

Da'wah Strategy of the Sunda Kelapa Taklim Council as a Non-State Actor in the Socialization of Islamic Family Law in Jakarta

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze the role of the Sunda Kelapa Taklim Council as a non-state actor in the socialization of Islamic family law in Jakarta. Based on a qualitative descriptive approach with a case study design, this study examines how da'wah strategies are designed and implemented to transform family fiqh norms into the religious consciousness of urban communities. The focus of the research includes the material presented, delivery methods, communicative approaches, and the use of media in da'wah activities related to marriage issues, marital relations, divorce, and child care. Data was obtained through interviews, participatory observations, and documentation of the administrators, ustadz, and worshippers of the Sunda Kelapa Taklim Council centered at the Sunda Kelapa Grand Mosque. The results of the study show that the da'wah strategy functions as an effective instrument for socializing Islamic family law in shaping the normative awareness of the congregation. The substance of family law is conveyed in a normative-theological, ethical-social, and practical framework, so that it is not only understood as a formal rule, but as a spiritual mandate and moral guideline in domestic life. As a non-state actor, the taklim assembly does not have formal juridical authority like state institutions, but it plays a significant role in building moral legitimacy, providing a space for non-formal consultation before the litigation process, and bridging fiqh norms with national regulations and the realities of urban life. These findings confirm that the development of Islamic family law in Indonesia takes place through the interaction between the formal structure of the state and the dynamics of religious civil society that shape the understanding and practice of law at the social level.

Keywords: Da'wah Strategy, Taklim Council, Non-State, Islamic Family Law.

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis peran Majelis Taklim Sunda Kelapa sebagai aktor non-state dalam sosialisasi hukum keluarga Islam di Jakarta. Berbasis pendekatan deskriptif kualitatif dengan desain studi kasus, penelitian ini menelaah bagaimana strategi dakwah dirancang dan dijalankan untuk mentransformasikan

norma-norma fiqih keluarga ke dalam kesadaran religius masyarakat perkotaan. Fokus penelitian meliputi materi yang disampaikan, metode penyampaian, pendekatan komunikatif, serta pemanfaatan media dalam kegiatan dakwah yang berkaitan dengan isu perkawinan, hubungan suami-istri, perceraian, dan pengasuhan anak. Data diperoleh melalui wawancara, observasi partisipatif, dan dokumentasi terhadap pengurus, ustadz, serta jamaah Majelis Taklim Sunda Kelapa yang berpusat di Masjid Agung Sunda Kelapa. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa strategi dakwah berfungsi sebagai instrumen sosialisasi hukum keluarga Islam yang efektif dalam membentuk kesadaran normatif jamaah. Substansi hukum keluarga disampaikan dalam kerangka normatif-teologis, etis-sosial, dan praktis, sehingga tidak hanya dipahami sebagai aturan formal, tetapi sebagai amanah spiritual dan pedoman moral dalam kehidupan rumah tangga. Sebagai aktor non-negara, majelis taklim tidak memiliki otoritas yuridis formal sebagaimana lembaga negara, tetapi berperan signifikan dalam membangun legitimasi moral, menyediakan ruang konsultasi non-formal sebelum proses litigasi, serta menjembatani norma fiqih dengan regulasi nasional dan realitas kehidupan perkotaan. Temuan ini menegaskan bahwa perkembangan hukum keluarga Islam di Indonesia berlangsung melalui interaksi antara struktur formal negara dan dinamika masyarakat sipil keagamaan yang membentuk pemahaman serta praktik hukum di tingkat sosial.

Kata Kunci: Strategi Dakwah, Majelis Taklim, Non-State, Hukum Keluarga Islam.

INTRODUCTION

The development of Islamic family law in Indonesia does not only take place through formal state channels such as legislation and court decisions, but also through socio-religious processes that live in society. In the context of the modern state, regulations regarding marriage, divorce, inheritance, and family relations have indeed been institutionalized through various positive legal instruments.¹ However, the norms of Islamic family law are not fully produced and disseminated by the state. In the broader social space, there are non-state actors who play a significant role in forming, transmitting, and internalizing the understanding of family law to society.

In Indonesia, Islamic family law is formally regulated through Law No. 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage (which has been updated through Law No. 16 of 2019), as detailed in the Compilation of Islamic Law

¹ Nurul Ma'rifah, "The Positivization of Islamic Family Law as a Step for the Renewal of Islamic Law in Indonesia: A Study of the Political History of Islamic Law," *Al-Manahij: Journal of Islamic Law Studies* 13, no. 2 (2019): 247, <https://doi.org/10.24090/mnh.v13i2.2692>.

(KHI).² These two legal tools are the main reference in the practice of family law, especially for Muslims, whose implementation is carried out through institutions such as the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) and the Religious Court. Normatively, the state has the authority to regulate the administrative and juridical aspects of marriage, divorce, and inheritance.

