

Living Law in the Practice of Family Arranged Marriage in Modern Society

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DOI: <https://doi.org/>

Received:	Revised:	Approved:
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Abstract

This study aims to discuss the practice of family matchmaking as a form of living law in family law that is still developing in modern society. Matchmaking is not just a cultural tradition that is passed down from generation to generation but is also a rule that is still valid and carried out in society. This rule is considered to still have certain social uses. In the current era of modernization, the meaning of matchmaking practices has changed because it is influenced by several factors, such as higher education levels, technological developments, the impact of social media, and stronger individual awareness to determine the choice of life partner independently. This research departs from the research question of how arranged marriage can still survive in the modern era. Second, how the relationship between traditional customary values, Islamic legal provisions, and state law rules interact with each other in the practice of matchmaking. In this study, the method used is a qualitative approach with a normative-sociological type of research. The research is carried out through literature studies and analysis of social phenomena that occur in society. Based on the results of the research, it can be seen that the practice of matchmaking is still maintained by some people. This is based on the belief that arranged marriage is able to maintain family honor, strengthen kinship between families, and preserve cultural values and economic conditions of the family. However, in the context of modern society, the practice of matchmaking is beginning to change towards a more flexible form. The change begins to consider the approval of the prospective couple who will get married. The concept of living law in the practice of arranged marriage shows the dynamic relationship between tradition, Islamic law, and social development in the modern era.

Keywords: *living law; family matchmaking; modern society; islamic family law.*

Introduction

Marriage is a social institution that has an important position in the life of society because it is the basis for the formation of the family as the smallest unit in the social structure. In Indonesian society, the practice of marriage is not only regulated by state law and Islamic law, but also influenced by the customs that live and develop in the community. The existence of these customary norms shows that the law is not only present in the form of written regulations, but



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also in the form of customs that are obeyed and carried out by the community. This phenomenon is known as the concept of *living law* or the law that lives in society. According to Eugen Ehrlich, the center of legal development does not lie in laws and regulations, but in the social life of society itself.¹

The concept of *living law* is important in the study of family law because many family practices develop based on people's habits and are not always regulated in detail in formal law. Each community certainly has its own culture and traditions and traditions certainly have their communities, because both are one unit, two of which form the socio-cultural community. The norms that apply in society are habitual norms, those norms are cultural values that are already related to certain roles of human beings in society. Tradition is a form of long legacy. Discussing tradition cannot be separated from the discussion of beliefs that are the view of life among the community. One of the practices that is still found in various regions in Indonesia is family matchmaking. Matchmaking is the process of choosing a life partner that involves family, relatives, or community leaders in determining one's potential partner.²

Anthropological matchmaking is one of the cultural tools that humans go through to achieve marriage. An arranged marriage is the starting door for two people who don't know each other. In Islam, matchmaking is often referred to as *khitbah*. In the matchmaking there is a mutual agreement between the two parties (two families). Everyone's way of finding their soul mate varies. Sometimes there are already those who have searched and found their own potential life partner, but there are still many people who ask for help from the Iain people. HaI is what underlies and influences the matchmaking that exists.

Arranged marriage is a very important event and should not be forgotten in a person's life journey in forming and building a happy family. For this reason, careful planning is carried out in preparing everything. Arranged marriage will form a marriage bond or family bond which is the smallest unit that is the main foundation for the continuity and development of a nation and state. In certain societies, the issue of mate selection and marriage is often associated with issues of religion, certain beliefs, customs, procedures, and culture and so on. Some of the wedding processes are very interesting. Sometimes, the choice is made without the child's scales. Especially if the community views that a tradition must be preserved and carried out.

Forced matchmaking is a complex problem. Because forced marriage is a classic thing that has become a problem until now, both socially and culturally. In addition, in general, forced marriage cannot be based on love and affection. So it is very suitable to achieve a harmonious, prosperous and happy family in fulfilling their rights and obligations as husband and wife. Nowadays, matchmaking is a gift given to fight against western culture that is increasingly influencing the minds of today's teenagers. Dating is no longer about saying affectionate, lonely, or holding hands. Taaruf is considered a solution for children so that they do not fall into adultery.

³ On the other hand, this tradition of matchmaking does not violate the norms that exist in Islamic

¹ Eugen Ehrlich dan Nathan Isaacs, "The sociology of law," *Harvard Law Review* 36, no. 2 (1922): 130–45; Mochlasin, "Islamic Work Ethics, Local Wisdom, And Spirit of Capitalism: Insight from a Perantau Minangkabau," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 14, no. 2 (2024): 289–318, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v14i2.289-318>.

