the interaction between religious authority and state law in resolving family legal disputes.

The research was conducted in Madura, particularly in several districts representing diverse cultural backgrounds and practices of religion-based family law. The selection of Madura as the research site is based on the consideration that the region is strongly characterized by Islamic values that influence nearly all aspects of social life, including family law. Moreover, Sharia mediation practices involving local religious authorities remain highly dominant in Madura, making it an appropriate setting to examine the role of religious authority in the harmonization of family law.

Data were collected through in-depth interviews, participant observation, and document analysis. The data analysis employed a thematic approach focusing on the identification of key themes and patterns emerging from the collected data. The analysis process consisted of several stages: data condensation, data reduction, data display, and data verification. Data condensation involved selecting and focusing on information relevant to the research objectives, particularly concerning the role of religious authority and the moderation of family law. Data reduction was conducted to refine and prioritize the most significant information. The processed data were then presented in descriptive narratives or tables to facilitate the identification of patterns and relationships. Finally, data verification was carried out by comparing findings from interviews, observations, and documents to ensure consistency and accuracy.

This study involved 10 informants, consisting of 5 Kyai, 3 religious mediators, and 2 community members who had experience in family dispute resolution. Informants were selected using purposive sampling, targeting individuals with relevant knowledge and experience, and further expanded

through snowball sampling. To ensure data validity, this study applied triangulation of sources and methods by comparing findings from interviews, observations, and documentation. Additionally, cross-checking among informants was conducted to ensure the consistency and reliability of the data.

Result and Discussion

The Authority of Kyai in Sharia Mediation: Navigating the Intersection of Religious and State Law in Madura

Kyai serve as trusted religious authorities within the community, playing a central role in resolving various family-related issues, including divorce and inheritance disputes.⁸ grounded in the application of Sharia principles. The authority of Kyai is highly influential, stemming from their close engagement with the community and their profound understanding of both religious doctrines and local socio-cultural contexts.⁹ This prompts an inquiry into how such roles interact with state legal frameworks and the extent to which they contribute to a more moderate and socially accepted form of family law harmonization.

The first informant, a senior Kyai with over two decades of experience in family law mediation, explained that:

"Saya selalu menekankan pentingnya menjaga keseimbangan antara hukum syariah dan norma-norma lokal yang ada di Madura. Banyak kasus yang saya tangani berkaitan dengan warisan dan perceraian, yang membutuhkan pendekatan yang tidak hanya berdasarkan teks hukum, tetapi juga konteks sosial masyarakat." (Interview, 2026)

This interpretation suggests that Kyai serve not only as interpreters of Sharia law, but also as custodians of local cultural values that are integral to the mediation process. Such a role contributes to a form of legal harmony, where state law and Sharia are not inherently contradictory, but can operate in a complementary manner.

The second informant, a religious mediator in Madura, noted that:

"Masyarakat lebih memilih mediasi yang dilakukan oleh Kyai karena mereka merasa lebih dekat dan percaya. Hasil mediasi ini sering kali lebih diterima, bahkan jika bertentangan dengan putusan pengadilan agama. Hal ini karena Kyai dianggap sebagai figur yang lebih mengerti masalah masyarakat Madura secara holistik." (Interview, 2026)

⁸ Zahrotul Abidah, "Peran Kyai Desa Pada Mediasi Perkara Perceraian Di Desa Kalisat Kecamatan Bungkal Kabupaten Poorogo," *Jurnal Ad-Dustur* 1, no. 1 (2025): 49–60.

⁹ Muhammad Habib et al., "Peran Kiai Dalam Menyelesaikan Konflik Keluarga," *El-Mujtama: Jurnal Pengabdian Masyarakat* 1, no. 2 (2021): 184–93.

The researcher interprets that the authority of Kyai in the context of Sharia mediation is not solely measured by formal legal aspects, but is largely grounded in the social and cultural trust bestowed upon them by the community. This illustrates how legal pluralism operates in Madura, where individuals tend to favor legal systems that are more proximate and contextually embedded in their everyday lives.

