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The Phenomenon and Impact of Early Marriage- A Case Study of Islamic Communities in East Java, Indonesia-

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Abstract

This study aims to find out, in detail and in depth, the occurrence of the phenomenon of early marriage even though it is against the law in Indonesia, especially in eastern Java. In addition, this study was also conducted to explain the mechanisms used by religious believers to navigate the complex interactions between their beliefs and legal mandates, as well as to explore the impacts that occur in the context of education, economy, and social life. This research utilizes a descriptive qualitative method that aims to provide a comprehensive and detailed picture of the phenomenon of early marriage. Data were collected from 50 representative members of communities in which early marriage is still practiced in eastern Java. To collect data, observations and interviews were conducted with participants who met the predetermined criteria and through the snowball sampling method. The result of this study is that the phenomenon of early marriage occurs due to inaccessible education, low community welfare, teenage interactions facilitated by social media, and religious factors. Early marriage is often done by getting married religiously first, then trying to get legal status by appealing in a religious court. The impacts of this phenomenon can vary depending on the specific circumstances and cultural context. These include economic dependence on the spouse or family, making it difficult for individuals to support themselves and access educational resources, such as tuition and school materials.

Keywords: Early Marriage, Impact, Education, Social Life, Economy

Introduction

Marriage is a binding promise marked by a contract (*ijab kabul*) from both sides with the intention of formalizing the marital bond according to religious norms. In Indonesia, marriage is fully regulated in the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage, which in 2019 received changes in several of its articles. This indirectly indicates that marriages in Indonesia must be registered according to the applicable laws and regulations, and according to the conditions imposed by the 2019 amendments, marriages are permitted if the man and woman are 19 years old, in accordance with UNICEF. It can be quite inconvenient when a marriage is regulated by religious norms and then also by state laws. Whereas the essence of the purpose of marriage is to form a happy family, of course this will cause several prolonged polemics, one of which is early marriage, although in the 2019 amendment the state also provides a loophole for couples who want to marry early through applying for age dispensation to the Court.

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The phenomenon of early marriage has historically manifested as a common socio-cultural practice in various different geographical areas. In the context of increasing life expectancy, the extension of the adolescent phase is emerging as a viable alternative, thus triggering changes in the general age at which marriage bonds are formed. Currently, the combined international bodies governing marriage define marriage before the age of 18 as "child marriage", an issue that should ideally be stopped within a generation. Child marriage is a global problem, surpassing geopolitical boundaries, cultural constructs, religious affiliations and ethnicities. In underdeveloped regions, an alarming fact is revealed: one out of every three adolescent girls are currently confined within the bounds of child marriage, with rates soaring as the demographics of these regions increase. This phenomenon is categorically assessed as a developmental confusion and a fundamental question on the human rights spectrum (Grijns & Horii, 2018).

UNICEF research conducted across Indonesia in 2002 found that child marriages at the age of 15 is at 11% and those married at the age of 18 are at 35%. Furthermore, the data for the last 10 years (UNICEF, 2020) shows a decrease of 3.5%, namely in 2018, 0.5% were married under the age of 15, 11.21% married under the age of 18, which was previously in 2008, 1.60% married under the age of age 15 years 14.67% married under the age of 18 years. Seeing the data on the decline in early marriage is somewhat more relieving, meaning that Indonesia is one of the countries that has participated in eliminating the number of early marriages. Unfortunately, according to UNICEF, the rate of decline is considered slow and efforts are still needed to achieve the target of 8.74% by 2024 and 6.94% by 2024 and 6.94% by 2030.

East Java with a population of 40.88 million in 2021 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2022) has a high risk for early marriage cases. As mentioned by the Deputy for Coordinating the Improvement of the Quality of Children, Women and Youth of the Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Cultural Affairs (Kemenko PMK) Femmy Eka Kartika Putri, East Java is one of the provinces that has the highest rate of early marriage in couples under the age of 19 in Indonesia, along with West Java and Central Java Provinces (Putri, 2023). Data in the East Java BKKBN (The National Population and Family Planning Board) Radaogram shows that in 2020 there were at least 133 tracked cases with 53 of them occurring in Malang City (Hedo, D., 2020). Meanwhile, in 2023 the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Malang City stated that there were as many as 132 children married underage. In his interview with Jawa Pos, Achmad Shampton Masduqie said that the majority of actors in early marriage were women (Sampurno, 2023). The data captured shows that there is a fairly high spike in early marriage cases in Malang City itself.

