

The Effectiveness of Government Regulation Number 48 of 2014 in Marriage Services at the KUA of Ampenan District: A Socio-Legal Study in Banjar Village

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Abstract

This study examines the effectiveness of Government Regulation Number 48 of 2014 concerning Tariffs on Types of Non-Tax State Revenue Applicable to the Ministry of Religious Affairs, focusing on marriage service practices in Banjar Village, Ampenan District, Mataram City. The regulation stipulates a zero-rupee tariff for marriages conducted at the Office of Religious Affairs and a Rp600,000 tariff for marriages conducted outside the office. This study aims to analyze the regulation of non-tax state revenue in marriage services, evaluate its implementation, and examine community responses to the policy. This research employed a qualitative method with a phenomenological approach. Data were collected through observation, interviews with officials of the Office of Religious Affairs, community leaders, neighborhood heads, and residents, as well as documentation of marriage records and relevant regulations. The findings show that Government Regulation Number 48 of 2014 is administratively effective because it has been implemented according to formal procedures, payments are made through official mechanisms, and no major problems related to gratuities were found. However, its social effectiveness remains limited. The data indicate that most residents of Banjar Village still prefer to conduct marriages outside the Office of Religious Affairs due to Sasak customary traditions, the need for family witnessing, limited office space and service time, and the desire to hold marriage ceremonies as communal events. Some residents consider the Rp600,000 tariff burdensome, especially when combined with customary expenses. This study confirms that legal effectiveness must be assessed through the relationship between state regulation, public service delivery, economic conditions, and local culture.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Marriage is a social, religious, and legal institution that holds an important position in the life of Indonesian society. From an Islamic perspective, marriage is not merely a civil relationship between a man and a woman, but also a contract that legitimizes the husband-wife relationship, builds peace, and becomes a means of forming a family filled with love and moral responsibility. Soemiyati explains that marriage is a contract or agreement to bind themselves between a man and a woman on a voluntary basis and with the consent of both parties, to realize the happiness of family life in a way that is pleasing to God (Soemiyati, 1982). This definition is in line with Article 1 of Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage, which states that marriage is a physical and spiritual bond between a

man and a woman as husband and wife to form a happy and eternal family based on the One Almighty God (Hilman Hadikusuma, 2003). Thus, marriage has two main dimensions, namely the religious dimension, which relates to validity according to religion, and the state legal dimension, which relates to administrative recognition and protection of civil rights.

In the context of Islamic law and family law in Indonesia, the validity of a marriage is closely related to the fulfillment of the pillars and requirements of marriage, while formal recognition by the state is achieved through marriage registration. The Compilation of Islamic Law places marriage within an Islamic normative framework, yet still recognizes the importance of registration as an administrative obligation of the state. Several studies indicate that a marriage can be considered valid under Islamic law if the pillars and requirements are met, but formal proof and administrative recognition are obtained through a marriage certificate and official registration by a state institution (Khairunnisa & Fawzi, 2022; Mustika & Marlina, 2019; Roqib, 2016). The tension between religious validity and state registration often arises in community marriage practices, particularly in cases of unregistered or unregistered marriages. In these circumstances, the marriage confirmation mechanism becomes a legal instrument to connect socio-religious realities with state administrative needs (Aulya & Ahmad, 2023; Azizi & Muzawir, 2023; Roqib, 2016).

Marriage registration is crucial because it provides legal certainty for married couples, children, and families. In the Indonesian administrative system, the Office of Religious Affairs serves as the leading institution for registering marriages for Muslims. The Office of Religious Affairs processes marriage contracts, records marriage events, issues marriage certificates, and links these registrations to the population administration system. (Mustika & Marlina, 2019; Setiawan, 2022; Nastangin, 2022) emphasize that the role of the Office of Religious Affairs extends beyond administrative technicalities to protecting the legal status of families. Unregistered marriages can create problems in obtaining family cards, obtaining birth certificates, proving the legal relationship between husband and wife, and accessing other civil rights. Therefore, the effectiveness of the Office of Religious Affairs services is measured not only by the implementation of marriage contracts but also by the institution's ability to provide transparent, affordable, and community-based services.

