

Unregistered Divorce among Islamic Boarding School Alumni

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ABSTRACT

Divorce does not require a formal court process in Islam; a verbal statement from the husband is considered sufficient. This understanding is held by several Islamic boarding school alumni living in Mlangi, who choose to divorce outside of court. However, this choice is not supported by religious leaders, *kiai* and *gus*, who recommend legally divorcing in court to address issues such as inheritance division and child custody. Despite this, Islamic boarding school alumni in Mlangi continue to opt for divorcing outside of court for various reasons. This research aims to investigate the motivations of individuals in Mlangi who choose to divorce outside of the court system, utilizing the Rational Choice Theory as analytical frameworks. Through qualitative methods, the research explores the relationship between religious beliefs, social norms, and individual experiences in out-of-court divorces. The article argues that social institutions like *kiai* and *gus* are important figures and serve as places of consultation. However, Islamic boarding school alumni often follow their own interests instead of the advice given. Despite *gus* and *kiai* not recommending divorce outside of court, alumni still do so because they want to. This creates a social dilemma where alumni must choose between following norms and pursuing their interests. The research shows that alumni seek advice from *kiai* and *gus* mainly to legitimize their decision to divorce outside of court. The main reasons for divorcing outside of court are privacy issues, lack of communication, a selfish partner, lack of control over the partner, and the absence of children.

[Perceraian tidak memerlukan proses pengadilan formal dalam Islam; pernyataan lisan dari suami dianggap cukup. Pemahaman tersebut dianut oleh beberapa alumni pesantren yang tinggal di Mlangi, yang memilih bercerai di luar pengadilan. Namun pilihan tersebut tidak didukung oleh para pemuka agama, *kiai* dan *gus*, yang merekomendasikan perceraian secara sah di pengadilan untuk mengatasi permasalahan seperti pembagian warisan dan hak asuh anak. Meski begitu, alumni pesantren di Mlangi tetap memilih bercerai di luar pengadilan karena berbagai alasan. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui motivasi individu di Mlangi yang memilih bercerai di luar sistem pengadilan, dengan perspektif teori pilihan rasional. Penelitian ini mengeksplorasi hubungan antara keyakinan agama, norma sosial, dan pengalaman individu dalam perceraian di luar pengadilan. Pasal tersebut berpendapat bahwa lembaga sosial, seperti *kiai* dan *gus*, yang merupakan tokoh penting dan berfungsi sebagai tempat konsultasi. Namun seringkali para alumni pesantren hanya mementingkan kepentingannya sendiri dibandingkan nasehat yang diberikan. Meski *gus* dan *kiai* tidak menganjurkan perceraian di luar pengadilan, namun para alumni tetap melakukannya karena ingin. Hal ini menimbulkan dilema sosial dimana alumni harus memilih antara mengikuti norma atau mengejar kepentingannya. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa alumni meminta nasihat kepada *kiai* dan *gus*

terutama untuk melegitimasi keputusan mereka untuk bercerai di luar pengadilan. Alasan utama perceraian di luar pengadilan adalah masalah privasi, kurangnya komunikasi, pasangan yang egois, kurangnya kontrol terhadap pasangan, dan tidak memiliki momongan.]

KEYWORDS

Out-of-court divorce, social institutions, Islamic boarding school alumni, religious authority

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Introduction

The Sleman Religious Court reported that there were 439 divorce cases occurred in Sleman from January to March 2024.¹ This number does not include divorces outside the court, which is must be more numerous. Mlangi is one of the villages in Sleman where the majority of the population consists of Islamic boarding school alumni.² Our preliminary survey found that some of them divorced without registering with the local religious court. The Islamic boarding school alumni believe that according to Islamic teaching, divorce does not require a formal court process. If a husband verbally divorces his wife, the marriage bond is considered broken.³ This understanding is held by several Islamic boarding school alumni living in Mlangi, a village deeply rooted in Islamic traditions and values in Yogyakarta. It is unfortunate, but this is a reality.

Furthermore, we conducted interviews with Islamic religious figures in Mlangi. Several figures confirmed that divorce outside the court is indeed permissible in Islam.⁴ However, none of those Islamic religious figures, including *gus*, *kiai*, and *ustadz*, advocate for divorce outside of court. Those religious figures aware that recording divorce with the Religious Court is necessary because it holds

¹ Sleman Religious Court, "Statistik Perkara" (Yogyakarta, 2024).

² Badrun Badrun, "Integration of Islam And Local Culture In The Art of Shalawat Ngelik In The Village of Mlangi Yogyakarta," *Heritage* 3, no. 1 (2022): 63–78.

³ Informant 2, "Interview Conducted in July 2023 with Individuals from the Mlangi Community Who Underwent Divorce out of Court," 2023.

⁴ Gus Jalil, "Interview with Religious Figure in Mlangi" (2023).

the jurisdiction and authority to handle cases related to marriage division, child custody, and more.⁵ This means that complications may arise if divorces are not registered with the religious court. Nevertheless, divorces outside the court still happen in Mlangi, driven by personal circumstances and considerations. Consequently, there exists a paradox between what should be and what actually happens. While divorce is legally acceptable in Islam even without court registration, Islamic boarding school alumni are still expected to follow the guidance of religious leaders. However, in reality, they choose to divorce outside the court, leading to more significant issues.

Given this paradox, our research aims to examine the present-day conditions in Mlangi with regards to divorce practices. Specifically, our investigation focuses on individuals who choose to pursue divorce outside of the court. To gain a comprehensive understanding of this phenomenon, we employed the theoretical frameworks of rational choice. The rational choice theory focuses on individual decision-making processes based on a rational calculation of benefits.⁶ Within the context of divorce practices in Mlangi, this framework helps us analyze why individuals choose to divorce outside of the court system by considering the perceived advantages and disadvantages of this choice.

We analyze the sociocultural factors and individual decision-making processes that underlie the choice to divorce outside of the court. Data were mostly gathered by interviews with related parties such as *kiai* and the alumni as direct actor of that divorce. Involving *kiai* as source of information mean to understand the 'local' beliefs existing around that alumni. *Kiai* are considered as significant actors to measure religious factors influencing individuals' perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes towards divorce. They play a pivotal role in shaping people's decision-making processes regarding divorce. By analyzing the religious belief, cultural norms in Mlangi, and social experience, we can gain a deeper understanding of how these factors contribute to the choice of divorcing outside of the court system.⁷

Complexity of Out-of-Court Divorce in Indonesia

For Muslims in Indonesia, divorce can be pursued through two distinct avenues: the conventional legal route and the religious route known as *talak siri* (divorce by husband without involving state authority).⁸ The former entails divorce procedures governed by Indonesian civil law, specifically Law number 1 of 1974 concerning marriage. Under this law, Muslim couples seeking divorce are required

⁵ Kiai Mustafidz, "Interview with Religious Figure in Mlangi."