² M. Rasidin, "Analysing the Pesantren Tradition of Arranged Marriages from the 'Kupi Fatwa Trilogy' Perspective," *Al Istinbath Jurnal Hukum Islam* 9, no. 1 (2024): 285–308, <https://doi.org/10.29240/jhi.v9i1.8436>; A. Rasak, "Tradisi Perjuduhan Pada Masyarakat Bugis Di Kecamatan Ladongi: Deskripsi, Dampak, Dan Perspektif Hukum Islam," *Al-Mujtabid: Journal of Islamic Family Law*, no. Query date: 2026-06-30 10:22:24 (2023), <https://journal.iain-manado.ac.id/index.php/almutahid/article/view/2579>.

³ Leyla Hana, "Ta'aruf, Proses Perjuduhan Sesuai Syari Islam cet. ke-1, Jakarta: PT," *Elex Media Komputindo*, 2012.

teachings. Arranged marriage is carried out with the real purpose in accordance with maqashid asy sharia, namely to protect property and descendants. As well as a careful attitude in choosing a life partner. Basically, matchmaking is an effort to bring together married couples to achieve a stable family. The concept of *ijbar* is often used as a basis in matchmaking.⁴

In some communities, this practice is seen as a form of parental responsibility to ensure that children get a partner who is considered appropriate in terms of religion, morals, social status, and family background. Nevertheless, the development of modern society has brought about a change in the way we view marriage and the choice of marriage partners. Modernization, education, urbanization, and advances in information technology have encouraged the emergence of individual awareness about the right to determine a life partner independently.⁵

Today's younger generation tends to place aspects of love, personal compatibility, and freedom of choice of partner as the main considerations in marriage. This condition causes the practice of matchmaking to often be seen as a tradition that is less relevant to modern values that uphold individual freedom. On the other hand, the practice of matchmaking has not completely disappeared from the life of modern society. Various studies show that the tradition is still maintained in a more flexible and adaptive form. If in the past family decisions tended to be dominant, then in modern society matchmaking is more often carried out through the process of deliberation and approval of the prospective bride.⁶

This shows that the practice of matchmaking has undergone a transformation without losing the social and cultural essence inherent in it. In other words, arranged marriage remains alive as part of the *living law* that adjusts to social changes in society. From the perspective of Islamic law, family involvement in choosing a prospective spouse is not prohibited as long as it does not eliminate the right of the prospective bride to give consent to the marriage to take place. Islam places the willingness (*ridha*) of the two prospective brides as one of the important principles in the marriage contract.

Therefore, the practice of matchmaking that contains elements of coercion is contrary to the purpose of marriage in Islam which emphasizes the realization of a family that is *sakinah*, *mawaddah*, and *rahmah*. At the same time, Indonesia's positive law through Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage also requires the consent of both prospective brides as the basis for the validity of marriage.⁷ The phenomenon of the sustainability of matchmaking practices in modern society shows the interaction between customary law, Islamic law, and state law. The interaction illustrates the existence of legal pluralism in the life of Indonesian society, where various legal systems live simultaneously and influence the social behavior of the community.⁸

⁴ HM Syukri Albani Nasution, *Hukum perkawinan Muslim: antara fikih munakahat dan teori neo-receptie in complexu* (Prenada Media, 2020),

https://books.google.com/books?hl=id&lr=&id=oWQCEAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA1&dq=M.+Syukri+Albani+Nasuti on,+Hukum+Perkawinan+Muslim,&ots=Scua4Lq_B1&sig=eYPFboVQBcWQZ9fc3hIKIUN1wT4.

⁵ Soerjono Soekanto, "Penelitian hukum dan pendidikan hukum," *Jurnal Hukum & Pembangunan* 6, no. 6 (1976): 429–39.

⁶ M. Juhariyanto, "Konsep Perjuduhan Perspektif Pengasuh Pesantren Sayyid Muhammad Alwi Al Maliki Dan Implikasinya Terhadap Pembentukan Keluarga Sakinah," *Asa*, (2023), <https://ejournal.stisabuzairi.ac.id/index.php/asa/article/view/64>.

⁷ Presiden RI, "Undang-Undang Nomor 1 Tahun 1974 Tentang Perkawinan," *LN Nomor 1* (1974) Pasal 6 ayat 1.

⁸ John Griffiths, "Journal of Legal Pluralism," *International Journal of Law Libraries* 9, no. 6 (1981): 278–278; John Griffiths, "What Is Legal Pluralism?," *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 18, no. 24 (1986): 1–55, <https://doi.org/10.1080/07329113.1986.10756387>.