One of the main issues in marriage services at the KUA (Religious Affairs Office) is the regulation of marriage and reconciliation fees. Before the enactment of Government Regulation No. 48 of 2014, marriage registration fees were regulated in Government Regulation No. 47 of 2004 at a rate of Rp30,000 per event. However, this regulation did not adequately regulate fees for marriages held outside the KUA office, while in practice, many people requested that the registrar perform the ceremony at home, at the mosque, or at other locations outside the office and outside of business hours. This situation opened up the opportunity for additional levies that lacked a strong legal basis and could potentially be considered extortion or gratification. Anwar explained that the change from Government Regulation No. 47 of 2004 to Government Regulation No. 48 of 2014 was intended to prevent gratification in marriage services because many payments still exceeded official provisions (Anwar, 2020). Thus, Government Regulation No. 48 of 2014 was introduced as a policy to clarify the financing of marriage and reconciliation services and strengthen the integrity of KUA services.

Government Regulation Number 48 of 2014 stipulates that citizens who conduct marriages or reconciliations at the District Religious Affairs Office are not subject to registration fees. Meanwhile, marriages or reconciliations conducted outside the KUA office are subject to transportation and professional fees as part of Non-Tax State Revenue. This provision sets a rate of IDR 600,000 per marriage or reconciliation event outside the

KUA. Furthermore, citizens who are economically disadvantaged or victims of disasters may be subject to a rate of IDR 0 if they meet applicable provisions. Normatively, this regulation seeks to balance two interests: providing access to free services for those who marry at the KUA office and providing a legal basis for the fees for registrar services outside the KUA office. Within the framework of public policy, the regulation of Non-Tax State Revenue (PNBP) on religious services reflects the state's efforts to finance public services while ensuring transparency, accountability, and preventing informal fees (Khairunnisa & Fawzi, 2022; Mustika & Marlina, 2019; Billah, 2024).

Although the purpose of the regulation is clear, its implementation in society does not always run according to normative expectations. In Banjar Village, Ampenan District, Mataram City, most people still choose to conduct marriage ceremonies outside the KUA office, even though they have to pay a fee of Rp 600,000. Based on data in the manuscript, in 2018, there were 126 marriages, with 111 couples marrying outside the KUA and only 15 couples marrying at the KUA office. In 2019, of the 110 marriages, 88 were conducted outside the KUA and 22 at the KUA office. In 2020, as of December 16, there were 41 marriages, with 36 couples marrying outside the KUA and 5 couples marrying at the KUA office. These data show that people's choices are not solely determined by cost factors, but also by social values, traditions, perceptions of the sanctity of marriage, family involvement, and the condition of KUA service facilities (KUA Ampenan, Marriage Registration Book 2020–2021; KUA Ampenan General Marriage Registration Book 2018–2020).

In Sasak society, including the Banjar sub-district community, marriage is understood not only as a legal event but also as a customary and communal event. Conducting a marriage ceremony at home or in a neighborhood mosque is considered more in line with community customs because it allows for the involvement of the extended family, community leaders, traditional elders, and residents. The social witness factor is important because marriage is considered a sacred event that should be known and witnessed by the community. Literature on the relationship between local customs and compliance with state regulations shows that social norms, local customs, economic pressures, and religious interpretations can influence people's decisions to follow or adapt to state administrative provisions (Widiyanto, 2021; Mistiar et al., 2023; Fatma, 2019). In this case, the choice to marry outside the KUA (Religious Affairs Office) is not simply a form of non-compliance with the incentive of free services, but rather an expression of the strength of local culture in shaping people's legal behavior.

This study stems from the gap between the objectives of Government Regulation No. 48 of 2014 as an instrument for cost transparency and the reality of the Banjar Village community, who continue to predominantly choose to marry outside the KUA (Religious Affairs Office). On the one hand, this regulation is considered administratively important because it reduces the scope for gratification, clarifies service fees, and provides the option of free services at the KUA office. On the other hand, the Rp600,000 fee for marriages outside the KUA is perceived by some as an additional burden, especially since they must also cover customary costs such as sorong serah (a gift), dowry, and wedding needs. Therefore, this study aims to analyze the regulation of PNBP (Non-Tax State Revenue) within the Ministry of Religious Affairs, assess the effectiveness of Government Regulation No. 48 of 2014 in Banjar Village, and examine the community's response to the implementation of this regulation. The novelty of this study lies in the explanation that legal effectiveness is not only seen from the formal implementation of the regulation, but must also be analyzed through the relationship between state law, service facilities, economic conditions, community perceptions, and local culture.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