⁶ Catherine Herfeld, "Revisiting the Criticisms of Rational Choice Theories," *Philosophy Compass* 17, no. 1 (2022): 1–20.

⁷ Peter Berger, "Identity as a Problem in the Sociology of Knowledge," *European Journal of Sociology* 7, no. 1 (1966): 105–15.

⁸ Novia Sari et al., "Opportunities and Challenges of Isbat Talak in Divorce in Indonesia and Abroad," *Al-Qisthu: Jurnal Kajian Ilmu-Ilmu Hukum* 19, no. 2 (2021): 125–36.

to submit a formal application to the appropriate court.⁹ The court, in turn, evaluates the arguments and evidence both parties put forth before deciding on the divorce. A recognized legal institution oversees this process, and court judgments carry legal authority, binding both parties involved in the divorce proceedings.

Meanwhile, *talak siri* refers to the religiously-based practice of divorce conducted without the involvement of a valid legal institution. This form of divorce is often undertaken by certain factions of Muslims or individuals who hold the belief that divorce can be executed solely following religious principles without any intervention from legal institutions.¹⁰ In a *talak siri* divorce, the husband directly or indirectly communicates the pronouncement of *talak* to his wife, by passing the court or other legal processes. It is important to note that *talak siri* holds no recognition from the legal institutions in Indonesia.¹¹ Under civil law, divorce is exclusively deemed legal if it adheres to the procedures prescribed by legislation and is overseen by an authorized court. *Talak siri* lacks the provision of legal protection for divorcing couples and fails to guarantee equitable legal rights for both parties involved.¹²

In the context of divorce in Indonesia, there exist a number of laws governing the process, namely: 1) Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage, commonly referred to as the Marriage Law, 2) Government Regulation Number 9 of 1975 concerning the Implementation of Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage, 3) Law Number 7 of 1989 concerning Religious Courts, known as the UU Religious Courts, and 4) Supreme Court Regulation Number 1 of 1991 outlining the Procedures for Divorce Cases in Religious Courts. These legislative instruments collectively provide the legal framework and guidelines for divorce proceedings in the country.

Divorce procedures in Indonesia are influenced by Islamic practices, which are primarily followed by the Sunni population. The Sunni Islamic community in Indonesia consists of four major schools of thought: Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i, and Hanbali. Each school has its own unique approach to divorce. In the Hanafi School, divorce is executed through *talak*, which refers to the husband's right to dissolve the marriage by verbally or in writing pronouncing *talak* (a declaration of divorce). The husband can issue *talak* three times consecutively within a specific period, with an obligatory waiting period (*iddah*) between each pronouncement. Once the third *talak* is pronounced, the divorce is considered final. If the couple wishes to

⁹ Dinda Difia Madina, Ahmad Rezy Meidina, and Anwar Zein, "The Dynamics of Polygamy and Divorce in Muslim Countries," *El-Aqwal: Journal of Sharia and Comparative Law* 2, no. 2 (2023): 135–48.

¹⁰ M. Muhsin and Soleh Hasan Wahid, "Talak Di Luar Pengadilan Perspektif Fikih Dan Hukum Positif," *Al-Syakhsiyyah: Journal of Law & Family Studies* 3, no. 1 (2021): 67–84.

¹¹ Andi Muhammad Akmal and Mulham Jaki Asti, "Problematisasi Nikah Siri, Nikah Online Dan Talak Siri Serta Implikasi Hukumnya Dalam Fikih Nikah," *Al-Risalah Jurnal Ilmu Syariah Dan Hukum* 1, no. 1 (2021): 45–59.

¹² Debi Sintia Dali, Sri Nanang Meiske Kamba, and Nurul Fazri Elfikri, "Analysis of The Role of The Office of Religious Affairs In Managing The Case of Siri Marriage Couples," *Estudiante Law Journal* 4, no. 2 (2022): 132–45.

remarry, the wife must marry another man and subsequently obtain a divorce from him.¹³

The Maliki School allows divorce through both *talak* and *khul'*. *Talak* in this school follows a process similar to the Hanafi School, with the husband having the authority to pronounce *talak* three times consecutively. An iddah waiting period is observed between the first and second pronouncements. After the third *talak*, the divorce becomes irrevocable. The Maliki School also recognizes *khul'*, where the wife can seek a divorce by offering compensation or returning the dowry. If the husband refuses, the wife can seek a divorce from the judge. This process empowers the wife to seek the dissolution of the marriage.¹⁴

Similarly, the Shafi'i School allows divorce through *talak* and *khul'*. *Talak* in the Shafi'i School follows a process akin to the Maliki School, with the husband having the right to pronounce *talak* three times consecutively. An iddah waiting period is observed between the first and second pronouncements. After the third *talak*, the divorce becomes irrevocable. The Shafi'i School also recognizes *khul'*, where the wife can seek a divorce by offering compensation or returning a portion or the entirety of her dowry. By initiating this process, the wife can request a divorce from her husband.¹⁵

In the Hanbali School, divorce can be executed through *talak* and *khul'* as well. The husband holds the authority to pronounce *talak* three times consecutively, with an iddah waiting period between the first and second pronouncements. After the third *talak*, the divorce becomes irrevocable. The Hanbali School also acknowledges *khul'*, where the wife can seek a divorce by offering compensation or returning a portion of her dowry. This procedure grants the wife the right to request the dissolution of the marriage.¹⁶

The perspectives and procedures surrounding divorce within these respective schools of jurisprudence can exhibit slight variations in practice, influenced by the interpretations of religious scholars and the civil laws applicable in countries predominantly adhering to a particular school of thought. Indonesia, where most of the population adheres to Sunni Islam, recognizes and incorporates the teachings of these four schools of jurisprudence. Consequently, divorce proceedings in Indonesia draw upon the principles articulated within the Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i, and Hanbali traditions. Indonesia has implemented the "Compilation of Islamic Law" or *Kompilasi Hukum Islam* (KHI) to govern various aspects of Muslim life, including divorce. The KHI is an authoritative legal document within

¹³ Samy Ayoub, "Casting off Egyptian Anafism: Sharīa, Divorce, and Legal Reform in 20th-Century Egypt," *Welt Des Islams* 60, no. 4 (2020): 349–83.