Methodology

This research uses qualitative research methods with an *empirical legal research* approach or *socio-legal research*. This approach was chosen because the research does not only focus on law as a norm (*law in books*), but also examines law as a social behavior (*law in action*) that lives and develops in society. In the context of this study, the practice of family arranged marriage is understood as a social phenomenon that reflects the existence of *living law* in Islamic family law. Therefore, an empirical juridical approach is considered relevant to analyze the interaction between customary norms, Islamic law, and state law in the practice of arranged marriage that is still ongoing in modern society.⁹ Data sources are carried out through secondary sources obtained through documentation studies in the form of books, journal articles, results of previous research, laws and regulations, and literature related to *living law*, legal pluralism, and Islamic family law.¹⁰

Data analysis was carried out qualitatively using an interactive analysis model developed by Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña. The analysis begins from the time the data collection process takes place and is carried out continuously until the research is completed. The first stage is data *condensation*, which is the process of selecting, focusing, simplifying, and organizing data obtained from the field. The second stage is data presentation, which is compiling data in the form of narrative descriptions so that the relationship between data can be understood systematically. The last stage is *conclusion drawing and verification*, which is the process of interpreting the meaning of data and drawing conclusions that are in accordance with the focus of the research. This analysis is used to explain how the practice of family matchmaking persists as a form of *living law* in the midst of the development of modern society.¹¹

To ensure the validity of the data, this study uses triangulation techniques. Source triangulation is carried out by comparing information obtained from various informants, such as parents, married couples, religious leaders, and traditional leaders. The triangulation method was carried out by comparing the results of observations, interviews, and documentation. In addition, theoretical triangulation is carried out by associating research findings with the theory of *living law* proposed by Eugen Ehrlich as well as other theories of legal sociology. Through this technique, the data obtained is expected to have a high level of validity and reliability so that the research results can be scientifically accounted for. Research on the practice of family matchmaking in Indonesian Muslim society shows that this tradition still survives because it is influenced by cultural, religious, and social factors of the family. Research conducted by Musyifikah Ilyas explained that the practice of matchmaking in certain communities is still considered a form of parental responsibility in determining their child's life partner.¹²

⁹ Soerjono Soekanto, "Penelitian hukum dan pendidikan hukum," *Jurnal Hukum & Pembangunan* 6, no. 6 (1976): 429–39.

¹⁰ Dr Sugiyono, *Metode penelitian pendidikan pendekatan kuantitatif, kualitatif dan R&D*, 2013, https://digilib.unigres.ac.id/index.php?p=show_detail&id=43; John W. Creswell dan J. David Creswell, *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (Sage publications, 2017), <https://books.google.com/books?hl=id&lr=&id=335ZDwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PT16&dq=creswell+qualitative&ots=YEARPMxvmN&sig=dp4HAG0ukDPg-hwN3TWvKbFWLA>; John W. Creswell dkk., "Qualitative Research Designs: Selection and Implementation," *The Counseling Psychologist* 35, no. 2 (2007): 236–64, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000006287390>.

¹¹ Matthew B. Miles dkk., *Qualitative data analysis* (sage, 2014), <https://books.google.com/books?hl=id&lr=&id=3CNrUbTu6CsC&oi=fnd&pg=PR1&dq=++Matthew+B.+Miles,+A.+Michael+Huberman,+dan+Johnny+Salda%C3%B1a,+Qualitative+Data+Analysis:+A+Methods+Sourcebook&ots=Lj9XplZI8h&sig=0sw2anpcU-fjYqInZ4zFVKSEws0>; Matthew B. Miles dkk., *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook*, 3/E., 2013, <https://openlibrary.telkomuniversity.ac.id/home/catalog/id/149484/slug/qualitative-data-analysis-a-methods-sourcebook-3-e.html>.

¹² Musyifikah Ilyas, "Analisis Empiris terhadap Putusan Pengadilan Agama tentang Dispensasi Perkawinan Anak dalam Perspektif Pluralisme Hukum dan Maqāṣid al-Syarī'ah: Empirical Analysis of Religious Court Decisions on Marriage Dispensations for Minors from the Perspective of Legal Pluralism and Maqāṣid al-Syarī'ah," *BUSTANUL FUQAH: Jurnal Bidang Hukum Islam*

Studies on *living law* in family law have been widely conducted by academics, especially related to the relationship between customary law, Islamic law, and social changes in modern society. The concept of *living law* was first introduced by Eugen Ehrlich who stated that the laws that live in society are often more effective than the written laws of the state.¹³

Other research on Islamic family law in the modern era shows a change in people's mindset towards marriage. Modernization, education, and technological developments have caused the younger generation to prioritize individual freedom in choosing a life partner. This condition has led to a shift in the practice of family matchmaking, where the family no longer completely determines the child's life partner, but rather plays a role as a party that provides consideration and direction. The research shows that the practice of matchmaking today tends to be more flexible than traditional practices in the past.¹⁴

The study of legal pluralism is also an important part of research on the practice of family matchmaking. John Griffiths explains that in modern society there are various legal systems that live simultaneously, such as state law, religious law, and customary law. In the Indonesian context, the practice of family matchmaking is a form of interaction between customary law and Islamic law that survives in the midst of the existence of state law regarding marriage. The perspective of legal pluralism helps to understand that the practice of arranged marriage cannot be seen from just one legal system, but must be understood through the relationship of various social norms that develop in society.¹⁵

