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Child Marriage in Indonesia: Are Parents' Protection and Responsibilities Involved?

Akh. Syamsul Muniri

STAI Al-Yasini Pasuruan

syamsulmuniri02@gmail.com

Abdul Hadi

UIN Walisongo Semarang

ahmuzaabdulhadi@gmail.com

Abdul Ghofur

UIN Walisongo Semarang

aghofur2009@gmail.com

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Abstract:

A girl having a loved one to get married with is every parent's happiness, contrary to the fact that underage marriage will not settle the issue where children are not prepared yet to deal with life problems and households. Departing from this issue, this research seeks to answer whether parents' protection and responsibilities are involved in child marriage in the District of Pohjentrek, Pasuruan. This research is a field study in the District of Pohjentrek of Pasuruan, employing a qualitative method and a phenomenological approach. Research participants involved parents with their underage married children in 2020. Data were garnered from observation and in-depth interviews. The research results show that the involvement of parents represents the protection and responsibilities, ensuring affection and proper responsibilities given by the family or a spouse for a happier and everlasting marriage.

Keywords: parents, child marriage, protection and responsibilities

Introduction

For parents, having daughters aged 20 years old and over unmarried is a stigma, and it has become a concern in a family with an unmarried daughter at this age.¹ In a normative scope, getting married before reaching the age of eighteen for men and women is considered to violate the child protection law, thereby prevention is necessary. However, measures to prevent this trend are not easy as long as it clashes with marriage dispensation given as a solution notwithstanding

¹ Agus dan Khoirotul Waqi'ah Mahfudin, 'Pernikahan Dini Dan Pengaruhnya Terhadap Keluarga Di Kabupaten Sumenep Jawa Timur', *Hukum Keluarga Islam*, 1.April (2016), 33-49. 40.

strict control over this tendency. The application for dispensation in a court must mainly take into account the best interest of the child in terms of whether the rights and the well-being of the child are fulfilled.²

Five provinces have been recorded to have fairly high percentages of underage marriage, including East Java (28%), West Java (27.2%), South Kalimantan (27%), Jambi (23%), and Central Sulawesi (20.8%). East Java represents the highest among those provinces, indicating that this trend is common in the province, particularly among those of Madurese ethnicity residing in Pasuruan, Probolinggo, Lumajang, Jember, Situbondo, Bondowoso, and Banyuwangi.³ In 2023, there was an increase of not more than 15% in this trend. The data issued by the Case Investigation Information System (SIPP) of the Religious Court of Bangil, Pasuruan reported that in 2018, there were about 34 applications for marriage dispensation registered, an increase from 21 registered applications in 2017.⁴

Being biologically mature, commonly termed *baligh*, is the common understanding among Madurese People when it comes to marriage. Madurese communities often conform to Islamic religious norms living in society. Although the age limit is never mentioned in Islamic rules, underage marriage cannot be considered appropriate. Marriage, however, is appropriate only when married couples are mentally mature and capable of dealing with most problems.⁵ What mostly comes to the mind of most parents is that their daughters will certainly bear the responsibilities bigger than their spouses when they are married. It makes parents conclude that they should give protection and hold responsibilities for their married daughters. Parents should, in this context, guarantee the right to education for their daughters equal to men and decide the best time to marry their daughters.⁶ In this case, parents hold the responsibility as revealed by Allah and this responsibility must be performed accordingly.⁷

Every child is entitled to the right to be protected, indicating that embodying this protection represents the responsibility to bring about justice in society. This protection needs to take place at a larger scale, transcending the small purview like family to the larger one like the state.⁸ The blessing of parents to their children is the blessing from God to parents.⁹ Children deserve affection and attention, not violence. Surprisingly, child abuse often comes from those who should be responsible for their existence, those who hold control of the children, and those involving parents, close family members, and teachers.¹⁰

² Ali Imron, 'Dispensasi Perkawinan Perspektif Perlindungan Anak', *Qisti*, 2011. 71.

³ Yusuf Hanafi, 'Pengendalian Perkawinan Dini (Child Marriage) Melalui Pengembangan Modul Pendidikan Penyadaran Hukum: Studi Kasus Pada Masyarakat Subkultur Madura Di Daerah Tapal Kuda, Jawa Timur', *PALASTREN*, Vol. 8, No (2015), 399–422. 401.

