

Social Capital in Social Construction: In-Depth Investigation of Early Marriages in Bawean Island, Indonesia

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Abstract

Early marriage in Bawean Island involved long-term experiences and understanding of actors' sociocultural. The phenomenon of early marriage has never been studied using social construction. This research aims to reveal the social construction of early marriage through the dialectical situation of externalization, objectivation, and internalization in early marriage. This research uses a qualitative case study approach by collecting data through participant observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. This research was conducted on Bawean Island with 31 participants throughout 2023. The results of this study were as follows: first, actors perceived and interpreted early marriage as avoiding social sanctions (out-of-wedlock pregnancy) to avoid social embarrassment; economic solutions; religion does not prohibit early marriage; avoiding religious sanctions; and early marriage is not considered to violate state law and can be legalized. Second, early marriage continued because parents and other social organizations, such as religious leaders and hamlet heads, acquired social capital. The role of hamlet heads in supporting the administration and testifying in the marriage dispensation trial is regarded as objective, allowing the state to legalize early marriages. In addition to continuing practical programs aimed at female actors, outreach to the entire family about the dangers of early marriage, and adding psychological and health expert witnesses to trials, special consideration must be given to social capital, which needs to be taken into account in future research.

Keywords

Early marriage; marriage dispensation; social capital; social construction

Introduction

There are still many cases of early marriage in all regions of Indonesia (Ministry of Health [Indonesia], 2020). The Indonesian government makes policies and interventions by forming the National Family Planning Coordinating Board and the Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection, with one of the common goals of socializing and educating about the negative impacts of early marriage. Countries worldwide implement a minimum marriage age to minimize underage marriages (Ebetürk, 2021). By Law Number 16 of 2019 concerning Marriage, the minimum age for marriage in Indonesia will increase from 16 to 19 years (Republic of Indonesia, 2019a). However, this is considered not effective in reducing this phenomenon because it is still possible to obtain marriage dispensation in court, which is supported by the Regulation of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Indonesia Number 5 of 2019 concerning Guidelines for Hearing Applications for Marriage Dispensation (Aditya & Waddington, 2021; Republic of Indonesia, 2019b). From 2019–2021, marriage dispensation cases decided in Indonesia have increased by 30% every year (Supreme Court of the Republic of Indonesia, 2022). In 2022, nationally, there will be around 52,000 marriage dispensation cases that will be submitted to the Religious Courts (Supreme Court of the Republic of Indonesia, 2023).

The event occurs in remote areas such as Bawean Island, where 17% of all marriages between 2015 and 2021 involved couples between 15 and 19 years old. Since 2011, there have been 25,119 families and around 11% of early marriage cases (Central Bureau of Statistics of Gresik Regency, 2021). The problem of early marriage on Bawean Island is very complex which includes the existence of early marriage cases that persist every year; the majority are carried out by girls aged 15–16 years and come from low-income families (Central Bureau of Statistics of Gresik Regency, 2021; Susilo, Istiawati, Aliman, & Alghani, 2021), junior high school graduates dominate female actors; on average working as housewives. In addition, there is an understanding that early marriage on Bawean Island is interpreted as a form of arranged marriage, avoiding social sanctions due to adultery and pregnancy outside of marriage (Susilo, Istiawati, Aliman, & Alghani, 2021). There is still little knowledge about the adverse effects of early marriage on the actors and those closest to them (Wismayanti et al., 2019). Sadly, parents consider marrying off their children at an early age as an economical solution for parents to shift responsibility (Susilo, Istiawati, Aliman, & Alghani, 2021).

Several studies have been conducted regarding early marriage. However, the practice of early marriage continues. The results of research on early marriage, starting with a trend evaluation of programs to reduce marriage rates in developing countries, show that there is still much to learn about programs to prevent child marriage, including minimal sustainable impacts (Lee-Rife et al., 2012). After the program's implementation, including the slow reform of legal regulations regarding the minimum age for marriage in Indonesia (which at that time was still 16 years). In Ethiopia and India, interventions to provide family planning services to young women and girls must address social norms related to child marriage decision-making and expectations of having children (McClendon et al., 2018).

Subsequent research, with trends in the determinants of early marriage in Indonesia and abroad, among others (Rumble et al., 2018), examined the structural factors that predict the dynamics of early marriage in Indonesia, with results of around 17% and 6% reporting having married before the ages of 18 and 16 years, unmarried women (aged 15–24 years), on average, respondents prefer to get married at around 26 years of age, and 5% have an attitude that

approves of early marriage. Other research in Indonesia states that early marriage occurs repeatedly between generations, inherited by family environmental mechanisms as a life journey approach sociocultural and biological pathways (Widyastari, Isarabhakdi, Vapattanawong, & Völker, 2020). Research by Wismayanti et al. (2019) found that knowledge about child sexual abuse (CSA) is still limited in Indonesia, and Rumble et al. (2020) revealed that there is vulnerability to sexual violence by their partners at home for adolescent girls who marriage in Indonesia. Other research looks at the factors that encourage child marriage among Syrian refugees with changes in some early marriage practices, including shorter engagement periods, lower bride prices, changes in cousin marriage practices, and reduced wedding costs (Mourtada et al., 2017).