Family Matchmaking Practices in Modern Society

The practice of family matchmaking is still found in various walks of life even though modernization has provided a wider space for individuals to choose a life partner independently. Arranged marriages that are carried out today are generally no longer in the form of coercion as often perceived by the public, but rather as a form of giving recommendations or facilitation from parents and families to prospective couples who are considered appropriate based on religious background, education, character, and family social status. In practice, the final decision remains in the hands of the bride-to-be so that the element of approval becomes a factor that greatly determines the sustainability of the marriage.¹⁶

These findings show that family arranged marriage has undergone a transformation along with the development of modern society. If in the past the role of parents was very dominant in determining the child's life partner, then now there is a pattern of negotiation between the will of the family and individual freedom. These changes reflect the adaptation of traditional values to the demands of modernity without completely eliminating the role of the family in the marriage process¹⁷

6, no. 3 (2025): 743–65; Muh Saleh Ridwan dan Musyifikah Ilyas, “Dampak Pernikahan Anak Terhadap Kesejahteraan Rumah Tangga Perspektif Hukum Islam,” *Qadauna: Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa Hukum Keluarga Islam* 4, no. 1 (2022): 26–48.

¹³ Eugene Ehrlich dan Klaus A. Ziegert, *Fundamental principles of the sociology of law* (Routledge, 2017), <https://api.taylorfrancis.com/content/books/mono/download?identifierName=doi&identifierValue=10.4324/9780203791127&type=googlepdf>; Ehrlich dan Isaacs, “The sociology of law.”

¹⁴ Soerjono Soekanto, *Sosiologi: suatu pengantar*, 2012, <https://library.stik-ptik.ac.id/detail?id=52556&lokasi=lokal>.

¹⁵ John Griffiths, “What Is Legal Pluralism?,” *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 18, no. 24 (1986): 1–55, <https://doi.org/10.1080/07329113.1986.10756387>.

¹⁶ Griffiths, “What Is Legal Pluralism?,” 1986.

¹⁷ Anthony Giddens, *The transformation of intimacy: Sexuality, love and eroticism in modern societies* (John Wiley & Sons, 2013), <https://books.google.com/books?hl=id&lr=&id=ZvIdUf9o7OUC&oi=fnd&pg=PT4&dq=Anthony+Giddens,+The+Transformation+of+Intimacy:+Sexuality,+Love+and+Eroticism+in+Modern+Societies+&ots=BS4MVF&sig=qh6njyci3uk7TgpOcWZmKFKByng>.

In addition, some people still view arranged marriage as a mechanism that can minimize the risk of domestic conflict because prospective spouses have gone through a selection process based on family considerations. From a societal perspective, families are considered to have more experience and consideration in assessing the suitability of potential partners than decisions based solely on romantic relationships.¹⁸

Living Law in Family Matchmaking Practice

The practice of family matchmaking that still persists in modern society shows the existence of *living laws* in society. The concept of *living law* explains that law is not only contained in written regulations, but also in social norms, customs, and practices that are followed by society. In the context of this study, family arranged marriage is a form of social norm that is still carried out because it is considered to have value and benefits for the life of the community. Arranged marriage is one way to build a marriage and Islamic law does not require or prohibit this practice. Islam only emphasizes the importance of choosing a partner who is both religious and moral. In finding a partner, one can do it alone or through the help of others, such as family or parents. The two types of marriage in this context are marriage by choice and marriage through arranged marriage, either with the consent or coercion of the family or parents.

The sustainability of the practice of matchmaking is not solely based on formal legal rules, but rather on the collective awareness of the community regarding the importance of maintaining kinship relationships, family harmony, and the continuity of cultural values. Therefore, although not required by state law, the practice still has a strong social legitimacy among certain communities.¹⁹ Although matchmaking is commonplace, most people tend to prefer to choose their own life partner because they are more confident and comfortable with their own choices. Parents are urged not to impose their will on choosing a partner for their children. Parents only need to give permission and blessing to their child's chosen soul mate. Thus, a marriage that is carried out on the basis of consensuality will give rise to love and affection which is expected to form a household that is *sakinah*, *mawadah* and blessed by Allah swt. This is based on the hadith of the Prophet PBUH which said: "A widow should not be married by her guardian unless she asks for her consent. A girl should not be married unless she has asked for her permission." Then the companion asked: "O Messenger of Allah, what is the form of permission?" He replied: "Silence" (HR Bukhari-Muslim).

The above hadith describes the lesson that marriage in Islam must be based on consent. Even though the guardian of the *nasab* can act as a guardian of the *mujbir*, the daughter of both girls and widows is still given the right to choose (*ijbar*) the mate of their guardian's choice. The guardian must still seek the consent of the daughter or woman under his guardianship regarding the man he is betrothed to, whether he is willing to accept or reject it. Or in other words, Islam prohibits forced marriage.

