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Marriage legalization: Preserving the customary marriage tradition of the ethnic Chinese community in Cirebon City

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to investigate efforts to preserve traditional Chinese marriages through marriage legalization in the city of Cirebon, Indonesia. The study used a qualitative approach with a descriptive type of research because it is to minimize changes in attitudes from the millennial generation that can cause the loss of traditions and cultural heritage of ancestors regarding customary marriage. The population studied was ethnic Chinese who are members of the Chinese Ethnic Social Clan, both traditionally and nationally. Data analysis was carried out using the content analysis method, using concepts from structural functionalism theory and social change theory as the framework of analysis. The results of the research show that marriages that are not registered can still be submitted for registration, even though they have exceeded the maximum limit (60 days) as long as a court decision in the form of a determination of marriage registration is obtained first. The validity of marriage is also studied from the theory of structural functionalalism. This research contributes to preserving cultural heritage by addressing the legal recognition of customarily married marriage in the Chinese ethnic community. The government needs to issue provisions that regulate the issue of the marriage registration mechanism due to the delay in marriage registration so that couples who have been married and have not been recorded get legal certainty that protects the validity of their marriage, especially regarding the status of children.

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INTRODUCTION

One of the most important events in human life is marriage (Utami et al., 2019). In accordance with the expression 'two are better than oneself', then having a marriage will bring goodness in life rather than not getting married (Grover & Helliwell, 2019). Marriage is also a sacred bond that symbolizes unity and strength between husband and wife based on dedication and commitment (Janicka & Szymczak, 2019; Subeitan, 2022). Marital commitment to live together based on love, trust, and complementarity (Samadi et al., 2021).

The purpose of holding marriages varies among community groups. For Muslims, in addition to carrying out Allah's commands, marriage also aims to make the relationship between men and women halal so that they are blessed with affection, harmony, and tranquility by Allah SWT (Ali et al., 2020). Others hold marriages with the aim of continuing the tradition and heritage of ancestors by continuing the bloodline of having children (Nurjanah & Nur, 2022). The purpose of marriage in the eyes of the law is to establish the rights and responsibilities of each spouse (Broyde & Peltzer, 2020).

In the plurality of society in Indonesia, the implementation of marriage is also carried out in different ways by diverse communities (Puyu et al., 2023). These differences are related to customs, religions, traditions and cultures that apply in certain groups of society (Setiyani & Tasrif, 2023). Tradition and culture are identities that give characteristics or characters to a community that can highlight the signs of difference (Halim et al., 2021). Pancasila as a basic norm also underlines that social values and religious values that grow together in

society cannot be separated, so that the existing differences are used as an advantage of the characteristics of a society (Mufti Hangabei & Dimyati, 2021).

The plurality of people in Indonesia is suspected by differences in religious beliefs, customs, and hereditary beliefs. Such as the diversity of religions (Rico, 2020), beliefs (Han et al., 2019), traditions (Kubiszewski et al., 2019), and cultures (Volkman & Gabriels, 2023) of the ethnic Chinese community who live in Cirebon City. The implementation of marriage in the Chinese ethnic community is carried out according to unique and different traditions and cultures (Chen & Zhang, 2022). The uniqueness is seen in the marriage procession because it combines religion and custom or *cio tao* (Renjaan et al., 2019). These traditions and cultures are still run by the 'totok' Chinese ethnicity who still hold fast to the heritage of their ancestors (Paulus Hariyono, 2006).

However, as the times change followed by the change of generations, such marriage traditions and cultures began to be marginalized (Risaldi Posu et al., 2019). Most of the millennial generation interviewed expressed reluctance to marry according to the traditions and cultures of their ancestors. The lack of practicality and simplicity in its implementation underlies their decision not to hold marriages according to ancestral traditions (Sassler & Lichter, 2020). Another reason is that traditional marriage traditions require a lot of money because they have to prepare traditional clothes and other equipment that supports their traditional traditions. Some of the Chinese ethnic millennial generation have adjusted the traditional procession as a ceremonial event in its implementation so that it is considered not to leave the heritage of ancestors.

