



# Reinterpretation of Islamic Law: The Practice of Sirri Marriage Among University Students In Indonesia

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**Abstract.** This research explores the phenomenon of "*Sirri marriage*" (unregistered Islamic marriages) among university students in Indonesia, shedding light on the evolving dynamics of Islamic law interpretation in contemporary society. The study employs a qualitative approach, utilizing interviews, surveys, and document analysis to investigate the motivations, perceptions, and consequences of students engaging in *Sirri* marriage. By examining the socio-cultural factors influencing this practice, the research aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of how Islamic legal principles are reinterpreted and negotiated within the context of modern higher education. The findings provide insights into the complexities surrounding *Sirri* marriage, addressing both the challenges it poses to traditional legal frameworks and its potential impact on the broader discourse on Islamic jurisprudence in Indonesia. This study contributes to the ongoing dialogue on the adaptation of Islamic law to contemporary realities, emphasizing the need for nuanced perspectives that account for the diverse ways in which individuals navigate their religious and social identities.

**Keywords:** Islamic Law, *Sirri* marriage, University Students

## 1. Introduction

*Sirri* marriage or marriage without official registration, has become a common phenomenon involving many layers of Indonesian society. This activity is unique to university students who have the opportunity to reinterpret religious and cultural values in the context of marriage. Factors such as financial constraints, social pressures and considerations to marry legally may lead students to choose *sirri* marriage as an alternative that is considered easier and in accordance with their characteristics.(Sekar Arumi & Faradilla, 2023) This phenomenon reflects the changing social and cultural practices in Indonesia and demonstrates the important role of students in responding and adapting to religious practices in everyday life. Meanwhile, it should be noted that the practice of *Sirri* marriage among students raises many questions regarding its impact on society and understanding of Islamic law (Fitria, 2023). To address these dynamics, it is necessary to conduct an in-depth analysis of the impact of *Sirri* marriage on the social structure and religious values of students. With a deeper understanding of this phenomenon, we can respond with a more holistic approach to designing social and educational policies that can accommodate the various changes in religious values and practices in various communities in Indonesia.(Susanto et al., 2016)

The consequences of *Sirri* marriage have two main aspects, namely legal and social. A marriage without formal legal registration creates uncertainty about the rights and responsibilities of the husband, wife and children. The lack of formal documents means less legal protection for family members.(Li et al., 2023) This can lead to situations where rights such as inheritance, insurance and children's legal security are vulnerable and not fully

protected. The social impact of unregistered marriages cannot be ignored. The practice can lead to conflicts within the family, as the legal status is unclear and can interfere with day-to-day affairs. In addition, the risk of divorce and domestic violence (DV) may increase, as well as the instability of relationships due to the absence of a strong legal foundation. Therefore, it is important to understand that the consequences of sirri marriage do not only affect the legal aspects, but also contribute to the birth of serious social problems and problems in the lives of those born on a daily basis.(Rahmawati, 2020)

The reinterpretation of Islamic law on the practice of sirri marriage among Indonesian students is a response to the complex dynamics of social and economic life. The main reason that drives this reinterpretation is related to the financial limitations of university students, and sirri marriage is considered a cheaper marriage solution that suits their economic conditions. In addition, the strong influence of popular culture and social media plays an important role in shaping students' perceptions of different types of marriage, and unregistered marriage emerges as an easier and more meaningful option. Reinterpretation is aided and abetted by a multitude of factors as well as a multitude of obstacles(Dafizki et al., 2023).

Firstly, the interpretation of Islamic law in some communities encourages students to seek marriage solutions that deviate from customary norms.(Supraptiningsih, 2021) Secondly, the lack of understanding or information about the legal and social impacts of unregistered marriages can be a serious problem. Reinterpretation of Islamic law on unregistered marriages is important in marriage practices, whether encouraged or discouraged by these factors. This will not only change people's perception of Islamic marriage practices, but also create new challenges in understanding and managing the legal and social consequences of unregistered marriage practices among university students (Wandri et al., 2023).

