

Deviation Practices in Sirri Marriage in Indonesia: A Case Study of Pakuon Village, Sukaresmi Subdistrict, Cianjur Regency, West Java

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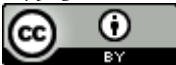
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Abstract

The practice of Sirri marriage in Pakuon Village, Sukaresmi District, Cianjur Regency, West Java, has deviated from the norm because there are couples who have entered into Sirri marriages between different religions and same-sex couples. The practice of Sirri marriage has become cultural and is tolerated by religious and state leaders. The deviant practice of Sirri marriage also highlights the motives, patterns, and impacts on legal certainty and social life. This study aims to create a society that is capable of implementing religious law and does not violate state law. This study uses Anthony Giddens' structuration theory and employs a qualitative field method with descriptive analysis. The results of this study show that Sirri marriage makes it easier for couples to enter into interfaith and same-sex marriages in Pakuon Village, Sukaresmi District, Cianjur Regency, West Java. Sirri marriage has become a reason for people to gain access to free education, single status according to the state, to facilitate polygamy, and several other socio-economic factors. This practice causes deviations such as interfaith and same-sex Sirri marriages. Religious institutions such as the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) have not sufficiently supervised the implementation of Islamic marriage laws. The absence of the state in such practices is due to the lack of reports from the community and the absence of socio-economic losses. The novelty value can be seen from the irregularities that occur, such as state registration, the involvement of customary norms and family strategies in concealing marriages for socio-economic interests. Theoretically, this research enriches socio-legal studies on the negotiation between state law, religion and local culture.

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, *sirri marriage*, commonly referred to as “unregistered marriage,” has become a prominent and controversial topic in Indonesia.¹ This practice involves couples entering into marital relationships without complying with applicable legal procedures or involving the required state authorities. The motivations behind *sirri marriage* vary, including the desire for privacy, avoidance of social conflict, economic constraints, religious differences, or the intention to enter into a marriage that is not legally recognized. This study aims to develop a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of *sirri marriage* in Indonesia by exploring its various dimensions, particularly from Islamic perspectives and its domestic legal implications. The research specifically examines deviant practices of *sirri marriage* occurring in Pakuon Village, Sukaresmi District, Cianjur Regency, West Java.

In essence, *sirri marriage* cannot be regarded as a legitimate solution for legalizing intimate relationships. No religious tradition explicitly encourages this form of marriage. Instead, *sirri marriage* should be discouraged, as its most significant adverse impacts are borne by women and children born from such unions. Therefore, preventive measures are necessary before this practice becomes widespread and is perceived as an acceptable or even optimal choice by communities that lack adequate understanding of the true meaning and legal purpose of marriage.²

Pakuon Village, Sukaresmi District, Cianjur Regency, West Java, represents one locality where this phenomenon is evident. There are cases in which individuals or couples choose to engage in *sirri marriage* due to legal barriers arising from religious differences or sexual orientation. Such “alternative marriages” generate various challenges, both socially – such as discrimination, rejection, and marginalization – and legally, including the absence of legal protection for property rights, children’s rights, and family legal status.

Sirri marriage in Indonesia should not be viewed merely as a private matter; rather, it constitutes an integral part of social life governed by positive law and prevailing religious norms. Law No. 1 of 1974 on Marriage, as amended by Law No. 16 of 2019, stipulates that a marriage is considered valid if it is conducted in accordance with the laws of each party’s religion or belief and is officially registered with the state. This provision underscores the importance of legality and legitimacy, both spiritually and administratively. However, in practice, not all couples are able or willing to marry in

¹ Hadi, M. F. K. (2018). *Konsepsi Hukum Nikah Siri Di Indonesia (Upaya Sinkronisasi antara Living Law dengan Positive Law)*. [Masters, Universitas Islam Negeri Kiai Haji Achmad Siddiq Jember].

² Vivi kurniawati, *Nikah sirri*, (Jakarta Selatan: Rumah Publishing, 2019).

accordance with formal legal procedures, giving rise to the phenomenon of *sirri marriage*, namely marriages that are not officially registered by the state.

In certain cases, *sirri marriage* in Indonesia is undertaken by couples whose unions cannot be legally or religiously validated, such as interfaith couples or same-sex couples. This practice not only violates normative provisions in positive law and religious teachings but also provokes social controversy, as it is perceived as deviating from prevailing societal values. *Sirri marriage* thus represents not only a form of legal violation but also a manifestation of social resistance and individual pressure against dominant legal structures and normative frameworks.