¹⁴ Yasir Arafat, "The Dissolution Of Muslim Marriage Act, 1939 May Provide More Rights To Women Of Subcontinent If Applied According To True Doctrine Of Maliki School Of Islamic Jurisprudence: An Overview," *Pakistan Journal of Applied Social Sciences* 1, no. 1 (2015): 59–74.

¹⁵ M Misnanto, "The Problematics of Divorce Before Judges The Perspective of Islamic Law Compilation and Madzhab Syafi'i," *Indonesian Journal of Law and Islamic Law* 4, no. 1 (2022): 148–84.

¹⁶ Achmad Sulton, "Comparative Study of Reconciliation after Divorce According to the Hanafi Opinion and the Hambali Opinion," *Al-Jadwa: Jurnal Studi Islam* 2, no. 2 (2023): 186–94.

the Indonesian context, comprising regulations pertaining to diverse facets of Muslim life. Specifically, about divorce, the KHI incorporates the viewpoints of the four Sunni schools of jurisprudence, thereby establishing comprehensive provisions relevant to divorce proceedings for Muslims residing in Indonesia.¹⁷

The Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI) in Indonesia covers divorce regulations, including *talak*, *khul'*, and *ta'liq* as different methods. *Talak* allows the husband to dissolve the marriage by pronouncing it verbally or in writing, with a waiting period between pronouncements. After the third *talak*, divorce is final unless the wife remarries and gets divorced again.¹⁸ *Khul'* is when the wife initiates divorce by offering compensation to the husband through the religious court's approval.¹⁹ *Ta'liq* grants the wife the right to divorce within a specific period as agreed upon in the marriage contract.²⁰

While fiqh acknowledges the legal validity of *talak* when the husband clearly or figuratively utters the word *talak* to his wife, Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage in Indonesia stipulates that divorce must be conducted in the presence of a court after attempts at reconciliation have been made but proved unsuccessful. However, the practice of *talak siri*, which is solely governed by fiqh, gives rise to various social and economic issues. The lack of legal oversight may result in unresolved matters such as child custody, division of shared assets, and financial obligations, potentially leading to unfair outcomes that do not align with established legal provisions.²¹

To safeguard the rights of divorcing couples and mitigate potential abuse or injustice, Muslims seeking divorce should opt for the legal route through recognized legal institutions. By doing so, they can benefit from legal protection and ensure that all aspects of the divorce are addressed fairly and following relevant legal provisions. Given this paradox, conducting field investigations to examine the practice of *talak siri* is crucial. In this case, the researchers selected Mlangi as the investigation site, considering that most of the population comprises Islamic boarding school students who prioritize religious concerns over conventional law.

Religious Figures's Belief on Out-of-court Divorce

This article is an academic field that investigates the interplay between knowledge, beliefs, and social structures, including religious beliefs. Its focus is on understanding how social factors shape and influence the creation, dissemination,

¹⁷ Eva Nur Hopipah et al., "The Nature of Divorce in Various Perspectives (Philosophical, Juridical, Sociological, And Psychological Reviews on The Meaning of Divorce)," *ARRUS Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 3, no. 3 (2023): 288–97.

¹⁸ Ibnu Elmi As Pelu and Ahmad Dakhoir, "MARITAL PROPERTY WITHIN THE MARRIAGE LAW A Debate on Legal Position and Actual Applications," *Al-Jami'ah* 59, no. 2 (2021): 287–316.

¹⁹ RR Dewi Anggraeni et al., "Legality of Khulu' Lawsuit for Wives in the Provisions of Legislation in Indonesia," *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Syir'ah* 20, no. 1 (2022): 34.

²⁰ Anton Afrizal Candra, "Analysis of Maqashid Shari'ah on Ta'lik Talak Agreement in Marriage," in *Hukum Islam Hukum Yang Hidup Di Indonesia*, 2019, 100–121.

²¹ Asrul Hamid et al., "Sociological Analysis of the Concept of Divorce In Marriage Law in Indonesia," *JRSC: Journal of Religious, Social and Cultural* 01, no. 1 (2022): 42–51.

and internalization of knowledge within society. Within the realm of religious beliefs, this article examines how these beliefs are constructed, maintained, and transmitted within specific social contexts. Hence, rational choice theory posits that individuals make decisions about their religious beliefs based on rational assessments of the benefits they offer. This dynamic transform individual choices into social outcomes, as they are influenced by both personal considerations and the broader social context, a phenomenon referred to as “strategic interdependence.”²²

Before going further into the divorce case in Mlangi, it is imperative to develop an understanding of Mlangi as a contextual backdrop, replete with social institutions that shape knowledge within its boundaries. Mlangi boasts a notable presence of 26 Islamic boarding schools that cater to an estimated 1,500 to 2,000 students hailing from diverse regions across Indonesia. Mlangi, historically, was established under the guidance of *Kiai* Nur Iman, the esteemed brother of Hamungkubuwono I, the monarch of the Yogyakarta Kingdom. *Kiai* Nur Iman envisioned the creation of an Islamic community that not only adhered to the tenets of Islam but also integrated local traditions and customs. This inclusive approach sought to foster a moderate interpretation of Islam, emphasizing compassion and benevolence towards all of creation.²³

Mlangi can be categorized into two distinct regions: Mlangi Njero and Mlangi Njaba, each characterized by varying degrees of social stratification. Mlangi Njero is predominantly inhabited by *priai* and *santri*—Islamic boarding school alumni—whose ancestral lineage can be traced back to *Kiai* Nur Iman. On the other hand, Mlangi Njaba is mainly populated by *abangan* communities, which refers to individuals who practice a syncretic form of Islam amalgamated with local customs and beliefs.²⁴ When specifically addressing matters pertaining to divorce, *Kiai* Fauzi asserts that:

In the realm of fiqh studies concerning divorce, *Santri* widely understand that divorces declared outside of a court setting come with unique consequences. Specifically, if a divorce is pronounced outside the jurisdiction of a court and communicated in person, it is considered valid, requiring the wife to observe the iddah period. Furthermore, students' understanding of talaq within the realm of jurisprudence reinforces their belief that when a husband uses terms like separation or *mentalak* to address his wife, it directly implies the occurrence of divorce, both explicitly and implicitly.²⁵

²² Peter Abell, “Sociological Theory and Rational Choice,” *Blackwell Companion to Social Theory* 2000, no. 2 (2000): 1–22.