Previous relevant research on sirri marriage among university students. These results indicate that the level of religiosity can act as a protective factor in controlling premarital sexual behavior among university students.(Rahmawati, 2021) The findings revealed that the attitude towards premarital sexual behavior serves as a complete mediator between religiosity and engaging in premarital sexual activities.(Sekar Arumi & Faradilla, 2023) The study's significant contribution lies in its revelation that within a society where gender sensitivity is lacking, there may be a negative correlation between the prevalence of marriages and fertility rates. This emphasizes the urgent necessity for sustained governmental initiatives aimed at enhancing gender sensitivity (Kim, 2023).

This research is to examine the practice of sirri marriage among Indonesian university students, particularly in the context of the interpretation of the phenomenon in Islamic law. The purpose of this study is to identify the motivations behind unregistered marriages, analyze the interpretation of Islamic law and understand the social and legal consequences arising from the practice. Therefore, this study aims to provide a deeper understanding of the dynamics of marriage among university students by focusing on the factors that encourage sirri marriage and its impact. The benefits of this research are very relevant to the context of Indonesian society(Jayusman et al., 2024). This study can increase public awareness of the phenomenon of unregistered marriages and provide a basis for establishing more effective policies. In addition, this study has academic contribution value because it is a source of knowledge for scholars in the fields of Islamic studies, sociology, and law. This study is expected to enrich academic literature by providing a comprehensive view and broadening understanding of changes in social values and religious practices in Indonesia, especially among university students.

## 2. Methods

The research method used in this research is a qualitative study with a focus on the phenomenon of "Reinterpretation of Islamic Law: The Practice of Sirri marriage Among University Students in Indonesia." This research design allows researchers to gain an in-depth understanding of how university students in Indonesia reinterpret Islamic law regarding the practice of *sirri* marriage. Research participants will be purposively selected from various universities, ensuring a diversity of social, economic, and religious representations. Data collection is conducted through in-depth interviews with university students involved in *sirri* marriage, religious leaders, and Islamic law experts. In addition, document analysis such as religious and legal literature is also involved. The data analysis process will use a thematic approach to identify main patterns, key themes, and relationships between data (Marni et al., 2023)

The validity of the research is strengthened by triangulating data from different sources, while reliability is maintained through rigor in the implementation of the method and consistency of analysis. This research will adhere to ethical research principles, including permission from relevant institutions, maintaining confidentiality of information, and ensuring participants provide informed consent. With this approach, it is hoped that the research can provide in-depth insight into the phenomenon of *sirri* marriage among university students, as well as contribute to the understanding of the reinterpretation of Islamic law in the context of this marriage practice.

## 3. Results and Discussion

### 3.1 The Practice of Sirri marriage among College Students

Among Indonesian university students, the practice of Sirri marriage has been the subject of significant attention in studies on marital dynamics and social relations. Based on recent survey data, the prevalence of Sirri marriage among university students is quite significant, with some of them choosing this option as an alternative to legal marriage. The sociodemographic characteristics of couples opting for Sirri marriage vary, with a wide age range, from younger to more mature students, and diverse educational backgrounds. The motivations behind choosing Sirri marriage vary, including economic pressures, religious considerations, or administrative difficulties in the legal marriage process. The location of Sirri marriage also varies, ranging from privately organized ceremonies at home to the use of non-official marriage agencies outside the campus environment. The social, economic and psychological impacts of this practice also affect the lives of the couples, both positively and negatively. (Ernawati, 2022) Nonetheless, community perceptions of Sirri marriage are often still coloured by social stigma, although some couples may receive support from their family or close friends. Thus, the profile of Sirri marriage practices among Indonesian university students reflects the complex dynamics of interpreting and implementing marital values in contemporary society.

