

Causes and Impacts of Early Marriage: A Phenomenological Study in the Cimarel Hamlet Community, West Bandung Regency

Rahimin Affandi Abdul Rahim

Universiti Malaya Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
faqir_ila_rabbih@um.edu.my

Rika Dilawati

Peace Ambassador for West Java Province
rikadilawati@gmail.com

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Abstract:

This study interprets the perception of early marriage, the union of two people, one or both of whom are under 18 years of age, through a phenomenological approach. The analysis was carried out using observation techniques with participation in in-depth interviews supported by an inductive documentation analysis approach. The results showed that the community in Cimarel Hamlet, West Bandung saw the need for early marriage for girls aged 15-16 years as matchmaking, avoiding the social sanctions of adultery and pregnancy out of wedlock, and as an economical solution for parents to shift their responsibilities. Furthermore, this study shows that matchmaking and the avoidance of fornication are significant motivations for early marriage. In addition, that early marriage had a detrimental impact on wives, husbands, and children. The effect is related to pregnancy complications for the wife and psychological pressure for the husband—the impact on children born from early marriage, especially the death of newborns. The solutions offered to support the target of population development and reduce the number of early marriages is by increasing access to health facilities and information for women and overcoming cultural and social norms by discussing the impact of early marriage with social and religious leaders and stakeholders.

Keywords: *early-age marriage; fornication; social morality; phenomenology; rural sociology*

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menginterpretasikan persepsi pernikahan dini, penyatuan dua insan yang salah satu atau keduanya berusia di bawah 18 tahun melalui pendekatan fenomenologis. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah kualitatif, dengan pengumpulan data melalui observasi disertai wawancara mendalam yang didukung dengan pendekatan analisis dokumentasi induktif. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa masyarakat di Dusun Cimarel, Bandung Barat memandang perlunya pernikahan dini pada anak perempuan berusia 15-16 tahun sebagai perijodohan, penghindaran sanksi sosial zina dan kehamilan di luar nikah, dan sebagai solusi ekonomis bagi orang tua untuk mengalihkan tanggung jawabnya. Lebih lanjut, penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa perijodohan dan penghindaran percabulan merupakan motivasi yang signifikan untuk pernikahan dini. Selain itu, ditemukan pula bahwa pernikahan dini menimbulkan dampak yang merugikan bagi istri, suami, dan anak. Dampaknya terkait kasus komplikasi kehamilan bagi istri dan tekanan psikologis bagi suami. Dampak terhadap anak yang lahir dari pernikahan dini terutama kematian bayi yang baru lahir. Solusi yang ditawarkan untuk mendukung target pembangunan kependudukan dan penurunan angka pernikahan dini adalah dengan meningkatkan akses fasilitas

dan informasi kesehatan bagi perempuan, serta mengatasi norma budaya dan sosial dengan membahas dampak pernikahan dini dengan tokoh sosial dan agama serta pemangku kepentingan.

Kata Kunci: *pernikahan dini; perbuatan zina; moralitas sosial; fenomenologi; sosiologi pedesaan*

INTRODUCTION

In general, early marriage, marrying two people, one or both of whom is under 18 years of age, is still a severe problem in almost two-thirds of countries (Yildirim et al., 2019). Although early marriage is legal, it is widely considered a violation of human rights and harassment, especially against teenage girls. The lack of social wealth, education, and law and differences in cultural points of view make this practice of early marriage persist in society. Globally, in 2005 more than 650 million women married at a young age (UNICEF, 2005). This data is consistent with subsequent findings by (Wodon et al., 2016), which state that young women are forced to leave their families for marriage, experience sexual and physical violence, and become mothers at a young age. According to human rights experts, early marriage can be defined as sex slavery (Kenny et al., 2019). Early marriage is driven by poverty, strong cultural traditions, and widespread discrimination against teenage girls.

Reducing early marriage has become a priority for the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) (Yanasti et al., 2021). The SGD goal states that by 2030 all human beings must be free from poverty, women, and children must be free from health problems such as reproductive problems and sexual harassment, and they must have gender equality (Wodon et al., 2017). However, early marriage is experiencing a gradual decline to achieve sustainable development goals (Azzopardi et al., 2019). Early marriage occurs not only in developing countries but also in developed countries in Europe and North America. Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Azerbaijan are the three countries in Eastern Europe with a high percentage of early marriages (31%) (IPPF, 2006). Latin America and the Caribbean are the two regions in the Americas that have a high percentage of early marriages (30%) (UNICEF, 2005). Factors causing early marriage in the region (Jarnkvist, 2019). East Asia and Australia are developed regions with early marriage problems; however, both areas show significantly lower percentages (WHO, 2016).