The contextualization of *Ijbar* Rights in arranged marriage involves understanding and applying the rights related to marriage decisions, especially in the Islamic context. It involves a balance between the obligations of the guardian (guardian) and the freedom of the child, especially the girl, in choosing their life partner.

¹⁸ Soerjono Soekanto, *Pokok-pokok sosiologi hukum*, 2004.

¹⁹ Satjipto Rahardjo dan Khudzaifah Dimiyati, *Sosiologi hukum: perkembangan, metode, dan pilihan masalah* (Muhammadiyah University Press, 2002); Satjipto Rahardjo dan Sosiologi Hukum, "Perkembangan Metode dan Pilihan Masalah," Penerbit: Sinar Grafika, Yogyakarta, 2002.

There are three types of marriage that are still valid among the community from the perspective of arranged marriage: (1) *Arranged Marriage*, which is arranged marriage by parents. In this case, there are two types, *first*, arranged marriages that are carried out by parents without asking for the prior consent of the bride or groom. The implication of this is that his mental health can be compromised if he does not ask for the consent of the woman or the man beforehand. It is essential to establish a stable and happy relationship if a person has the freedom to choose their own life partner. *Second*, the bride's parents and the groom-to-be plan the marriage, without the girl's prior consent.

In some cases, the occurrence of arranged arranged arrangements between the parents of the bride-to-be and the groom-to-be can occur without the girl's prior consent is very likely. In this case, all parties involved must communicate and reach consensus openly. Even though the girl did not participate directly in the planning process, her agreement and wishes were still respected. The importance of dialogue between parents and children in expressing opinions, understanding the expectations and desires of marriage well can build a strong foundation. The principle of consent and willingness in marriage is highly upheld in Islam.

Most scholars agree that the consent of the bride-to-be, especially on the part of the woman, is a condition for a valid marriage. Therefore, it is important to ensure that the rights and agreements of individuals are respected and understood by all parties involved in the matchmaking. (2) *Mixed marriage*, i.e. a girl who wants to marry to find her own soul mate, but the decision for the implementation of the marriage is left to the parents. type of marriage. This creates a marriage dynamic that involves the romantic feelings of the bride and groom as they choose their own partner to marry however, the parents remain responsible for the final decision. The concept of *mixed marriage* creates a balance between the child's freedom to choose his or her life partner and parental consideration and consent. It reflects the development of marriage patterns in which the values of love and individual independence are valued while maintaining the importance of family support and approval. (3) *Voluntary marriage*, namely a child who wants to marry to find his own soulmate, Parents just have to give their blessing. This means that girls have the will to decide what is best for them.

In this case, the child who wants to get married has full autonomy in choosing his partner, and the parents play a more supportive and blessing role. For example, the attitude of Javanese parents to find a mate for their daughters takes place because it is driven by the Javanese philosophy of life about the obligation of parents to mature their children. Marriage is also a symbol of a person's transition from childhood to adulthood. *Voluntary marriage* reflects developments in the dynamics of marriage, where the principles of independence, freedom to choose a life partner, and family support can be interrelated. Although children have full autonomy, open communication and good family relationships are still essential for planning a good marriage.

The findings of the study show that people who still maintain family arranged marriage tend to view the practice as part of a cultural identity that must be maintained. Thus, the existence of *living law* can be seen through people's compliance with social norms that are inherited from

generation to generation and remain relevant in modern life. This is in line with the view that the laws that live in society often have a greater influence on social behavior than written laws.²⁰

The Relationship between Islamic Law, State Law, and Customary in the Practice of Arranged Marriage

The results of the study show that the practice of family matchmaking in modern society cannot be separated from the interaction between Islamic law, state law, and customary law. In Islamic law, arranged marriage is allowed as long as it does not eliminate the right of the prospective bride to give consent to the marriage to be held. The consent of the bride and groom is a very important principle because marriage in Islam must be based on the willingness and agreement of both parties.²¹

From the legal side of the country, the provisions regarding the consent of the bride and groom have been regulated in Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage which emphasizes that marriage must be based on the consent of the two prospective brides. This provision shows that state law provides protection for the rights of individuals in determining their life partner.²² Meanwhile, customary law plays a role in shaping the mechanisms and procedures for arranged marriage that develop in the community. In some communities, the family still has an important role in bringing together potential partners, giving consideration to the suitability of family backgrounds, and maintaining cultural values that are considered important. Thus, the practice of matchmaking that is taking place today is the result of the interaction between the three legal systems that affect each other in the social life of the community.²³

The Dynamics of Family Matchmaking in the Modern Era

Modernization has had a significant impact on family matchmaking practices. Advances in communication technology and social media provide a wider opportunity for individuals to get to know potential partners without the direct involvement of the family. As a result, the family's authority in determining life partners has changed compared to the previous period.²⁴ Despite this, research has found that the family still plays an important role in the marriage process. Many couples choose to consider their parents' opinions in determining their life partner because they are considered to have broader experience and knowledge about married life. This condition shows that modernization does not completely eliminate the practice of arranged marriage, but rather changes its form and mechanism to better suit the needs of modern society.²⁵

These changes show that the practice of family matchmaking is dynamic and able to adapt to the times. This adaptation can be seen from the increasing respect for the individual's right to choose a life partner, while the family continues to function as a party that provides direction, consideration, and support in the marriage process.²⁶ Accepting an arranged marriage is not

²⁰ Ehrlich dan Ziegert, *Fundamental principles of the sociology of law* hlm. 498.