One of the common locations for Sirri marriage among students is informal places such as boarding houses, apartments, or student residences. This is often due to financial limitations or access to official places of worship. In addition, some students also choose to hold the Sirri marriage ceremony on their campus, especially if there are facilities or spaces that can be rented for the purpose. Procedures for performing Sirri marriage also tend to vary, depending on the preferences and needs of the couples concerned. Some couples may choose to follow a simple procedure that involves only a few close people, whereas others may prefer to involve a large number of guests or family. (Lathifah et al., 2022)

This process is often guided by religious leaders or community elders who have the authority to perform marriages in the neighborhood. The role of religion and culture is often a determining factor in decision-making regarding Sirri marriage among university students. For most students who practice Sirri marriage, religious values and cultural norms play an important role in legitimizing their marriages. Although not officially recognised by the state, Sirri marriage is often seen as a legitimate and religiously valid alternative to building a relationship in accordance with their religious and cultural values. In addition, social factors also play an important role in decision-making regarding Sirri marriage. Pressure from the social environment, whether from family, friends or the community, can influence a person's decision to enter into a Sirri marriage. Especially for those who come from social or cultural groups where Sirri marriage is considered a legitimate or common practice, these social factors can be a major consideration in choosing to undertake Sirri marriage. Thus, the location and procedure for performing Sirri marriage among university students is often influenced by the role of religion, culture and social factors in decision-making. This reflects the complexity in the dynamics of marriage in contemporary society, where religious, cultural and social values interact with each other in shaping diverse marital practices.

The practice of Sirri marriage among Indonesian university students not only has a direct impact on the couples involved, but also on their families and wider social environment. These impacts include various social, economic and psychological aspects that affect the relationship dynamics and well-being of the individuals and groups involved.(Amirulkamar et al., 2023) Socially, the practice of Sirri marriage can create additional pressure on couples who do not already have strong social support. Especially if the marriage is not officially recognised by the community or family, the couple may experience social isolation or negative stigma from the surrounding environment. This can impact their psychological well-being and affect their social interactions with others.

**Table 1:** Data on Sirri marriage in Indonesia

| No | Indicators                                             | Percentage |
|----|--------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| 1  | Women aged 15-49 years who have been married illegally | 10.2%      |
| 2  | Women aged 15-19 years who have been married illegally | 1.8%       |
| 3  | Women in rural areas who have been married             | 13.1%      |
| 4  | Women in urban areas who have been married illegally   | 7.8%       |
| 5  | Women aged 15-49 years who have been married illegally | 10.2%      |

Source: 2017 SDKI data

Couples who choose to enter into Sirri marriage may face greater financial challenges than legally married couples. They may not have access to the financial support normally afforded to married couples, such as inheritance rights or social welfare entitlements. This can lead to economic instability and increase the risk of poverty or financial hardship in the long term. Psychologically, the practice of Sirri marriage can also create additional stress and strain on the couples involved. They may face internal or external conflicts related to the legitimacy and validity of their marriage.(Lathifah et al., 2022) In addition, they may also experience feelings of anxiety, depression or social isolation as a result of the pressures brought about by their marital situation. The impact of the practice of Sirri marriage can also be felt by the couple's family and social environment.(Ishaq et al., 2023) The couple's families may experience discomfort or confusion regarding the marital status of their children. They may also feel responsible for providing additional financial or emotional support to the couple practicing Sirri marriage. The couple's social environment, such as

friends or community, may also be involved in supporting or rejecting the practice, which may affect the couple's interpersonal relationships and social support. (Taufiq, 2019)

In the context of marriage among Indonesian university students, a comparison between Sirri marriage and legal marriage highlights differences in stability, life satisfaction and social support. In general, legal marriages tend to be more stable as they have legal and social legitimacy that provides protection to the couple. In contrast, Sirri marriage is prone to instability due to the lack of a standardized framework. Life satisfaction tends to be higher for legally married couples due to strong social support and access to resources. Couples undergoing Sirri marriage may experience lower life satisfaction due to a lack of social support and legitimacy. Greater social support is also obtained by legally married couples, while couples practicing Sirri marriage may face difficulties obtaining social support due to their unrecognized marital status. Thus, it is important to consider the long-term implications of the practice of Sirri marriage in terms of couples' well-being and relationships.