However, the reality shows that people's understanding of Islamic family law is not only shaped by state regulations. Many Muslims understand the concept of the rights and obligations of husband and wife, leadership in the household, parenting patterns, and the issue of divorce and polygamy precisely through studies, lectures, and religious forums.³ In this context, the taklim council is one of the strategic spaces that functions as an arena for the transmission of values, interpretation of fiqh, and the formation of Islamic family law awareness.⁴

The taklim council as a community-based da'wah institution has a distinctive character. It is not a state institution, but it has social and religious legitimacy in the eyes of its worshippers. It does not have formal juridical authority like the courts, but it does have moral and symbolic authority in shaping religious perceptions. From the perspective of *non-state sphere theory*, spaces such as the taklim assembly can be understood as part of Islamic civil society that contributes to the production and reproduction of Islamic legal norms outside the formal structure of the state.⁵

In urban areas such as Jakarta, the dynamics of Islamic family law have become increasingly complex. Urbanization, social mobility, increased education, and penetration of digital media affect the way people understand family relationships and religious norms. Urban women have wider access to education and economy than previous

² Muhammad Adieb, "The Transformation of Islamic Family Law in Indonesia: Between Sharia Norms and Contemporary Social Dynamics," *Journal of Sociology of Education and Social Studies Education (SOSPENDIS)* 3, no. 3 (2025): 89.

³ Erwin Hamonangan Pane dkk., "The Impact of Islamic Family Law on Women's Rights: A Comparative Study of the Shari'ah and Modern Family Laws," *International Journal of Educational Research Excellence (IJERE)* 3, no. 1 (2024): 321–31, <https://doi.org/10.55299/ijere.v3i1.874>.

⁴ Junaidi Marbun and Ahmad Rivauzi, "The Role of the Taklim Council in Improving the Religious Understanding of Mosque Worshippers," *An-Nuha* 2, no. 4 (2022): 810–27, <https://doi.org/10.24036/annuha.v2i4.260>.

⁵ Thomas Janoski, *Citizenship and Civil Society: A Framework of Rights and Obligations in Liberal, Traditional, and Social Democratic Regimes*, 1 ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139174787>.

generations. Discourses on gender equality, human rights, and justice in the household are increasingly being discussed. In this situation, there is an encounter between classical fiqh norms, state regulations, and the values of modernity.

The Sunda Kelapa Taklim Council, which is centered at the Sunda Kelapa Grand Mosque, is one example of a da'wah institution that has a significant influence among the urban community of Jakarta. With a heterogeneous character of the congregation in terms of age, educational background, and profession, this assembly became a meeting room between religious texts, urban social realities, and the practical needs of modern Muslim family life. Through routine studies, thematic lectures, and religious coaching, the Sunda Kelapa Taklim Council delivered various materials related to family life, ranging from marriage preparation, husband-wife relations, children's education, to domestic conflict management.⁶

In this context, da'wah strategies are a key element. Da'wah is no longer understood solely as a lecture delivery activity, but as a planned and systematic communication process to transform values. Da'wah strategies include material selection, methodological approaches, congregation segmentation, media use, and communication styles used by da'is. When the material presented is related to Islamic family law, the da'wah strategy directly plays a role in the process of socializing family law norms.

Legal socialization in the perspective of legal sociology does not only occur through formal mechanisms such as legal education or litigation processes.⁷ It also takes place through the internalization of values in daily life. When the congregation receives an explanation of the obligation of alimony, the concept of *qiwāmah* (husband's leadership), or the rights of wives in the forum of the taklim council, then there is actually a process of forming legal awareness. This awareness can be in harmony with state law, it can also be interpretive based on a certain fiqh perspective.

This is where the position of the taklim council as a non-state actor becomes important to be studied. It is not only an extension of the state in socializing regulations, but can also be a space for alternative

⁶ Syafruddin Mahud, "Personal Interview on the Sunda Kelapa Taklim Council," December 23, 2025.

⁷ Naufal Akbar Kusuma Hadi, "Law Enforcement in Indonesia Seen from the Perspective of Legal Sociology," *Journal of Law and Economic Development* 10, no. 2 (2022): 227, <https://doi.org/10.20961/hpe.v10i2.62834>.

interpretation of Islamic family law. In some cases, da'wah institutions can strengthen the perspective of classical fiqh textually. In other cases, he can make adjustments to the modern context and the needs of urban pilgrims. In other words, there is the potential for reproduction and transformation of family law norms in the non-state space.

Several relevant previous studies have shown that the taklim assembly has an important role in family formation and religious social transformation. The study of Gusti Bayu Wiranda and Soiman emphasizes the management function of the taklim council in fostering the sakinah family through the planning and implementation of a structured da'wah program.⁸ Meanwhile, Umdatul Hasanah's research discusses the shift in the role of the taklim council community in urban areas and its contribution in shaping the religious pattern of urban communities.⁹ In addition, Usmayanti Nur Haliza et al., highlighted the function of the taklim council as a medium for moral and ethical development of parents in the context of the family.¹⁰ However, the third study has not specifically examined the taklim council as a non-state actor in the socialization of Islamic family law. This is where the novelty of this research lies, which is to place the Sunda Kelapa Taklim Council as a non-state actor that strategically builds awareness of Islamic family law through a normative, ethical, and practical da'wah approach in the urban context of Jakarta, as well as a comprehensive analysis with the national legal system.