In late November 2023, a *sirri marriage* between two women (a same-sex couple) occurred in Pakuon Village, Sukaresmi District, Cianjur Regency. This marriage could not be administratively accepted because the prospective “husband” was, in fact, female and therefore unable to present valid identity documents. Nevertheless, the marriage contract was conducted in the presence of a marriage guardian, witnesses, religious figures, and local relatives, despite the marriage lacking legal recognition by the state. This case generated controversy related to issues of gender identity, legality, administrative compliance, and identity misuse.³ The implications of the Pakuon case include the absence of state recognition of marital status, the lack of an official marriage certificate, and the potential for discrimination and legal vulnerability related to sexual orientation or gender identity.

In principle, the *sirri marriage* practiced in Pakuon Village is similar to marriage in general; however, the key distinction lies in the absence of registration through the Office of Religious Affairs (*Kantor Urusan Agama* – KUA). In some cases, this practice is justified as a means of concealing family disgrace, particularly in instances of premarital pregnancy. Other factors motivating *sirri marriage* include premarital pregnancy, early-age marriage, polygamy without the consent of the first wife, lack of legal awareness, cultural influences, and cases involving same-sex relationships.

A study by Teuku Azwar and Usammah (2025), entitled *Analysis of the Causes and Impacts of Sirri Marriage Practices in Samudera District (North Aceh)*,⁴ identifies low legal awareness among community members, perceptions that marriage registration is unimportant, and the belief that administrative procedures are complicated as key

³ KBA.ONE, Kasus Viral Pernikahan Sesama Jenis di Cianjur, <https://www.kba.one/news/> diakses pada tanggal 05 Desember 2025.

⁴ Teuku Azwar & Usammah (2025). Analisis Penyebab dan Dampak Perkawinan Sirri di Kecamatan Samudera. *Edu Society: Jurnal Pendidikan, Ilmu Sosial dan Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat*, Vol. 5 No. 5, Hlm. 429-439.

contributing factors. The consequences include difficulties for children in obtaining marriage or birth certificates, weakened legal rights, and obstacles in legally addressing domestic violence.

Similarly, Asman (2024), in *Marginalization of Women in the Legal Problems of Sirri Marriage in Indonesia*,⁵ argues that *sirri marriage* perpetuates gender injustice by placing women and children in legally vulnerable positions. This form of marriage is often chosen due to religious norms or traditions that prioritize religious validity over legal recognition. The resulting consequences include the wife's inability to obtain administrative rights (such as a marriage certificate), difficulties in claiming maintenance and inheritance rights, and unclear legal status of children in the absence of marriage legalization (*isbat nikah*).

The similarity between *sirri marriage* practices in Pakuon Village and those documented in previous studies conducted in North Aceh and West Kalimantan lies in the lack of state recognition of such marriages. In all cases, perpetrators of *sirri marriage* rely primarily on religious norms and traditional practices as the basis for marital legitimacy.

However, the distinctive feature of the *sirri marriage* case in Pakuon Village is the presence of issues related to identity and gender orientation or perception. Compared to other regions in Indonesia, cases of same-sex *sirri marriage* are particularly prominent in Cianjur, especially in Pakuon Village. These cases have attracted significant public and media attention. In contrast, *sirri marriage* cases in other regions, as reported in previous studies, are generally motivated by perceptions of complex administrative procedures, lack of parental consent, underage marriage, or similar constraints.

This case study employs Anthony Giddens' structuration theory to examine how the social actions of individuals engaging in *sirri marriage* interact with existing legal and social structures. The analysis focuses on how these individuals negotiate structural constraints and, in certain instances, transform the social and legal structures that limit their life choices. The study also investigates how society and the state respond to the existence of this practice, as well as the challenges encountered within local social and legal contexts.

From the perspective of Giddens' theory, the actors involved in *sirri marriage* exploit religious normative structures alongside the limitations of state legal structures. Giddens' interpretation suggests that agents are not merely shaped by structures but actively

⁵ Asman (2024). *Marginalization of Women in The Legal Problems of Sirri Marriage in Indonesia*. *Al-Mashlahah: Jurnal Hukum Islam dan Pranata Sosial Islam*, Vol. 12 No. 2.

utilize structural “gaps” to carry out their actions. While the marriage is performed, the state structure rejects its legitimacy on the grounds of unclear identity, the invalidity of same-sex marriage, and the failure to meet administrative requirements. In this view, structures impose normative and regulatory constraints that cannot be easily.