⁴ http://sipp.pa-bangil.go.id/list_perkara/search, Diakses tgl 25 April 2019.

⁵ Soemiyati, *Hukum Perkawinan Islam Dan Undang-Undang Perkawinan* (Yogyakarta: Liberty, 1999). 71.

⁶ An observation involving Mr. Jaf (pseudonym), Pohjentrek Pasuruan.

⁷ QS. At-Tahriim: 6.

⁸ Marlina and Elvi Zahara, 'Perlindungan Hukum Terhadap Anak Yang Melakukan Perkawinan Anak Di Bawah Umur', *Mercatoria*, 1.2 (2008), 163–75. 167-168.

⁹ Billy Joe Daugherty, *Building Stronger Marriages and Families* (Tulsa, Oklahoma: Harrison House, 1991). 93.

¹⁰ Rianawati Rianawati, 'Perlindungan Hukum Terhadap Kekerasan Pada Anak', *Raheema*, 2017 <<https://doi.org/10.24260/raheema.v2i1.164>>. 5.



Biswajit Ghosh argues that an early marriage represents sexual violence that often takes place among female teens, giving a sense of imbalance between males and females, at home or outside in society.¹¹ From another perspective, seeing a child marriage as a practice of sexual violence or even a criminal offence is something inappropriate, considering that religion allows for a child marriage.¹² There has been a shift in the tendency concerning marriages, in a way where parents used to think that marrying their children young was common, and particular reasons urged them to marry their children soon, but this decision would be opposed by their teens. Surprisingly, these days, most teens expect to get married young simply because an early marriage curtails sinful deeds like illicit sexual intercourse.¹³

A concern of cohabitation may underlie early marriages, and this concern may escalate when the couples have been in a very long relationship. Parents also seem to share the same idea and tend to marry their underage children in a *sirri* (unregistered) marriage, avoiding demanding requirements of marriage registration at the Office of Religious Affairs and contravening what is outlined in the national law. The registration often takes place when both reach the acceptable age.¹⁴ In the case of common early marriage in Pasuruan, a question is being raised over what responsibilities and protection parents can give seeing their children married at a young age. Responsible parents will certainly think of measures to take to protect their children for a better future. Parents in Pasuruan should be held responsible for holding control over their married children to the state in which they are capable of living their lives without any help from their parents, thereby requiring proper communication between parents and their children. Parents should consider establishing proper communication to ensure that their children can hold responsibilities accordingly.¹⁵

Child protection is set under the term '*pemeliharaan dan pendidikan anak*' (child education and care) under the Marriage Law of 1974 Articles 41 and 45 Number 1. *Hadhanah* (care) involves raising, caring, and educating a child till they reach adulthood. Law Number 23 of 2002 concerning Child Protection, amended to Law Number 35 of 2014 concerning the Amendment to Law Number 23 of 2002 concerning Child Protection highlights child protection in Chapter I: General Provisions, Article 1 paragraph (2), stating "Child protection refers to all activities to guarantee and protect children and their rights to ensure optimal growth, development, and participation according to human dignity, and they are also

¹¹ Biswajit Ghosh, 'Child Marriage and Its Prevention : Role of Adolescent Girls', 7.1 (2011), 49–62. 49.

¹² Sudirman and others, 'Examining the Complexity of Child Marriage as Sexual Violence in the Digital Era', *Legality: Jurnal Ilmiah Hukum*, 31.2 (2023), 310–28 <<https://doi.org/10.22219/ljih.v31i2.28881>>. 311.

¹³ Nur Aisyah, 'Dispensasi Pernikahan di Bawah Umur Pada Masyarakat Islam di Kabupaten Bantaeng', *Jurisprudentie: Jurusan Ilmu Hukum Fakultas Syariah Dan Hukum*, 2019 <<https://doi.org/10.24252/jurisprudentie.v4i2.4062>>. 176.

¹⁴ Ahmad Badrut Tamam, 'Nikah Sirri : Solusi Pernikahan Anak Di Bawah Umur Di Desa Petung, Panceng, Gresik', *Al-Ahwal*, Vol. 3, No (2010), 41–70. 45.