### 3.2 Student Factors in Choosing Sirri marriage

Indonesian students choose *sirri* marriage as a marriage option for a number of factors that influence them. Firstly, social pressure is often a major factor in decision-making. In a culture that still maintains family values and traditions, students often feel compelled to marry in order to fulfill social expectations from family, friends, or the surrounding community. This pressure can come in the form of expectations to marry at a certain age or expectations to form a family before graduating from college. (Nisa, 2018) Furthermore, economic limitations are also often a driver for choosing Sirri marriage. Students often face significant financial constraints, either due to high tuition fees or limited job opportunities. In this situation, a legal marriage with all the associated costs can become unaffordable for many students. As an alternative, Sirri marriage offers a more economical option as it requires lower costs. In addition, cultural influences also play an important role in influencing students' marriage choices. In Indonesian culture, which is steeped in traditional values, marriage is considered an important step in one's life journey. (Ajjahidi & Rahmadhani, 2022) A culture that encourages young marriage and emphasizes the importance of loyalty to one's spouse often reinforces students' desire to marry, regardless of their officially recognised marital status.

**Tabel. 2** Factors of Sirri marriage

| Factor Type | sub-factor                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | Decription                                                                                                                                                                               |
|-------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Economic    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Legal marriage is expensive</li> <li>- High dowry</li> <li>- Financial inability to provide for the family</li> </ul>                                                                                    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The couple cannot afford to organize a legal wedding The dowry demanded by the bride's family is too high</li> </ul>                            |
| Social      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Social pressure to get married</li> <li>- Desire to avoid the stigma of "adultery"</li> <li>- Erroneous religious beliefs</li> <li>- Local norms and culture that favor <i>sirri</i> marriage</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Family and neighboring communities put pressure on the couple to get married</li> <li>- Couples want to avoid the negative stigma of</li> </ul> |



|               |                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|---------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|               |                                                                                                                                  | being pregnant outside of marriage<br>- Misunderstanding that <i>sirri</i> marriage is more religiously valid In some areas, it is considered normal to marry siri                                |
| Law           | - Legal ambiguity of <i>sirri</i> marriage<br>- Complicated and expensive divorce process Distrust of the religious court system | - The status of a <i>sirri</i> marriage is not legally recognized<br>- The <i>sirri</i> marriage divorce process is complicated and costly<br>Negative experience with the religious court system |
| Psychological | - Emotional immaturity<br>- Fear of commitment Mistrust of partner                                                               | - The couple is not ready for an official marriage<br>- One party is afraid of long-term commitment<br>The couple is suspicious and distrustful of each other                                     |

The differences in motivation between men and women in choosing Sirri marriage reflect the gender dynamics that exist in Indonesian society, where social factors, religion and tradition play an important role in marriage decision-making. Men and women often have different motivations for choosing Sirri marriage. For some men, the practice may be chosen as a way to gain sexual freedom or to suppress premarital sexual urges.(Prihatini, 2019) Other motivations may be related to a desire to avoid the entanglements associated with legal marriage, such as financial responsibility or limitations on individual freedom. On the other hand, women may choose Sirri marriage because of social pressure to marry or because of economic limitations that make it difficult for them to get legally married. Some women may also feel compelled by the desire to gain a perceived higher social status in society through marriage. The role of religion and tradition greatly influences decision-making in favor of Sirri marriage. In the context of Islam, Sirri marriage is considered valid even though it is not officially recognised by the state. Some men and women may choose Sirri marriage as a way to fulfill the teachings of their religion without being bound to official marriage procedures. In addition, family and cultural traditions are often a determining factor in decision-making. Cultures that emphasize the importance of marrying at a young age or those that emphasize family values and adherence to tradition may influence one's choice of marriage.(Darlis, 2022)

Choosing an *Sirri* marriage has consequences that can be felt in both the short and long term, especially in terms of interpersonal relationships and finances. In the short term, the consequences of opting for a Sirri marriage can have a negative impact on the interpersonal relationship between the couple. Couples who enter into a Sirri marriage may face pressure or

conflict from family, friends or society that does not recognise the legitimacy of their marriage.(Marston, 2024)