In the urban context of Jakarta, non-state spaces such as the taklim assembly also function as an arena for the formation of the religious identity of the Muslim middle class.¹¹ This identity often blends individual piety, legal awareness, and the aspirations of modernity. The da'wah strategy that is implemented must also be able to answer the needs of pilgrims who are critical, educated, and exposed to various

⁸ Gusti Bayu Wiranda, "Management of Majelis Taklim Darussunnah to Fostering Sakinah Families In Bilah Hulu Labuhan Batu," *FOKUS Journal of Islamic and Community Studies* 9, no. 1 (2024): 1–12.

⁹ Umdatul Hasanah, "Majelis Taklim and the Shift in the Role of Religious Communities in Urban Areas," *Da'wah Science: Academic Journal of Homiletic Studies* 13, no. 1 (2019): 80–100, <https://doi.org/10.15575/idajhs.v13i1.4632>.

¹⁰ Usmayanti Nur Haliza et al., "Majelis Taklim as a Media for Fostering Parents of Students at MI Nurul Qolbi: A Study of the Book of 'Uqud al-Lujain," *Journal of Instructional and Development Researches* 5, no. 1 (2025): 59–66, <https://doi.org/10.53621/jider.v5i1.463>.

¹¹ Andi Faisal Bakti, "Majelis az-zikra: New Approach to da'wah for civil society in Indonesia," *Mimbar Journal of Religion and Culture* 23, no. 1 (2006): 14–24.

global discourses. Therefore, the da'wah approach used cannot be completely textual or dogmatic, but is often communicative and contextual.

This research departs from the assumption that da'wah strategy is not just a communication technique, but a social instrument that is influential in the formation of an understanding of Islamic family law. By analyzing the Sunda Kelapa Taklim Council as a non-state actor, this study seeks to explain how Islamic family law norms are socialized, interpreted, and internalized in urban society. The focus on da'wah strategies also makes a theoretical contribution to the study of Islamic family law. He expands the perspective from a normative-judicial approach to a socio-legal approach that considers social actors abroad. In addition, this study also contributes to the study of da'wah by showing that da'wah activities have direct implications for the construction of legal awareness and Muslim family practices

RESEARCH METHODS

This study uses a qualitative method with a descriptive approach and case study design. The qualitative approach was chosen to gain a deep understanding of the process, meaning, and socio-religious dynamics in the implementation of da'wah strategies and the socialization of Islamic family law within the taklim assembly. This research is not oriented to quantitative measurement, but to the exploration of phenomena in a contextual and interpretive manner. The design of the case study is focused on the Sunda Kelapa Taklim Council centered at the Sunda Kelapa Grand Mosque, so as to allow researchers to comprehensively explore how da'wah strategies are designed, implemented, and accepted by worshippers in the context of Jakarta's urban community.

The data sources in this study consist of primary data and secondary data. Primary data was obtained from the administrators of the taklim council, ustadz or da'i, as well as pilgrims who were selected purposively based on their level of involvement and understanding of da'wah activities. The management provided information related to program planning and family study materials, ustadz or da'i explained the delivery method and fiqh approach used, while the congregation provided a perspective on the understanding and implementation of the material in daily life. The secondary data was obtained through documentation studies of lecture materials, study modules, recitation recordings, as well as academic literature and regulations related to

Islamic family law, such as the Marriage Law and the Compilation of Islamic Law.

Data collection techniques were carried out through semi-structured interviews, participatory observation, and documentation. Interviews are used to dig up information in depth but remain flexible, observations are made by attending recitation activities directly to observe the interaction between da'i and pilgrims, while documentation functions to complement empirical data. Data analysis is carried out in stages through data reduction, categorization, and thematic interpretation. The data was analyzed by grouping aspects of da'wah strategies, the substance of family law that was socialized, and the response of the congregation. Furthermore, the conclusion was drawn inductively to explain the role of da'wah strategy as an instrument for socialization of Islamic family law as well as the contribution of the taklim council as a non-state actor in shaping the religious understanding of urban communities.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Majeli Taklim as a Non-State Actor in the Islamic Family Law Space

The taklim council is basically a community-based da'wah institution that grew out of the initiative of the Muslim community.¹² Its existence was born from the need for a religious formation space that is flexible, participatory, and close to daily life. In contrast to formal state institutions, the taklim assembly is not formed through a mechanism of legislation and does not have administrative or juridical authority. Nevertheless, it has a strong social and religious legitimacy among its worshippers. This legitimacy comes from trust in the scientific authority of the ustadz, institutional reputation, and consistency in organizing da'wah activities.