¹⁵ Margaret Elbow, 'Children of Violent Marriages: The Forgotten Victims', *Social Casework*, 63.8 (2018), 465–71 <<https://doi.org/10.1177/104438948206300803>>. 2.



entitled to protection against violence and discrimination”.¹⁶ Article 45 paragraph (1) of Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage requires parents to care for and educate their children at best, and paragraph (2) requires them to be responsible for their children until they are married and capable of living their life as referred to in paragraph (1). This responsibility remains despite the divorce between the parents. Family is home to children, a place where education for children starts and a place where children gain their first experiences and knowledge, and learn how to behave. Both parents should better understand their responsibilities for their children, as children essentially contribute to the foundation of the family for the happiness of all members.¹⁷

Results and Discussion

Marriage Issues and How Parents should Play their Role for their Children

Marriages among children have been often debated, leading to the polarity between those who stand for and those against. The 32nd Conference of Nahdhatul Ulama allows for such a marriage, as underlain by the Hadith highlighting the story of the Prophet Muhammad SAW marrying Aisyah ra. This perspective is opposed by the *Tarjih* Muhammadiyah Council, arguing against the idea that the marriage of the prophet can serve as the basis of an early marriage. The fact that Aisyah got married at 6 is seen as something odd, thereby further research on this case is necessary. *Tarjih* Muhammadiyah Council leans more towards the provision outlined in Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage and Islamic Law Compilation.¹⁸

Marrying at a young age has been a tradition in Arab countries. Prophet Muhammad SAW was not the only one marrying his wife at a young age. In history, some of his fellows, including Umar bin al-Khattâb married Ummu Kulthum (Ali bin Abi Thâlib's daughter) and Qudâmah bin Math'ghun married Princess Zubayr bin Awwâm. These examples show that early marriages are common in the region. When the biological conditions of females are ready for reproduction regardless of age, they are deemed ready for marriage.¹⁹ What allows people to get married is their financial and physical capabilities. Surprisingly, financially and physically capable men can pick more than one woman to marry so long as they are treated justly and have equal rights to housing, clothing, and food. Marriages take more than a legal aspect and tend to be far more complex than people may think. Some benefit from an early marriage, materials, and interests due to some reasons.

Amidst the fact that parents marrying their children at a young age are growing in number regardless of risks and harms that may arise from it, they are held responsible for their children and protection. Parents are more strongly

¹⁶ Khoiruddin Nasution, 'Perlindungan Terhadap Anak Dalam Hukum Keluarga Islam Indonesia', *Al-'Adalah*, XIII.1 (2016), 1–10. 1-2.

¹⁷ Ayatollah Ibrahim Amini, *Principles of Marriage and Family Ethics*, *Journal of Chemical Information and Modeling*, 2019, LIII <<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004>>. 6.

¹⁸ Mayadina Rohmi Musfiroh, 'Pernikahan Dini Dan Upaya Perlindungan Anak Di Indonesia', *De Jure, Jurnal Syariah Dan Hukum*, 8.2 (2016), 64–73 <<https://doi.org/10.18860/j-fsh.v6i1.3192.3>>. 68-69.

¹⁹ Yusuf Hanafi, 'Perkawinan Anak Di Bawah Umur Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam', *Ulumuna*, XII.2 (2008), 249–74.



connected to their daughters than they are to their male counterparts regarding protection and responsibilities. This is because daughters have virginity different from that of sons which should be protected by both parents and the daughters themselves. The absence of blood stains on the first night of the wedding day may raise concern between the bride and her family.²⁰ Therefore, children must be taught to differentiate right and wrong and not to tell lies, steal, or deceive others.²¹

Parents' control of their children is deemed rational by Weber. In his theory of rational authority, Weber excludes the feedback mechanism of information which may influence actions. This is because Weber's rational authority is overly static.²² Parents with vulnerable financial capabilities often marry their daughters at a young age with the hope that their sons-in-law will back up their daughters' dream to pursue higher education. Protection represents a process and way of protecting, a place within which ones seek protection.²³ Child protection, similarly, refers to action taken by parents; this protection is closely related to five pillars, consisting of parents themselves, family, society, government, regional government, and the state, all of which are connected as the parties responsible for child protection. Protection is intended to ensure that no children are harmed; this protection is supplementary to other rights, guaranteeing that children get what they need to survive and grow.²⁴