²¹ Wahbah al-Zuhayli, *al-Fiqih al-Islami wa Adillatuhu*. Juz IX (Dar al-Fikr, 2010). hlm 6523– 6525.

²² RI, “Undang-Undang Nomor 1 Tahun 1974 Tentang Perkawinan Pasal 6 ayat (1).”

²³ Hilman Hadikusuma, “Hukum Perkawinan Indonesia: menurut perundangan, hukum adat, hukum agama,” (*No Title*), 1990, hlm. 23-25 <https://cir.nii.ac.jp/crid/1130000796051827200>.

²⁴ Anthony Giddens dan Christopher Pierson, *Conversations with Anthony Giddens: Making sense of modernity* (Stanford University Press, 1998), hlm 36-38, <https://books.google.com/books?hl=id&lr=&id=YXDsv090iZsC&oi=fnd&pg=PR7&dq=anthony+giddens+&ots=2DqWlWKyFL&sig=7LrNKcADh6urm3EJzQHkP4qptzg>.

²⁵ Koentjaraningrat, *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi*, Jakarta, hlm. 149.”

²⁶ Rahardjo dan Dimiyati, *Sosiologi hukum*, hlm 125.

recommended to immediately accept the candidate without heeding the criteria that are used as guidelines or priorities as a foothold in choosing a mate.²⁷ As for the reference in choosing a soul mate as in the hadith of the Prophet PBUH, if a man wants to marry a woman, then there are four things that need to be considered, namely: property, beauty, descent and religion. However, from these four criteria, the Prophet (saw) made religion his main choice in choosing his partner.²⁸ Although it is not impossible, the existence of women who can meet these four criteria is very difficult to obtain. If a man is faced with several choices of women to determine his life partner, while none of them meet these four criteria, then it is the woman who is devout in her religion that must be chosen. The hadith aims to make it easier for people to find a soul mate not only to seek worldly interests, but also to pay more attention to the order of practicing their religion. Choosing to prioritize because religion will guide the mind and soul. After that, pay attention to the physical and the world. However, that does not mean that the interests of the world are not important. Thus, a husband who is obedient to religion will be responsible to his wife and children.²⁹ The choice of religion in choosing a soul mate is included in *the maslahah al-mu'tabarah* and when viewed from its scope, religion or morality is also included in one of the *maslahah al-hajjiyah*.

Living Law Analysis of Family Arranged Marriage Practices

Based on the results of the research, the practice of family arranged marriage in modern society can be understood as a form of *living law* that still exists and functions in the social life of the community. The existence of this practice shows that the norms that live in society are not always lost due to modernization, but can undergo transformation and adjustment according to the needs of the times.³⁰ The background of matchmaking is closely related to the culture, religion, and society in which the practice is carried out. In addition, the background of the matchmaking can change along with social, economic, and social changes in the values embraced by the community. Arranged marriage, also known as (*Arranged Marriage*), is still quite a common practice in Indonesia, especially among communities that adhere to cultural and traditional principles. Arranged marriage is sometimes considered a way to avoid marital problems that may be caused by the couple themselves, such as cultural incompatibilities or different values. Many societies have certain traditions and cultures that encourage the practice of matchmaking. Family values, inter-family unity, and the preservation of cultural heritage are often the main drivers behind matchmaking. Most Indonesians highly value their diverse culture and traditions. Some community groups maintain the tradition of matchmaking as part of their cultural heritage. There are two factors behind the occurrence of arranged marriage.³¹

²⁷ Rasidin, "Analysing the Pesantren Tradition of Arranged Marriages from the 'Kupi Fatwa Trilogy' Perspective"; Mamta, "A Novel Conceptual Model of Trust for Online Matchmaking Portals," *Proc 2022 2022 7th International Conference on Parallel Distributed and Grid Computing*, no. Query date: 2026-06-30 09:49:26 (2022): 104–7, <https://doi.org/10.1109/PDGC56933.2022.10053159>.

²⁸ Nur Afni Zubaidah dan Ana Silviana, "Akibat Hukum Perjanjian Perkawinan yang Bertujuan sebagai Sarana Perlindungan Pihak dalam Perkawinan," *Jurnal Ilmiah Universitas Batanghari Jambi* 23, no. 1 (2023): 871–871, <https://doi.org/10.33087/jiubj.v23i1.3072>.