The Sunda Kelapa Taklim Council, which is centered at the Sunda Kelapa Grand Mosque, can be positioned as a non-state actor that plays a significant role in the process of socializing Islamic family law. As part of the religious civil society in the urban area of Jakarta, this taklim assembly is a space for interaction between Islamic normative texts, state law regulations, and the diverse social realities of pilgrims.¹³ Its position

¹² Sri Munawarah et al., "The Role of the Taklim Council in Improving Community Spiritual Understanding in Tangan-Tangan Cut Village, Kec Setia Aceh Barat Daya (*Tadris*): *Journal of Islamic Education Research and Thought* 18, no. 1 (2024): 38–52.

¹³ Mahud, "Personal Interview on the Sunda Coconut Taklim Council," December 23, 2025.

as a non-state actor places it outside the formal structure of government, but it remains in the orbit of forming the legal consciousness of Muslim society.

As a non-state actor, the taklim council does not have the juridical authority to determine or decide marriage, divorce, or inheritance cases as done by the Religious Court. It does not issue a marriage certificate, does not ratify talaq, and does not decide inheritance disputes. These functions are formally under the authority of the state through the religious justice institution and the Office of Religious Affairs. However, the limitation of formal authority does not mean that the taklim council does not have influence in the realm of family law. This is precisely where its significance lies, it operates on the pre-judicial and meta-judicial levels, namely in the formation of religious opinions, normative awareness, and the moral orientation of the congregation.¹⁴

In social practice, before someone takes formal legal steps, such as filing a divorce lawsuit or resolving domestic conflicts through the courts, they often seek religious references first. This reference is obtained through routine recitation, consultation with ustadz, or discussion in the taklim council forum. This process shows that the consciousness of Islamic family law is not solely shaped by the text of the law, but also by the religious understanding gained through da'wah. In other words, the taklim assembly functions as a mediation space between formal legal norms and individual religious beliefs.¹⁵

This is where the role of non-states becomes significant. The taklim assembly is an arena for the production and reproduction of Islamic family law norms outside the formal structure of the state.¹⁶ The production of norms in this context does not mean creating new laws, but rather forms an understanding and interpretation of existing norms. The reproduction of norms occurs when the teachings of family fiqh such as the obligation of maintenance, the wife's right to protection, the responsibility of the husband as the head of the family, or the importance of deliberation in the household are conveyed repeatedly in the da'wah forum, so that they are embedded in the consciousness of the congregation as a normative truth that must be carried out.

¹⁴ Nurkholis Sofwan, "Personal Interview about the Taklim Sunda Kelapa Mosque," June 15, 2025.

¹⁵ Hasanah, "Majelis Taklim and the Shift in the Role of Religious Communities in Cities," 80.

¹⁶ Andi Eka Putra, "The Role of the Taklim Council in Women's Empowerment in the City of Bandar Lampung" (Dissertation, UIN Raden Intan Lampung, 2022), 74.

The norms presented in the taklim assembly do not stand alone. It is sourced from classical fiqh, contemporary scholarly interpretations, and refers to national regulations such as the Compilation of Islamic Law. However, in practice, these norms are not conveyed in technical and formalistic legal language. On the contrary, it is packaged through a communicative, persuasive, and contextual da'wah strategy. The language used is closer to the life experience of the pilgrims, making it easier to internalize values.¹⁷

For example, the discussion of the rights and obligations of husband and wife is not always conveyed in the form of legal articles, but through religious narratives about the sakinah family, the example of the Prophet in marriage, and the importance of communication and empathy in the relationship between husband and wife.¹⁸ With this approach, Islamic family law norms are not perceived as a regulatory burden, but rather as moral guidelines that guide domestic life.

Jakarta's urban context also influences the role of the taklim council as a non-state actor. Urban society has complex characteristics, namely relatively high levels of education, openness to global discourse, and increasingly fluid gender role dynamics. Many urban Muslim women work in the public sector, are economically independent, and are actively involved in social activities.¹⁹ In this situation, family relations no longer fully follow the traditional rigid pattern. There is a negotiation of roles between husband and wife, the division of domestic responsibilities, and changes in childcare patterns.

From a socio-legal perspective, the existence of the taklim council as a non-state actor shows that Islamic family law lives in two realms at once, namely the formal realm of the state and the socio-religious realm of society.²⁰ The formal realm provides legal certainty and dispute

¹⁷ Agustin Amrudin, "Personal Interview on the Great Mosque of Sunda Kelapa," June 15, 2025.

¹⁸ Badriah Badriah et al., "The Rights and Obligations of Husband and Wife from an Islamic Legal Perspective (Case Study of Career Women in Benda Village, Sirampog District, Brebes Regency)," *Sultan Jurisprudence: Journal of Legal Research* 3, no. 1 (2023): 73, <https://doi.org/10.51825/sjp.v3i1.19800>.

¹⁹ Bagas Dwipantara Putra and Hani Yulindrasari, "The Role of Women's Organizations in Urban Space," *Journal of Spatial Planning* 18, no. 1 (2023): 7, <https://doi.org/10.12962/j2716179X.v18i1.12857>.