The family is responsible for giving protection from whatever may cause physical or psychological discomfort or harm to its members. According to Soetjningsih, parents play a role in helping boost self-assurance among teens and helping them live independent lives to further ensure that they can decide on their own. Parents are responsible for watching the growth of their children to ensure that they are in a good environment. Parents also demonstrate interpersonal attitudes, characteristics, and activities related to individuals, families, groups, and society.²⁵ Biological parents, foster parents, or stepparents hold equal responsibility to take care of and raise their children and guarantee their health. Consistency should come with the responsibility of the parents to ensure their children as qualified and quality generations for the future. Separation of parents will not revoke this inherent responsibility.²⁶

In society, early marriages have been stigmatised because young married couples are often found fighting in their households and earning inadequate income to feed the family. Reproduction issues are also associated with early marriages. From another perspective, a young-age marriage is also seen as beneficial because it is considered to reduce promiscuity, prevent illegal pregnancy, and raise the number of human beings. In essence, marriages represent positive tendencies and are recommended; in Islam, marriages are sunnah. When marriages are viewed

²⁰ Zulkarnaini Abdullah, *Mengapa Harus Perempuan?* (Yogyakarta: Ar-Ruzz, 2003). 86.

²¹ Ezra Taft Benson, 'Parental Success', in *Eternal Marriage Student Manual* (Salt Lake: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2001). 241.

²² James S. Coleman, *Dasar-Dasar Teori Sosial* (Bandung: Nusa Media, 2009). 835.

²³ <https://kbbi.web.id/perlindungan>, accessed on 05 December 2019.

²⁴ Rini Fitriani, 'Peranan Penyelenggara Perlindungan Anak Dalam Melindungi Dan Memenuhi Hak-Hak Anak', *Hukum, Jurnal Keadilan, Samudra*, 11.2 (2016), 250–58. 251.

²⁵ Soetjningsih, *Tumbuh Kembang Remaja Dan Permasalahannya* (Jakarta: CV. Sagung Seto, 2010). 32

²⁶ H. Mahmud Gunawan, *Pendidikan Agama Islam Dalam Keluarga* (Jakarta: Akademia Permata, 2013). 132.



from such a perspective, they are more than allowing couples to have sex legally in Islam, or making it *halal*; marriage also takes the willingness of the couple to marry without coercion from their parents. Marriage represents economic and social unity so long as the marriage lasts.²⁷

Protection and Responsibility of Parents for their Children

The protection in the case of young-age marriages in the District of Pohjentrek, the Regency of Pasuruan does not neglect the rights of the children concerned. Child marriage is viewed as the responsibility of the family, and ensuring that children make ends meet is also the responsibility of the family of the married couple. It is common to find married couples still living under the same roof with girls' parents. Fulfilling the rights of children following an underage marriage has been triggered by pronounced responsibilities for and the sense of protecting their children. A parent of an underage and married child said in the interview: *"I think as a parent I have the responsibility for my family in everyday life simply because parents in general are adults with experience in this underage marriage. From this view, parents exist to complete and prepare their children for adult life. One way or another, parents are responsible to give counselling to their children and escort them to live their life."*²⁸

Parents' responsibilities for their children continue following this underage marriage. Parents remain responsible for their children's needs even after marriage. These responsibilities encompass financing daily needs, providing proper housing, and giving good examples for their children to make sure that they grow properly. Parents guarantee the well-being of their children, their health, their mental stability, and their religious and social life to perfect this underage marriage. In general, all parents wish for the best for their children. They expect their sons and daughters to be better than they are. Seeing children grow as intellectual and pious individuals is every parent's dream. Parents believe that religion is an usher for their children to a dignified and meaningful life in society. They understand that religion plays a vital role in their life, involving the internalisation of religious values. The need to be this religious is inevitable, and this can be achieved from the basic education in a family, school, or society.

What is important among parents is the success of teaching their children traditions accepted in their local surroundings. In this context, children learn norms and social skills from formal and informal education. This research also finds that education given by parents is fundamental and compulsory. Parents, therefore, are required to be skilful and wise in educating their loved ones. The family is responsible for its members in terms of both physical and psychological protection. Common issues among teens like promiscuity and bullying raise concern among parents, forcing them to set a strict way of controlling their children. This research also shows that parents try to teach responsibilities to their children. Parents argue that what children do leaves consequences that children have to be responsible for. This is also seen as a way of protecting children and being responsible for their children by giving them counselling with the consideration that being responsible is part of the responsibility that children have to hold.