This may result in stress, tension or social isolation that affects the quality of their relationship. In addition, couples may also experience uncertainty or confusion regarding responsibilities and expectations in their marriage, due to the lack of a clear framework that comes with it. In the long run, opting for Sirri marriage can have a significant impact on a couple's financial stability and well-being. Couples practicing Sirri marriage may face difficulties in accessing the legal or financial rights associated with a legal marriage, such as inheritance rights, joint asset ownership rights, or financial support in emergency situations. This can lead to economic instability and increase the risk of poverty or financial insecurity in the long term. In addition, the long-term consequences of opting for Sirri marriage can also impact the psychological well-being of the couple.(Mahon, 2015) Their mental health and general quality of life may suffer as a result of feeling alone or unacknowledged due to a lack of social support from their family or society. Couples may also experience difficulties in building healthy and sustainable relationships in the long run, due to a lack of support and understanding from their environment. (Raj et al., 2019)

People's perceptions of the practice of Sirri marriage can vary greatly depending on the cultural context, religion and social values dominant in a particular society. For some, Sirri marriage may be seen as a legitimate or even necessary alternative in certain situations, such as to avoid the sin of adultery or to solve practical problems such as economic limitations.(Sieg & Wang, 2018) For others, however, the practice may be perceived as a violation of prevailing social or religious norms, and therefore negatively stigmatized. Society's perception of Sirri marriage can also be influenced by factors such as education, economic status and religious orientation. In some neighborhoods, Sirri marriage may be considered a dishonorable or inappropriate act, while in others, it may be considered a legitimate option especially in difficult or emergency situations.(Mokhtari et al., 2022).

The community's negative perception of Sirri marriage can impact on the social acceptance of couples who choose this practice. Such couples may face discrimination, rejection or social isolation from family, friends or other community members. They may also experience pressure or criticism from their environment, which can affect their psychological well-being and the overall quality of their relationship.(Cinelli, 2023) Thus society's perception of the practice of Sirri marriage can greatly influence the social acceptance of couples who choose to do so. It is important to understand the complexity of factors that influence these perceptions and work towards a broader understanding and support of the range of marriage options available to individuals. This allows for the creation of an inclusive and supportive environment for couples who choose to practice *Sirri* marriage.

### 3.3 Reinterpretation of Islamic Law

The traditional interpretation of Islamic law on Sirri marriage has become a complex and relevant topic in the modern context, especially among Indonesian university students. Traditionally, Sirri marriage is considered a valid marriage in Islam even though it is not officially recognised by the state. In Islamic law, Sirri marriage is a legal marriage agreement between a man and a woman performed without the formal requirements or procedures normally associated with an official marriage. The relevance of Sirri marriage in the modern context, particularly among Indonesian students, is often a matter of complex debate. On the one hand, some Islamic scholars and practitioners defend the relevance of Sirri marriage as a legitimate alternative to fulfill the needs of individuals who wish to perform marriages in a simpler way or in certain situations that require flexibility, such as financial inability to get

legally married. They argue that Sirri marriage maintains traditional Islamic values in facilitating legitimate relationships between men and women, albeit without formal recognition from the state.(Aeni et al., 2022).

On the other hand, there are also those who oppose the practice of Sirri marriage, especially in the context of Indonesian students.(Supraptiningsih & Hariyanto, 2019) They argue that Sirri marriage can open the door to abuse or exploitation, especially of women, who may become vulnerable to injustice or neglect in relationships that are not officially recognised by law(Ahmed, 2018). In addition, some critics highlight that this practice can undermine the values of gender equality and individual rights in marital relationships. The relevance of Sirri marriage in the context of Indonesian students is also linked to the social, economic and cultural issues that influence marriage decision-making. Social pressure to marry, economic limitations, and cultural influences that reinforce traditional marriage values can influence students to choose Sirri marriage as a marriage option. The reinterpretation of Islamic law on Sirri marriage is supported by arguments that emphasize the principles of justice, gender equality and the protection of human rights. Justice is the main focus in this reinterpretation, as it ensures that the rights and interests of all parties are fulfilled fairly. This includes aspects of free and equal consent between a man and a woman in marriage, as well as fair recognition of the rights and responsibilities of both.(Grijns & Horii, 2018)