One of the hamlets in the eastern part of East Java is one of the areas with high reports of early marriage. As a fairly old area, this hamlet has striking historical lines and uniqueness, one of which is the fact that the majority of this hamlet is inhabited by Madurese people. This may be related to the migration of Madurese to cities in Java in the 1980s. Early marriage in the community in this hamlet seems to have formed a pattern since long ago that appears to have become a customary law that continues to exist for the behavioral habits of the community. Various complex factors influence the encouragement of early marriage here. Apart from the fact that it has become customary law, such as religion, beliefs, education and economics, there may be many other factors that need to be investigated.

The aforementioned factors interconnect, collectively fostering the likelihood of early marriage. For instance, an individual's decision to discontinue their educational pursuits is intrinsically linked to economic considerations, leading to an interruption in their academic trajectory.

Subsequently, this may drive them to engage in domestic responsibilities. Concurrently, the persistence of arranged marriages persists, despite statutory age restrictions. This intricate web of causation is further influenced by the region's daily social dynamics and the parenting styles employed by caregivers in guiding their children's upbringing and education.

Several studies have been conducted on similar topics, particularly the phenomenon of early marriage. The scope of what is discussed also varies. For example, there are some researchers who examine the causes of early marriage (Kamal et al., 2015; Montazeri et al., 2016). There are also several studies that find out about the impact of early marriage itself (Solhi, 2021; Suryanto, T., A., & Ayu, 2023). Another one (Schaffnit et al., 2019) examined local people in rural Tanzania's attitudes towards early marriage. Another study on early marriage from a public health perspective has also been conducted (Marphatia et al., 2017). One thing that is certain is that no researcher has conducted a similar study to find out the background, people's perspectives, and the impact of early marriage in the eastern part of the East Java region.

The many complexities that occur in the phenomenon of early marriage in the said area are what ultimately attract researchers to find out more about what exactly are the driving factors of early marriage that greatly boost the number of its cases. Through a descriptive approach, researchers conducted in-depth observations and interviews with relevant parties in the community, which is one of the areas with high cases and complexity of early marriage problems. The occurrence of something, for example early marriage, certainly requires encouragement, whether intentional or not, and a reason that is the basis for this. By conducting this study, the researchers will try to explain the various driving factors, impacts, and ways of overcoming early marriage that occur in the area.

Method

As mentioned in the previous section, early marriage is one of the social phenomena that grabs attention in many regions, including a hamlet in the eastern part of East Java. Therefore, to explore the topic further, the researchers conducted qualitative descriptive research, which according to (Colorafi, K., & Evans, B., 2016), is a method that aims to provide a comprehensive and detailed description of a phenomenon or event. The same scholars also stated that qualitative descriptive research allows for an in-depth exploration of the experiences, perspectives, and motivations of individuals involved in a phenomenon, which is particularly suitable for studying the phenomena of early marriage specifically in the eastern part of East Java.

The study was conducted on local hamlet residents who agreed to participate in the study and met the predetermined criteria. The criteria are those who have a close relationship with the phenomenon of early marriage, including parents, village elders, village authorities, teachers or local teaching staff, and/or teenagers who are either actors of early marriage or not. Data were collected from 50 representative members of communities where early marriage is still practiced in eastern Java. The data participants are not chosen randomly, instead, the researchers used a snowball sampling method, which identified initial participants who meet the criteria and then asked them to refer to other individuals who also meet the criteria, creating a "snowball" effect. In this study, snowball sampling was used to identify and recruit individuals who have experienced early marriage or who have knowledge about the factors contributing to early marriage (Kasiati & Isfentiani, 2020; Raj et al., 2019; Solhi, 2021).

Given the background and objectives of this study, the researchers employed two approaches to collect the data, that are observation and interviews. The first way to collect the data is by

observation, which involves systematically watching and recording behaviors, interactions, and events in their natural setting. Although not every day, the researchers spent days at the study site in a span of six months from March to August 2023 to build relationships and observe the interactions among people in the said area. Observations can provide insights into the social norms, cultural practices, and power dynamics that contribute to early marriage (Bartels et al., 2018). The second data collection method is by interview. Interview is a conversation directed at a particular problem conducted by two parties, namely the interviewer and the interviewee. In the context of this research, the interviewers are the researchers, while the interviewees are the residents who became the object of research. Additionally, in the context of studying early marriage, interviews can provide rich and detailed data that can help researchers understand the complex factors influencing early marriage and its consequences (Marphatia et al., 2017). The interview was done one-on-one by visiting the houses of the residents who had experiences related to early marriage. The questions asked are designed to understand the background, perspective, and impact of the phenomenon. While interviewing, the researchers took fieldnotes and also recorded the interviews with the consent of the interviewees.