²⁷ Elizabeth S. Scott, 'Marriage, Cohabitation and Collective Responsibility for Dependency', *Univ. of Chicago Legal Forum*, 2004.1 (2004), 225.

²⁸ Mr. Mus (pseudonym), *an interview* (Pohjentrek, 15 January 2022).



Parents give good protection and are responsible for their children. Some even play a significant role in teaching their children to be responsible as expected. Many parents cannot overlook their children doing their activities since most children still need their parents' hands to do them. Parents let their children experience trial and error to give them a chance to learn from their experiences. Similarly, parents having children married too young understand that their children are not mature enough for full responsibility. Parents never stop struggling to give the best education to their children amidst the financial incapability to send their children to formal education institutions. Parents' involvement in giving protection to their children often forces parents to struggle economically and socially. A hectic life does not stop parents from caring for and educating their married daughters, particularly in helping them establish the family appropriately. Parents are teachers within an informal scope apart from schools to ensure their children are educated.

Every parent hopes their children to live a happy and everlasting marriage and both parents and children can maintain their good relationship. Underage married children are often expected to love each other without prejudice. Children are supposed to live a welfare life and meet their economic and social needs. With these capabilities, they can be deemed capable of meeting the standard of living in their marriage. Every parent understands that marriage, in essence, is about loving each other and embracing the flaws of their spouses. Marriage has something to do with unconditional love, as reflected in the following interview with a parent: *"The marriage has taken place, and of course, I hope my child is happy and has children. When she (while pointing at her child married young) bears a child, she will have to be responsible for raising her child, taking care of the child, and buying what the child needs. Last but not least, they both live a happy life while keeping accepting each other for what they are."*²⁹

Family is the primary surrounding where children can build their characters. Family is the starting point where children begin to recognise and learn things in life. Children are supposed to understand and make decisions later when they reach adulthood. In this case, parents hold responsibilities for and are influential in the behaviour of the children and their development in the future. The author also observes that parents keep communicating or interacting with their children who are married young, and they help their children when they face problems. Parents with children married young will certainly remain responsible for their children and the children's family. Educating their children to succeed in life is the struggle of both parents by giving them solutions to the problems faced. The emotional connection between parents and their children will make children listen to their parents when parents advise them due to mistakes made. Sometimes parents contemplate, wondering whether they manage to establish a good relationship with their children.

Parents and their daughters married young remain close following the marriage, and parents are thankful for the shortcomings that their children have following underage marriage. Despite economic conditions, parents manage to resolve the issues that their married children face, as they keep encouraging and appreciating the positivity of underage marriage. Seeing their young daughters married is another reason for being thankful to God among parents. This positivity certainly affects the physical and psychological state of the married. In one of the

²⁹ Mr. Mus (pseudonym), *an interview* (Pohjentrek, 15 January 2022).



interviews, a parent expressed what she felt after seeing her daughter married young: *“Let’s be thankful for having children married young because I believe this is something positive, even for me. By being thankful, I believe I can do anything that involves time, physical, and material aspects for the best of my child.”*³⁰

Seeing their daughters married young can be a burden for both parents, but the author observes that being thankful can help erase the feeling of burden and appreciating the conditions of their daughters is something positive that parents can do. The significance of their attempts and the benefits of the help given by their parents give satisfaction. Once again, this satisfaction curtails the burden felt. Getting married before the age has made children learn a lesson in the way that they feel that they are loved and guided so that they listen to their parents. The presence of children poses responsibilities from Allah to parents. Parents have their way of educating their children, particularly those married young. The responsibilities held by parents in educating their children are an order from Allah. Meeting the needs of their children is seen as the biggest responsibility among parents. Most parents choose to be responsible for the expenses of their married children, thus making it impossible to transfer such a responsibility to another person.

Guaranteeing the protection of a daughter who is married young cannot be simply left to the hands of her new husband. Being married at a young age, to most parents, will not eliminate the role of parents in meddling with the marriage life of their children to ensure the security and protection of their children. This kind of responsibility is considered normal to ensure a sustainable marriage life for their children. Parents are quite aware of their responsibilities to advise, motivate, and actively participate in the life of their married children simply because they often feel that their married children are too young for marriage life, and this perspective has forced parents to keep an eye on them. When the children are spotted doing something improper way for caring for a baby, their mothers often give hands to show how to do it right.