In addition, there are provisions of the national marriage law that emphasize the necessity of recording a marriage so as not to cause legal problems (Warman et al., 2023). Not registering their marriage will result in the marriage being considered invalid in the eyes of the law (Harisudin & Choriri, 2021). One of them is about the protection of the birth of their child who is considered invalid in the eyes of national law, especially the relationship with his father (Hornstra et al., 2020). The birth certificate only records 'born from a woman' without mentioning the name of her partner (husband/biological father) which means that the child does not have a civil relationship with her biological father (Azizi et al., 2020). This can cause legal problems, one of which is related to the issue of inheritance rights, where the child can only inherit from his mother's line (Djuariah, 2022).

On the other hand, written evidence of marriages carried out according to customs and religion has not been a custom since the time of our ancestors. The validity of marriage can be seen from a series of processions, religious ceremonies and customs that are carried out by involving many people (Auni et al., 2022). In accordance with the principle of participation in customary marriage law, parents, relatives and the community are involved together starting from elections, matchmaking, proposals to marriage and even directly or indirectly remain morally responsible for a marriage (Renjaan et al., 2019).

Therefore, the urgency of this research is carried out because it is to minimize changes in attitudes from the millennial generation that can cause the loss of traditions and cultural heritage of ancestors regarding customary marriage in the city of Cirebon. This study aims to show legal certainty over customary marriage so that the traditions and culture of ancestral heritage are maintained while protecting couples who marry customarily from the consequences of marriage law. This research contributes to preserving cultural heritage by addressing the legal recognition of customary marriage in Cirebon, particularly among the millennial generation. It emphasizes the importance of legal certainty in customary marriages, aiming to safeguard ancestral traditions while providing protection under marriage law for couples married through customary practices. This dual focus on cultural preservation and legal protection strengthens the continuity of traditional practices and ensures that younger generations can honor cultural heritage without facing legal ambiguities.

METHOD

This study used a qualitative approach with a descriptive type of research because it aims to investigate efforts to preserve traditional Chinese marriages through marriage legalization. The population studied was ethnic Chinese who are members of the Chinese Ethnic Social Clan in the city of Cirebon with a purposive random sample of 20 people who have undergone the marriage process, both traditionally and nationally. In-depth interviews were conducted to collect primary data, and secondary data was collected through the study of legal materials related to efforts to preserve customary marriages. Data analysis was carried out using the content analysis method, using concepts from structural functionalism theory and social change theory as the framework of analysis.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Article 64 and Article 66 of Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage (hereinafter referred to as the Marriage Law) states that marriages that have been carried out before the enactment of this law remain valid along with their legal consequences, and all provisions regulating marriage are declared invalid and fully subject to this law. This means that when couples who marry before 1974, their marriage is declared legally

valid, even though the marriage is carried out according to religion, customs, and traditions according to customs. The consequences of a valid marriage are also inherent to the couple, such as the rights and obligations of the husband and wife, marital property, the position of the child, and parental power. Thus, the couple no longer needs to legalize the marriage to get a marriage certificate or remarry, because according to the law, the marriage that occurs is considered valid according to national law.

The year 1974 was the beginning of the unification of provisions regarding national marriage where the Government issued the Marriage Law. It is stated in Article 2 that the validity of a marriage is one that is carried out according to the religion and belief of each which is then recorded by the official authorized for it. Thus, the marriage process not only involves ceremonies and vows in front of the authorities, but also involves an administrative process of recording that follows the provisions of the applicable law. The administrative process of marriage registration is also important to ensure that the rights and obligations of both parties are officially recognized by the state. With this recording, both parties can obtain legal protection as husband and wife in accordance with applicable regulations (Zubaidah, 2019). Marriage record has an impact on the legal status of the birth of their child related to obligations and rights (Mohamad Kasim et al., 2022). Thus, the administrative process of marriage registration is an integral part of the marriage institution regulated by law (Emeralda & Hamidah, 2022).

This shows that marriage is not just a bond of love between two individuals, but also an institution that is legally regulated to maintain certainty and provide legal protection for a family and even society as a whole (Duvander & Kridahl, 2020). The purpose of marriage registration is to provide certainty of the validity of marriage in the eyes of the law which can protect the legal consequences born from marriage, including the status of the child born. Social services and assistance will also be provided to families whose marriages are officially registered with the aim of ensuring family welfare through social protection programs (Jensen et al., 2021). In addition, marriage registration also prevents misappropriation and abuse of marriage institutions, including *sirri* marriage (Zainuddin & Ulya, 2021) or polygamy (Rismawati et al., 2019).