The meaning of early marriage is the next trend; early marriage is interpreted as an arranged marriage, avoiding social sanctions in the form of fornication and pregnancy out of wedlock, as well as an economical solution for parents to transfer responsibilities (Susilo, Istiawati, Aliman, & Alghani, 2021), and early marriage is an escape from schoolwork, homework, and stress, some local customs encourage or allow early marriage, lack of understanding regarding the impact and long-term implications of underage marriage, economic problems and the influence of the surrounding environment and peers (Rahiem, 2021).

Early marriage is strictly regulated and involves lengthy procedures to obtain permission (state law) with 'marriage dispensation' (Republic of Indonesia, 2019b) and family support (legal according to religion), parents as 'marriage guardians' (Al-Hakami & McLaughlin, 2016). Early marriage is a form of obedience in carrying out one of the religious commandments (marriage is a form of worship) for the people of Bawean Island.

The phenomenon of early marriage involves long-term experience and sociocultural understanding of the actors, so it requires a more in-depth and contextual investigation. The novelty of this early marriage research is that it used a qualitative approach, a case study with social construction analysis. Social construction analysis was conducted to determine the inheritance of knowledge in society (Istiawati et al., 2020) and to see social behavior based on local wisdom (Suhartini et al., 2019). Social construction with dialectical externalization (self-adaptation), objectivation (self-interaction), and internalization (self-identification). This benefits sociology as another perspective that will provide a new assessment of the fundamental causes of the phenomenon of early marriage. This research will reveal the information discussed and can be used to manage government program policies at the lowest level for authorized stakeholders.

Method

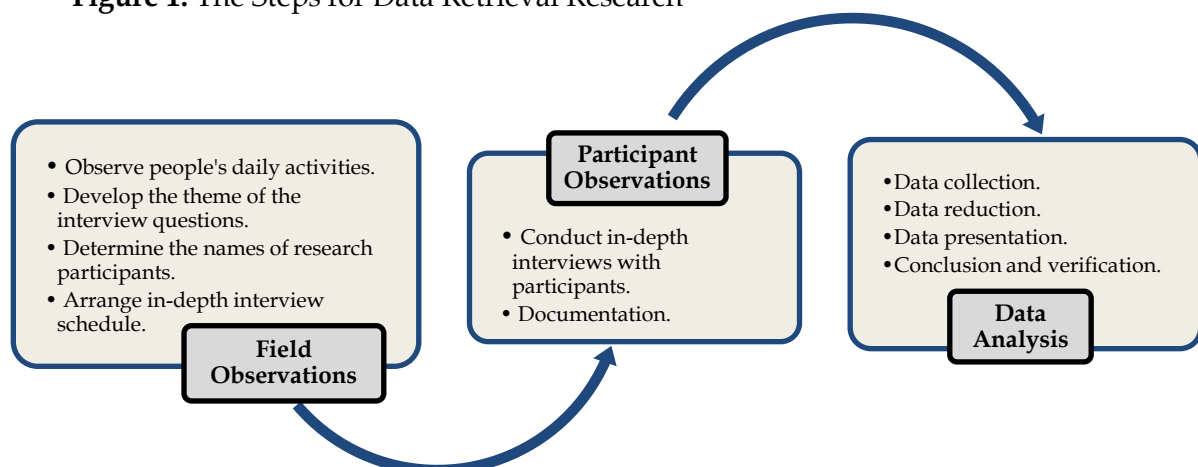
Qualitative approach research with sociological analysis is claimed to produce something empirical because it is obtained based on observation, according to common sense, and does not produce anything speculative (Blokker, 2011). Qualitative research can produce local community wisdom values that maintain social and environmental integrity (Sejati et al., 2023). A qualitative approach can also be used to see the positive social interactions of society in protecting the environment where they live (Angriani et al., 2018). In gender studies, qualitative approaches are also used to examine the manifestation of stereotypical gender constructions in society (Sumarmi et al., 2022), and socially constructed gender norms continue to be the basis of inequality for women in the workplace (Gauci et al., 2021).

The qualitative case study in this study aims to investigate Bawean Island, which is obtained from relevant field data to analyze the phenomenon of early marriage. The case study approach seeks to understand the problem being investigated (Barlish & Sullivan, 2012). This approach provides an opportunity to ask in-depth questions and capture the richness of organizational behavior, but the conclusions drawn may be specific to the organization studied (Gable, 1994). The consensus is that the opportunity to study particular social phenomena in depth allows social scientists to advance our empirical understanding of social life (Feagin, 2020). Early marriage is also a realm of sociological study (O'Quinn, 2021), so this research was conducted on three fundamental social constructions: externalization (self-adaptation), objectivation (self-interaction), and internalization (self-identification) (Berger, 1994; Berger, 2013; Berger & Luckmann, 2013).

This study uses data collection steps to facilitate work in the field. These steps are adopted from various reliable references, such as the importance of field observation and participant observation (data collection techniques) (Moleong, 2018) and the interactive data analysis adopted from Miles and Huberman (1994). The field observations that connected the early marriage phenomenon among the villagers of Bawean Island for two weeks describe the problem's specifics, the initial data collection procedure, and the names of female actors. The essential information, such as name and age, was obtained from the Religious Affairs Office. Furthermore, participant observations were conducted to observe and comprehend the behavior or daily activities of the villagers related to the early marriage phenomenon to get more accurate data for two months collected through in-depth interviews in late 2022. In-depth interviews were conducted on early marriage, carried out from house to house. On average, we interview for 60 to 90 minutes. During data collection, on several occasions, we conducted in-depth interviews with female actors, their husbands, and their parents simultaneously. The following step was obtaining the primary data through documentation (recorded interviews).