Local social norms, particularly in Pakuon Village, function as structures that reinforce agents’ actions. Marriage registration is perceived as relatively unimportant, religious leaders hold greater authority than state administrative bodies, and society commonly equates “religiously valid” with “legally valid.” According to Giddens, these conditions represent local social structures that are continuously reproduced through everyday routines, thereby legitimizing the actions of agents.

Based on Giddens’ theoretical framework, the relationship between *sirri* marriage actors and structural forces in the Pakuon case can be summarized as follows: agents exploit structural gaps (religious norms and weak local administrative oversight); state legal structures act as constraints but do not entirely eliminate the practice; and local social norms reinforce the legitimacy of agents’ actions. Consequently, *sirri* marriage continues to be practiced in Pakuon Village, not merely as an individual choice but as a socially reproduced routine.⁶

Based on the background outlined above, this study aims to examine the forms of deviant *sirri* marriage practices occurring in Pakuon Village, Sukaresmi District, Cianjur Regency, West Java. It seeks to identify the factors influencing the persistence of such practices, analyze the role of state legal structures and local social norms in shaping, constraining, or enabling these practices, and assess the social, legal, and cultural impacts of deviant *sirri* marriage on individuals, families, and the wider community in the area.

METHODS

This study employs a qualitative field research method with descriptive analysis to depict the conditions and clearly describe the phenomena related to deviations in *sirri* marriage practices in Pakuon Village, Sukaresmi District, Cianjur Regency, West Java. This approach is chosen because it allows for a comprehensive and in-depth understanding of complex social realities, particularly deviant *sirri* marriage practices such as interfaith marriages and same-sex marriages occurring in Pakuon Village, Sukaresmi District, Cianjur Regency.

⁶ Giddens, Anthony. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. University of California Press, 1984.

The study also aims to explain how these practices are carried out and to identify the social and legal challenges that emerge within the community. Relevant data are collected through field research using both primary and secondary data sources. Primary data are obtained through interviews with the Head of the Office of Religious Affairs (*Kantor Urusan Agama*) of Sukaresmi District and local community leaders who are directly involved, while secondary data serve as complementary sources, including documented records of couples who have engaged in *sirri* marriage.

To ensure the confidentiality of informants involved in *sirri* marriage cases in Pakuon Village, pseudonyms or codes – such as the use of initials or anonymized identifiers – are applied. Information that could reveal personal identities is deliberately avoided, given the sensitive nature of issues related to gender, identity concealment, family relationships, and social pressure. Prior to and during the interview process, clear explanations are provided to informants in accessible local language, emphasizing their right to refuse to answer questions or to terminate the interview at any time if they feel uncomfortable. Sensitive data are stored separately from general interview records, and personal narratives are not disclosed in public spaces, including social media platforms.⁷

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Marriage: Definition, Requirements, and Legal Validity

Marriage is derived from the term *kawin*, which linguistically refers to forming a family relationship between a man and a woman as husband and wife through a lawful bond.⁸ Conceptually, marriage constitutes a physical and spiritual union aimed at establishing a happy, enduring, and prosperous family grounded in belief in the One and Only God. Within the framework of Indonesian positive law, marriage is regulated under Law No. 1 of 1974 on Marriage, as amended by Law No. 16 of 2019, which defines marriage as a physical and spiritual bond between a man and a woman as husband and wife with the purpose of forming a happy and everlasting household based on divine values. From a religious and moral perspective, marriage is not merely a civil or social contract but also a form of long-term worship. In Islamic law, marriage is referred to as *mīthāqan ghalīẓan* (a solemn and binding covenant), as stated in Qur'an Surah An-Nisa [4]: 21, emphasizing the sanctity, seriousness, and moral responsibility inherent in the marital bond.

⁷ Drs. Mardalis, *Metode Penelitian : Suatu pendekatan Proposal* (Jakarta : Bumi Aksara 2009)

⁸ Departemen Pendidikan Nasional, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, Edisi Ketiga, Jakarta, Balai Pustaka, 2001.