It is further strengthened by the provisions of Article 34 of the Population Administration Law Number 23 of 2006 (hereinafter the Administrative Law) which stipulates that every marriage must be reported to be recorded no later than 60 days after the marriage takes place. Article 36 of the Administrative Law also adds that couples who cannot show evidence of marriage need to be determined by the court. This means that even though 60 days have passed, couples can still register their marriage, but there must be a determination decision from the court first before going to the Civil Registration Office.

From the above legal provisions, it is obtained from the results of the research that marriages that are not registered can still be submitted for registration, even though they have exceeded the maximum limit (60 days) as long as a court decision in the form of a determination of marriage legalization is obtained first. Thus, for couples who have been married before 1974 and want to have a marriage certificate, they can apply for determination to the local District Court as stipulated in Article 37 paragraph (1) a of Presidential Regulation Number 96 of 2018 concerning Requirements and Procedures for Population Registration and Civil Registration (hereinafter Perpres Dafdukcapil) states that the conditions that must be met to register a marriage are evidence in the form of a certificate from a religious leader for who marry based on religion or believers if they marry based on faith.

There is no restriction on the maximum limit of marriage registration specified in the above legal provisions. So that couples who get married after the enactment of the Marriage Law in a customary or religious manner are still allowed to apply for their marriage registration. The conditions emphasized in Article 2 of the Marriage Law, namely the belief or religion of the prospective bride, are the same. Therefore, Article 50 of the Presidential Decree of Dafdukcapil states that for couples who have entered into a valid marriage according to religious law or belief in God Almighty after the enactment of the Marriage Law and the marriage has not been recorded, then the child born in the marriage can apply for the recording of legalization based on the determination of the court by attaching an excerpt of his birth certificate. Article 58 of the Presidential Decree of Dafdukcapil states that the requirement to record other important events at the Civil Registry Office must be a copy of the court determination regarding these other important events. In the explanation of Article 56 of the Administrative Law, it is stated that other important events are events that are requested to be determined by the District Court to be applied for registration at the Civil Registration Office, such as a change of name or change of gender. In addition to other important events, the Administrative Law states that the authority of the Civil Registration Office is to record population events and important events. The population event referred to in the Administrative Law is the issuance or change of family card, identity card, or change of address. While important events are birth, death, marriage, divorce, legalization or recognition of children.

Based on the provisions that have been explained above, there is still no firmness applied by the Government regarding the mechanism for registering marriages that exceed the 60-day limit and the ratification of the status of children born in unregistered marriages. The legal provisions do not mention the expiration of marriage registration at the Civil Registration Office. Married couples are allowed to register their marriage

even if it has passed 60 days after the date of the marriage. In practice, the Civil Registry Office will ask for a decision from the local District Court to record marriages that have been held for more than 60 days. The reason submitted was only that the 60-day provision had been exceeded according to Article 34 of the Administrative Law even though the married couple showed written evidence of marriage. This has not shown legal protection because there is no official explanation and information from the government regarding the technical delay. This means that there is still a legal void in the technical implementation of the delay in registering a marriage that has been held.

The Administrative Law and other related regulations only provide provisions in the legalization of children born in unregistered marriages. On the condition that they attach a certificate or other evidence that their parents' marriage has taken place. However, in practice, even with proof of marriage, the Civil Registration Office is still not willing to record until there is a determination from the court which orders the Civil Registration Office to register a marriage.

According to the religious teachings embraced by the ethnic Chinese community, marriages that are carried out religiously are considered legal. The validity of marriage according to Chinese ethnic tradition and culture is 'cio tao' which is a ceremony according to their religion followed by respect for both parents and their ancestors. Some even consider that by not carrying out *cio tao* (Yoana et al., 2017), the children born later will not become the legitimate children of married couples. Most of the ethnic Chinese couples who have held their customary marriages do not continue with the registration of their marriage to the Civil Registration Office. However, according to state law, the marriage is not considered valid if it has not been registered with the Civil Registration Office. Marriage registration needs to be carried out by couples who are married religiously to provide legal certainty in the eyes of the state as well as provide more comprehensive legal protection.