Furthermore, the data validity was tested using triangulation techniques. The triangulation compared data from many sources: female actors, parents, husbands, and the hamlet heads. Analysis was carried out on each individual. Next, the data was coded by analyzing individual behavior with social construction by classifying three dialectical externalizations (self-adjustment to written and unwritten rules in early marriage), objectivation (self-interaction with the community early marriage environment), and internalization (self-identification of the decision to enter into an early marriage), to interpretation the social community of early marriage on Bawean Island, as shown in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: The Steps for Data Retrieval Research



Research population

Data was collected in Sungairujing Village and Daun Village, Sangkapura District, Bawean Island. These two villages have a high number of people and a likelihood of getting married before the age of 19, namely Daun Village (183 incidents) and Sidogedungbatu Village (169 incidents) (Ministry of Health [Indonesia], 2021). Data collection in qualitative research takes two steps: field observation and participant observation (Moleong, 2018). Field observations related to the phenomenon of early marriage in the people of Bawean Island were carried out for one week to precisely describe the problems and procedures for the initial data collection, the heads of the two hamlets, the parents' actors, and the names of the female actors. A study of legal literature on Marriage Law No. 16 of 2019 and Regulation of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Indonesia Number 5 of 2019 concerning Guidelines for Adjudicating Applications for Dispensation of Marriage was undertaken. Next, participant observation was carried out involving researchers directly to obtain more accurate data for two weeks, which was collected through in-depth interviews.

Our research permission letter was obtained from the Regional Government of Sangkapura sub-district with the letter number [070/381/437.117/2023]. This work was supported by the Direktorat Riset dan Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat, Directorate General of Higher Education, Research and Technology Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology [No.9.5.28/UN32.20.1/LT/2022]. Based on the Ethical clearance (070/381/437.117/2022), subjects were determined using the snowball technique. This sampling technique is appropriate when the target data are not easily found or readily available (Waters, 2015) or the participants are 'hard to reach.' 'Hard-to-reach' is a phrase used to refer to those sub-groups of the population that may be difficult to access or involve in research (Shaghghi et al., 2011). The researcher could not easily map out who should be interviewed as, unfortunately, not all child marriages are recorded by the Office of Religious Affairs (the sub-district authority that records marriages).

This research was conducted in 2023 and focused on 31 subjects, including 23 female actors, two actors' husbands, four actors' parents, and two hamlet heads. This quantity was sufficient because it reached saturation and accomplished the research objectives (Hennink & Kaiser, 2022). The subject was determined based on the early marriage experience of female actors and husbands (key informants). The criteria are established from the knowledge of the actor's parents regarding the early marriage phenomena from the past (additional informant). Moreover, the subject was selected based on the hamlet head's ability with the court's regulations in processing marriage permits (additional informants). The social context of the research subjects is shown in the following Table 1.

Table 1: The Social Context

Subject Number	Research Subject	Age	Marriage Age	Occupation	Education
1	Female actor	16	15	Housewife	Junior HS
2	Female actor	18	16	Housewife	Junior HS
3	Female actor	18	16	Housewife	Junior HS
4	Female actor	17	15	Housewife	Junior HS
5	Female actor	17	16	Housewife	Junior HS
6	Female actor	17	16	Housewife	Junior HS
7	Female actor	19	16	Housewife	Junior HS
8	Female actor	24	15	Housewife	Elementary