Early marriage often occurs in developing countries because the percentage of cases of early marriage is high from the total points of marriage. Nigeria has a higher percentage (77%) of early marriages of women under 18. Furthermore, Mali reached 61%, and Ethiopia and Guinea 58% (UNICEF, 2005). South Asia was ranked first for the entire Asian region with a fairly high rate of early marriage. Bangladesh and Nepal were 74% and 52%, respectively (UNICEF, 2005), and India by 62% (WHO, 2016).

Many factors cause early marriage in various countries. Raj et al., (2019) and Kenny et al., (2019), found that the common cause of early marriage in Eastern Europe and Latin America are social and cultural conditions. Early marriage is also influenced by poverty and education level, such as in African and South Asian countries (Birechi, 2013; Delprato & Akyeampong, 2017; Wahhaj, 2018). Interpreting the perceptions of girls and their parents and religious factors regarding early marriage, has not been done much.

Efforts to prevent the rate of early marriage have been pursued globally through socialization and empowerment of skills. Through education, empowerment is carried out through life skills workshops, including sexual and reproductive health and vocational skills. This strategy is achieved through formal and non-formal education that all levels of society can access. Many countries provide incentives for families in need of micro-enterprise capital, health services, and education (Malhotra et al., 2011; Kumar & Shah, 2018). This education strategy has been demonstrated by several countries, including India (Mehra et al., 2018), Kosovo (Duraku et al., 2020), and several countries in Southeast Asia, especially Malaysia and Singapore (Rasmussen et al., 2019). Therefore, the people of Cimarel hamlet need more access to education by increasing formal and informal education facilities and adding more competent teachers and instructors.

Indonesia is one of the countries in ASEAN that has a high rate of early marriage. Indonesia ranks fifth after Laos (40%), Thailand (23%), Cambodia (21%), and the Philippines (19%). Cases of early marriage in Indonesia reach 18% and are categorized into: married at the age of 15 (2%) and married before the age of 18 (16%) (UNICEF, 2005). Other neighboring countries such as Singapore, Brunei Darussalam, and Malaysia have no cases of early marriage. These countries are developed countries in the ASEAN region that have broad access to quality educational institutions and health services. Several developed countries in East Asia have a very low percentage of early marriage, such as Japan, South Korea, China, and Taiwan (Arthur et al., 2018).

Early marriage is regulated in Indonesia by Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage, which states that the minimum age for marriage for men is 19 years and for women is 16 years. However, some people do not agree with the legislation (Arimurti & Nurmala, 2017). This mindset cannot be separated from the history of early marriage

in Indonesia. Since the thirteenth century, Islam has been the main religion in the country. Therefore, the traditions and customs of the community are closely related to Islamic values, including early marriage. Initially, early marriage was done to prevent sexual relations outside of marriage and to avoid sin. On December 22, 1928, protests against the issue of child marriage began. Dutch women activists in Indonesia held discussions on child marriage, which they said was very unfair to women (Laksono et al., 2021).

Contrary to marriage regulations, Law Number 35 of 2014 concerning Child Protection states that someone under 18 is categorized as a teenager. Both codes do not significantly match the definition of youth and the age limit for marriage. This means that most people in Indonesia have not responded well to these regulations.

In general, research on early marriage in Indonesia is more focused on the causes and effects of early marriage in adolescents. The impacts include reproductive health, mental health, and childbirth (Arimurti & Nurmala, 2017; Indraswari & Yuhan, 2017; Pakasi, 2019; Rahayu & Wahyuni, 2020; Widyastari et al., 2020). While the general factors are culture and poverty (Fitriana et al., 2021; Judiasih et al., 2020; Laksono et al., 2021). According to the informant, early marriage in Cimarel hamlet was carried out without coercion, and the couple would delay pregnancy after the wedding. Early marriage is done because husbands will leave immediately after marriage to look for work. They would then return three to five years later. Early marriage is also based on Islamic values which do not have a minimum age limit for marriage for women and men. However, these values prohibit sexual relations and childbirth until both individuals are ready physically and mentally. Thus, based on the problems that have been described, this research is intended to find interpretations of perceptions and impacts of early marriage, especially in Cimarel Hamlet, West Bandung Regency. Early marriage certainly has various motives; motive for (*in-order-to*) and motive for (*because-of*) (Susilo, 2016). The motive was revealed through the testimonies of parents and informants.