Research Design

This study uses a qualitative approach with a phenomenological approach. This approach was chosen because the main focus of the study is not only to explain the normative content of Government Regulation Number 48 of 2014, but also to understand how these regulations are experienced, interpreted, and responded to by the Banjar Village community and the Ampenan District KUA officials in the practice of marriage services. A qualitative approach allows researchers to examine social realities formed through experiences, perceptions, habits, and interactions between the community and state institutions. As explained by Juliansyah Noor, a qualitative approach is used to understand social phenomena and human problems by emphasizing socially constructed realities and the close relationship between researchers and research subjects (Juliansyah Noor, 2006). In this context, phenomenology is used to uncover the meaning of the experiences of people who choose to marry at the KUA or outside the KUA. Creswell, as quoted by Juliansyah Noor, emphasizes that the phenomenological approach seeks to defer the researcher's initial judgment so that the meaning of the experience can be understood from the perspective of the research subjects (Juliansyah Noor, 2012).

Research Location and Context

The research was conducted in Banjar Village, Ampenan District, Mataram City, and at the Ampenan District Office of Religious Affairs (KUA), the institution that carries out marriage registration for the Muslim community. This location was chosen based on the fact that the people of Banjar Village mostly hold weddings outside the KUA office, even though Government Regulation Number 48 of 2014 stipulates a fee of Rp0 for weddings at the KUA office and Rp600,000 for weddings outside the KUA office. Banjar Village also has a strong socio-cultural context, especially because the community is still influenced by Sasak customs in conducting weddings. Therefore, this location is relevant to assess the effectiveness of the law not only from a formal perspective, but also from a social, cultural, economic, and public service perspective.

Data Sources and Informants

The data sources in this study consist of primary and secondary data. Primary data were obtained through interviews with parties directly involved in the implementation and acceptance of the policy, namely Ampenan KUA officials, marriage registrars, Banjar village officials, neighborhood heads, community leaders, and residents who had married at or outside the KUA office. Key informants included the Head of the Ampenan KUA, the KUA Ampenan registrar, the village secretary, neighborhood heads in Banjar, Sintung, and Selaparang, as well as several residents who responded to the wedding experience. Secondary data were obtained from legal materials, literature, laws and regulations, village monograph data, the Ampenan KUA marriage register book, and other documents related to PNBP wedding costs. This separation of primary and secondary data follows the original manuscript's design, which places field interviews and library materials as the basis for qualitative analysis.

Data Collection Techniques

Data collection techniques were carried out through observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. Observation was used to obtain a direct picture of the social conditions of the community, the practice of KUA services, and the context of marriage implementation in Banjar Village. Lexy J. Moleong explained that the presence of researchers in qualitative research is important because researchers are the main instrument in understanding field phenomena (Moleong, 2006). In-depth interviews were used to explore the reasons why people choose to marry inside or outside the KUA, their perceptions of the Rp600,000 fee, and the views of KUA officials on the implementation of PP Number 48 of 2014. This technique is in line with the phenomenological research approach and interpretive phenomenological analysis, which emphasizes direct experience, interpretation of meaning, and how individuals understand policies in everyday life (Dangal & Joshi, 2020; O'Neill & Kenny, 2023; Blandy, 2016). Documentation was used to examine data on the number of marriages, regulations, official records, and administrative documents. Deddy Mulyana emphasized that documentation can be used to obtain data from books, notes, reports, and other documents relevant to the research (Deddy Mulyana, 2006).