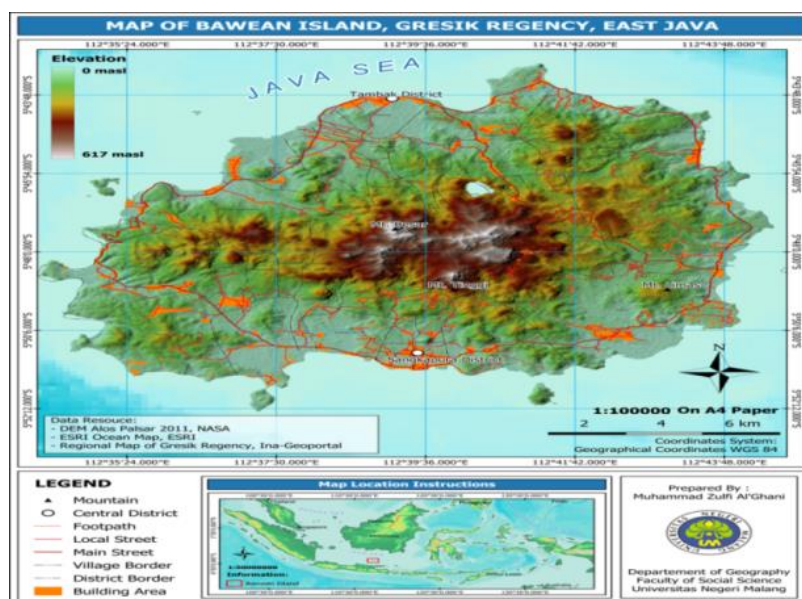
Subject Number	Research Subject	Age	Marriage Age	Occupation	Education
9	Female actor	19	16	Housewife	Junior HS
10	Female actor	19	16	Orchestra Singer	Junior HS
11	Female actor	25	15	Housewife	Junior HS
12	Female actor	26	15	Housewife	Junior HS
13	Female actor	27	16	Housewife	Junior HS
14	Female actor	19	16	Housewife	Elementary
15	Female actor	21	16	Housewife	Junior HS
16	Female actor	19	16	Housewife	Junior HS
17	Female actor	23	16	Housewife	Elementary
18	Female actor	20	15	Housewife	Elementary
19	Female actor	27	15	Store worker	Junior HS
20	Female actor	21	16	Housewife	Junior HS
21	Female actor	25	16	Housewife	Junior HS
22	Female actor	24	16	Housewife	Junior HS
23	Female actor	20	15	Housewife	Elementary
24	Hamlet Head 1	54	-	Hamlet Head	Senior HS
25	Hamlet Head 2	56	-	Hamlet Head	Senior HS
26	Mother of Subject 2	51	16	Housewife	Elementary
27	Mother of Subject 4	54	-	Housewife	Junior HS
28	Father of Subject 13	51	-	Fish seller	Junior HS
29	Father of Subject 5	53	-	Fisherman	Junior HS
30	Husband of Subject 11	26	-	Fisherman	Junior HS
31	Husband of Subject 12	27	-	Fisherman	Junior HS

Research result

The social context of Bawean island

Bawean Island is located close to the Java Sea on the west, east, and south. The administrative location of Bawean Island, Gresik Regency, East Java Province, is shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Map of Bawean Island



The economic status of Bawean Island villagers ranges between the middle and lower categories. Most citizens are farmers and fishermen, and the remaining population chooses to migrate (Central Bureau of Statistics of Gresik Regency, 2019). Villagers who become migrant workers are typically single or married men, primarily between 17 and 45 (Susilo, Istiawati, Deffinika, & Budijanto, 2021). This occurs because most Bawean Island villagers have only completed elementary and junior high school. This education level affects the search for a better career. Therefore, the number of poor individuals on this island, which totals 9,490 families, remains high (Central Bureau of Statistics of Gresik Regency, 2021).

Knowledge construction of the society related to early marriage

Knowledge construction is a process of diverse meanings Bawean Island villagers use about early marriage. This subjective meaning derives from the objective reality of the individual's daily activities (Berger, 2013). Individuals create a society, and society creates individuals; thus, dialectic interaction consists of externalization (self-adaptation), objectivation (self-interaction), and internalization (self-identity) (Berger & Luckmann, 2013).

Identification of externalization situation

The externalization process can be conceptually described as follows: First, adaptation to written and oral texts. In this context, written texts are comparable to those found in Islamic religious texts, as marriage is a religious ceremony. Subjects 1, 16, and 26 stated that self-adaptation to other written texts is included in Marriage Law No. 16 of 2019. Suppose underage actors still carried out the marriage. In this case, state regulations allow it by administering a marriage dispensation following Regulation No. 5 of 2019 of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Indonesia on Trial Guidelines for Applications for Marriage Dissolution. As stated by Subjects 9, 13, and 25.

Second, self-adaptation means early marriage acts (unwritten rules). The actors reflected on the importance of early marriage as a strategy for avoiding social sanctions (out-of-wedlock pregnancy), stated by Subject 27; religious sanctions (adultery), indicated by Subject 28; and economic solutions, expressed by Subjects 4 and 11. The above findings would experience rejection and approval. The early marriage actors acknowledge rather than resist the phenomena of early marriage. As shown in the Table 2.

Table 2: Identification of Externalization Situation (Self-Adaptation)

Process	Subject	Perceptions
Externalization		
	Subject 1	"I want to continue my schooling until college and after that work. But my mother told me to get married soon. Thank God I am happier because I obeyed my mother by getting married soon."
Self-adaptation with sociocultural environment		
	Subject 4	"I don't want to get married early because I want to work first. Save money first. However, my husband and his family wanted to propose and marry me off immediately. They stated that it would help support our family financially after getting married. In the end, I accepted my husband's and his family's invitation."
	Subject 9	"Making a marriage dispensation is fast, at least within a month. In the past, village officials here also helped."

Process	Subject	Perceptions
Externalization	Subject 13	"Father has passed away. Mother works in Malaysia. In the past, Mr. H also helped his nephew, Mr. Kyai, and Mr. Kasun (Village Head) arrange the marriage dispensation. It was very fast."
	Subject 16	"Initially, I did not want and did not intend to marry young. However, my parents and siblings (Subject 15) also supported me. Finally, I decided to marry young. Bismillah: (In the name of Allah). It's worship."
	Subject 25	"Usually, the person who will take care of the dispensation of the marriage permit to the court comes to the house, and often it is the father, sometimes the mother herself, who asks to be taken care of."
	Subject 26	"Because my child is about to get married, I allow it. Marriage is sacred; parents should not interfere and can only support the child's decision."
	Subject 27	"It's dangerous if the child already knows about dating. Who would be embarrassed if an unexpected situation occurred? Instead of embarrassing the family."
	Subject 28	"If she wants to get married, she has to quit school. If he wants to go to school, he must avoid dating because it's wrong. If he's still in school, dating can be a drag on school."