METHOD

This study uses a qualitative approach to explore the complex structure of perceptual interpretation through observation and in-depth interviews. A phenomenological study was conducted to understand the specific socio-cultural conditions of Cimarel hamlet, which were collected through relevant field data. By formulating phenomenology from the perspective of Alfred Schutz, this study seeks to understand the behavior and actions taken by girls and parents in the case of early marriage based on motive-for and motive-cause (Schutz, 1970). Schutz's theory states that phenomenology is interested in identifying problems from meaningful sensory experiences, which occur in individual consciousness separately and then collectively in interactions between consciousness. This is the part where consciousness acts on raw sensory data to create meaning, in the same way as seeing something ambiguous from that distance (Hammersley, 2019).

Schutz's phenomenological concept is based on the meaning of action developed by Max Weber (Tada, 2019). Weber uses the term motive which refers to the sentence (a) a command for an action-oriented action towards a future event, but according to Schutz, before entering the to-to stage, there must first be a (b) because of every action that has been happened in the past (Smith, 2017). Thus, it can be concluded that the main problem described by Schutz is seeing motive as a context of meaning that links motivation with reason. The motive of action shows that the motive is nothing more or less than the action itself, which is projected in perfect form. In an *in-order-to-motive relationship*, an impulse from a life experience is anticipation in an inspiration, which is described in *perfect tense* as an event that will occur in the future with a definite end date motif *In-order-to* content built on experience with design. This never-ending sequence is a fact of experience, which contains the success of some part of the action. Each motif hints at incidents that have been elevated to *I-can-do-again status*.

While the real purpose of the due motive is to explain the depiction of an individual's past experience (McNarry et al., 2019). In this case, because the motive does not indicate a future event, but rather refers to something that precedes the action taken. So, Schutz states that meaning will be labeled by looking back at previous actions. Thus, it can be concluded that the main problem described by Schutz is the problem of Informative meaning in research combined with the *Verstehen* (emphatic understanding of human behavior), which leads to the action of motives to be achieved or for goals motifs (Hammersley, 2019).

The phenomenological approach is the most appropriate method to find the interpretation of early marriage perceived by parents and informants. In general, phenomenological investigations aim to provide insight into

individual perceptions and awareness of human experience (McNarry et al., 2019). Interpretivist phenomenology is concerned with 'ordinary everyday experiences that become important because the person reflects on the importance of events and engages in cognition to understand them' (Smith et al., 2016). Therefore, a phenomenological approach can provide insights to marginalized and underrepresented populations, and help researchers provide a critical view of equity issues. Phenomenology is the human process of understanding the world through direct experience. Thus, phenomenology makes actual experiences the primary data of reality. In philosophy, the object of phenomenology is not limited to one field of study. The aim is to find an essential understanding that requires an in-depth discussion. Phenomenology analyzes phenomena related to social reality and certain forms of knowledge that contribute to these conditions (McNarry et al., 2019).

Phenomenology has certain advantages in investigating social phenomena compared to other methods. *First*, the thorough interview will reflect the participants' meaningful life experiences (Raggl & Schratz, 2004). Phenomenology also allows participants to present and express their thoughts, views, and feelings during the research process (Vom Lehn, 2019). Thus, phenomenology will enable researchers to capture meaningful life experiences of participants regarding a phenomenon (vom Lehn & Heath, 2021). Also, as Kirova and Emme (2006) state, phenomenological methods rely on narratives and words. The many layers of life's experiences can be easily expressed and interpreted by narratives and words. Narrative can be a valuable tool for participants to create deeper meaning because it can encourage them to think reflexively, remember, reflect on, and represent feelings, thoughts, events, and other issues at any given moment (Raggl & Schratz, 2004). Therefore, phenomenology may be a better method of social inquiry.