After the data was obtained, the researchers then analyzed the data qualitatively, following the stages of editing, classifying, verifying, and concluding. The first step in the data analysis process is editing, which is a process of rechecking the fieldnotes, recordings, and information collected by the researchers. The second step is classifying the data, which requires the researchers to reduce the existing data by arranging and categorizing the data that has been obtained, depending on the focus and topic of the discussion. This is done to facilitate the simplicity of the data analysis and presentation process. After that, the researchers then verified the data obtained. This was done by conducting Focus Group Discussions to ensure the reliability as well as to find solutions that can be taken to address the problem of early marriage. Lastly, the researchers then conducted data conclusions, that is, the conclusion of a research process based on the interpretations of the researchers, the thoughts of scholars in the same field, and the results of previous studies.

Result

The Phenomenon of Early Marriage

This research location is an area where the majority of the population comes from the Madurese tribe. Madurese culture, such as the use of Madurese language and traditions, is still strong and maintained in this community. From the information obtained, the start of the early marriage phenomenon here does not have an exact timeframe, but even as early as the 1950s, early marriage was considered normal. One interviewee mentioned that he married at the age of thirteen. Even then, he was still considered 'late' compared to his friends. Some of the factors influencing early marriage in Kedungkandang sub-district include limited access to education, the economic situation, the influence of social media, the social environment, and emotional urges that are difficult to control.

One of the main factors influencing early marriage is limited access to education, with schools far from people's homes. Low welfare levels are also a factor, with the majority of the population working as factory laborers, construction workers, or farmers for minimum wage. Teenagers' friendship circles reinforce positive views of early marriage, especially from those who are married and working. Social media is also influential, facilitating connections and triggering the decision to marry despite not being old enough. Religious factors also play an

important role, with concerns about teenagers' behavior towards the opposite sex and a desire to avoid any unwanted events. As a result, many MTs students get engaged before graduation, and some even decide to drop out of school to get married.

Impact on Education, Economy, and Social Life

The legalization of early marriage has had a number of significant impacts. First, the high divorce rate is caused by a lack of mental readiness and economic problems, resulting in difficulties in managing household conflicts. Secondly, there are many cases of school dropouts, especially at the elementary and junior high school levels, due to the view that real-world skills are more important than formal education. Third, there is a growing culture of early marriage in the community, which is recognized and accepted by parents and is difficult to change. Fourth, married teenagers are still dependent on their parents and have low economic levels. This happens because the majority of perpetrators of early marriage have irregular jobs and minimal income. Fifth, the physical and mental impacts on adolescents who marry early, especially related to maternal and fetal health are at risk.

'Mechanisms' to Deal with The Phenomenon

Interestingly, there is a common way for people in the area to overcome this early marriage barrier. According to one of the interviewees, for teenagers under the age of 19, they can appeal to the Religious Court, with the location adjusted to the domicile of the prospective bride who is still underage. It was also explained that the appeal and hearing process does not require a lot of money. Only by spending less than 400 thousand rupiah, the appeal process can be carried out. Interestingly, it was found that local village officials often help facilitate the appeal process, due to the request of the parents or the bride and groom, as well as an effort to avoid committing adultery. One of the interviewees added that local village officials assisted with the trial, from escorting, briefing, to being a witness at the wedding.

Discussion

Marriage is one of the most important things or moments for most humans. The transition from being single to being a couple is so important that even a person's married or unmarried status is listed on the Identity Card of each individual in Indonesia. Marriage, which essentially unites men and women in a household bond, can create a balance of life both socially, psychologically and biologically. Emotional maturity is a consideration for someone who is deemed sufficient to marry, both on behalf of the husband and wife. With established or enough emotional maturity and by having control over emotions, the sustainability of the household can be maintained. The success of marriage depends very much on emotional maturity (Adam, A., 2019).