Data Analysis and Validity Techniques

Data were analyzed qualitatively by systematically combining field data and library data. The analysis was conducted through the stages of data collection, data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing, as referred to the Miles and Huberman (2019) model. Data reduction was carried out by sorting information related to the regulation of PNBP, the effectiveness of the implementation of Government Regulation Number 48 of 2014, factors influencing the choice of wedding location, and community response. Data validity was maintained through extended research time, triangulation of sources and methods, and rechecking interview data and documents. In phenomenological research, strategies such as triangulation, thick description, reflexivity, member checking, and audit trails are considered important to increase the credibility of research results (Flynn & Korcuska, 2018; Curtin & Fossey, 2007; Yeh & Inman, 2007; Zairul, 2025). In this way, the research is expected to provide a valid picture of the effectiveness of Government Regulation Number 48 of 2014 as a regulation for marriage services in the social reality of the Banjar Village community.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Regulation of PNBP in Marriage and Reconciliation Services

The results of the study indicate that the regulation of Non-Tax State Revenue in marriage and reconciliation services within the Ministry of Religious Affairs refers to Government Regulation Number 48 of 2014 concerning amendments to Government Regulation Number 47 of 2004 concerning Tariffs for Types of Non-Tax State Revenue applicable to the Ministry of Religious Affairs. This regulation serves as the main legal basis for the Office of Religious Affairs in differentiating the costs of marriage or reconciliation services at the KUA office and outside the KUA office. Based on Article 6 of PP Number 48 of 2014, every citizen who carries out a marriage or reconciliation at the District Religious Affairs Office is not charged a marriage or reconciliation registration fee. However, if the marriage or reconciliation is carried out outside the KUA office, transportation and professional service fees are charged as revenue from the District Religious Affairs Office. The tariff set for marriage or reconciliation services outside the

KUA is IDR 600,000 per event, while economically disadvantaged citizens or disaster victims can get a tariff of IDR 0 according to applicable provisions.

In practice at the Ampenan District Office of Religious Affairs (KUA), these provisions are implemented as binding administrative rules. The KUA does not create policies outside of these provisions, but rather implements government regulations as stipulated. The Head of the Ampenan KUA, Ahmad Baehaki, explained that the KUA only implements existing laws and regulations, so there is no room for bargaining in the application of fees. If the marriage is conducted at the KUA office, the fee is Rp 0, while if it is conducted outside the KUA office, a PNBP of Rp 600,000 is charged. This explanation shows that from the perspective of the implementing agency, PP Number 48 of 2014 is understood as a legal instrument that must be implemented directly by the KUA as an extension of the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

Field findings also indicate that the Rp600,000 payment for weddings outside the KUA is not given directly to the registrar, but is deposited through an official mechanism. Zakaria, the Middle Registrar of the Ampenan KUA, explained that the fee paid by the prospective bride and groom is deposited with the state in the form of a Budget Implementation List from the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The funds are used to cover the needs of wedding services outside the KUA office, including transportation, the registrar's professional services, marriage registration books, and other administrative needs related to the service. Therefore, from a procedural perspective, the implementation of PNBP at the Ampenan KUA has been directed towards preventing unofficial levies and clarifying the basis for financing wedding services outside the office.

Marriage Implementation Patterns in Banjar Village

Marriage data from the Banjar sub-district community shows that marriages held outside the Religious Affairs Office (KUA) are far more common than those held at the KUA office. Based on the Ampenan KUA marriage registration book and marriage registration data from 2018 to 2020, the majority of couples choose to hold their wedding ceremonies at home, in the mosque, or in their neighborhood rather than in the KUA hall. This data demonstrates a gap between the free wedding incentives provided by the government through the KUA and the community's social preferences for holding weddings.

Year	Marriage at the KUA	Marriage Outside the KUA	Amount
2018	15	111	126
2019	22	88	110
2020	5	36	41
Total	42	235	277

Source: Ampenan Office of Religious Affairs, Marriage Registration Book 2020–2021; Ampenan Office of Religious Affairs, Marriage Registration General Book 2018–2020.

The table shows that in 2018, of 126 marriages, 111 were conducted outside the KUA (Religious Affairs Office) and only 15 were conducted at the KUA office. In 2019, of 110 marriages, 88 were conducted outside the KUA and 22 at the KUA office. In 2020, of 41 marriages, 36 were conducted outside the KUA and only 5 at the KUA office. Overall, of the 277 marriages recorded, 235 were conducted outside the KUA, and only 42 were conducted at the KUA office. These findings indicate that the choice of marriage location in Banjar Village residents is not solely determined by cost. Although marriage at the KUA is free, the majority of residents still choose to marry outside the KUA, with the consequence of paying a PNBP fee of Rp600,000.