²⁹ A. Afrilian, "A TINJAUAN TEORI KONSELING PADA PRAKTIK PERJODOHAN DAN DAMPAKNYA TERHADAP POTENSI KDRT," *Jurnal Studi Islam dan Sosial*, no. Query date: 2026-06-30 10:22:24 (2023), <https://ejournal.iaikhozin.ac.id/index.php/iklila/article/view/242>.

³⁰ Ehrlich dan Ziegert, *Fundamental principles of the sociology of law*, pp. 493–500; M. Al-Hadad et al., "Legal Analysis Related to the Habit of Arranged Marriage of the Ta'a Tribe in the Perspective of Law No. 16 of 2019 Article 7 Paragraph 1," *Journal of Legal Ethics*, no. Query date: 2026-06-30 10:22:24 (2025), <https://jurnal.umko.ac.id/index.php/legalita/article/view/1699>.

³¹ Pascal Azka Erathon Erathon dkk., "Perjodohan Dalam Perkawinan Karena Lanjut Usia (Studi Kasus Putusan Pengadilan Agama Karawang No. 662/Pdt. G/2024/PA/Krw)," *Unes Journal of Suara Justisia* 9, no. 2 (2025): 269–78.

First, internal factors; *Second*, external factors. The internal factor in question is the difficulty in finding an arranged partner can be defined as a marriage process where there is a contribution from a third party to help the introduction or meeting of couples who have the purpose of carrying out marriage, namely from the internal or external scope of the family. The involvement of other people in the process of bringing a partner together is often found with the aim of helping someone who wants to get married immediately but is constrained by the problem of not having a prospective partner. This can be due to differences in culture, social, economic, and idealism. Difficulty finding a partner is a separate problem experienced by individuals who want to carry out marriage. As Eva said. F Nisa³², she tried to describe a phenomenon of religious transformation experienced by veiled women who were included in two revivalist movements, namely Jama'at Tabligh and Salafi which encouraged to change their habits. The habit that prioritizes the piety of a woman makes these veiled people form a stigma in their lives, including in terms of marriage. The manifestation of this habitus can be seen in practices related to marriage, ranging from the selection of partners, interaction with the marriage partner, new marriage practices (arranged marriage, early marriage and mass marriage) and the termination of marriage. All of this can be considered as their efforts to establish a pious self and an ideal Islamic family or a *sakinah* family. This makes it difficult for veiled women to find a partner to marry.

In addition, it is also caused by external factors, namely first, Socio-Cultural. Society in its life cannot be separated from social phenomena or cultural phenomena. The daily aspects of society are always enveloped by interactions, dialogues, and reciprocal relationships between society and its culture or culture and society, where all of these components are mutually sustainable according to their characteristics and dynamics. Along with the passage of time and the development of the times, there has been a continuous transformation in society and its cultural practices. One of the socio-cultural practices that is still interesting to study is the issue of marriage, both in the states of the continent of Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas.³³ Arranged marriage is one of the cultures in marriage practices that is vulnerable to being applied among the community, and is even still valid in certain areas. Madura, for example, the tradition of arranged marriage in the Madura area makes the position of Madura women as *family leaders* and also the man who is her fiancée.³⁴ Pariban marriage of the Batak tribe is a legacy of ancient matchmaking between male and female who still have kinship relationships and different clans. Arranged marriage is sometimes seen as a way to maintain social relationships and family unity. The selection of a partner who is already known or has a good family background can be considered a positive factor in society.

Second, religious understanding. Different religions have certain views and teachings about marriage, and following those teachings can play an important role in the matchmaking process.

³² Eva F. Nisa, "Marriage and divorce for the sake of religion: The marital life of Cadari in Indonesia 1," *Asian Journal of Social Science* 39, no. 6 (2011): 797–820.

³³ Roger Penn, "Arranged Marriages in Western Europe: Media Representations and Social Reality," *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 42, no. 5 (2011): 637–50, <https://doi.org/10.3138/jcfs.42.5.637>.

³⁴ MSQ Muharom, "KAWIN DENGAN PERJODOHAN DI DUSUN GUBBU TIMUR DESA RAGUNG MADURA PERPEKTIF MAZHAB SYAFI," *Fakultas Syariah dan Hukum UIN ...*, no. Query date: 2026-06-30 10:22:24 (t.t.); MAD Zen, *Makna Perjodohan Pada Masyarakat Madura Di Kecamatan Panarukan Kabupaten Situbondo*, no. Query date: 2026-06-30 10:22:24 (2023); M. Zaki, "Tinjauan Hukum Islam Dan Pandangan Para Ulama Mengenai Hiburan Orkes Dangdut Dalam Walimah," *Indonesian Journal of Islamic Jurisprudence, Economic ...*, no. Query date: 2026-06-30 10:03:46 (2026), <https://www.shariajournal.com/index.php/IJIJEL/article/view/1609>; H. Kusumawati dan MH Effendy, "Tradisi Perjodohan di Kalangan Masyarakat Madura pada Era Millenial," *International Conference on Morality (InCoMora)*, no. Query date: 2026-06-30 10:22:24 (2020).