Identification of objectivation situation

The process of objectivation might be conceptualized as follows: First, the intersubjective dialectic between the actor and the real world that is distinct from oneself, namely, religion is an entity that interprets that early marriage is not prohibited, as stated by Subjects 5, 8, and 30. The existence of social capital allowed for the prospect of early marriage (legal in the state) with Regulation No. 5 of 2019 of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Indonesia on Trial Guidelines for Applications for Marriage Dissolution. This is similar to the hamlet heads (Subjects 24 & 25). The importance of early marriage for the villagers of Bawean Island is to avoid social sanctions (out-of-wedlock pregnancy), religious sanctions (adultery), and economic solutions. Concerns about social sanctions (out-of-wedlock pregnancy) that bring "shame" to the family are the reason for early marriage. The parents (subject 26 and subject 29) of the early marriage actor stated that. The high cost of education allows the decision to marry early and faster, as indicated by subject 17. As shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Identification of Objectivation Situation (Self-Interaction)

Process	Subject	Perceptions
Objectivation	Subject 5	"Religion values marriage that is properly conducted. Married is also part of religious orders."
	Subject 8	"Parents have agreed, so it is okay to marry early. In addition, marriage perfects religion."
	Subject 30	"I remember the statement from the Kya'i (religious leader); he stated that males are expected to marry within their religion if they are physically and intellectually prepared to complete their religion."
	Subject 24	"I have previously assisted all the women in obtaining a court dispensation permit. So, the procedure is the same: registering a marriage at the KUA (Religious Affairs Office) first, after being deemed ineligible, given various forms to fill out and send to the Religious Court, and sometimes taking a long time to get a recommendation."

Process	Subject	Perceptions
Objectivation	Subject 25	"When asked to help with the referral, I felt honored. It makes no difference to me so long as there are genuine intentions. I frequently question whether her prospective husband is employed or not. That is essential. But, praise God, everything is working, and some have even left Bawean at this time. Consequently, I feel secure, as they are, after all, my people. Therefore, that is all that concerns me. The judge also posed inquiries during the trial."
	Subject 26	"Because my child already wants to marry without coercion, I allow it. Marriage is sacred; parents shouldn't get in the way of it."
	Subject 29	"If you do not marry and your children date, they do not know your limits. So religiously, it is our greatest mistake as parents. Not to mention, if later there is something unexpected (out-of-wedlock pregnancy), I, as the woman's father, am ashamed. I want to get her married as soon as possible."
	Subject 9	"I am the oldest of five siblings; I am the firstborn. I still have four younger siblings. Yes, because there is no money, my younger siblings should finish their education than for me to continue their education."

Identification of the internalization situation

Self-identification is a socialization process with two possible outcomes: primary and secondary socialization. The family, the smallest social group within an individual, is the primary source of socialization. Individuals will build their knowledge and behavior about early marriage inside this family according to their beliefs. In this context, this perspective will be acquired in a family whose parents were early marriage actors. Subject 2 stated that the mother had early marriages in the past. Similar to subject 5, who is the only member of his family tree to have married early. However, two neighbors also engaged in early marriages. Subjects 3 and 4 are sisters. Both are actors of early marriage. Subject 3 believed that her older sister encouraged her to marry early. Subject 10 and subject 11 are cousins. Since they are both housewives, they visit each other daily and frequently spend time with one another.

The subsequent socialization is secondary socialization. In this context, secondary socialization is 'legitimized' by society. The actors of early marriage (Subject 1) believed that some of their peers also participated in early marriage when he was still in junior high school. The subsequent socialization is secondary socialization. In this context, secondary socialization is 'legitimized' by society. The actor of early marriage (Subject 5) has two neighbors who had early marriage first. Furthermore, the hamlet heads (Subjects 24 & 25) as social capital can help the dispensation of marriage and have the potential for early marriage to be legalized by the state to support and legitimize the choice of actors to decide to have an earlier marriage. As shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Identification of Internalization Situation (Self-Identification)

Process	Subject	Perceptions
Internalization		
Self-identity with a sociocultural environment	Subject 2	"My mother likewise married early in the past, she said. Yes, it's okay; it doesn't mean you won't be successful if you marry young and drop out of school; God has already managed your fortune."
	Subject 1	"A classmate, a friend of mine, likewise married young. She used to be married three months before my marriage."

Process	Subject	Perceptions
Internalization	Subject 5	"My parents permitted me to marry. Historically, two neighbors married early. The previous one ended in 2015, while the other is considerably longer."
	Subject 3	"My sister got married two years after me. So, it would not be wise for me to marry immediately. But the situation is even more difficult because my sister helps me rather than working and delaying marriage."
	Subject 11	"She (Subject 10) is still my cousin; she married early, like me. She was married before me. We used to play a lot and attend school together. Therefore, we frequently meet at home, as our houses are close."
	Subject 24	"I have previously assisted all the women in obtaining a court dispensation permit."
	Subject 25	"When I was asked to help with the referral, I felt honored. It makes no difference to me so long as there are genuine intentions."