Gender equality is an important basis for arguments for the reinterpretation of Islamic law on Sirri marriage. By approaching Islamic law with an equality perspective, it is important to ensure that every individual has equal access to legal and social protection, regardless of gender. This aims to address the injustices that may occur in the practice of marriages that are not officially recognised, as well as ensuring that women's rights are fully recognised and respected.(Susilawati & Firma, 2023) The protection of human rights is an important moral foundation in the argument for the reinterpretation of Sirri marriage. This involves recognising the right of individuals to decide freely about their marriage, as well as to live in a marital relationship free from oppression or abuse. By strengthening the protection of human rights, the reinterpretation of Islamic law on Sirri marriage aims to ensure that human values and justice are upheld in the practice of marriage. (Arisukwu et al., 2021)

In addressing Sirri marriage, an approach that accommodates universal values as well as current social and cultural needs is essential. One approach that can be adopted is through strengthening education and awareness regarding the importance of legally arranged marriages and in accordance with Islamic values that emphasize free consent and equality between husband and wife. Through this effort, the public, especially university students, can be provided with adequate information to make wiser decisions. There is also a need for legal and policy reforms that strengthen the protection of individual rights in marriage, including in the context of Sirri marriage. This includes improved access to legal marriage services and more effective enforcement of laws against cases of abuse or oppression in marital relationships. By combining education, legal reform and public awareness raising, it is hoped that we can develop a more holistic and inclusive approach to addressing Sirri marriage that reflects universal values as well as current social and cultural needs.(Wieringa, 2015)

Religious leaders, Islamic scholars and community activists have a crucial role to play in promoting open and innovative discussions on the reinterpretation of Islamic law regarding Sirri marriage. Religious leaders, as respected moral authorities, can facilitate open dialogue within their communities through khutbahs, lectures or discussion forums. They can invite people to discuss issues related to Sirri marriage with understanding and empathy, and provide guidance that is in line with Islamic teachings. The role of Islamic scholars is also crucial in providing an intellectual foundation for these discussions. With their in-depth



knowledge of Islamic principles and legal studies, they can formulate arguments in favor of a reinterpretation of Islamic law related to Sirri marriage that is more in line with universal values and current social needs. Through research, articles and lectures, they broaden the public's horizons on the issue and provide a scientifically based view.(Alfitri, 2020)

The role of community activists is crucial in bringing social issues to public attention and fighting for change. They can organize discussion events, social media campaigns or demonstrations aimed at raising public awareness about the implications of the practice of Sirri marriage and pressing for a more inclusive reinterpretation. By mobilizing community support, they can encourage positive change in people's views and more equitable policies. By working together these three parties can form a powerful alliance to advance open and innovative discussions about Sirri marriage. Their collaboration results in a deeper understanding of the issue and accelerates progress towards solutions that are more inclusive and in line with human values.

### *3.4 Policy Implications on Sirri marriage*

The need for policies that are responsive to the phenomenon of Sirri marriage among university students is becoming increasingly urgent, especially to ensure the protection of human rights and gender equality.(Arisukwu et al., 2021) Regulations that strengthen the protection of human rights and gender equality in the context of Sirri marriage are essential to maintain the welfare and justice of all individuals involved. Responsive policies need to recognise the human rights of each individual, including the right to decide freely about their marriage without undue external pressure. It should affirm the importance of free and equal consent between both parties in any marriage, whether officially recognised or not.(Akbar, 2020) Policies also need to reinforce gender equality in the context of Sirri marriage.

This includes ensuring that the rights and responsibilities of men and women are fairly recognised in every marriage, and preventing discriminatory practices or oppression of either party. It should ensure that women have equal access to legal and social protections and support to protect their interests in the marital relationship. Responsive policies also need to provide effective enforcement mechanisms against cases of abuse or oppression in the context of Sirri marriage. (Barkah et al., 2023) This includes the establishment of institutions or bodies that specialize in handling cases of domestic violence or human rights violations in marital relationships, as well as providing easy and safe access for individuals in need of assistance and protection.

Government agencies, religious institutions and NGOs have a vital role in developing and implementing education and prevention programmes related to Sirri marriage. Government agencies are responsible for developing policies and regulations that protect human rights and gender equality in the context of marriage, including Sirri marriage. They also have an important role in developing formal education programmes that include important aspects of marriage practices, such as free consent and gender equality, in the education curriculum. Religious institutions, on the other hand, play an important role in educating and guiding their faithful on the true values of Islam when it comes to marriage. They can facilitate dialogue and open discussion within religious communities to improve understanding of Islamic teachings relating to marriage, and how those principles can be applied in modern contexts, including Sirri marriage.