²⁰ Nur Ali and Apik Anitasari Intan Saputri, "Revitalization of Islamic Family Law to Empower a Fair Sharia Economic Ecosystem: Normative and Socio-legal Perspectives," *Citizen: Indonesian Multidisciplinary Scientific Journal* 5, no. 3 (2025): 747–58, <https://doi.org/10.53866/jimi.v5i3.871>.

resolution mechanisms, while the socio-religious realm provides moral and spiritual legitimacy. The two complement each other, not eliminate each other.

The position of the taklim council is not just as a conveyor of religious teachings, but as a mediator between the text of Islamic law, state regulations, and the social reality of urban worshippers. It becomes a space where family law norms are interpreted, explained, and internalized in language relevant to everyday life. This mediative role makes the taklim council an important part of the Islamic family law ecosystem in Indonesia. Through a planned da'wah strategy, the taklim council is able to shape the moral orientation of the congregation towards family issues. This orientation ultimately influences concrete attitudes and actions in domestic life. Therefore, even though it does not have formal juridical authority, the taklim council still has significant normative power in shaping the legal consciousness of Islamic families. This is what affirms its position as a relevant and strategic non-state actor in the dynamics of Islamic family law in urban society.

Da'wah Strategy in the Socialization of Islamic Family Law

The da'wah strategy is a key element in the process of socializing Islamic family law within the taklim assembly. Da'wah is no longer understood solely as a normative lecture activity, but as a process of communication that is planned, systematic, and responsive to the needs of the congregation.²¹ In the context of the Sunda Kelapa Taklim Council centered at the Sunda Kelapa Grand Mosque, the da'wah strategy plays an important role in transforming family fiqh norms into relevant guidelines for urban society.

The da'wah strategy in the socialization of Islamic family law in the Sunda Kelapa Taklim Council can be analyzed by referring to the classification of da'wah strategies according to Muhammad Ali Al-Bayanuni, namely sentimental strategies (al-manhaj al-'athifi), rational strategies (al-manhaj al-'aqli), and sensory strategies (al-manhaj al-hissi).²² These three strategies seem to be integrated in the process of delivering family law materials to the congregation, so that da'wah not only touches on cognitive aspects, but also emotional and practical.

²¹ St. Nasriah and Hamiruddin, "Revitalizing Mosque Functions through Ukhuwatul Islamiyah Da'wah Institution: From Tabligh to Tathwir," *Communica: Media Communication and Da'wah* 15, no. 2 (2025): 395–420, <https://doi.org/10.35905/komunida.%2520v16i2.15121>.

²² Moh. Ali Aziz, *Da'wah Science Revised Edition* (Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, 2016), 351.

The sentimental strategy (al-manhaj al-'athifi) can be seen from the way the da'is build emotional closeness with the congregation.²³ In delivering material about marriage, domestic conflicts, and childcare, the language used tends to be gentle, persuasive, and touching. When discussing divorce, for example, the speaker did not directly emphasize the legal aspects, but first reminded them of the value of sakinah, mawaddah, and rahmah as well as the importance of patience and mutual forgiveness. This approach aims to arouse the inner awareness of the congregation to see the family as a spiritual mandate. In an interview, Mukminah, one of the worshippers, stated that she felt more touched when the ustaz explained with a calming story and advice, not in a blameful tone.²⁴ This shows that sentimental strategies are effective in moving feelings and building an internal commitment to family law norms.

Rational strategies (al-manhaj al-'aqli) appear to be in an effort to encourage pilgrims to think and reflect on the wisdom behind the provisions of family law.²⁵ The da'is not only convey the evidence textually, but also invite the congregation to do tafakkur and tadabbur to the social and psychological consequences of every decision in the household. When discussing maintenance obligations, for example, the explanation does not stop at normative orders, but continues with a description of the economic and emotional impact if these obligations are ignored. In the question and answer session, the congregation was encouraged to raise concrete issues, then invited to weigh them rationally based on sharia principles.²⁶ This process reflects the use of the nazhar and taammul approaches, which is directing the mind to a certain problem and pondering it until it finds a more mature understanding. This rational strategy is important in the context of urban society which tends to be critical and requires logical argumentation.

²³ Robiah Nasution, "Principles and Strategies in Islamic Da'wah," *An-Nahdhah: Journal of Education, Communication and Religion* 4, no. 1 (2021): 39–47.

²⁴ Mukminah, "Personal Interview on Da'wah at the Sunda Kelapa Grand Mosque," December 20, 2025.

²⁵ Natasha Jordan and Maria Goretti Adiyanti, "The Effect of Social Support on Anxiety in Covid-19 Survivors," *Bulletin of Counseling and Psychotherapy* 4, no. 3 (2023): 421, <https://doi.org/10.51214/bocp.v4i3.413>.

²⁶ Mahud, "Personal Interview on the Sunda Coconut Taklim Council," December 23, 2025.