During observations conducted in pesantren that also function as sites for family law mediation, the researcher found that Kyai tend to adopt an inclusive approach, involving both parties in the mediation process with a strong emphasis on respect for religious and local cultural values. The observations indicate that mediation practices often prioritize musyawarah (deliberation) and consensus, not merely adhering to formal legal texts but also taking into account the social and economic conditions of the families involved. This mediation style contributes to outcomes that are more mutually agreed upon and socially accepted.

Based on data obtained from interviews and observations, it can be inferred that the mediation process does not rely solely on the textual application of Sharia law, but also incorporates the social and cultural dimensions of the community. The effectiveness of this mediation is largely determined by the social trust placed in Kyai as authoritative figures who are perceived to better understand community needs, both in terms of religious values and local traditions. In this regard, Kyai play a crucial role in mediating between state law and Sharia through a more moderate and context-sensitive approach.

Table 1
Sharia Mediation

Informant Position	Interview Excerpt	Indicator
Senior Kyai	"Saya selalu menekankan pentingnya menjaga keseimbangan antara hukum syariah dan norma-norma lokal yang ada di Madura."	Harmonization between Sharia law and local norms
Religious Mediator	"Masyarakat lebih memilih mediasi yang dilakukan oleh Kyai karena mereka merasa lebih dekat dan percaya."	Social trust in Kyai as mediators
Senior Kyai	"Banyak kasus yang saya tangani berkaitan dengan warisan dan perceraian, yang membutuhkan pendekatan yang tidak hanya berdasarkan teks hukum, tetapi juga konteks sosial masyarakat."	Inclusive approach in Sharia mediation
Religious Mediator	"Hasil mediasi ini sering kali lebih diterima, bahkan jika bertentangan dengan putusan pengadilan agama."	Social acceptance of mediation outcomes

The patterns emerging from the data indicate a form of integration between the authority of Kyai and the existing legal system in Madura.

Mediation practices led by Kyai tend to emphasize deliberative processes, prioritize the interests of both parties, and incorporate local cultural values in resolving family disputes. While there is a tendency to prioritize Sharia-based mediation, the findings suggest that the community ultimately favors a form of legal harmonization that combines Sharia principles with local social norms, resulting in solutions that are more broadly accepted.

The table 1 reveals two central dimensions shaping Sharia mediation in Madura: the religious authority of Kyai and their embedded social role in the mediation process. The first excerpt suggests that dispute resolution is not solely oriented toward legal outcomes, but also incorporates spiritual considerations, reflecting the multidimensional authority of Kyai. The second excerpt indicates that, even in the presence of other mediators, decision-making authority ultimately rests with Kyai, highlighting the dominance of religious authority. This pattern demonstrates that Kyai are perceived as more legitimate and contextually relevant than formal legal institutions in resolving family disputes.



Figure 1
Kyai's Authority of Sharia Mediation

Legal Pluralism and the Moderation of Family Law: The Harmonization between Sharia and State Legal Systems in Madura

Legal pluralism is evident in the practice of family law in Madura, characterized by the interaction between Sharia law and state law, which formally regulates family affairs.¹⁰ Legal pluralism entails the coexistence of more than one legal system within a single community. In Madura, state and Sharia laws do not necessarily function in synergy, but instead interact and exert mutual influence during family law dispute settlements¹¹ The moderation of family law entails an attempt to harmonize these dual legal systems to deliver

¹⁰ Abd Hannan, "Pluralisme Hukum (Islam) Dalam Praktik Dan Penetapan Hak Waris Di Kalangan Muslim Lokal Madura," *Asy-Syari'ah: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 10, no. 1 (2024): 1–20.

¹¹ Mohsi Mohsi et al., "Harmonizing Legal Pluralism in Marriage Laws: Policy Challenges on Child Marriage in Madura," *Al-Ahkam: Jurnal Ilmu Syari'ah Dan Hukum* 10, no. 2 (2025): 100–118, <https://doi.org/10.22515/alakhkam.v10i2.11048>.

justice and solutions that are more aligned with the needs of the society¹², specifically regarding cases that implicate women's rights and the adjudication of disputes rooted in religious doctrines¹³.