Religious education programmes can also be used to teach people the values of gender equality and human rights protection. NGOs have a complementary role in providing education and support services to individuals affected by the practice of Sirri marriage. They can conduct public education campaigns on the risks and consequences of this practice, as

well as provide counseling services, psychosocial support and legal assistance to individuals in need. In addition, NGOs can also conduct research and advocacy to fight for stronger legal and social protections for those involved in Sirri marriage. (Farabi, 2020)

In terms of marriage preparation, premarital counseling services should also be made available, with a focus on helping students understand the commitments they are making, managing expectations, and building healthy communication skills within the relationship. Through this holistic approach, higher education institutions can ensure that students who choose Sirri marriage have adequate access to the resources and support they need to have a healthy, happy and sustainable marriage. (Kurniawati Br Pinem et al., 2021) Evaluation of existing policies and programmes addressing the issue of Sirri marriage among university students is an important step to ensure the effectiveness of the efforts made. Through this evaluation, higher education institutions can identify the successes and weaknesses of the programmes that have been implemented and understand the challenges faced in addressing this issue.

The results of this evaluation form the basis for identifying the need for further reform or policy change. Based on the evaluation results, recommendations for policy reform or change can be formulated. These recommendations should be based on the evidence obtained from the evaluation and involve input from various stakeholders, including students, academic staff, and experts in the field of reproductive health and sexual education. The recommended policy changes should be designed to improve the effectiveness of existing programmes and ensure that the needs of students in terms of reproductive health and marriage preparation are well met. (Rakhmawati, 2021)

Once the recommended reforms or policy changes are approved, the next step is implementation. Implementation of the new policy must be done carefully and take into account all aspects involved, including resource management and effective communication with all parties involved. During the implementation process, there needs to be continuous monitoring and evaluation to ensure that the new policy delivers the expected results and provides significant benefits to students who choose Sirri marriage. Thus, through evaluation and responsive policy changes, higher education institutions can continue to improve their efforts in addressing the issue of Sirri marriage among students.

#### 4. Conclusions

In the context of policy evaluation and change, this article emphasizes the need for a responsive and sustainable approach. By evaluating the effectiveness of existing policies and programmes, and identifying the need for further reform or change, higher education institutions can continuously improve their efforts in addressing the issue of Sirri marriage among students. In conclusion, the reinterpretation of Islamic law on the practice of Sirri marriage among Indonesian university students is a response to the complex dynamics of social and economic life. The main reason that drives this reinterpretation is related to the financial limitations of university students, where *sirri* marriage is considered a cheaper marriage solution that suits their economic conditions. The strong influence of popular culture and social media also plays an important role in shaping students' perceptions of different types of marriage, where unregistered marriage emerges as an easier and more meaningful option. The reinterpretation of Islamic law on unregistered marriage is also influenced by factors that support and hinder it. Although many students are keen to find marriage solutions that suit their circumstances, the interpretation of Islamic law in some segments of society can result in conflict with existing customary norms. In addition, a lack of

understanding or information regarding the legal and social impacts of unregistered marriages can be a serious obstacle. Therefore, it is important to recognise that the reinterpretation of Islamic law on the practice of unregistered marriage will not only change people's perception of Islamic marriage practices, but will also create new challenges in understanding and managing the legal and social consequences of unregistered marriage practices among university students. With this complexity in mind, further steps in addressing the issue of Sirri marriage among university students need to take into account various perspectives and ensure that efforts are made to cover various relevant aspects.

### Acknowledgements

I am deeply grateful to my supervisor, [Name], for their invaluable guidance throughout this research. Special thanks to the participants for sharing their insights. I appreciate their support. Sincere thanks to my friends and family for their unwavering encouragement. Lastly, I extend my gratitude to the Almighty for His strength and inspiration. Every contribution has profoundly impacted this research.

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