Religious Norms as Identity

For hamlet communities, especially in the eastern part of East Java province, where the majority of Madurese are very much inseparable from their Islamic values, marriage is very sacred and important. In accordance with Islamic law, the purpose of marriage is to maintain the continuity of offspring—almost all Madurese are adherents of Islam, even Islam seems to be the identity of the Madurese community.

Most traditional communities, especially Madurese, view that marriage is not only a union between the bride and groom but also involves both parents and families. Marriage is considered not to be 'over' when the wedding day occurs, but continues to involve both parties

and their families in supporting a long and lasting household life. Moreover, Madurese people have a very high sense of belonging to their fellow Madurese. Marriage becomes a kind of event to widen relation (*nambhe tretan*). Marriage is deemed necessary because of several factors such as religious reasons, economic factors, the development of science and technology, and lack of education. In the end, the researchers found that these factors were not only the causes but also the effects of marriage.

With the noble goal of avoiding all forms of immorality that are clearly prohibited by religious teachings, marriage is considered as one of the proper steps to avoid violating religious norms. The local hamlet elder shared his answer to the researchers' question about the reasonableness of early marriage. He said that this is very natural because there are only five pillars of marriage according to Islam, namely the groom, bride, guardian, two witnesses and *sighat* or *ijab kabul*. Indeed, Islamic law does not explicitly mention the age at which marriage is allowed. Rather, Islam states that a man can get married if he has reached *balig*. *Balig*, or puberty, does not have a certain standard although some sources argue that the age of puberty is 15 years. Even so, the benchmark for a person's puberty is often associated with hormonal maturity, both producing sperm for men and menstruation for women (Soeleman, N., & Elindawati, 2019).

It cannot be denied that in the end, people live based on customs that are normal for them. Marriage becomes a means to get closer to God and at the same time becomes a social obligation according to the customary laws that have prevailed in the local community. Fortunately, nowadays many parents have become more aware of the importance of education, as stated by some of the parents the researchers met. Some of them hope that their children will continue their education as high as possible. Today's parents have certainly learned from their own experiences where their marriages used to be the result of arranged marriages or were rushed for fear of being 'unsold' in old age. They now tend to hope that the fate of early marriage that befell them will not happen to their children. It is good that awareness of this is growing slowly but still moral considerations of tradition and religion are number one for them.

Ultimately, matrimonial unions confer a sense of esteem and social standing within an individual's familial and communal milieu. Marriage, irrespective of gender, bestows upon individuals an elevated level of influence and relevance within their respective communities, thereby rendering their opinions pivotal in communal deliberations and their contributions highly sought after in community engagements. Conversely, abstention from marriage may potentially entail adverse consequences for both men and women (Schaffnit et al., 2019).

With the development of the times, the prevention of violations of religious norms is no longer done by parents by marrying off their underage children, but through education by sending their children to Islamic boarding schools. In Islamic boarding schools, parents really entrust their children and have confidence that their children will explore more religious value and formal knowledge that is useful for their lives which will later be useful. Unfortunately, the cost of sending children to boarding schools is not small. The same applies to other higher education, considering that the distance of senior high schools from the area where they live is quite far.

Economy and Education: Rotating on the Impact and Factors of Early Marriage

Education is not just important, it is essential. Through education a person will gain a broader insight and eliminate the limitations of thinking that are too confining or restraining them because of a lack of knowledge. Education will elevate a person's status in their social life because through education social intelligence will also increase. Education becomes a channel

of knowledge transformation so that there is a change in an individual both in thoughts and actions that are not directed before, to be better and more responsible.

The hamlet where the residents live is about 15 kilometers from the center of the city. Located in a hilly area and on the border with the regency, this area has received little attention in terms of infrastructure and community resource development. Most people here choose to end their formal education and work to support their families. Most men work as construction workers and women work as cigarette factory laborers with an average income of 50,000-90,000 rupiah per day. Rarely do young people nowadays choose to become farmers because it is considered unable to fulfill their daily needs, also because considering that the area in the hamlet they live in is mostly dry land where the harvest is only once a year.