Meanwhile, sensory strategies (*al-manhaj al-hissi*) are seen through the practice of example and habituation in daily life.²⁷ The da'is not only convey theories, but also provide concrete examples in family relations and encourage pilgrims to practice the values learned. Discussions about husband-wife communication, for example, are often accompanied by simple simulations or illustrations of real cases that are close to the experiences of pilgrims. In addition, the use of digital media such as study recordings and lecture excerpts on online platforms expands the sensory experience of worshippers, because the material can be heard and viewed again at any time. This strategy is oriented to direct experience and habituation, so that family law norms do not stop at the level of discourse, but become practices that can be observed and emulated.

The da'wah strategy in the socialization of Islamic family law in the Sunda Kelapa Taklim Council reflects the integration of emotional, rational, and practical approaches as formulated by Al-Bayanuni. Sentimental strategies build inner awareness, rational strategies strengthen intellectual understanding, and sensory strategies encourage concrete practice. The three form a comprehensive process of internalizing Islamic family law in the non-state space, especially in the context of Jakarta's dynamic and complex urban society.

Substance of Socialized Family Law

The substance of Islamic family law socialized in the forum of the Sunda Kelapa Taklim Council at the Sunda Kelapa Grand Mosque shows a comprehensive character. Based on observations of study and discussion materials, family law is not only described as a textual norm, but is understood in three main dimensions such as normative-theological, ethical-social, and practical. In the normative-theological dimension, the study material in general begins with the postulates of the Qur'an and hadith that affirm the importance of the institution of marriage.²⁸ Marriage is described as *mitsaqan ghalizha*, which is a sacred bond that is worth worship. The concepts of *sakinah*, *mawaddah*, and *rahmah* are the foundation for building awareness that the purpose of the

²⁷ Almira Manda Safira, "The Da'wah Strategy of Islamic Youth of the Al Huda Mosque in Depok City in Introducing a Less Waste Lifestyle," *Hikmah* 16, no. 1 (2022): 95–112, <https://doi.org/10.24952/hik.v16i1.3622>.

²⁸ Sofwan, "Personal Interview on the Taklim Sunda Kelapa Mosque," June 15, 2025.

family in Islam is peace and blessings.²⁹ This emphasis appears consistent in various study sessions, thus forming a structured and repetitive pattern of representation.

Based on the results of the interview, the theological approach is deliberately emphasized so that the congregation understands family law as part of a spiritual responsibility, not just a social rule. He stated that when the obligations of the husband or wife are associated with the mandate before Allah, the congregation tends to more easily accept and internalize the message conveyed.³⁰ This statement reinforces the finding that religious legitimacy is the main basis for the socialization of family law.

In addition to the theological dimension, the material presented is also loaded with ethical-social content. The relationship between husband and wife is not only discussed in the framework of formal rights and obligations, but also as a partnership built on the basis of deliberation, responsibility, and reciprocity (*mu'asyarah bi al-ma'rūf*).³¹ In several study sessions observed, the speaker emphasized that the husband's leadership is a mandate that must be carried out fairly and wisely, not a form of unilateral domination. This explanation shows that there is an effort to contextualize family law with the reality of urban society. The results of an interview with one of the male pilgrims showed the impact of this approach. He admitted that he re-understood the meaning of leadership in the household after participating in routine studies. If previously he interpreted leadership as full authority, now he sees it as a moral responsibility to protect and prosper the family.³²

The practical dimension is complementary to the previous two dimensions. In the observed study, the congregation was given concrete guidance on the resolution of domestic conflicts, the importance of open communication, as well as the recommendation to mediate before making a decision to divorce. Divorce is positioned as the last step after the *islah* effort is made. This emphasis was evident in several interactive

²⁹ Idris, "The Concept of the Sakinah, Mawadah, and Rahmah Family in the Quran (A Study of Tafsir Maudhu'i)," *At-Tibyan* 7, no. 1 (2024): 89–102, <https://doi.org/10.30631/qem3g206>.

³⁰ Mahud, "Personal Interview on the Sunda Coconut Taklim Council," December 23, 2025.

³¹ Ismi Lathifatul Hilmi, "Mu'asyarah bil Ma'ruf as the Principle of Marriage," *Misykat Al-Anwar Journal of Islamic and Social Studies* 06, no. 2 (2023): 155–74.

³² Suseno, "Personal Interview on Da'wah at the Sunda Kelapa Grand Mosque," December 24, 2025.

discussion sessions. An interview with a female worshipper reinforced the findings. He stated that the encouragement to hold back emotions and deliberation was very relevant to his personal experience in dealing with family conflicts.³³

Interestingly, the substance of socialized family law is also in line with national regulations, such as the obligation to register marriages and official divorce procedures. This is identified from the content of the lecture which emphasizes the importance of obeying the rules for the common good. A statement by an administrator in an interview also confirmed that the taklim assembly has never encouraged practices outside the legal framework of the state.³⁴ The socialization of family law at the Sunda Kelapa Taklim Council took place comprehensively. The theological dimension builds an awareness of faith, the ethical-social dimension forms a just relationship, and the practical dimension provides concrete solutions.