²³ Badrun, “Integration of Islam And Local Culture In The Art of Shalawat Ngelik In The Village of Mlangi Yogyakarta.”

²⁴ Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (University of Chicago press, 1976); Clifford Geertz, *Abangan, Santri, Priyayi Dalam Masyarakat Jawa* (Pustaka Jaya, 1983).

²⁵ Mustafidz, “Interview with Religious Figure in Mlangi.”; See also Fauzi Muhammad, Adrianus Chatib, and Fuad Rahman, “The Socio-Historical Criticism Toward Sunnah and Ijma’ In Fazlur Rahman Perspective,” *Innovatio: Journal for Religious Innovation Studies* 21, no. 2 (2021): 85–98.

In his explanation, *Kiai Fauzi* said that divorces conducted outside the jurisdiction of a court hold religious validity as per the tenets of jurisprudence. Nonetheless, it is important to note that *Kiai Fauzi* does not advocate for individuals to solely rely on religious grounds to bypass the legal process. On the contrary, *Kiai Fauzi* has consistently cautioned against the repercussions and adverse consequences that may arise when divorcing outside the purview of the court. Another religious figure, *Gus Jalis*, explained that:

When *talak* is pronounced using *kinayah*, which is indirect language, it still constitutes a valid form of divorce. It's important to understand that this is a serious matter and should not be taken lightly or as a joke. Whether it was done intentionally or unintentionally, *talak* remains legally and religiously valid.²⁶

Gus Jalis's statement highlights the ease with which religious divorce can be initiated, even in a joking manner or through indirect means. However, it is essential to note that *Gus Jalis* did not make this statement with the intention of conveying that divorce is inherently easy from a religious perspective. Instead, his intention was to caution individuals about the potential legal consequences that can arise even from seemingly lighthearted or nonchalant remarks regarding divorce. Thus, *Gus Jalis* emphasized the importance of exercising caution when engaging in jests or conversations to avoid inadvertently implicating or trivializing the sensitive topic of divorce.

Kiai Fauzi and *Gus Jalis* hold significant roles as knowledge agents in the Mlangi community. Their words and actions serve as sources of knowledge for the surrounding community. Despite not being formally recognized as their students, the community grants them social legitimacy as bearers of knowledge. Thus, both individuals function as social institutions that exert a profound influence on the construction of knowledge. It is important to note that in this context, the term "social institution" does not refer to a formal institution but rather to the transmission of knowledge that becomes institutionalized within social reality due to the recognized legitimacy of the knowledge agents, namely the *pesantren* caregivers. This institutionalization subsequently impacts the individuals involved in that social reality.²⁷

Although *Kiai Fauzi* and *Gus Jalis* never explicitly advocated for divorces outside of the court, they affirmed the religious validity of such extrajudicial divorces. While they may not have supported the idea of divorcing outside the court, their affirmation provided individuals with an option to pursue such divorces. Individuals who choose to undergo an extrajudicial divorce may engage in rational calculations when considering this option. Rational choice theory does not solely rely on individual premises as it takes into account other norms and institutions that shape the context and outcomes of actions.

²⁶ Jalis, "Interview with Religious Figure in Mlangi."

²⁷ Emanuel A. Schegloff, "Interaction: The Infrastructure for Social Institutions, the Natural Ecological Niche for Language, and the Arena in Which Culture Is Enacted," *Roots of Human Sociality* 2020 (2020): 70–96.

Furthermore, rational choice theory centers on the assumption of individual motivation, wherein individual values and structural elements are both significant determinants of outcomes. Consequently, explanations based on rational choice theory often align with other overarching perspectives, such as structuralism and network analysis, which are typically considered part of the sociological mainstream. The treatment of values in rational choice theory is not derived from a single consideration but rather emerges as a response to the inherent complexity of the individual in various stages. To mitigate this complexity, rational choice theory posits multiple models of individual action based on subjective utility theory.²⁸ In relation to the concept of subjective utility, an individual who opted for an out-of-court divorce expressed the following viewpoint:

Before impulsively getting a divorce outside of court, I consulted with the leader of the pesantren. I shared the issues in my marriage, all the problems I was facing, and the reasons why I wanted a divorce. The pesantren leaders listened carefully and provided religious advice and their views on my situation. They didn't really recommend divorcing outside the court, but they explained that it is still considered valid religiously.²⁹

From the aforementioned interview, it is evident that the individual's actions were influenced by the structure of their social networks, as they sought advice regarding their marital situation. They took into consideration the religious perspectives shared by the pesantren leaders, acknowledging that although the leaders did not endorse divorcing outside of court, they emphasized the individual benefits of religious divorce. Consequently, the individual proceeded with an extrajudicial divorce, despite lacking the support of the pesantren leader.

This observation highlights the intricate interplay between social structure and individual subjective utility. While rational choice theorists often argue that network analysis outweighs individual subjectivity, our investigation reveals a different dynamic. In this case, individual subjectivity exerts a greater influence than social structure, although it should be noted that this finding may not necessarily apply broadly and may be specific to the particular case at hand.³⁰ Furthermore, he added:

Even though the pesantren leader didn't straight-up say "Go for it!", their approval (in a subtle way) gave me the confidence that my decision wasn't against my religious beliefs. I trust that the pesantren leader knows their stuff when it comes to Islam and has the authority to give their consent on such matters.³¹

²⁸ John Scott, "Rational Choice Theory," *Understanding Contemporary Society: Theories of the Present*, 2000, 126-138.

²⁹ Informant 1, "Interview Conducted in July 2023 with Individuals from the Mlangi Community Who Underwent Divorce out of Court," 2023.

³⁰ Raymond Boudon, "Subjective Rationality and the Explanation of Social Behavior," *Rationality and Society* 1, no. 2 (1989): 173-96.

³¹ Informant 1, "Interview Conducted in July 2023 with Individuals from the Mlangi Community Who Underwent Divorce out of Court."