In Indonesia, religious law and state law operate separately, but state law has a more dominant power in determining legal decisions. Constitutionally, Indonesia is a country based on law (Noor et al., 2019) and not a country based on a certain religion (Banda, 2019). In Indonesia, state law has higher force than religious law or customary law. This principle is reflected in Article 7 of the 1945 Constitution which states that the State of Indonesia is a State of Law (Sutrisno & Sugiarti, 2021), where law is the highest foundation and rule in the life of society, nation, and state. Recognition of religious law and customary law is regulated in several laws in Indonesia, such as Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage which recognizes marriage according to religion and custom, and Law Number 12 of 2011 concerning the Establishment of Laws and Regulations which recognizes the existence of space for customary law regulation within certain limits. However, in the context of regulating people's lives in general, decisions and regulations issued by the government and legislative institutions are considered to have higher legal force than religious law or customary law. In accordance with the principle of "lex superior derogat legi inferiori" is a principle that underlies the legal system in many countries, and is the basis for resolving legal conflicts in society.

The Validity of Customary Marriage is Studied from the Theory of Structural Functionalism

Structural functionalism theory has the concept of interdependence or interconnectedness between parts of society in maintaining and maintaining stability, balance, and order (Espineda, 2023). Society is seen as a system consisting of family, society, and state, which converges to ensure the smooth running of the system as a whole (Syamsuddin et al., 2024). Another concept of thinking is social integration, where an individual is connected to other individuals in a society based on values and norms (Wasilah, 2023). The integration of individuals and communities gives birth to social harmony and solidarity in society (Damanik, 2022).

One of the norms that applies in the interaction of community life is the right to marry (Drabble et al., 2021). Structural functionalism theory views the family as a basic element of society that can affect social stability and integrity. In a family, life values, education, religious norms, education, can influence a human being in interacting in society according to his nature as a social being (Chowanda, 2021; Maimun, 2022).

Through marriage, bonds between different individuals and families can be built to strengthen social association and solidarity in community life (Igwe et al., 2020). Marriage customs and traditions provide rules and norms that govern marriage procedures, the roles of husband and wife, and relationships between families. Some respondents stated that they had married according to the traditions and culture of their ancestors without being legalized with written evidence or recording the marriage (Fauzi, 2019). The presence of relatives, relatives, and the surrounding community as witnesses and has been considered a sign of recognition of a marriage (Erkoc Baydar, 2023). Therefore, the theory of structural functionalism views marriage as an integral part of the social structure that also functions for the sustainability of current and future life (Eriksen, 2022).

The theory of structural functionalism tends to appreciate the diversity of traditions and cultures in society and the recognition of the social function of customary marriage practices in maintaining social stability (Sellers et al., 2019). The theory of structural functionalism does not question the existence of written evidence as a form of marital validity, because the goal is to maintain stability and integrity, so compliance with written legal regulations can be ignored as long as it is in line with the prevailing system in society (Jia et al., 2022).

With the enactment of the national marriage law through Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage (hereinafter referred to as the Marriage Law), a framework and provisions regarding the definition, purpose, requirements, procedures, and consequences of marriage law in Indonesia are determined (Yakub Aiyub Kadir & Rizki, 2023). Marriage is considered an institution if it meets the requirements set by law (Sulfian, 2023), including administrative requirements, as well as requirements related to religion or belief according to the beliefs of the prospective bride (Attané et al., 2019). Grammatically, it has been stated in Article 2 of the Marriage Law, where the validity of a marriage if the marriage is carried out in accordance with religious and belief law, is then recorded by officials from the authorized agencies. Thus, the marriage process is not only carried out according to religion and belief, but also involves the administrative process of recording in accordance with the applicable legal provisions (Wahyuningsih, 2017). This shows that marriage is not just a bond of love between two individuals, but also an institution that is legally regulated to maintain the validity and legal certainty of the couple in question (Surahmi et al., 2021).

Viewed from the theory of structural functionalism, the validity of customary marriage is included as one of the aspects that support social harmony in community life (Putri & Nawawi, 2021). According to the beliefs and customs of some people in the city of Cirebon, marriage is not only uniting two people but also uniting two different families. But it also aims to give birth to offspring to create a new family as a basic element of a society (Ruane et al., 2022).