The analyzed dialectic of social construction is shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Qualitative-Case Study Dialectic Situation of Social Construction

Situation	Process	Phenomena
<i>Externalization</i>		Adaptation to the norms of both oral and written text.
	Self-adaptation with sociocultural environment	<p>Written text:</p> <p>(1) There is no prohibition on early marriage in religion (Supported by Regulation No. 5 of 2019 of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Indonesia on Trial Guidelines for Applications for Marriage Dissolution).</p> <p>(2) Early marriage to avoid religious sanction (adultery);</p> <p>(3) There is a prohibition on early marriage in the state regulations (Marriage Law No. 16 of 2019).</p> <p>Oral text:</p> <p>(4) Not violating norms: the purpose of early marriage is to avoid social sanctions (out-of-wedlock pregnancy);</p> <p>(5) Early marriage as an economic solution.</p>
<i>Objectivation</i>		Each has a historical and a normative background.
	Self-interaction with a sociocultural environment	<p>Knowledge and assumption that early marriage positively impacts an individual's life.</p> <p>Early marriage is an act to:</p> <p>(1) Carry out religious orders</p> <p>(2) Avoid social sanctions (out-of-wedlock pregnancy)</p> <p>(3) Avoid religious sanctions (adultery)</p> <p>(4) Economic solution</p>
<i>Internalization</i>	Self-identity with sociocultural environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The formation of social classifications with historical, theological, or ideological grounds gave rise to groups that accepted and rejected the idea of early marriage. • Early marriage is supported by actors (social capital) • Social capital is derived through early socialization, including parents, siblings, cousins, and peers.

Situation	Process	Phenomena
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social capital from secondary socialization is peers, neighbors, religious leaders, and hamlet heads.

Discussion

Identification of externalization situation

The externalization stage happens when actors of early marriage become a component of the community in their daily lives. Early marriage actors are familiar with the early marriage phenomenon in society. Knowledge about early marriage is developed on the understanding that someone hears, sees, and feels in the sociocultural community of early marriage. The externalization process can be conceptually described as follows: First, adaptation to written and oral materials (Berger, 2013). In this context, the written rules are the texts. Even though no single text interpretation of the holy book exists, its authority is preserved (Berger, 1994). The regulations in the Quran regulate the relationship between the opposite sexes when establishing a bond that requires the consent of a guardian and a religiously legitimate ceremonial procession (Hasan & Zuhriah, 2019). The interpretation of marriage as a kind of worship is viewed as *baligh* [puberty] (Walker, 2015). The requirement of *baligh* in understanding the Quran [Islamic holy book] does not provide clear and standard information; consequently, many scholars, religious laws, and modern individuals hold different views on the marriage age limit. Thus, the problem of the minimum age for marriage is a matter of *ijtihad* [continuous effort]; hence, it is always subject to change as conditions, society, and location dictate (Al-Hakami & McLaughlin, 2016; Amalia, 2021).

Other written language can be discovered in Marriage Law No. 16 of 2019, in paragraph (1), which states that “Marriage is only permitted if both the man and the woman have achieved the age of 19” (Republic of Indonesia, 2019a). In this case, the interpretation of written texts is exceptionally straightforward, so marriage is not permitted if they have not achieved the specified age and is valid by the state. Saudi Arabia is one of the 74 countries that have not set a minimum legal age for marriage, and the influence of the religious authorities in interpreting the Quran (Al-Hakami & McLaughlin, 2016).

Second, self-adaptation to the meaning of early marriage (unwritten rules). This is known from early marriage actors previously done by their moms, siblings, relatives, and peers. There are two attitudes in this adaptation of meaning and action: receiving or rejecting (Berger & Luckmann, 2013). In this context, the first rejection of early marriage is indicated by the actors’ prior knowledge of Marriage Law No. 16 of 2019, which specifies in paragraph 1 that there is a minimum age limit (19 years) for legal marriages (Republic of Indonesia, 2019a). This signified that the actors are aware that a formal marriage, according to the state, would not be possible before they reach the age of 19. However, accepting actors with social capital (hamlet heads) in assisting administration and witnesses in trials allows for dispensation from marriage permits, even though it is a rigorous process. It is supported by Regulation No. 5 of 2019 of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Indonesia on Trial Guidelines for Applications for Marriage Dissolution (Republic of Indonesia, 2019b).

Furthermore, unwritten adaptations related to appeals from the (Ministry of Health [Indonesia], 2022) about the dangers of early marriage, whereas this appeal is not legally

binding. This appeal is forwarded to the lowest level at the village level with socialization from the *Puskesmas* [Community Health Center] (Ministry of Health [Indonesia], 2023). In terms of health, the adverse effects of early marriage include weak hips (Goli et al., 2015), high blood pressure, anemia, bleeding during pregnancy at a young age, and childbirth accompanied by a chronic complication, namely obstetric fistula (Ministry of Health [Indonesia], 2020). The babies born also have a high potential for heart disease (Ministry of Health [Indonesia], 2020; Sekine & Carter, 2019). The impact on mental health for female perpetrators can cause depression and excessive anxiety because they do not have status, power, support, and control over their own lives (Hamed & Yousef, 2017; Le Strat et al., 2011). The second acceptance, the appeal of various adverse impacts from the Indonesian Ministry of Health, is not used as a guideline for actors of early marriage, in addition to not being legally binding; this is because the level of knowledge of the dangers of the impact of early marriage for perpetrators is still low. Knowledge about child sexual abuse (CSA) is still limited in Indonesia (Wismayanti et al., 2019).