The validity of marriage in Indonesia is determined by the fulfillment of both material and formal requirements as stipulated in Articles 6 to 12 of the Marriage Law.⁹ Material requirements relate to the legal capacity, consent, and eligibility of the prospective spouses. These include the principle of monogamy, whereby both parties must not be bound by an existing marriage, except in cases where polygamy is permitted by court approval under specific legal conditions. Marriage must be based on the free and voluntary consent of both parties, ensuring compliance with human rights principles and the objective of forming a harmonious family. Additionally, both prospective spouses must have reached the minimum legal age of 19 years. Women are also subject to a mandatory waiting period following the dissolution of a previous marriage, as regulated by law, before entering into a new marriage. Furthermore, individuals under the age of 21 are required to obtain parental consent prior to marriage. The Marriage Law also establishes relative prohibitions, including restrictions on marriage between close blood relatives, between parties involved in adultery, and marriages that are not officially registered with the state.

In addition to material requirements, formal requirements govern the procedural aspects of marriage. These include prior notification to the marriage registrar at least ten working days before the ceremony, public announcement of the intended marriage by the registration officer, formal implementation of the marriage ceremony in accordance with legal procedures, and the issuance of an official marriage certificate immediately after the marriage is concluded. Together, these substantive and procedural requirements reflect the dual emphasis of Indonesian marriage law on religious legitimacy and administrative legality, underscoring that marriage is both a sacred institution and a legally regulated social structure.

2. The Legal Status of *Sirri* Marriage from the Perspective of Islamic Law

The term *sirri* is derived from the Arabic word *sirrun*, meaning “secret.” Accordingly, *sirri* marriage refers to a marriage that is conducted in secrecy. Unlike conventional marriages, which are performed openly and officially registered, *sirri* marriage is carried out in accordance with religious or customary norms without public announcement and without official registration at the state marriage registration office.¹⁰

Islamic marriage law is governed by the commands contained in the Qur’an and the Hadith, commonly discussed within the field of *fiqh al-munākahāt* in classical Islamic jurisprudence. Classical juristic texts do not extensively address the issue of *sirri* marriage,

⁹ Marthalena pohan, 1986, *Hukum Orang dan keluarga*, halaman 11.

¹⁰ Happy Susanto : *Nikah Sirri Apa Untungnya?*. Jakarta : Visi Media, 2007 hlm.22

as the prevalent form of marriage during the time of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) was open and publicly declared (*jahrī* marriage). Marriage in Islam is regarded as a solemn contract and a significant moment of joy in a person's life; therefore, it is recommended to hold a wedding celebration (*walīmah*) and share happiness with the wider community. Islam does not justify secret marriages or deviant marital practices, such as same-sex marriages or interfaith marriages. Such unions are considered invalid and impermissible in Islamic law, as they violate the essential pillars and conditions of marriage.

As society continues to develop, marital issues have become increasingly complex. Contemporary media, including print and social media platforms, frequently report marriages that are perceived as socially problematic, particularly interfaith and same-sex marriages. These marriages may occur between individuals of different religions or between persons of the same sex, and such practices potentially contribute to deviations from established religious and legal norms.

Based on existing legal realities, marriages involving different religions and same-sex partners represent forms of non-compliance with statutory law. These practices could be prevented if the government adopted a firm stance and eliminated ambivalence regarding interfaith and same-sex marriages. In practice, when a marriage cannot be conducted through the Office of Religious Affairs, some parties seek validation through civil registration offices, which may recognize interfaith marriages conducted abroad. However, this situation has inadvertently encouraged the adoption of foreign lifestyles and contributed to the emergence of deviant *sirri* marriage practices, including same-sex and interfaith *sirri* marriages, as observed in Pakuon Village, Sukaresmi District, Cianjur Regency, West Java.

3. The Practice of *Sirri* Marriage in Pakuon Village

The practice of *sirri* marriage in Pakuon Village, Sukaresmi District, Cianjur Regency, was initially understood by the local community as a form of marriage that is valid under Islamic law but has not been officially registered at the Office of Religious Affairs (*Kantor Urusan Agama*—KUA). For a long time, this practice was carried out by some community members due to economic constraints, limited access to administrative services, social factors, and the desire to conceal certain relationships from public scrutiny. However, along with social change and increasingly open patterns of social interaction, this practice has undergone a transformation in both meaning and form, eventually extending beyond the boundaries of Islamic law and state positive law.