One of the figures who carries the theory of structural functionalism is Talcott Parsons. Parsons considers that society is a system that functions harmoniously and integrately (Geschiere, 2020). The condition that states the existence of a social system in order to remain alive and running well, must be considered that there are four important functions, namely (Liu et al., 2022):

1. Adaptation (A). A system must be able to face and overcome various critical situations, both external and internal. A system must also be able to adapt to the conditions of the situation, both simple and complicated.
2. Goal (G). A system must be able to explain and achieve its main objectives. A system supports and oversees every human action to realize their different goals.
3. Integration (I). A system must be able to facilitate and regulate the relationships between parts of various elements or components so that everything can run in a convergence.
4. Latency (L). Existing systems must be able to function to maintain, complement, and even update the norms and values that are developing in society in order to adapt in integrating goals.

The theory of structural functionalism aims to maintain the balance of the systems that live in society. The four functions must be synergized in their implementation so that they can run well. The theory of structural functionalism views marriages that are carried out according to customs and religion only valid and binding on certain groups and communities and are not binding on the provisions of the law that applies nationally. This means that the validity of marriage is only recognized only among the community, so that if a legal problem arises that requires settlement based on national law, then the validity of the customary marriage does not have legal force. Customary marriage can be considered as one of the elements that complement the social system in community life, so that when the marriage is banned, it will interfere with the running of the system that affects social stability and integrity.

On the other hand, marriage registration is seen by the theory of structural functionalism as an effort to maintain and maintain the stability, balance, and order of the social system. Although the role of religion and customs is quite important for some individuals, based on the functional performance of the structural functionalism theory, marriage registration is a legal protection for individuals in taking steps in social life. Stability can be seen with the child's birth certificate which only lists the name of the biological mother so that for the child's legal actions the child will encounter obstacles such as taking education and even inheritance. This is the main point of the theory of structural functionalism where the function of an individual can form a family that underlies a society in the structure of a state. Therefore, if one element of the system does not function perfectly, it will affect the entire system. A marriage that does not get legal certainty will affect the protection of the status of the child born in the marriage.

Attitudes of the Millennial Generation towards Customary Marriage

Related to the National Marriage Law which regulates the validity of marriage, if the marriage is carried out according to custom without being followed by marriage registration, it will cause consequences in the form of the invalidity of the marriage in the eyes of state law. Therefore, most of the millennial generation who are respondents answered that the marriage they have carried out is in accordance with the national marriage law. Their goal is not to forget the traditions and cultural customs of their ancestors, but to get legal certainty (Mariniello, 2019). Some of them claim that the traditions and cultures inherited from ancestors regarding marriage procedures are no longer relevant in today's life.

The change in thinking related to marriage in the millennial generation is at least influenced by the development of society in the current era which emphasizes more on the aspects of efficiency and effectiveness (Huang et al., 2020). As well as the change in conventional patterns to digitalization patterns (Joewono et al., 2019). Such social change will cause changes in values and norms in social structures and social relations in society as part of cultural change (Dzimińska et al., 2020). The cause of these changes is none other than a change in people's habits in living modern life (Yusuf, 2020).

Likewise, marriage is an important event in the course of an individual's life, as a starting point in forming and fostering the family as the smallest unit of a society (Diamond-Smith et al., 2020). Since ancient times, marriage has always been held according to the customs, traditions, and beliefs (religion) of the community (Sadat et al., 2023). In Indonesia, the pluralism of marriage law that has been influenced since the colonial era is still accommodated until now. Between other communities there are differences in marriage. One of them is marriage that is held customarily (Liefbroer & Rijken, 2019), where traditions and culture in which religious elements and beliefs are attached are 'transmitted' through the heritage of their ancestors. By holding the customary marriage, the community has considered the marriage valid. The community does not have a problem with the national legal rule because the tradition and culture of customary marriage to bring couples to become husband and wife, as well as children as family successors, are legal (Szpunar et al., 2021).

The existence of the National Marriage Law emphasizes that the validity of a marriage does not only depend on certain traditions or customs, but must also meet the legal requirements set by the state. The millennial generation emphasizes legal certainty to protect against unwanted legal consequences. They do not want to be labeled as a 'kumpul kebo' couple because their marriage is considered invalid. They also do not want the development of their children and offspring to be hampered because the birth certificate does not contain the name of their biological mother's father. Some ethnic Chinese from the millennial generation who have been married prefer marriage according to the provisions of national law. They consider the traditions and culture of ancestral heritage to remain recognized but difficult to apply in modern life today. The millennial generation tends to respond to all problems more efficiently and effectively. Therefore, tradition and culture become a record of past history that is only to be remembered so that it obliterates the traditional essence contained in the customs of their ancestors.