Affection as the Fundamental Responsibility Given to Married Children

Often it is found that parents do not have the power to stop underage marriage from happening to their daughters due to particular grounds that force them to allow their children to get married young. However, this situation has raised the awareness among parents to keep helping their married children until they are fully capable of feeding their own family. This research finds that underage marriage does not represent an exploitation of children, as said by one of the informants: *Well, for me, seeing my daughter married is a pride although it is an underage marriage, and I have longed for another new member in our family. A child is a child, we are connected by affection. As parents, they are still responsible for watching their daughters, giving advice, and helping with the needs of their marriage life. That is how we are supposed to give protection and show responsibility to them despite their underage marriage.*³¹

Promiscuity, which also leads to the rising cases of abortion, is another issue that raises concern among parents, urging parents to marry their daughters young.

³⁰ Mrs. Lik (pseudonym), *an interview* (Pohjentrek, 24 March 2022).

³¹ Mrs. Lik (pseudonym), *an interview* (Pohjentrek, 24 March 2022)



However, parents are aware of marrying their daughters young; added responsibilities for their married children are what parents should take. The experience that parents have gained in protecting and being responsible for their married children has contributed to a happy and everlasting marriage. Happiness in marriage is represented by the ability to maintain the relationship in the new household, while everlasting refers to the ability to retain the marriage for the rest of the life. Parents always meddle with the marriage life of their daughters to ensure a better economy and competence of being a good mother. Parents, in general, will do everything to help their married children face new marriage problems.

Parents always try hard to build effective communication with their married children amidst their hectic working lives because they are aware that this is important to tighten the emotional ties between the two to ensure that the married children always feel secure when problems come. The talk in the communication will often be around household life. In such communication, parents listen to their children about the problems they face in marriage life before they contribute solutions. In pregnancy, for example, parents always give insights to their daughters about the importance of balanced nutrition for their pregnancy. Parents are also aware of the incapability of their daughters later when they become mothers before they reach adulthood. When this is the case, parents are tasked with the responsibility of watching the development phase of their daughters as teens to allow their parents to facilitate them on their way to becoming new mothers. One of the informants shared about the protection given to her daughter during her pregnancy: *"Yeah, I know my daughter is still inexperienced in facing the pregnancy and delivering a baby. That's why I give them knowledge about pregnancy, such as balanced nutrition. When my daughter is having difficulty taking care of her baby, I will help take care of the baby."*³²

Fulfilling the needs of the married life of their children, for parents, represents the protection of their children. The request for marriage dispensation submitted to the Office of Religious Affairs represents the action of protection given by parents from the legal perspective to legalise the marriage of their children. Parents always feel that they need to take this measure, or legal uncertainty and concern will arise. Parents often profoundly investigate the persons marrying their daughters to make sure how committed they are to this marriage. Parents are aware that marriage is something serious and should last long. Despite the responsibility of the husband in the future, parents also fully understand that their responsibilities for their daughters in their marriage life are also paramount.

Responsibilities and protection represent affection and care given by parents. Marriage problems, as most parents understand, are inevitable, particularly when it comes to underage marriage. However, as parents believe, this issue can be minimised with greater support given by parents. On the other hand, parents are also sure that underage marriage will sooner or later help grow the personality, way of thinking, and mentality of the married daughters. This development may not take place optimally unless parents meddle with the marriage life of their daughters. Parents believe that this interference will set the daughters more prepared to be new mothers. Teens who get married before they are mature need adaptation to drastically changing status from a teenager to the figure of a mother.

³² Mr. Jum (pseudonym), *an interview* (Pohjentrek, 28 March 2022).