Interview with Kyai X An interview with Kyai X, a religious figure in Madura, reveals his role in Sharia-based mediation to resolve family disputes. Kyai X explained that although the Madurese community predominantly opts for Sharia mediation, he remains attentive to the decisions of the Religious Courts and state law. "We always strive to provide solutions that accommodate both religious aspects and state legal frameworks. As a Kyai, I do not only view issues through a religious lens; I must also consider how state law provides protection to the community, particularly for women," stated Kyai X.

Researcher's Interpretation: This interview demonstrates that despite the Kyai's significant role in mediation, there is a conscious effort to harmonize Sharia law with state law. Kyai X recognizes the importance of state legal decisions in protecting individual rights, especially within the context of family law concerning women. This moderate approach reflects a concerted effort toward legal harmonization.

Interview with Mediator Y An interview with Mediator Y, a facilitator at a family law institution, sheds light on the importance of alignment between Sharia and state law in family mediation practices. Mediator Y noted, "The Madurese people sometimes choose to resolve family disputes through Sharia mediation because it is faster and perceived as fairer. However, in certain cases, we must refer to state law to ensure the decision is legally valid and binding."

This interview highlights the interdependence between Sharia and state law in family dispute resolution. While Sharia mediation is the preferred choice, mediators recognize the necessity of state law as the basis for legal validity. This illustrates the legal pluralism inherent in Madura, where both legal systems interact to achieve solutions that are both equitable and legally sound.

The narrative regarding this sub-theme illustrates that the Madurese community prefers Sharia mediation for resolving family law issues. However, while Sharia mediation is more socially accepted, there is a growing understanding that resulting decisions must adhere to state law to maintain legal standing. In this regard, the Kyai serves as a bridge between the two legal systems, integrating Sharia principles with state legal protections to produce

¹² Yusuf Baihaqi, *Moderasi Hukum Keluarga Dalam Perspektif Al Qur'an*, 16, no. 2 (2017).

¹³ Moh Dahlan, "Moderasi Hukum Islam dalam Pemikiran Ahmad Hasyim Muzadi," *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 11, no. 2 (2017): 313, <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-ihkam.v11i2.1039>.

moderate and balanced outcomes. This indicates that legal pluralism in Madura is not merely about the coexistence of two systems, but about the effort to balance them within a more just context.

Observations were conducted at a *pesantren* in Madura, a frequent site for Sharia mediation. The researcher observed how the Kyai rendered mediation decisions that considered both religious and state perspectives. In several instances, the Kyai provided solutions that took into account women's rights—specifically regarding divorce and inheritance—while remaining mindful of state regulations. The mediation process utilized an inclusive approach, allowing disputing parties to engage in fair dialogue, while the Kyai's decisions reflected a balance between Sharia and state law.

These observations confirm that Sharia mediation in Madura indeed accounts for legal pluralism. Although the Kyai holds strong authority, the decisions made do not rely solely on religious teachings but also consider the legality of the decision within the framework of state law, resulting in moderate and harmonious outcomes.

Overall, the data suggests that while Sharia law dominates family mediation in Madura, there is a clear trajectory toward harmonizing Sharia with state law. Kyais and mediators seek a balance between religious principles and state legal protections, particularly concerning women's rights. The emerging pattern is one of dynamic integration, where the two systems complement and reinforce each other.

This study reveals that the Kyai's role is central to the resolution of family disputes from both religious and state legal perspectives. These findings align with literature stating that religious figures possess strong authority in mediating social and family issues in Madurese communities. For instance, Noor (2018) notes that a Kyai functions not only as a religious leader but also as a source of social and legal legitimacy. However, this research adds a new dimension by highlighting how Kyais accommodate state law, an aspect previously under-discussed in Sharia mediation literature.