Early marriage is significantly associated with diminished educational attainment, particularly among females. This trend is partially attributed to the reluctance of parents to allocate resources to a daughter's education, as they anticipate her departure from the parental household upon marriage, rendering any investment in her education seemingly futile. Furthermore, a married girl's prospects for continued education are notably constrained, primarily due to her restricted mobility, household responsibilities, child-rearing duties, and prevailing societal norms that deem marriage and ongoing education as incompatible pursuits. Consequently, early marriage imposes constraints on a girl's capacity to acquire essential skills, resources, knowledge, social networks, and the freedom of movement, thereby undermining her capacity to negotiate effectively with her spouse and extended family. This, in turn, heightens her vulnerability to various adverse outcomes, including an increased risk of experiencing violence, abuse, divorce, or abandonment (Naveed, S., & Butt, D., K., M., 2020).

As discussed previously, parents in this hamlet are already aware of the importance of education for their children and hope that education can change their fate. The problem faced now is precisely the interest of their children in education itself. Many children eventually choose not to continue their education because their friends choose not to go to higher school either. Not to mention there are many easy accesses to menial jobs offered by factories that does not require a specific educational background. This encouragement is supported by the social construction that has been formed decades ago and creates a pattern that is actually almost predictable and felt by the community itself. The distance and high cost of accessing higher education means that parents are somewhat resigned to what their children will do in the future, either work or pursue higher education.

Economy does not seem to be the only reason for adolescents in this hamlet to not continue their education to senior high school level but is also supported by an embedded sense of pessimism, which makes them consider that school is very difficult and takes up a lot of their personal time. Primarily, they expressed the reason that in one work environment, for example in a construction area as a construction worker, everyone who works there has the same job and activities whether they are elementary, junior high, or high school graduates. All of them stir the cement, all of them lay the bricks, but they have the same salary. In other words, no one is favored in this environment of manual laborers - that is the opinion of the youth. In contrast to the opinion of the youth, one of the local teachers, who had clearly completed his Bachelor's degree, expressed an opinion in the forum that read more or less "It will be different if we look at it in a wider scope, if we look at a work ecosystem, that opinion will be acceptable. It's true that everyone gets the same salary, but what about the high school or even university graduates who accept you as workers? Do they participate in stirring the cement? They become foremen and monitor your work without getting dirty" everyone who heard nodded and realized the important point that higher education will open up greater opportunities.

This discussion did spark awareness of the importance of being educated. But it remains a polemic as to whether education or economy should come first. Basic social provisions can already be obtained from the surroundings to be able to survive in the usual environment. The provision of higher education or social science requires costs that are also not cheap to achieve greater opportunities. The laws of economy are very applicable to open up this opportunity. Of course, it is not wise to say that debt is the only option but spending money to invest can and should still be done.

Returning to early marriage in the local hamlet, after discussion, it turns out that educational and economic considerations are both the impacts and factors. People who pursue the economy have an impact on the desire to immediately settle down to accompany their daily lives, the factor is that economic life ultimately cannot be supported alone and requires other people, so marriage is needed - returning to the explanation in the introduction that marriage is a union of two families to support each other's needs for household life. Low education (breaking up in the middle of the road) has an impact on people experiencing a period of unemployment which ultimately forces them to look for a partner to marry or marry them at the encouragement of their parents. Factors from education that cause early marriage are access that is difficult to reach both cost and distance so they choose to continue to marry only.

This is how the rotation between education and the economy occurs for this early marriage phenomenon. People who cannot access education will prefer to access livelihoods or work. People who can access education lose time to access work early. Two people with different choices will eventually fall into the same problematic hole, which is early marriage. The laws are patent, the regulations are set but the social construction and customary laws that normalize early marriage also seem to be non-negotiable. However, it should be noted that this can be minimized by depending on the improvement of education infrastructure in the hamlet.

Hope of Education Role to Successfully Reduces Early Marriage

The low level of education or knowledge of a child, parents, and community groups will make the tendency to marry off children at an age that is still underage according to applicable regulations, which is below 19 years of age. Not to mention when discussing parents' concerns about their children's behavior that may cross the line without parental control so that it can become a byword or a source of shame. The UNICEF study states that early marriage also involves traditions and culture that are clearly difficult to change. However, the local community relies on education to change the views of the community, especially the young people who are still full of passion. That spirit must be redirected in other directions, not only to romance but also to the spirit of learning and finding a decent livelihood before marriage takes place.