In the context of Rational Choice analysis, the individual employs rational judgment by placing trust in the endorsement of the pesantren leader, thereby affirming that their decision aligns with religious principles. The individual holds the belief that pesantren leaders possess a profound understanding of religious teachings and wield the authority to grant approval. This demonstrates that subjective utility does not operate independently but relies on the legitimacy conferred by the social structure, in this case, the pesantren. Consequently, while subjective utility remains influential in shaping individual rational choices, it cannot be divorced from the influence of social structure.³²

It is crucial to underscore that the evaluation of an individual's religious beliefs is not concerned with determining their truth or validity. Instead, this approach focuses on comprehending the processes through which religious knowledge is generated, disseminated, and influenced by social agents within specific contexts. Our investigation reveals that public awareness of extrajudicial divorces in Mlangi is shaped by the social institutions present there. Knowledge agents such as *kiai*, *gus*, and *ustadz* play a vital role in structuring knowledge pertaining to religious beliefs.

Furthermore, it is worth noting that an analysis employing a Rational Choice approach is necessary to examine the cases we have encountered. We discovered that the option of divorcing outside of the court lacked support from influential agents. Nonetheless, individuals still pursued such divorces based on considerations of subjective utility, albeit seeking affirmation from the pesantren leader. This illustrates that while subjective utility predominantly influences an individual's rational choices, it cannot disregard the impact of social structure.

Siting Social Norms of Out-of-Court Divorce in Mlangi

It is crucial to acknowledge that social norms are not static and homogeneous constructs across society. Instead, social norms exhibit variations among different societies, religious groups, and communities. Furthermore, they are subject to change over time, responding to social, cultural, or religious transformations. Therefore, comprehending the impact of social norms on divorces conducted outside the court necessitates an understanding of the specific social and cultural contexts in which these norms originate and operate.³³

Social norms exert substantial influence on the practice of extrajudicial divorces. They shape individuals' perceptions and attitudes toward divorcing outside the court. Moreover, social norms can impact an individual's contemplation of factors such as familial reputation, social stigma, and social influences that may arise from opting for an extrajudicial divorce. Consequently, social norms serve as the bedrock, providing support, legitimacy, and communal

³² Debra Satz and John Ferejohn, "Rational Choice and Social Theory," *Journal of Philosophy* 91, no. 2 (1994): 71–87.

³³ Cristina Bicchieri, Ryan Muldoon, and Alessandro Sontuoso Jul, "Social Norms," *The Routledge Handbook of Philosophy, Politics, and Economics*, 2018, 137–48.

approval within the sociological framework of knowledge.³⁴ The social norms related to divorce outside the court in the context of the Mlangi Muslim community according to *Gus Jalis's* statement are as follows:

Despite the religious legitimacy attributed to divorces conducted outside the court, these divorces do not enjoy widespread societal approval in accordance with prevailing social norms.³⁵

Gus Jalis's statement implies that divorces conducted outside the court lack broad societal approval, highlighting a conflict between this practice and prevailing social norms. Individuals who choose to divorce outside the court are seen as deviating from established social norms. This observation piques our curiosity and motivates further investigation into the underlying motivations for out-of-court divorces within the Mlangi community. Prior to interviewing individuals who have undergone out-of-court divorces, we initiated interviews with key social agents within the Mlangi community. This preliminary step aimed to gather insights regarding the presence of religious motivations that may underpin such behavior or, at the very least, ascertain the stance of religious leaders on this matter:

Looking at the reasons for divorce within the context of *Santri* households, the role of the husband emerges as a crucial factor. It is essential to analyze each reason individually, with particular emphasis on factors such as a lack of emotional control or selfishness, which may contribute to the husband's misunderstanding of his wife's disposition.³⁶

This indicates a lack of endorsement from religious leaders regarding the practice of divorcing outside the court. In contrast, out-of-court divorces are pursued based on individual desires. For instance, *Kiai Fauzi* elucidated that divorces were motivated by the husband's inherent selfishness. Due to a lack of self-control, husbands find it remarkably easy to utter the word "divorce" to their wives. Furthermore, *Gus Zami* introduced an additional factor associated with divorces conducted outside the court within Mlangi society:

In addition to the husband's lack of self-control, timely communication should also be taken into consideration, particularly from the husband's perspective. Timely communication plays a significant role, as various sources indicate that in situations of conflict or domestic challenges, even if the husband presents reasonable arguments, he is still perceived as at fault by his wife. Alongside addressing issues promptly, both parties need to exhibit emotional regulation skills, with an emphasis on the husband's part.³⁷

The aforementioned statement emphasizes the significant role of authority in shaping social norms while acknowledging the existence of individuals who diverge from these norms by choosing to divorce outside the court. This

³⁴ Mary A. Burke and H. Peyton Young, "Social Norms," *Handbook of Social Economics* 2011, no. North-Holland (1AD): 311–38.

³⁵ Jalis, "Interview with Religious Figure in Mlangi."

³⁶ *Kiai Fauzi*, "Interview with Religious Figure in Mlangi."

³⁷ *Gus Zami*, "Interview with Religious Figure in Mlangi" (2023).

observation reveals a blind spot within the sociological analysis of knowledge, as individual choices can conflict with prevailing social norms. Consequently, it is essential to recognize that social norms do not universally bind all individuals in a uniform manner. They can be subject to debate, revision, or divergent interpretations by individuals who possess unique experiences and circumstances.³⁸

Addressing this blind spot, we propose a rational choice approach that encompasses two distinct divisions: the "thin" and "thick" models. The thin rational choice model disregards specific values or goals, including social norms in this case. In contrast, the voluminous model of individual action, as advocated by Max Weber, offers a much more comprehensive framework by incorporating multiple aspects of intentionality. Our investigation indicates that divorcing outside the court contradicts social norms due to individuals' narrowly rational choices in favor of this course of action. However, individuals are not entirely detached from social norms; they still seek legitimacy from pesantren leaders to shield themselves from potential repercussions arising from these norms. Thus, the complexity inherent in the thick model of individual actions cannot be entirely dismissed. Consequently, social outcomes are shaped by the simultaneous interplay of individual actions and social contexts.³⁹ Based on the interviews we conducted, the informants said that:

This decision feels right for me and my partner, you know? Even though we're fully aware that society are not too keen on divorcing outside the court, we've been dealing with some real complicated and tough stuff in our relationship. Going through the whole court process seems like it will just drag things out and won't guarantee any happiness for us, you feel me? So, we going to do what's best for us, regardless of what society thinks.⁴⁰

The statement acknowledges the presence of social norms regulating divorce and highlights their lack of support for divorces conducted outside the court. Nevertheless, the statement posits that the decision to pursue such divorces is based on the belief that it is the optimal choice for the individuals involved and their partners. This observation underscores the idea that social outcomes are shaped not only by social motivations but also by individual desires. Furthermore, he conveys:

When we told a bunch of religious leaders, like *kiai* and *gus*, that we wanted to divorce outside the court, their reaction wasn't what we hoped for. Some of them were like, 'It is technically legit from a religious standpoint, but it is not going to be good for you in the long run.' But you know what? We still went ahead with the out-of-court divorce 'cause we believed it was the right move for us.⁴¹

³⁸ Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (London: Penguin, 1991).