From a legal pluralism perspective, these findings indicate a growing awareness of the need to integrate state law principles into family dispute resolution. This is consistent with the concept of legal pluralism proposed by Griffiths, which emphasizes that in multicultural societies, multiple legal systems can operate concurrently and influence one another. Nevertheless, this study provides further insight by emphasizing that legal pluralism is manifested through the active efforts of mediators and Kyais to harmonize these systems to ensure fair and legally valid outcomes.

Theoretically, these findings reinforce the understanding of the relationship between religious and state law within the context of legal pluralism. The conceptualization of legal pluralism developed by Merry, concerning the interaction between customary and formal law, appears highly relevant to this study.¹⁴ Although state law in Indonesia regulates family law, religious law (specifically in the form of Sharia mediation) remains widely recognized and accepted by the community.¹⁵ This study also demonstrates how local legal practices, as exercised by the Kyai, serve as a bridge between two often-disparate legal systems, forming a new pattern in family law dispute resolution. These findings further suggest the necessity of a more inclusive approach so that state and religious laws do not merely coexist but actively complement one another.

From a practical standpoint, these findings imply that the Kyai's role as a mediator who integrates state and religious law holds significant potential for improving the family dispute resolution system in Madura. Decisions rendered by the Kyai do not solely rely on religious teachings but also involve aspects of legality regulated by state law, particularly in cases of divorce, inheritance, and women's rights. This practice could serve as a model for other regions facing similar challenges where religious and state laws interact in daily life. A deeper examination of the Kyai's role is essential for developing a Sharia mediation framework that is more inclusive and harmonious between the two legal systems.

While the harmonization of Sharia and state law in Madurese mediation practices shows a constructive trend, this research also finds that the process is not entirely free from tension. In some instances, the dominant authority of the Kyai has the potential to reproduce power imbalances, especially regarding issues related to women's rights, such as divorce and the distribution of inheritance. Decisions resulting from mediation sometimes prioritize social harmony and community acceptance over the principles of legal equality as stipulated in state law. Therefore, harmonization in this context cannot be understood as an entirely neutral ideal; rather, it is a dynamic negotiation process involving potential compromises, biases, and even conflicts between religious values, social norms, and formal legal principles.

¹⁴ Sulistyowati Irianto, "Globalisasi Hukum Dalam Pluralisme Hukum Modern," *The Indonesian Journal of Socio-Legal Studies* 4, no. 1 (2024): 6.

¹⁵ Yuliana et al., "Optimalisasi Peran Tokoh Agama Dalam Mendorong Kepatuhan Hukum Dan Ketertiban Sosial Berdasarkan Prinsip Siyasaah Syar'iyah."

Overall, this research provides a more comprehensive understanding of the interaction between Sharia and state law within the context of family law mediation in Madura. These findings can serve as a foundation for further research on legal pluralism, particularly in societies that prioritize religious values. The practical implications are also significant for developing legal policies that are more sensitive to social and religious diversity by acknowledging the role of religious figures in family dispute resolution. Through a more moderate and harmonious approach, Sharia mediation involving the Kyai can provide more equitable and sustainable solutions for the Madurese community and serve as an example for other societies facing similar challenges.

Conclusion

The Kyai plays a central role in Sharia mediation in Madura, where his religious authority effectively integrates state legal principles with religious teachings to resolve family disputes. This study demonstrates that although Sharia mediation is the preferred choice for the Madurese community, Kyais do not rely solely on religious doctrines; rather, they actively consider state law, particularly in protecting women's rights regarding divorce and inheritance. The primary insight from this research is the significance of a moderate legal approach that accommodates both systems, ensuring that social harmony is maintained without compromising individual rights and the principles of justice.

Legal pluralism in Madura, reinforced by the pivotal role of the Kyai, fosters a constructive harmony between Sharia and state law. This research provides scholarly insight into how two distinct legal frameworks can function cohesively at the local level to deliver equitable and contextually relevant solutions. Given the specific geographic focus on Madura, further research is necessary to examine if this integrative pattern applies to other societies with different cultural contexts. Future studies should also provide a more in-depth analysis of legal policy implementations that promote inclusivity between state regulations and religious norms.

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