3.3 Factors that Encourage Marriages Outside the KUA

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Interviews revealed that customary factors were the primary reason why residents of Banjar Village chose to hold weddings outside the KUA office. The Banjar community, largely influenced by Sasak traditions, understands marriage as a customary, religious, and social event ideally held at the groom's home, the family home, or the neighborhood mosque. According to Imam Ja'far, Head of the Sintung Neighborhood, in Sasak tradition, a woman who has been brought to the prospective husband's home through the *merariq* process cannot be taken out until the marriage contract and other customary processes, such as *sorong serah* have taken place. Therefore, holding a marriage contract outside the home or outside the prospective husband's neighborhood can be considered inconsistent with prevailing customs.

In addition to customs, family and community witnessing factors were also important findings. The Banjar community views marriage ceremonies as sacred events that should be witnessed by extended family, community leaders, neighbors, and residents. Syamsudin Fajar, Head of the Banjar Community, explained that the community wants marriages to be witnessed by many people because the marriage ceremony changes the social status of the man to husband and head of the household, and the woman to wife and housewife. Community witnessing is understood as a form of social announcement that the couple is legally married according to religion, customs, and the state. This view is reinforced by the statement of Revi Mariska Setiani, one of the respondents, who stated that she married outside the KUA (Office of Religious Affairs) because her family demanded that the marriage be witnessed by relatives and the local community, while also avoiding negative prejudice.

The limited space and time available for KUA services also influence people's choices. The Ampenan KUA hall is considered unable to accommodate a large number of family members and guests. However, in the Banjar tradition, weddings generally involve many families and residents. Furthermore, wedding services at the KUA are limited to weekdays and hours, while many people choose to hold their weddings on holidays so that family and friends can attend. Imam Ja'far explained that many weddings are held outside the KUA because people need more flexibility. Another respondent, Roni Kurniawan Bahweres, also stated that the limited number of guests who can attend the KUA is a reason for choosing to marry outside the KUA.

Factors that Encourage Marriage at the KUA

Although smaller in number, some residents of Banjar Village choose to hold their weddings at the Ampenan Office of Religious Affairs (KUA). The primary factor driving this choice is economic considerations. Weddings at the KUA are free, making them an option for those with limited financial resources. The Head of the Ampenan KUA explained that people who marry at the KUA generally seek cost reductions and convenience. With the free service at the KUA office, people don't have to pay the Rp 600,000 fee as they would for a wedding outside the office.

Field findings also indicate that customary wedding costs in the Banjar community are quite high. In addition to administrative costs when marrying outside the KUA (Religious Affairs Office), the groom usually has to cover customary costs such as the *sorong serah* (transitional payment) and dowry. Syamsudin Fajar explained that some people choose to marry at the KUA because they cannot afford the additional Rp 600,000 (approximately US\$60) cost beyond the existing customary obligations. Imam Ja'far and Sayyidi echoed this view, emphasizing that economic factors and free services are the primary reasons people choose to have their marriages at the KUA.

Besides economic factors, the marriage process at the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) is considered faster and simpler. Imam Ja'far stated that some people choose to marry at the KUA because it offers a more practical process. Sayyidi also explained that arranging a marriage outside the KUA requires a specific process, while a wedding at the KUA can be an option for families who prefer a shorter ceremony. Thus, KUA services serve as an alternative for those who don't need a large event or who want to limit the number of guests.

Public Response to the Implementation of PP Number 48 of 2014

Public response to Government Regulation No. 48 of 2014 has been mixed. From the perspective of the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA), the implementation of this regulation has been relatively successful and has not caused major obstacles. Ahmad Baehaki stated that so far, there have been no significant complaints from the public, and there have been no further reports of gratuities when marriage registrars perform weddings outside the KUA. This indicates that the regulation is quite effective administratively, as it provides a basis for official fees and reduces the potential for unofficial payments to officials.

However, the response from those holding weddings outside the KUA (Religious Affairs Office) has tended to be critical. Several residents and community leaders considered the Rp600,000 fee to be burdensome, especially for lower-middle-class families. Syamsudin Fajar explained that the community felt burdened because the groom not only had to pay the KUA service fee outside the office, but also had to cover customary costs such as the sorong serah (handover) and dowry. Imam Ja'far also stated that the community hoped the cost of weddings outside the KUA could be reduced, for example, to Rp250,000 or Rp300,000, to be more affordable. Sayyidi added that most people complained about the Rp600,000 fee because the need to marry at home or in the village environment was still very strong due to cultural considerations, festivity, and the sanctity of tradition.