³⁹ Michael Hechter and Satoshi Kanazawa, "Sociological Rational," *Annual Review of Sociology*, no. 23 (1997): 191–214.

⁴⁰ Informant 2, "Interview Conducted in July 2023 with Individuals from the Mlangi Community Who Underwent Divorce out of Court."

⁴¹ Informant 2.

The statement unveils the significant influence of religious figures, such as *kiai* and *gus*, in shaping societal perceptions of divorcing outside the court. Some of these figures asserted that out-of-court divorce is indeed permissible from a religious standpoint, but cautioned against its potential negative consequences in the future. Despite receiving unexpected reactions from religious leaders, the individual proceeded with the decision to pursue divorce outside the court. This behavior can be interpreted through the lens of rational choice theory, which posits that individuals act as rational actors driven by the pursuit of personal utility or advantage when making decisions. In this context, the individual's choice to proceed with an out-of-court divorce, despite the discordant reactions from religious figures, can be understood as a result of their rational judgment. Several other also explained that:

Getting hate and being dissed by the social scene can really mess with your head and make you feel hella pressured and guilty. But yo, we gotta realize that every choice we make in life comes with its own consequences and we gotta own up to them, no one else gonna bear them for us.⁴²

The statement highlights an individual's comprehension of the potential social ramifications stemming from their decision to pursue an out-of-court divorce. In doing so, they strive to grasp the perspectives and evaluations of the social environment regarding their choices, while concurrently defending the reasons and consequences they shoulder. This exemplifies the intricate nature of social dynamics and individual decision-making, underscoring the significance of considering personal factors when comprehending and elucidating individual actions.

Ultimately, individuals may grapple with multifaceted considerations when opting for an out-of-court divorce. They may assert that such a divorce adheres to religious legality and prioritizes personal freedom and happiness. Despite acknowledging potential negative societal views or reactions from religious figures, they persist in their choice due to the perceived importance of individual autonomy and contentment.

From the standpoint, religious figures such as *kiai* and *gus* assume pivotal roles in shaping societal perspectives on divorces conducted outside the court. However, from the vantage point of rational choice theory, individuality and rational deliberation persist as influential factors in determining actions. Thus, the synthesis of both theories indicates that individuals elect to pursue out-of-court divorces based on personal motivations, notwithstanding incongruent reactions received from religious figures. Nevertheless, they remain entwined within the social fabric, seeking legitimacy from Islamic boarding school leaders in matters of jurisprudence.

⁴² Informant 3, "Interview Conducted in July 2023 with Individuals from the Mlangi Community Who Underwent Divorce out of Court," 2023.

Individual Experience on Out-of-Court Divorce

An individual's experiences throughout their lifespan, particularly within the context of socialization, wield significant influence over their perceptions of divorce. While prevalent social norms, religious frameworks, and societal expectations may shape an individual's beliefs and attitudes towards divorce, the presence of individual desires that affirm and endorse divorcing outside the court can exert a compelling force for individuals to pursue such a course of action. In light of our conducted interview, one of the individuals involved in an out-of-court divorce expressed the following sentiment:

We went through all kinds of messed up challenges and hurdles that just made our relationship go downhill. So, we made the tough call to get a divorce, but we decided to keep it low-key and do a religion-only divorce to keep our privacy intact. We figured if word got out to everyone around us, it would just bring unnecessary shame and stress. We want to protect the honor and dignity of our family.⁴³

The statement elucidates the presence of challenges and difficulties faced by couples that strain their relationship. The decision-making process is influenced by social norms, societal expectations, and notions of family honor and dignity. Despite the legal validity of court divorces, they carry a negative stigma. Consequently, individuals opt to maintain secrecy by pursuing religious divorces exclusively. From the perspective of rational choice theory, individuals engage in a cost-benefit analysis during their decision-making process. They view religious divorce as a strategic choice that offers greater advantages, namely the preservation of family privacy, honor, and dignity. Thus, employing rational choice approaches enables us to comprehend how social knowledge, values, and rational considerations shape individual decisions to pursue religious divorces in order to safeguard family privacy and honor. In addition to privacy concerns, we also encountered individuals who cited communication deficiencies as a reason for their divorce. One individual expressed the following sentiment:

On the contrary, poor communication has been the main cause of our marriage. We immediately struggled to get on the same wavelength and express our feelings and needs openly, but it doesn't change the situation. It caused all kinds of problems, tension, and chaos in our relationship. We made some legitimate efforts to improve our communication game, but the alignment between us was too big to bridge.⁴⁴

Within the sociological theory of knowledge, such statements exemplify how social knowledge influences and shapes interpersonal relationships. The observed lack of communication within the marital relationship suggests that the knowledge possessed by the couples regarding effective communication and mutual understanding may be insufficient or inadequate. Divergent interpretations of how

⁴³ Informant 3.