The second rejection is demonstrated, and after graduating from school, the actor decides to work to grow their career and improve the economy. However, there is a difference between income and expectations at work; thus, its effect on the economy is not as significant. This justifies eliminating their option, whereby women cannot have a chance to balance job and family (Townsend, 2002). This is demonstrated by the actor's professional experience before his early marriage and the fact that they met her husband while working. The actors interpreted early marriage as an economic solution for parents to shift responsibility inside society. In Uganda, child marriage reduces the educational attainment of girls who marry early (Wodon et al., 2016). In addition, the importance of early marriage is also linked to poverty. Early marriage in Somaliland and Puntland is an economic solution, as parents see it as a way to alleviate financial hardship (Kenny et al., 2019). This causes parents to quickly marry off their children despite being underage in Northern Uganda. In addition, to reduce dependence on parents' economic burden and the inability to enable higher education, families with low incomes are forced to do so (Ashburn et al., 2017). In some parts of Indonesia, the actors also interpret early marriage as a way to avoid social sanctions (pregnancy outside marriage) and *Zina* [religious sanctions] (Rahiem, 2021; Susilo, Istiawati, Aliman, & Alghani, 2021).

The explanation above is related to the theory of mechanical solidarity, where a phenomenon (early marriage) is perceived collectively. The collective consciousness of individuals with the same normative characteristics and patterns produces uniformity of behavior (Durkheim, 2014). In this context, a collective awareness emerges, one of which is defined as homogeneity (data in the field shows homogeneity of the age of marriage, profession, and level of education of actors of early marriage). Thus, collective "acceptance" became widely accepted.

Identification of objectivation situation

Conceptually, the objectivation process can be described as follows: First, habituation is a stage in which many early marriage acts are no longer necessary since they have become part of their cognitive and evaluative system (Berger, 1994). Therefore, actions that have become routine have become actions that he performs automatically and habitually. Sociocultural institutions and early marriage actors are two distinct entities. From the perspective of actors of child marriage, institutions, and the sociocultural environment are objectifying entities (Berger, 2013). Bawean Island's society is aware of the early marriage phenomenon carried out by earlier actors (mothers, siblings, sisters, relatives, neighbors, and peers). In other parts

of Indonesia, early marriage repeatedly occurs between generations, inherited by family mechanisms as a life journey, approach, sociocultural, and biological pathways (Widyastari, Isarabhakdi, & Shaluhayah, 2020). In Eastern Ethiopia, one in three adolescents has been pregnant and has an older sister who has a history of teenage pregnancy (Mezmur et al., 2021). In contrast to the findings in India, following the social norm that the eldest sister should marry before the younger one, having an older sister would be a barrier to the early marriage of younger sisters in most cases (Singh & Vennam, 2016).

Second, institutionalization is the process of generating practical awareness. In this manner, the values that drive the interpretation of acts become inseparable from the activities themselves (Berger & Luckmann, 2013). Creating awareness requires legitimacy, as religion does through agents, specifically religious leaders (Al-Hakami & McLaughlin, 2016; Koski & Clark, 2021). Religion has historically been the most common and efficient source of authority (Berger, 1994). Moreover, the actors acknowledge that there is a positive value in the Quran that "religion does not prohibit early marriage." This is also true in Saudi Arabia (Al-Hakami & McLaughlin, 2016) and Iran (Asghari, 2019), where the sole perception of early marriage still refers to the authority of Islamic law.

Meanwhile, the existence of a marriage dispensation and the understanding of early marriage by the society of Bawean Island means that early marriage can be legalized by religion and the state and does not break social norms. Therefore, the actors attempt to win the dialectic process between themselves and their sociocultural institutions (Ritzer & Goodman, 2004). From this perspective, the actors believe that early marriage serves a positive purpose. Thus, the institutionalization of early marriage has values, including the following: (1) there is no prohibition on early marriage in religion (written rules); (2) there is no prohibition on early marriage in countries that permit early marriage and there is social capital to facilitate marriage dispensation (unwritten rules); (3) the meaning of early marriage (avoiding social sanctions (out-of-wedlock pregnancy), (4) avoiding religious sanctions, (5) as the economical solution.

Identification of the internalization situation

Self-identification is based on primary and secondary socialization (Berger, 2013). The family, the smallest social group within an individual, is the primary source of socialization, and family members will acquire their beliefs and engage in early marriage following their values (Berger, 1994). In this context, early marriage actors come from families of previous early marriage actors, such as mothers, siblings, or other relatives. Parents stimulate their children's knowledge through socialization and social control (Perrier, 2013). Early marriage occurs between generations in other areas of Indonesia and is passed down through family mechanisms as a life journey, approach, sociocultural, and biological (Widyastari, Isarabhakdi, & Shaluhayah, 2020). The transformation of ideas from primary socialization is the act of early marriage, which is seen as (1) prevention of social sanctions (pregnancy outside marriage) so as not to cause shame; this is also found in other parts of Indonesia (Rahiem, 2021) and (2) an economic solution, this finding is also found in Kakamega County, Kenya (Parsons et al., 2015). Primary socialization has a significant influence in providing knowledge about early marriage for the actors.