Therefore, although customary marriage has important value in cultural and social contexts, the legal validity of a marriage must also be considered in accordance with the provisions regulated by national law. This condition has an impact on many millennial generations to reconsider holding their marriages according to the customs and traditions of their ancestors. They feel the need to understand and comply with the requirements of national marriage law in the country in which they reside, including administrative procedures, rights and obligations, and other legal implications. The attitude to understand and comply with the legal requirements of marriage can come from a combination of several factors, namely:

1. Legal awareness, where understanding legal regulations can provide confidence in the certainty of the legal validity of marriage and be protected by law (Erten & Keskin, 2021).
2. moral obligations, complying with legal provisions or regulations are part of the responsibility as a good and civilized citizen or member of society (Ventham, 2023).
3. Concerns about legal consequences, such as not legally recognizing a marriage, cause problems related to inheritance rights, property, or other legal complications (Keefe-Oates et al., 2022).
4. The social environment of individuals can also influence their attitude towards the law of marriage (Preisner et al., 2021). If there are norms in their environment that encourage compliance with the law, then the individual may be more likely to comply with the requirements of the marriage law.

The theory of social influence is relevant to the attitude of the millennial generation in response to marriages that are held according to customs (Wang & Chu, 2021). Social influence theory is a framework within social psychology that studies how individuals are influenced by others in their social group or environment (Ying et al., 2023). This theory highlights that individual behavior, views, and decisions are influenced not only by internal factors such as personal beliefs and values, but also by external factors through interactions with others and social norms in society (Son et al., 2022).

The influence of globalization (Sart, 2022) and adjustment to the changing times (Behling et al., 2021) can also be a factor that influences the millennial generation to abandon customs in terms of marriage. Globalization brings in values and cultures from different parts of the world, which can influence the views and behaviors of the younger generation, including attitudes towards marriage. It reflects the shifting values and preferences that are taking place among the younger generation in response to the ever-changing global dynamics that must be followed and accepted (Oliveira et al., 2021).

The millennial generation chooses to get married without holding traditional ceremonies that usually involve traditional processions, rituals, or cultural celebrations (Moriuchi & Basil, 2019). They may prefer to have a simple marriage that complies with legal requirements, without having to consider complicated customary procedures or additional costs associated with customary ceremonies. Some millennials decide to

ignore family traditions when it comes to marriage and choose to follow the requirements of the national marriage law. They may feel that family traditions are no longer relevant or important in the modern context, and therefore they choose to focus on obedience to the law (Fine & van Rooij, 2021).

Marriage traditions often involve large weddings involving many guests and a lot of money. Millennials are reluctant to hold such weddings and choose to save money or allocate their funds to other purposes, such as buying a house or investing in the future (Liu et al., 2020). Some millennials are more likely to view marriage as a practical and functional agreement that includes legal rights and obligations (Ramji-Nogales & Goldner Lang, 2020), rather than as a ceremony or performance of tradition and culture.

The reluctance of the millennial generation to marry according to the customs and traditions of their ancestors because of the national marriage law that requires marriage registration can be understood as the result of a conflict of interest between tradition and modernity. Traditions and customs passed down from ancestors often place importance on values such as family, honor, and the sustainability of the lineage. In some cultures, marriage is seen as an important part of preserving and expanding the family and meeting established social expectations. On the other hand, modernity brings changes in values and norms in social life (Power, 2020). Millennials are often exposed to modern values that emphasize individualism, gender equality, and personal independence. They are more likely to pursue personal happiness, career well-being, and freedom (Gong et al., 2021) in choosing a life partner than to maintain traditions that may be considered rigid or restrictive.

CONCLUSION

The Chinese millennial generation is encouraged to maintain their ancestral traditions and customs by holding customary marriages. The Civil Registry Office issues an excerpt of the marriage certificate as legality, and the couple's children's legal status is also protected. The government supports the preservation of these traditions if the couple meets customary ethics and morals. However, the existing research has limitations, as it only focused on one ethnic Chinese community in Cirebon, and the attitudes of the millennial generation may not reflect broader trends. Future research could compare attitudes towards traditional marriages across different regions, examine the long-term effects of legal recognition on cultural preservation, and explore policy approaches for delayed marriage registrations. Additionally, cultural education could help reinforce the appreciation for traditional marriage customs.

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