In general, *sirri* marriage practices in Pakuon Village can be classified into two main models. The first is traditional *sirri* marriage, which fulfills the pillars and conditions of

marriage in Islamic law, including the presence of a guardian (*wali*), witnesses, dowry (*mahar*), and the *ijab-qabul*, but is not registered with the state. This model remains relatively common, particularly among couples who wish to conceal their marital status or avoid administrative burdens. From a fiqh perspective, such marriages are considered valid; however, they generate legal vulnerabilities related to the protection of the wife, children, and joint property due to the absence of formal legal recognition.

The second model, which has emerged more recently, is non-traditional *sirri* marriage. This form of marriage is conducted without properly adhering to the requirements of Islamic law and, in some cases, deviates from the essential pillars of marriage. It is within this model that practices such as same-sex and interfaith *sirri* marriages have emerged. At this stage, *sirri* marriage is no longer understood as a religiously valid marriage that lacks state registration, but rather as a means of legitimizing relationships that are prohibited by both religion and the state. This shift in meaning is influenced by changes in lifestyle, the penetration of external cultural influences, weakened social control, and limited access to comprehensive religious education.

At the same time, the role of religious leaders and religious institutions in Pakuon Village has diminished compared to the past. As a result, clandestine marital practices can be carried out without adequate supervision or clarification. This situation stands in contrast to the traditionally religious values of Sundanese society, in which marriage is not merely viewed as a social contract (*'aqd*) but also as a sacred bond (*mīthāqan ghalīẓan*) that must be protected and honored. The weakening of the social function of religious authorities has led some community members to seek alternative and covert means of legitimizing relationships, including through *sirri* marriage practices that do not comply with established religious norms.

From a legal perspective, *sirri* marriage practices in Pakuon Village give rise to social controversy and structural legal problems. The state, through Law No. 1 of 1974 on Marriage, emphasizes that marriage registration is an administrative obligation closely linked to legal protection within the family. Similarly, the Compilation of Islamic Law underscores the importance of compliance with both religious principles and state registration. When religious requirements are violated and state registration is ignored, the legal standing of the marriage becomes weak from normative, sociological, and juridical perspectives.

Therefore, *sirri* marriage practices in Pakuon Village cannot be viewed as a singular or static phenomenon. Rather, they represent a socio-legal reality that has evolved from traditional forms that still align with religious norms into deviant forms arising from value degradation, weakened religious understanding, and cultural change. This

phenomenon constitutes a critical point of reflection for understanding how deviations – such as same-sex and interfaith marriages – can emerge as social consequences of *sirri marriage* practices that are insufficiently regulated and supervised.

4. Deviations in *Sirri* Marriage Practices in Pakuon Village

The findings of this study in Pakuon Village, Sukaresmi District, Cianjur Regency, indicate that *sirri marriage* practices no longer fully conform to the provisions of Islamic law or Indonesian positive law. *Sirri marriage*, which originally referred solely to marriages conducted without state registration, has undergone a significant shift in local social practice, leading to various forms of deviation, including same-sex *sirri marriages* and interfaith *sirri marriages*. These deviations reflect differing levels of public understanding regarding marriage law, both from religious and statutory perspectives.

Same-sex marriage constitutes a practice that clearly contradicts the explicit texts (*naṣṣ*) of the Qur'an, the Hadith, and the consensus (*ijmā'*) of Islamic scholars. Romantic and sexual relationships between individuals of the same sex are classified as acts that exceed moral boundaries and are strictly prohibited in Islam. From the perspective of state law, such practices also lack legal validity, as Law No. 1 of 1974 on Marriage explicitly stipulates that marriage can only take place between a man and a woman. Nevertheless, empirical evidence from Pakuon Village shows that such practices continue to occur covertly by exploiting social loopholes and the limited oversight of local religious authorities.

Interfaith *sirri marriage* represents another form of deviation identified in the field. This practice arises from the belief among some community members that as long as a marriage contract can be symbolically or privately conducted, the marriage is considered valid, without due consideration of the substantive requirements of Islamic marriage law. In fact, both the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI) and classical fiqh stipulate that Muslim marriage must be conducted within a single religious framework. Consequently, interfaith marriages lack both *shar'i* legitimacy and formal legal recognition.