On the other hand, a positive response emerged from those who chose to marry at the KUA (Office of Religious Affairs). Astifa Mariaulfa, one of the respondents who married at the Ampenan KUA, stated that the Rp0 fee policy was very helpful because her family had limited funds. For this community group, Government Regulation No. 48 of 2014 provides tangible benefits in the form of access to legal, official, and financially burdensome marriage services. Therefore, the results of the study indicate that Government Regulation No. 48 of 2014 is formally effective in regulating fees and preventing informal fees, but its social acceptance is still influenced by customs, economic conditions, limited KUA facilities, and the community's need for communal weddings.

The results of the study indicate that the effectiveness of Government Regulation Number 48 of 2014 concerning Tariffs for Types of Non-Tax State Revenue applicable to the Ministry of Religious Affairs in Banjar Village cannot be assessed solely from the implementation of administrative regulations. This regulation has indeed been implemented by the KUA of Ampenan District in accordance with formal provisions, especially in differentiating marriages at the KUA office with a tariff of Rp0 and marriages outside the KUA office with a tariff of Rp600,000. However, the effectiveness of law in society is not solely determined by the validity of the regulatory text, but also by how the rules are accepted, understood, implemented, and adapted to the social realities of society. In this context, Soerjono's theory of legal effectiveness is relevant because it places legal effectiveness on five main factors, namely the legal factor itself, law enforcement factors, means or facilities factors, community factors, and cultural factors (Soerjono, 1983). This framework also emphasizes that normatively sound laws can experience limitations in effectiveness when faced with social, cultural, economic, or institutional obstacles.

From a legal perspective, Government Regulation No. 48 of 2014 has a clear objective: to provide certainty regarding fees, prevent illegal levies, and prevent the practice of gratification in marriage and reconciliation services. Before this regulation's enactment, Government Regulation No. 47 of 2004 only set the fee for marriage registration and reconciliation at Rp30,000, but did not adequately regulate the cost of marriage services outside the KUA (Religious Affairs Office) office. This gap led to additional levies for the registrar's transportation or other technical needs that lacked a strong legal basis. Therefore, the regulatory changes through Government Regulation No. 48 of 2014 can be understood as a state effort to clarify the financing of religious public services. In the thesis, the purpose of this change is linked to efforts to prevent gratification because there are still payments exceeding official provisions in the practice of marriage services (Anwar, 2020). Legally, this regulation also has the force of law because it was established by state authorities and serves as the administrative basis for the KUA in implementing marriage and reconciliation services. This is in line with Mertokusumo's view that legal rules have the force of law if they are established based on higher rules and fulfill the formal requirements for establishing law (Mertokusumo, 1995).

From a law enforcement perspective, this study found that the Ampenan District Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) consistently implemented Government Regulation No. 48 of 2014. The Head of the Ampenan KUA emphasized that the KUA does not create its own policies outside of government regulations, but only implements established provisions. Marriages at the KUA office are subject to a fee of Rp0, while marriages outside the KUA are subject to a non-tax state revenue (PNBP) of Rp600,000. These payments are not handed over directly to the marriage registrar, but are deposited through official state mechanisms. Information from the Ampenan KUA Middle Registrar indicates that the Rp600,000 fee is used for service needs such as transportation, marriage registrar professional services, marriage registration books, and other administrative needs included in the Ministry of Religious Affairs' Budget (DIPA). From this perspective, the implementation of PP No. 48 of 2014 can be said to be administratively effective because payment procedures have been directed to official channels and no longer rely on direct payments from the public to officials. This finding strengthens the argument that law enforcement or implementing officials have a crucial role in determining whether a regulation can be implemented effectively in the field.

However, this administrative effectiveness does not fully equate to social effectiveness. Facilities are a significant obstacle to the implementation of this regulation. Although the state provides free services for people who marry at the KUA office, the Ampenan KUA facilities do not fully meet the social needs of the Banjar community. The KUA hall can only accommodate a limited number of guests, while the Banjar community generally understands marriage as a social event involving the extended family, neighbors, community leaders, and traditional elders. Furthermore, wedding services at the KUA office are limited by business days and hours, while many people choose to hold their weddings on holidays so that family and relatives can attend. These limitations in facilities and service hours indicate that free services may not automatically attract people if they do not align with their social patterns and cultural needs. In the context of Soekanto's theory, supporting facilities are a determining factor in whether or not the law functions, as law requires adequate institutional frameworks to be effectively implemented (Soekanto, 1983).