Jumadi, a hamlet elder who was born and raised there since the 1960s, said that he had regretted getting married at the age of 13 because he was still immature in thinking and had difficulty adapting to the household situation, and finally decided to divorce after six months of marriage. He then continued his education at an Islamic boarding school until he finally remarried at the age of 24. He really felt the difference from initially getting married only because of the encouragement of the social environment, because he saw friends of his age getting married at the age of 13 and under, to getting married when he was mature enough and mentally strong enough to navigate the ark of marriage. Jumadi justified how education changed his life and helped him to adapt to the social environment as a father and husband.

In line with Jumadi, who remarried at a mature age, one informant who practiced early marriage in the 1990s wanted his children not to follow in his parents' footsteps, marrying below the age

of consent, due to considerations of competition for jobs today that require at least a high school diploma. Many of the early marriage couples had dropped out of school and the opportunity to continue was almost closed. The lack of education will have an impact on how they view their next life, tending to resign themselves to the fate of their early marriage. Fortunately, although the average education is low, parents in the hamlet are aware of the importance of education. They tend to try to put the brakes on their own children to practice early marriage. It is different as mentioned before (Juhaidi, A. & Umar, M., 2020) that people who experience early marriage will not instill in their children the importance of education.

Educated people bring benefits to society, that is, as role models who are later expected to become foundations and examples that bring about steps of change regarding the phenomenon of early marriage. The expected role model is a person who has an awareness of education and then has a livelihood that is more decent than the community. Through education, children are expected to get views about the future. Awareness about the negative impact of early marriage should also be obtained through education. Therefore, the position of education is very important to be the first milestone in reducing early marriage. Education is seen by the local community as a weapon that can break the chain of early marriage in their area.

One of the most efficacious strategies in mitigating the prevalence of early marriage resides in the domain of education. A comprehensive analysis of the pivotal role played by education in the reduction of early marriage underscores several imperative insights. Education serves as a potent mechanism for augmenting awareness; educational institutions assume the role of platforms for the dissemination of information concerning the adverse ramifications associated with early marriage. Through specialized programs, these institutions edify students, parents, and the wider community, elucidating the multifarious risks intrinsic to early marriage. These perils encompass health-related concerns, the constricted scope for economic advancement, and the perpetuation of gender-based inequalities. Moreover, education serves as an instrumental catalyst for economic empowerment. This correlation is especially germane to females, as educational attainment augments their likelihood of accessing more remunerative occupational opportunities. The resultant financial self-sufficiency functions as a disincentive for early marriage, as individuals are inclined to prioritize the cultivation of their careers and the attainment of economic stability before contemplating marital unions. The transformative potential of education extends to the modification of entrenched societal norms. Education, by equipping young individuals with knowledge and critical thinking skills, instills the capacity to question and challenge detrimental cultural practices that have historically underpinned early marriage. This, in turn, has the potential to precipitate a shift in the prevailing community attitudes toward early marriage, fostering an environment more conducive to the deferment of marital unions.

Conclusion

The issue of early marriage is referred to by UNICEF as one of the harmful practices considering that one of the Sustainable Development Goals is to eliminate all harmful practices, including child marriage by 2030. For whatever reason, early marriage is still dangerous and its practice is prohibited. This is even clearly stated in the Indonesian Law on Marriage. The government must be more assertive and not give loopholes to this problem because the impact will be very complex even though the factors are socially 'understandable'. In this study, the researchers have not talked about the impact of physical and mental health on early marriage couples, which of course will be another problem. Education is one small step that is expected to bring big changes to all aspects of the problems in the local hamlet community.

In summary, education emerges as a formidable instrument in the endeavor to mitigate early marriage. Its efficacy stems from its capacity to endow individuals with knowledge, instigate a reevaluation of established cultural norms, and furnish the prerequisites for attaining economic autonomy. In the pursuit of diminishing early marriage rates, it is imperative to allocate resources towards the cultivation of high-quality educational systems, facilitate widespread access to education, and incorporate holistic life skills and awareness programs within school curricula. This strategic approach serves to equip societies with the means to enable young individuals to exercise informed decision-making concerning their future paths, thereby precipitating a reduction in the prevalence of early marriage and the attendant deleterious repercussions.

More specifically, it can be concluded that the phenomenon of early marriage occurs due to limited access to education, low economic conditions, the spread of social media, and religious factors. The practice of early marriage itself usually begins with the bride and groom being married religiously first, then legalized through an appeal to the religious court. The impact of this phenomenon varies depending on the cultural context, including economic dependence on a spouse or family, lack of independence, and restricted access to education.

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