The Role of Non-State in the Construction of Family Law Understanding

The Sunda Kelapa Taklim Council, which is centered at the Sunda Kelapa Grand Mosque, functions as a space for socialization as well as legitimacy of Islamic family legal norms in the context of urban society. In the framework of non-state actors, the taklim assembly does not have the formal authority of state institutions such as courts or religious affairs offices that can make legal decisions or ratify marital and divorce status.³⁵ However, the absence of such juridical authority does not reduce the significance of its role in shaping family law awareness, attitudes, and practices among pilgrims.

As a non-state actor, the taklim assembly moves in the moral and spiritual areas. It does not replace the role of the state, but complements it through a value approach, the internalization of religious teachings, and the formation of religious opinions that live in the community. In this context, Islamic family law is not only understood as a set of written

³³ Mukminah, "Personal Interview on Da'wah at the Great Mosque of Sunda Kelapa," December 20, 2025.

³⁴ Sofwan, "Personal Interview on the Taklim Sunda Kelapa Mosque," June 15, 2025.

³⁵ Bakti, "Majelis az-zikra: New Approach to dakwah for civil society in Indonesia."

rules that must be obeyed due to legal obligations, but as a guideline for life that has the value of worship and has spiritual consequences.³⁶

The da'wah strategy applied in the recitation forum plays a central role in the construction of this understanding. First, this strategy forms a family legal awareness based on religious values. Through lectures, interactive dialogues, and thematic studies, the congregation is invited to understand that the institution of the family in Islam has a sacred dimension.³⁷ Marriage is positioned as a trust and worship, so that every violation of rights and obligations in the household is not only a social offense, but also a moral violation before God.³⁸ Legal awareness is not built through fear of state sanctions, but through an awareness of faith and spiritual responsibility.³⁹ This religious awareness is an important foundation in shaping normative compliance that is internal. In many cases, individuals tend to be more obedient to norms that they believe to be part of religious teachings than norms that are only perceived as administrative rules.⁴⁰ This is where the power of non-state actors such as the taklim assembly builds the legitimacy of family law from within the religious consciousness of the congregation.

Second, the taklim council provides a non-formal consultation room before the pilgrims take formal legal steps.⁴¹ In social practice, there are many domestic problems that ultimately lead to legal proceedings in religious courts. However, before reaching that stage, many couples or individuals first seek religious references through recitation or personal consultation with ustadz. This space becomes a kind of pre-litigation mechanism that is moral and persuasive. In this informal space, family issues are discussed in a calmer and reflective

³⁶ Nurrohman Syarif, "The Discourse and Practice of Islamic Family Law in Indonesia," *Psychology and Education Journal* 58, no. 1 (2021): 5201–12, <https://doi.org/10.17762/pae.v58i1.1774>.

³⁷ Ahmad Irfan Maulana et al., "Da'wah Bil Hikmah Perspective of Yusuf Al-Qaradhawi in the Routine of Walisongo Pilgrimage at the Taklim Council in Kertasari Village," *Journal of MD: Journal of Da'wah Management* 10, no. 2 (2024): 116–39.

³⁸ Azmil Mukarrom, "Islamic Legal Basis for Marriage," *Journal of Islamic Law Studies* 7, no. 1 (2021): 14–27, <https://doi.org/10.52166/jkhi.v7i1.14>.

³⁹ Yu. A. Tikhomirov, "Legal Consciousness amid Social Dynamics," *Herald of the Russian Academy of Sciences* 90, no. 6 (2020): 772–78, <https://doi.org/10.1134/S1019331620060325>.

⁴⁰ Audun Dahl dkk., "Crossing Religious Boundaries: Individual and Contextual Determinants of Who Can Violate Religious Norms," *SSRN Electronic Journal* 21, no. 2 (2021): 30–41, <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3986930>.

⁴¹ Mahud, "Personal Interview on the Sunda Coconut Taklim Council," December 23, 2025.

religious atmosphere. Conflict resolution is more directed at mediation, advice, and efforts to improve relationships. Divorce, for example, is not immediately recommended as a solution, but is positioned as the last resort after various attempts at *islah* have been made. The taklim assembly acts as a buffer space that can prevent the escalation of conflicts to the formal legal realm if it still allows for a peaceful settlement.

Third, the da'wah strategy applied is able to bridge the norms of *fiqh* with the reality of urban life. Jakarta as a metropolitan city has high social complexity such as job mobility, economic pressure, changes in gender roles, and global cultural influences⁴². In this context, the understanding of family law cannot be conveyed textually and rigidly. It requires a contextual approach that is able to relate the teachings of *fiqh* to the concrete situation of the congregation. The taklim council carries out this function by packaging family law materials in communicative and relevant language. For example, the discussion of husband's leadership is not only described as authority, but as a moral responsibility that must be carried out fairly and lovingly. Similarly, the⁴³ discussion of the role of the wife in the family is conveyed in the framework of partnership and deliberation, especially when the wife also contributes to the public and economic sphere.