⁴⁴ Informant 4, "Interview Conducted in July 2023 with Individuals from the Mlangi Community Who Underwent Divorce out of Court," 2023.

to express emotions and articulate needs clearly can lead to disagreements and tensions.⁴⁵

Drawing from the lens of rational choice theory, the couple may have made concerted efforts to enhance their communication dynamics. However, they recognized that the disparity between their communication styles and needs was too substantial to bridge. In their decision-making process, they weigh the advantages and disadvantages associated with their efforts to improve communication. In this instance, they may opt to terminate the relationship under the belief that further attempts to enhance communication are no longer feasible or beneficial for both parties involved.⁴⁶ In addition to factors encompassing privacy and communication, we also encountered individuals who pursued divorce driven by selfish motives. One individual expressed the following sentiment:

During our marriage, we had serious problems with selfishness between the two of us. This selfishness caused growing tensions and eventually we decided to divorce religiously to avoid greater conflict. We chose religious divorce because we wanted to avoid legal battles that could worsen the situation.⁴⁷

Within the sociological theory of knowledge, the statement elucidates the influence of social knowledge on the dynamics of interpersonal relationships. The presence of selfishness within a marriage signifies that the knowledge held by couples regarding the importance of respecting and attending to each other's needs may be deficient. Self-centered behavior can engender escalating tension within relationships.

Drawing from the framework of rational choice theory, the couple evaluates the advantages and disadvantages inherent in the available options. They opt for a religious divorce as a strategic choice to mitigate the potential for heightened conflict. In their decision-making process, they take into account the potential legal battles that could exacerbate the situation. By opting for a religious divorce, they may seek to circumvent a protracted and intricate judicial process that could escalate conflict and yield adverse consequences for both parties involved.⁴⁸ In addition to the aforementioned factors, we also encountered individuals who pursued divorce due to husbands lacking self-control. One individual expressed the following sentiment:

In our marriage, I had some major issues with my husband not being able to control himself. His lack of control seriously messed with the vibe and created an unhealthy and messed up environment. I felt trapped and like I had no say in anything. It's just not cool when there's

⁴⁵ Ann Swidler and Jorge Arditi Reviewed, "The New Sociology of Knowledge," *Annual Review of Sociology* 20, no. 1994 (1994): 305–29.

⁴⁶ Hechter and Kanazawa, "Sociological Rational."

⁴⁷ Informant 1, "Interview Conducted in July 2023 with Individuals from the Mlangi Community Who Underwent Divorce out of Court."

⁴⁸ Hechter and Kanazawa, "Sociological Rational."

such an imbalance of power, ya know? It totally wrecks the relationship and keeps ratcheting up the tension.⁴⁹

The statement highlights the experiences of individuals who perceive a lack of control exhibited by their husbands, which contributes to an unhealthy and imbalanced environment within the marriage. Power dynamics within intimate relationships can significantly impact relationship dynamics and overall well-being. Factors such as patriarchal gender norms and unequal power structures can contribute to the emergence of such power imbalances. Adopting a social experience approach allows us to comprehend how an individual's social experiences within a marital relationship are influenced by broader social factors such as gender norms, power dynamics, and autonomy.⁵⁰

Within the sociological theory of knowledge, this statement underscores how social knowledge and understanding of power dynamics shape the dynamics of interpersonal relationships.⁵¹ The husband's lack of control within the marriage signifies that the couple's knowledge regarding the division of power and autonomy within the relationship may be unequal. This imbalance fosters an unhealthy and unequal environment in which one partner feels constrained and lacks autonomy in making personal decisions.

In the context of rational choice theory, the couple evaluates the advantages and disadvantages associated with the available options. One partner may choose to terminate the relationship or seek to rebalance the power dynamics within the relationship to address the growing imbalance and tension. In their decision-making process, they consider the necessity of power equilibrium, individual autonomy, and personal well-being. In this scenario, they may opt to take action to rectify the dynamics within the relationship or choose divorce if such changes prove unfeasible.⁵² We also encountered individuals who pursued divorce due to a prolonged period of infertility. One individual expressed the following sentiment:

We've been married for a solid 10 years, and let me tell you, we've been giving it our all to have kids. We've gone through all these medical exams and even tried some old-school methods, hoping that one of them would do the trick. But damn, luck just hasn't been on our side, and we haven't been able to make that baby dream a reality. The thing that really gets me is that we're having a tough time having an open conversation about this whole situation. It's like my wife would rather spill her guts to her family, including her parents and neighbors, instead of opening up to me, her partner in crime. It feels like there's sometimes a real gap in understanding and communication between us.⁵³

The couple tried for 10 years to have children, undergoing medical examinations and traditional procedures. Trying to conceive involves various

⁴⁹ Informant 2, "Interview Conducted in July 2023 with Individuals from the Mlangi Community Who Underwent Divorce out of Court."

⁵⁰ Hechter and Kanazawa, "Sociological Rational."

⁵¹ Swidler and Reviewed, "The New Sociology of Knowledge."

⁵² Herfeld, "Revisiting the Criticisms of Rational Choice Theories."

⁵³ Informant 5, "Interview Conducted in July 2023 with Individuals from the Mlangi Community Who Underwent Divorce out of Court," 2023.

aspects, including medical and interpersonal factors. The couples faced challenges in openly discussing fertility issues and their desire to become parents. Communication gaps and misunderstandings between partners can significantly affect their relationship dynamics. Additionally, wives often turned to family members and neighbors rather than their husbands to discuss fertility concerns. The internalization of gender roles within society can shape individuals' patterns of seeking social support and disclosing personal challenges.

Moreover, within the framework of rational choice theory, a social dilemma arises when individual interests come into conflict with collective interests. In the present case, the couple faces a fundamental conflict between their shared desire to have biological children. The decision to pursue divorce holds individual benefits, as it provides an opportunity for remarriage and the potential to have children. However, divorce also has broader ramifications, impacting the familial relationships as a whole.⁵⁴

Ultimately, our analysis reveals several reasons as social experiences in cases of non-litigious divorce, including: a) privacy concerns, b) communication deficits, c) partner egoism, d) lack of spousal control, and e) challenges related to having children. In the sociological analysis of the social experience of non-litigious divorce, we attentively examine how the intricacies of social interactions influence individual perceptions, knowledge, and actions. Factors such as privacy, communication, partner egoism, power imbalances, and fertility-related issues all contribute to individuals' decisions to pursue non-litigious divorce. Indeed, individuals often draw upon their own experiences, values, and knowledge shaped by prior social interactions. The sociological approaches of knowledge analysis and rational choice theory allow us to comprehend that individual perceptions and actions are not formed in isolation, but are profoundly influenced by the complexity of social realities.