Community factors also significantly influence the effectiveness of Government Regulation No. 48 of 2014. Research data shows that the majority of residents of Banjar Village still choose to marry outside the KUA office, even though they have to pay Rp 600,000. Of the total 277 marriages in the 2018–2020 period, 235 marriages took place

outside the KUA office, while only 42 took place at the KUA office. This data demonstrates that community rationality is not only based on formal economic considerations, but also on the social need to establish a family, maintain honor, gain community recognition, and conduct the marriage according to local customs. For some, marrying at home or in a neighborhood mosque is considered more meaningful because it can be witnessed by many people. This social witness is seen as a form of announcement to the community that the husband and wife's relationship is valid according to religion, custom, and the state. Thus, the choice to marry outside the KUA is not merely a rejection of state policy, but rather a form of adjustment between formal regulations and the social needs of the community.

However, the public response to the Rp600,000 fee has not been entirely positive. Some people who marry outside the KUA (Religious Affairs Office) consider the fee burdensome, especially since they must also cover customary costs such as the sorong serah (transitional gift), dowry, and ceremony costs. Neighborhood heads and respondents in the study stated that the fee places an additional burden on the families of prospective brides and grooms, particularly those from lower-middle-class communities. In this context, Government Regulation No. 48 of 2014 presents a policy dilemma. On the one hand, an official fee is necessary to prevent illegal levies and provide a legal basis for transportation costs and the services of a marriage registrar. On the other hand, the high fee may be perceived as a barrier by people who culturally feel compelled to marry outside the KUA but have limited economic means. Additional literature on the effectiveness of marriage service laws and policies also suggests that service fees must consider the principles of public welfare, accessibility, rights protection, and community capacity to avoid encouraging resistance or social dissatisfaction (Billah, 2024; Mustika & Marlina, 2019; Ifrohati & Sintri, 2023).

Cultural factors are the strongest factor in explaining why the people of Banjar Village often marry outside the KUA (Religious Affairs Office). The Banjar community, influenced by Sasak customs, views marriage as a communal event that cannot be separated from customary processes. In the merariq tradition, the prospective bride is brought to the prospective husband's home, and before the marriage contract and certain customary processes are carried out, the woman is considered unfit to be taken outside. Therefore, a marriage contract at the prospective husband's home or in his neighborhood is considered more in accordance with customary law. Koentjaraningrat explains that the cultural value system is the highest and most abstract level of custom because it contains concepts regarding things considered valuable, precious, and important in community life (Koentjaraningrat). In this case, marriages outside the KUA have cultural values that cannot be replaced solely by free administrative services at the KUA office. Culture not only influences the technical choice of the marriage contract location but also shapes community perceptions of the sanctity, family honor, and social legitimacy of marriage.

These findings indicate that the effectiveness of Government Regulation No. 48 of 2014 is partial. Formally, this regulation is effective because it has been implemented by the Ampenan Office of Religious Affairs (KUA), the rates are clear, payment procedures are conducted through official mechanisms, and the potential for gratification can be reduced. However, socially, its effectiveness is limited because community choices are still largely determined by custom, the need for family witnesses, limited KUA facilities, and the burden of customary fees. In other words, this regulation has succeeded in creating administrative certainty, but has not fully changed community preferences regarding wedding locations. This aligns with the socio-legal approach, which views law not merely as a normative text but as a social practice negotiated in everyday life. Socio-legal literature emphasizes that

law must be understood in relation to social practices, community experiences, and the cultural context that shapes acceptance of the rules (Blandy, 2016; Keeney et al., 2024).