In the context of Jakarta's urban society, where the intensity of family conflicts can increase due to social and economic pressures, the role of non-states such as the taklim council has become increasingly significant. It is present as a space for reflection and value affirmation in the midst of the dynamics of modernity. On the one hand, the state provides a formal legal framework through laws and regulations; On the other hand, the Taklim Council gives religious meaning and moral legitimacy to these norms. This mediative role shows that the development of Islamic family law in Indonesia is not solely determined by state policies. The dynamics of religious civil society also contribute to shaping the way the law is understood and practiced. The taklim assembly is part of the broader ecosystem of Islamic law, where the interaction between religious texts, state regulations, and social realities takes place dynamically.

⁴² Yodi Christiani dkk., "Contextualizing Urban Living as a Determinant of Women's Health in Jakarta, Indonesia," *Women & Health* 57, no. 10 (2017): 1204–20, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03630242.2016.1263271>.

⁴³ Mahud, "Personal Interview on the Sunda Coconut Taklim Council," December 23, 2025.

As part of civil society, the taklim assembly also shows that religious authority is not always centered on formal institutions. Authority can be formed through the trust of the congregation, the consistency of da'wah, and the moral reputation of the ustadz.⁴⁴ This social legitimacy allows the taklim council to influence the way the congregation views family issues, even before they are confronted with the state's legal institutions. The da'wah strategy applied not only functions as a method of religious communication, but also as an instrument for socializing Islamic family law in the non-state realm.⁴⁵ It builds normative awareness, provides consultative space, and bridges legal texts with social realities. Within this framework, the taklim assembly is not in a competitive position with the state, but complementary.

Conceptually, these findings show that Islamic family law in Indonesia developed through the interaction between formal and religious social structures. The state establishes regulations and procedures, while non-state actors such as the taklim assembly shape the public's understanding, attitude, and moral orientation towards these regulations. This relationship is dialectical in nature, namely the state norm obtains religious legitimacy through da'wah, while da'wah gains social relevance through recognition of the national legal framework.

It can be affirmed that the role of non-state in the construction of family law understanding is strategic and sustainable. In a complex urban society, the need for spaces for education, mediation, and internalization of values is even greater. The taklim council responds to these needs with a spiritual and persuasive approach. Therefore, its existence is not only important in the context of da'wah, but also in the context of building Islamic family law awareness that is rooted in values, responsive to reality, and in harmony with the national legal system.

CONCLUSION

⁴⁴ Arif Budiman et al., "Persuasive Efforts of the Taklim Council in Increasing Congregational Awareness: A Study on the Al-Ukhuwah Gentan Taklim Council," *Pawarta: Journal of Communication and Da'wah* 3, no. 2 (2025): 89–104, <https://doi.org/10.54090/pawarta.747>.

⁴⁵ Andi Faisal Bakti, "Communication and Dakwah: Religious Learning Groups and Their Role In the Protection of Islamic Human Security and Rights for Indonesian Civil Society," dalam *Comparative Education, Terrorism and Human Security*, ed. oleh Wayne Nelles (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2003), 109, https://doi.org/10.1057/9781403982391_8.

This study concludes that the Sunda Kelapa Taklim Council plays a significant role as a non-state actor in the socialization of Islamic family law in the urban space of Jakarta through strong socio-religious legitimacy. Although it does not have formal juridical authority, the taklim assembly is able to effectively shape the normative awareness, moral orientation, and religious understanding of the congregation. This role places the taklim assembly in the pre-juridical and meta-juridical realms, where the process of internalizing religious values and considerations takes place before individuals take the formal legal route, thus showing that the formation of legal awareness is not solely determined by state instruments, but also by the dynamics of da'wah and religious authority at the community level.

Furthermore, the effectiveness of this role is supported by an integrated da'wah strategy, including sentimental, rational, and sensory approaches, which simultaneously build emotional attachment, reflective capacity, and practical experience of pilgrims. The substance of family law that is socialized also reflects a comprehensive approach that combines theological, ethical-social, and practical dimensions, so as to be able to contextualize family fiqh with the reality of a dynamic urban society. These findings show that the taklim assembly not only functions as a medium for the transmission of normative teachings, but also as a space for adaptation and negotiation of Islamic family legal values in the face of social changes, including issues of gender relations, economic pressures, and the complexity of modern life.

Conceptually, this study confirms the existence of a complementary relationship between the formal legal structure of the state and the socio-religious structure of civil society in the development of Islamic family law in Indonesia. The state provides a legal framework and dispute resolution mechanism, while the taklim assembly contributes to building moral legitimacy and internalizing values on a sustainable basis. Therefore, this study recommends strengthening synergy between state institutions and taklim councils through collaborative programs in family law education, as well as the need to develop an urban-context-based da'wah model that is adaptive and responsive to contemporary social dynamics, in order to strengthen the effectiveness of Islamic family law socialization in the future.

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