Rational Choice of Resistance of Islamic Boarding School Alumni in Registering Divorce

Some Islamic boarding school alumni refuse to pursue a divorce in court, even though the registration process with the Religious Court is no longer complicated. Someone who wants a divorce just has to go to the Religious Court to finalize the process. This study examined the factors contributing to the phenomenon of Islamic boarding school alumni in Mlangi opting for extra-judicial divorce. The findings indicate that these individuals have diverse preferences, including: a) the desire for privacy, b) lack of open communication, c) perceived egoism of their partner, d) the husband's perceived lack of self-control, and e) childless.

This analysis is grounded in the theoretical framework of Rational Choice, which posits that individual decision-making is based on a systematic evaluation of

⁵⁴ Madjid Eshaghi Gordji, Gholamreza Askari, and Choonkil Park, "A New Behavioral Model of Rational Choice in Social Dilemma Game," *Journal of Neurodevelopmental Cognition* 1, no. 1 (2019): 42–50.

the potential outcomes and consequences associated with each available option.⁵⁵ Within this lens, the Islamic boarding school alumni are understood to be selecting the course of action perceived as most conducive to the fulfillment of their underlying preferences.

The objective of this research identified several key factors contributing to the phenomenon of Islamic boarding school alumni in Mlangi opting for extra-judicial divorce proceedings. First, some individuals sought to maintain privacy and avoid public disclosure of their personal lives, viewing the religious divorce process as a strategy better aligned with preserving family honor and dignity, and circumventing the societal stigma associated with formal divorce. This decision-making reflects how social knowledge, values, and rational considerations shape individual choices within the Rational Choice framework.

Secondly, a lack of effective communication between spouses emerged as another driver of the extra-judicial divorce trend. Even where efforts were made to improve communication, the interpersonal divide proved too substantial to repair. In this context, the divorcing parties may have determined that the benefits of formally registering the divorce were outweighed by the costs of doing so, given their preoccupation with their separate lives post-separation.

The third factor was the perceived selfishness or egoism of one's partner. Individuals opted for religious divorce as a means of avoiding protracted legal battles and further escalation of the conflict, based on the assumption that the judicial process would be arduous and counterproductive. This reflects a strategic decision-making calculus aimed at minimizing potential losses.⁵⁶

The fourth factor identified was the husband's lack of self-control, manifested in the immediate unilateral pronouncement of divorce. Here, Rational Choice analysis suggests that such impulsive behavior stems from bounded rationality, where the decision is not grounded in careful deliberation of outcomes.⁵⁷ The subsequent neglect of formal divorce proceedings by both parties indicates unstable and shifting preferences, as well as a perception that registration would yield negligible utility.

The fifth factor contributing to the extra-judicial divorce practices among Islamic boarding school alumni in Mlangi was the consideration of childless. This dynamic can be understood through the lens of Rational Choice Theory's conceptualization of social dilemmas, wherein individual interests come into conflict with the interests of the broader group.⁵⁸ In the present case, the divorcing couples faced a tension between their personal desires, such as the

⁵⁵ Matteo Morelli, Maria Casagrande, and Giuseppe Forte, "Decision Making: A Theoretical Review," *Integrative Psychological and Behavioral Science* 56, no. 3 (September 2022): 609–29.

⁵⁶ Rahul Bhui, Lucy Lai, and Samuel J Gershman, "Resource-Rational Decision Making," *Current Opinion in Behavioral Sciences* 41 (October 2021): 15–21.

⁵⁷ Elias L. Khalil, "The Information Inelasticity of Habits: Kahneman's Bounded Rationality or Simon's Procedural Rationality?," *Synthese* 200, no. 4 (August 2022): 343.

⁵⁸ Ashari Halisah et al., "Social Dilemmas in Knowledge Sharing: An Examination of the Interplay between Knowledge Sharing Culture and Performance Climate," *Journal of Knowledge Management* 25, no. 7 (August 2021): 1708–25.

ability to remarry and have biological children, and the detrimental effects that divorce can have on familial relationships more broadly. The decision to pursue a religious divorce may have been perceived as affording individual benefits, enabling the fulfillment of procreative goals. However, this choice also carries the potential to significantly damage the broader web of kinship ties and obligations.

This social dilemma reflects the complex tradeoffs that divorcing individuals must navigate, weighing their own interests against the implications for the family unit as a whole. The reluctance to formally register the divorce may stem, in part, from an effort to mitigate the disruptive impact on familial relationships - a consideration that is salient within the cultural context of the Islamic boarding school community in Mlangi.

Fundamentally, rational choices must be grounded in reasoned deliberation. Reasoning, in this context, is defined as the cognitive capacity to draw logical inferences. Through the process of logical inference, premises are connected to warranted conclusions. The application of Rational Choice Theory can shed light on the decision-making of Islamic boarding school alumni who are reluctant to formally register their divorces. Within this theoretical framework, these individuals are understood to be selecting the course of action perceived as most conducive to fulfilling their underlying preferences. The present study identified several salient factors shaping these preferences, including: a) the desire for privacy, b) lack of open communication between spouses, c) perceptions of partner egoism, d) the husband's perceived lack of self-control, and e) concerns over the impact on children. By analyzing the decision-making of this population through the lens of Rational Choice Theory, we can gain a more nuanced understanding of the logical reasoning underpinning their choices to forgo the formal divorce registration process. This approach illuminates how individuals systematically evaluate the potential outcomes and consequences associated with available options, ultimately selecting the alternative deemed most effective in achieving their preferences.

Conclusion

Our investigation found several factors contributing to the social dynamics in out-of-court divorce cases in Mlangi. These factors include: a) privacy concerns, b) communication deficits, c) self-centeredness of partners, d) lack of control over the partner, and e) childless. This article analysis suggests that social institutions, such as *kiai* and *gus* in this case, play a significant role in shaping social structures, leading to structured social outcomes. This is evident from individuals who sought consultation before opting for divorce outside of court. Although *gus* and *kiai* did not explicitly endorse divorcing outside of court, they acknowledged its religious validity. Despite not receiving the desired recommendation, individuals still pursued divorce outside of court. This demonstrates that individuals weigh the benefits of existing social norms. When social norms do not serve their interests, individuals face a social dilemma, where they must choose between adhering to social norms or pursuing their subjective interests. Our research revealed that while some individuals subjectively pursued their own interests, they did not completely disregard social structures. They sought legitimacy from *gus* and *kiai*

even when divorcing outside of court. Therefore, a sociological approach and the theory of rational choice enable us to understand that individual perceptions and actions are not formed in isolation, but are strongly influenced by the complexities of social reality.

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