These deviations are reinforced by several contributing factors, including weak religious understanding, low levels of family law literacy, the influence of modern lifestyles – particularly through digital media – and the closed nature of the community in reporting cases perceived as family disgrace. As a result, *sirri marriage* no longer functions as a religiously valid marriage lacking state registration; instead, it has transformed into a means of justifying relationships that are prohibited by both religious and legal norms. The social consequences of these deviations are significant, ranging from unclear marital status and the neglect of children's rights to the erosion of moral order and family values within the community. This condition underscores the urgent

need for educational efforts, the strengthening of religious leadership, and the active involvement of village authorities and the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) in preventive and guidance-oriented interventions.

From the perspective of Anthony Giddens' structuration theory, actors involved in *sirri* marriage practices exploit religious normative structures alongside the limitations of state legal structures. Giddens argues that agents are not merely shaped by structure but actively utilize structural "gaps" to carry out their actions. While the marriage is performed, the state legal structure rejects its validity on the grounds of unclear identity, the illegality of same-sex marriage, and the failure to meet administrative requirements. In this sense, structures impose normative and regulatory constraints that are not easily transgressed.

Local social norms, particularly in Pakuon Village, function as structures that reinforce the actions of agents. Marriage registration is widely perceived as relatively unimportant, religious leaders possess greater authority than state administrative institutions, and the community tends to equate "religiously valid" with "legally valid." According to Giddens, these conditions represent local social structures that are continuously reproduced through routine social practices, thereby legitimizing the actions of agents.

Based on Giddens' theoretical framework, the relationship between *sirri* marriage actors and structural forces in the Pakuon case can be summarized as follows: agents exploit structural gaps, namely religious norms and weak local administrative oversight; state legal structures function as constraints but do not fully eliminate the practice; and local social norms reinforce the legitimacy of agents' actions. Consequently, *sirri* marriage continues to be practiced in Pakuon Village not merely as an individual choice but as a socially reproduced routine embedded within the community's normative structure.¹¹

CONCLUSION

The deviant practices of *sirri* marriage in Pakuon Village, Sukaresmi District, Cianjur Regency indicate that social change, the development of communication technology, and limited understanding of both religious and state marriage law have become the main driving factors behind marital deviations. *Sirri* marriage, which in principle refers to marriage conducted without state registration, has traditionally been practiced within the framework of Islamic law among Muslim communities, namely between a man and a

¹¹ Giddens, Anthony. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. University of California Press, 1984.

woman with the fulfillment of all essential pillars and requirements of marriage, including a lawful guardian, witnesses, a dowry, and a valid offer and acceptance. However, empirical findings demonstrate that this practice has undergone distortion, resulting in deviations from both Islamic legal norms and Indonesia's positive law.

From a religious perspective, same-sex *sirri* marriages and interfaith *sirri* marriages clearly lack any legitimate shari'ah foundation, as they contradict the Qur'an, the Prophetic traditions (ḥadīth), and the consensus (*ijmā'*) of Islamic scholars. Similarly, from the perspective of state law, such practices cannot be legally recognized because they violate Law Number 1 of 1974 on Marriage and the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI), both of which firmly stipulate that marriage is valid only between a man and a woman and requires religious unity for Muslim couples. This condition confirms that deviations in *sirri* marriage are not merely matters of personal ethics but constitute legal violations with significant social and religious consequences.

These deviant practices pose serious risks to the integrity of family structure and public morality. Deviant *sirri* marriages increase the potential for future disputes, particularly concerning inheritance rights, the legal status of children, and spousal relations, and they contribute to higher rates of marital instability and divorce. Such conditions weaken the authority of religious norms and state law. Therefore, both preventive and corrective measures are urgently needed through strengthening Islamic family law literacy, enhancing the supervisory role of religious leaders, improving regulatory oversight by local governments, and implementing persuasive approaches based on local wisdom to restore marriage practices to a lawful, orderly, and dignified framework.

From the perspective of Anthony Giddens' structuration theory, the relationship between *sirri* marriage actors and social structures in Pakuon Village demonstrates that agents actively exploit structural gaps, particularly the partial understanding of religious norms and weak local administrative supervision. While state legal structures function as normative and regulatory constraints, they have not been fully effective in eliminating these practices. Conversely, local social norms tend to reinforce and legitimize the actions of agents by reproducing the notion that "religiously valid" equates to "legally valid." As a result, *sirri* marriage continues to be practiced not merely as an individual choice but as a socially reproduced routine. This study thus affirms that *sirri* marriage cannot be used as a justification for legitimizing same-sex or interfaith marriages and underscores the necessity of synergy among communities, religious institutions, and government authorities to preserve social order and uphold the dignity of the family institution in Islam.

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