In this context, social institutions such as religion and society contribute to secondary socialization. Religion is socialized by religious leaders (*Kya'i*) by spreading statements that allow early marriage, which is interpreted by actors as follows: (3) religion does not prohibit

early marriage, and (4) preventing religious sanctions (adultery). In Bangladesh and Saudi Arabia, findings show that religion does not prohibit early marriage (Al-Hakami & McLaughlin, 2016; Uddin, 2015). In other Indonesian provinces, Nusa Tenggara Barat, early marriage is a form of avoiding the grave sin of adultery (Rahiem, 2021). Another secondary socialization includes the transformation of early marriage ideas. The hamlet heads believed that early marriage does not violate social norms. The existence of early marriage is a way to avoid social sanctions (out-of-wedlock pregnancy) and avoid stigmatization and gossip (Susilo, Istiawati, Aliman, & Alghani, 2021). Therefore, the Religious Affairs Office has adopted a new way of thinking that allows for legalizing early marriage if a court grants a dispensation. This means that early marriage actors interpret that (5) early marriage does not contradict state law and can be permitted (Aditya & Waddington, 2021). This is also the case in Malaysia, where any deviation from the minimum permissible age is subject to permission, which is left entirely to the Syariah Court or Tribunal (Yuhermansyah & Mohd Hakim, 2018). The Civil Code in Turkey also permits marriages below the legal age. Before deciding on marriage approval, the judge refers the children to a doctor and asks if they are psychologically and physically ready for marriage (Yilmaz et al., 2022).

Primary and secondary socialization transforms thinking and provides support (social capital). Social capital in the context of a creative society means relationships between people, mutual trust, and gathering in communities with the same goal (Lacytè, 2022). Individuals require legitimacy for their actions (Kruks, 2019). In family sociology, marriage is personal protection (Berger & Kellner, 1964). Primary socialization affects parental and sibling support. This study's findings indicated that parents encourage them to marry young and quit education, unlike those whose families completely support their education (Roksa & Kinsley, 2019). Lack of support (social capital) from the family (parents) prevents the formation of early marriage (Durkheim, 2014). As the first social control for the actors of marriage, the family should be aware of the adverse effects of early marriage practices to discourage such actions by all family members.

Meanwhile, social capital in secondary socialization is hamlet heads. The hamlet head is an individual who can assist with marriage dispensation administratively and as a witness in court. His statement can demand approval for dispensation, so all actors seek his assistance (Republic of Indonesia, 2019b). The findings revealed that the trial judge highly considered the evidence from the hamlet heads regarding the bride and groom's fitness for marriage. Aside from being community leaders, the hamlet heads are objective witnesses familiar with the actors' socioeconomic environment.

In marriage dispensation trials, other objective witnesses are necessary, such as psychological experts who personally know the level of maturity of the bride and groom. Health experts are needed to personally see the level of health readiness, especially of prospective brides. This is necessary because it is essential to obtaining marriage dispensation in legal early marriage in Indonesia. Thus far, it has not been discovered on Bawean Island that early marriage without being legalized by a state (illegitimate marriage) (Susilo, Istiawati, Aliman, & Alghani, 2021). In Turkey, marriages performed only by religious ceremony are not legally recognized. Yet in child marriages, girl children are married off only by religious ceremony until they reach the legal age of marriage for the civil marriage to be conducted (Yüksel-Kaptanoğlu & Ergöçmen, 2014).

Conclusion

The practice of early marriage gradually becomes widespread in all aspects of community life. The process that lasted for a very long period made the tradition of early marriage still exist in society. Second, the habituation and legitimacy of early marriage practice with frequent confirmation caused knowledge and values about early marriage to be assimilated and distributed to other individuals. Early marriage behaviors are socialized by producing knowledge through primary socialization (mother, siblings, and relatives) and secondary socialization (peers, neighbors, religious leaders, and hamlet heads). Third, early marriage actors interpreted early marriage as the prevention of social sanctions (out-of-wedlock pregnancy) to avoid family embarrassment and economic solutions; religion does not prohibit early marriage; prevention of religious sanctions (adultery); and early marriage is not considered to violate state law and can be legalized. Fourth, early marriage can continue because parents and other social institutions (religious leaders and villager leaders) provide social capital.

Some recommendations to reduce early marriage include: (1) The Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Service carries out preventive efforts that target female actors and must be maintained by providing economic support for continuing education or special skills training to prepare themselves to enter the world of work; (2) Preventive interventions and socialization of the negative impacts of early marriage on students by schools; (3) The Village Government needs to intervene and socialize the negative impacts of early marriage to all families to break the chain of future generations, not to engage in early marriage; and (4) Recommendations to the Religious Courts, to include accompanying psychology and health experts as witnesses in the Marriage Dispensation hearing. Future researchers are expected to focus on the details of the marriage dispensation process and its impact on the social community.

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