Most parents feel threatened by the social circles that tend to harm their children, particularly amidst the development of information and communication technology. Underage marriage is a real challenge for parents. Far easier access to communication raises concern among parents because it also gives wider access to the likelihood of affairs among newlyweds. *“Yeah, in this smartphone era, communication is no longer difficult, I am concerned because my daughter is now married and she cannot resist temptation from another man. I advise her to always keep her marriage and ensure that divorce won’t happen.”*³³

To fulfil the household needs, those married young may keep making efforts to adjust to their surroundings. When parents see this as something that their daughters are fighting for, they will, once again, meddle with this issue to ensure that their daughters are well-adjusted to the new environment. That is, children are demanded to understand their tasks and development in every phase they are going through, and every person will of course face different challenges in the process. Parents believe that a sense of responsibility existing within their married daughters does not emerge without a reason. These responsibilities are implanted and taught by their parents in their daughters to ensure that they can have a sense of responsibility to help them grow in their marriage life. Those married young are supposed to be responsible for themselves, their family, and the future. Parents and their children are tasked to ensure that responsibilities are duly exercised. In general, a sense of responsibility in a household comes from awareness and knowledge growing from personal experience.

Some studies reveal that marriage helps develop the sense of responsibility of the couples. In this case, parents believe that, through marriage, their children will learn how to be responsible for their households. Some parents even let their married children explore the solution to the problems arising in their new family. They sometimes come back to their parents for solutions when they give up on their problems. However, being transparent about marriage life is not easy for most. When it comes to domestic violence, sometimes the victims are not aware that they are harmed and it is not easy for them to trust others. That is, they often choose not to tell this to others. *“To make sure that domestic violence doesn’t happen, the role of parents is paramount. Parents always establish communication with their children to encourage them to be more open because we as parents are aware that we are home where they share their problems, and parents should have the capability to make our children more open about all their activities. This will show them that parents will always be the place where they can be heard.”*³⁴

Married children often have no idea about their position when they communicate with their parents. Those who can figure out themselves, their status, strengths, and weaknesses will decide how they are supposed to talk and what to talk about and they can assess what is going on around them. That is, the perspective built by their parents about their children will determine their ability to communicate with each other. Underestimating children as weak, inexperienced, and unreliable individuals will just shape domineering parents.

In a household of a couple who are married at a young age, there is the need for closeness with parents, particularly a mother from the first day of the marriage.

³³ Mr. Mus (pseudonym), *an interview* (Pohjentrek, 15 January 2022).

³⁴ Mr. Dar (pseudonym), *an interview* (Pohjentrek, 23 January 2022).



This is an instinct of a mother who has to be always close to her baby. A mother's closeness to her married daughter makes her feel secure, and this feeling underlies the positive behaviour and response of the child. Such closeness is inevitable between the two, considering that they are blood-related and have an emotional connection from the time when the child was in her womb. With such strong ties between a mother and her child, a better ability to mix socially and to have great empathy for others is built from such emotional ties. *I can feel what my daughter felt when she got married young. I know we have to be close to each other and I have to escort my child to a more independent life after marriage. I think it gives me a fulfilment of happiness. As long as I can help her, why not? As long as I am as healthy as I am now and can work, I always keep an eye on my child.*³⁵

Parents are fully aware of the negative marriage of their daughters, and they believe that helping fulfil the needs of their children is inevitable in supporting the development process following the marriage. A mother conceived at a young age is often far less self-assured. A young mother with a newborn baby does not have adequate knowledge of how to properly take care of her baby. In such a case, the hands of her parents can be a holy grail to help her grow mature. The help given shows the affection of parents to their children. Allowing a child to get married sooner than he/she should be cannot be taken as a practice of exploitation or violence that harms a child unless no protection and responsibilities are exercised following the marriage. Efforts are made by parents to help their married children. Those who are married young need special attention from their parents, particularly in preparing for their future life after marriage. Parents hold the most important role in helping their children grow in their marriage life, with the hope that they can live in good physical, psychological, and mental conditions. All parents wish their children to live a happy and successful life, and support from parents will boost children's confidence.

Conclusion

This research concludes that the trend of underage marriage in Pohjentrek in Pasuruan takes parents' interference in the life of their daughters in terms of protection and responsibilities for the best interest of the children. This interference is mostly intended to help their married children reach the culmination of marriage. Parents give protection by guaranteeing the housing, clothing, food and non-material needs such as social, mental, and spiritual aspects for their children. The protection has also extended to ensuring that their children are free from any forms of threats. Affection comes in the forms of protection and responsibilities given by parents, as these measures are intended to escort their children to a successful marriage life.

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³⁵ Mrs. Leha, *an interview* (Pohjentrek, 10 February 2022).



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