This is a fact that often occurs in societies where religious understanding is an important factor in making decisions about marriage. Public belief in certain religions has its own effects on social practices in society, one of which is the practice of matchmaking also occurs because of the understanding related to kafa'ah and ijbar in society. Like among Islamic boarding schools, where equality or kafa'ah in terms of nasab and kalimuan is still maintained.³⁵ The use of ijbar rights is also still practiced among Islamic boarding school kiai where this authority is a form of implementation of parents' responsibilities to find their children's partners.

A person's understanding of religion and its influence on matchmaking can differ between different religions and religious denominations. A person's religious experiences and interpretations often determine how they make decisions about matchmaking and how to make decisions in making choices in their lives and for their children. Looking at the various factors that occur in the matchmaking above, it can be said that matchmaking is not always based on negative intentions. Sometimes matchmaking even eases or helps couples find their partner. So that it can lead to benefits. Can

It is said that an action reaches the point of benefit when, (1) the action can really bring benefits and reject harm, (2) the benefits achieved must be felt by the people and reject harm to the people as well, (3) it does not contradict the principles outlined by Nash or ijma'.

Family matchmaking, which is carried out on the basis of deliberation, approval of the prospective bride, and consideration of the family's interests, reflects a balance between traditional and modern values. In this context, *living law* functions as a social mechanism that maintains the sustainability of cultural values while providing space for individual rights guaranteed by Islamic law and state law.³⁶ Thus, the practice of family matchmaking cannot be seen solely as a tradition that is contrary to modernity. Rather, the practice demonstrates the ability of communities to maintain local cultural values while adapting them to changing social, legal, and technological developments. Therefore, the existence of *living law* in the practice of family arranged marriage is proof that the law that lives in society has an important role in shaping and directing the social behavior of modern society.³⁷

Conclusion

Research on Living Law in the practice of family arranged marriage in modern society shows that the practice of family arranged marriage still has an existence and relevance in the life of contemporary society. Although modernization has brought about major changes in the pattern of social relationships and given individuals greater freedom to determine life partners, the role of the family in the process of finding and selecting a mate is still maintained by some societies. However, the practice of arranged marriage that is developing today is no longer synonymous with the coercion of the will of parents, but rather emphasizes the process of deliberation, mutual

³⁵ MA Najib dan B. Ulum, "Analisis Perjudohan Di Pondok Pesantren Perspektif Hukum Islam (Studi Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah Shirothul Fuqoha)," *Comprehensive Journal of Islamic Studies*, no. Query date: 2026-06-30 10:22:24 (2025), <https://ojs.staizmojosari.ac.id/index.php/staiza/article/view/35>; M. Ramadhan, "Fenomena Perjudohan Di Pondok Pesantren Serta Implikasinya Terhadap Keluarga Sakinah," *TASHWIR*, no. Query date: 2026-06-30 10:22:24 (2024), <https://jurnal.uin-antasari.ac.id/index.php/tashwir/article/view/13236>; KM Rohman dkk., "OTORITAS KHARISMATIK KYAI DALAM PERKAWINAN PERSPEKTIF HUKUM KELUARGA ISLAM (STUDI PERJODOHAN DI PONDOK PESANTREN TRI BHAKTI AT' ...," *Berkala Hukum, Sosial dan ...*, no. Query date: 2026-06-30 10:22:24 (2025), <https://jurnal2.umala.ac.id/index.php/bhsa/article/view/249>.

³⁶ Soekanto, *Fundamentals of legal sociology*, p. 115.

³⁷ Rahardjo and Dimiyati, *Legal sociology*, p. 128.

consideration, and respect for the right of the prospective bride to accept or reject the spouse introduced by the family.

The sustainability of the practice of family matchmaking reflects the existence of **living laws** or laws that live in society. This practice is still carried out because it is considered to contain important social values, such as maintaining family harmony, strengthening kinship relationships, maintaining cultural identity, and providing more mature consideration in building a household. Thus, family matchmaking is not only a tradition that is inherited from generation to generation, but also a form of social norm that continues to adapt to the times and the needs of society. Therefore, the practice of family matchmaking in modern society cannot be understood solely as an outdated tradition. Rather, this practice shows the ability of the community to maintain local values that are considered good while adapting them to modern social, legal, and cultural developments. From the perspective of *living law*, family arranged marriage is proof that the law that lives in society still has an important role in shaping social behavior, maintaining the order of life together, and becoming a bridge between traditional values and the demands of modernity. Thus, the existence of family arranged marriage in modern society reflects the dynamics of the law that continue to develop in accordance with the social reality that surrounds it.

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