From an Islamic legal perspective, the wedding fee policy also needs to be viewed through the principle of avoiding harm and providing convenience. The thesis manuscript cites the Islamic jurisprudence principle "al-dhararu yuzal," meaning harm must be eliminated, and the principle "al-masyaqqah tajlibu al-taysir," meaning hardship can bring about ease (Usman, 1983; Zuhdi, 2016). This principle is relevant to assessing the wedding fee policy. If the Rp600,000 fee is understood as an instrument to prevent gratification, then the policy has beneficial value. However, if the fee increases the burden on the poor who culturally must still marry outside the KUA, then there needs to be a strengthening of the relief mechanism, socialization, or more easily accessible subsidies. PP Number 48 of 2014 actually opens the opportunity for Rp0 fees for the poor or disaster victims, but the effectiveness of this provision is highly dependent on public understanding, smooth procedures, and the KUA's ability to explain people's rights to these services.

Thus, this discussion confirms that the implementation of Government Regulation No. 48 of 2014 in Banjar Village needs to be understood through a balance between legal certainty, service integrity, and socio-cultural sensitivity. The state has a legitimate interest in regulating marriage service fees to ensure transparency and freedom from extortion. However, the state also needs to understand that marriage for local communities is not merely an administrative event, but also a customary, religious, and social event. Therefore, strengthening the effectiveness of regulations is not sufficient by setting fees; it also requires improving KUA facilities, expanding outreach, simplifying fee-reduction procedures, and engaging persuasively with traditional and community leaders. If KUA facilities are more representative, service times are more adaptable, and the public fully understands the purpose of the regulation, then the choice to marry at the KUA can increase without forcing people to abandon cultural values they consider important.

Finally, this study demonstrates that legal effectiveness is always in a dynamic relationship between state regulations and societal realities. Government Regulation Number 48 of 2014 has been effective in legal-formal and administrative aspects, particularly in creating tariff certainty and reducing opportunities for gratification. However, its social effectiveness still faces challenges because the Banjar Village community has a cultural structure, social needs, and economic conditions that are not entirely in line with the service design at the KUA office. Using Soerjono Soekanto's theory, it can be concluded that legal and law enforcement factors have relatively supported the implementation of regulations, but factors of facilities, society, and culture remain critical points that require attention. Therefore, the success of future marriage service policies depends on the state's ability to integrate the principles of legal certainty with public welfare, affordability, and respect for local culture.

4. CONCLUSION

This study concludes that Government Regulation Number 48 of 2014 concerning Tariffs for Types of Non-Tax State Revenue applicable to the Ministry of Religious Affairs has been administratively effective at the Ampenan District Office of Religious Affairs (KUA), particularly in providing certainty regarding the rates for marriage and reconciliation services. The Rp0 tariff provision for marriages at the KUA office and Rp600,000 for marriages outside the KUA has been implemented according to procedure, thereby reducing the scope for unofficial levies and clarifying the financing mechanism for marriage registrars. However, the social effectiveness of this regulation remains limited because the majority of Banjar Village residents still choose to hold marriages outside the

KUA. This choice is influenced by Sasak customs, the need for family witnesses, the desire to have the wider community present, limited KUA facilities, and the belief that marriages at home or in a mosque are more sacred and in accordance with local customs. On the other hand, the Rp600,000 tariff is still considered burdensome by some residents, especially because the fee is combined with customary obligations such as sorong serah, dowry, and wedding ceremony costs. These findings demonstrate that the success of marriage service regulations depends not only on legal clarity but also on the alignment between the rules, economic conditions, community culture, and the quality-of-service facilities. This research contributes to the study of legal effectiveness by emphasizing the importance of a socio-legal approach in assessing the implementation of religious public policies. Further research could examine KUA service models that are more adaptive to local culture and community economic capabilities.

5. RECOMMENDATION

Based on the research results, the Ampenan District Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) needs to increase the dissemination of Government Regulation Number 48 of 2014 to the Banjar Village community, particularly regarding the differences in wedding rates inside and outside the KUA and the relief mechanism for the underprivileged. This dissemination should involve neighborhood heads, religious leaders, and traditional leaders so that the policy message can be received according to the community's cultural context. The government also needs to consider improving KUA facilities, especially more representative marriage ceremony rooms and flexible services, so that the community has a realistic option to marry at the KUA without losing the sacred value and family involvement. In addition, an evaluation of the Rp600,000 fee needs to be conducted by considering the community's economic capacity and the burden of customary costs such as sorong serah and dowry. Future marriage service policies must integrate legal certainty, prevention of gratification, affordability, and respect for local customs to increase the effectiveness of the regulation both administratively and socially.

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