The research was conducted in 2020 in one Cimarel Hamlet, Sukaresmi Village, West Bandung Regency, West Java, Indonesia, which is a remote area on the border of West Bandung Regency and Cianjur Regency which consists of 13 RW and 17 RT. The highest number of early marriages occurred in this hamlet with 40 incidents (BPS, West Bandung Regency, 2021). Twenty study informants, aged 14-16 years, and their parents were selected from three 13 RWs. The snowball technique determined informants. Important information such as name and age was obtained from the Sukaresmi Village Office. Other information was obtained from key informants. In-depth interviews were used to obtain original data from research informants. Characteristics of research informants are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Characteristics of research informants

Number of Informants	Age at Marriage	Age at Interview	Educational Background	Number of Parents	Age at Interview	Educational Background
1	14	18	Elementary School	1	55	No School
2	15	19	Junior High School	2	56	No School
3	15	22	JHS	3	57	Elementary School
4	16	20	Elementary School	4	60	Elementary School
5	15	21	JHS	5	49	Elementary School
6	15	19	Elementary School	6	46	Elementary School
7	16	19	JHS	7	47	Elementary School

8	16	19	Elementary School	8	39	Not in school
9	14	17	Elementary School	9	42	Not in school
10	14	17	Elementary School	10	42	Not in school
11	15	20	Elementary School	11	45	Not in school
12	15	20	Elementary School	12	49	Not in school
13	16	21	JHS	13	47	Elementary School
14	15	22	JHS	14	48	Elementary School
15	15	19	JHS	15	45	Elementary School
16	16	19	Elementary School	16	46	Elementary School
17	16	18	JHS	17	46	Elementary School
18	16	19	Elementary School	18	44	Elementary School
19	15	19	JHS	19	48	JHS
20	15	18	Elementary School	20	49	Elementary School

Source: Processed from research results, 2020.

In-depth interviews were conducted with informants of early marriage actors. Separate interviews with parents were conducted to validate the facts from the informants to prevent conflicts of interest between children (research informants) and parents. Furthermore, data collection was also carried out with literature studies and documentation related to community phenomena in Cimarel Hamlet. Moreover, the validity of the data was tested by the triangulation technique. The triangulation compares data from various sources, namely parents, children, and the head of the religious affairs office. Analysis was performed for each individual. Furthermore, the data were coded by analyzing the behavior and action patterns of the parents to improve social context and interpretation.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Socio-Educational Context of Early Marriage Actors

Cimarel Hamlet is located at the northern tip of West Bandung Regency and the southern part of Cianjur Regency. The area of this hamlet is 5000 square meters or 5 square kilometers. The population of Cimarel hamlet in 2020 reached 1820, consisting of 1100 men and 720 women, with 711 residents aged 14-16 years

(451 men and 260 women) residents (BPS Kabupaten Bandung Barat, 2021). In terms of religion, all residents of Cimarel hamlet are Muslim. Meanwhile, the number of people based on education is depicted in the following table:

Table 2. Number of people in Cimarel hamlet based on education

Educational level	Total
Elementary School	1306
JHS	120
SHS	50
Bachelor	10
No School	334

Source: BPS Kab. West Bandung, 2021

Population growth in Cimarel Hamlet is influenced by the high Total Fertility Rate (TFR) of 2.1% in the last five years (BPS Kabupaten Bandung Barat, 2021). The high fertility rate is caused by several factors, namely women's education, media access to family planning information, husband's education, economic status, age at marriage, and the perception of the ideal number of children (Ondiba & Matsui, 2019). The most dominant factors in Cimarel Hamlet are women's education and economic status.

The high TFR changes the structure of the population and is identified as the main cause of large population growth. In Bangladesh, a study by Akram et al., (2020), in Bangladesh revealed that maternal education, economic status, and age at marriage significantly determine high TFR. Furthermore, Mukhuti et al., (2019) conducted a study in India and Africa and found that women's education is essential for population growth. Therefore, it is worth saying that the level of education of women influences the high TFR in Cimarel hamlet.

Cases of early marriage at the age of 15-16 years in Cimarel Hamlet during 2019-2020 were 112 (BPS West Bandung Regency, 2021). Early marriage is mainly due to the low level of education, with 731 people only completing elementary school. An in-depth interview was conducted on early marriage with informant 2 who stated, "I was actually in junior high school, but in my second year my parents asked me to quit. I am obligated to get married. So I couldn't continue my studies" (Interview, April 2 2020). Similarly, informant 4 stated, "I never attended high school. My parents told me to get married soon, so I had to follow their wishes" (Interview, April 2 2020).

Women's education is one of the dominant factors influencing the high TFR in Cimarel Hamlet. The low level of women's education causes an increase in the birth rate (Indraswari & Yuhan, 2017). Economic status also causes an increase in TFR. Low-income families tend to marry early to solve family financial problems (Hyseni Duraku et al., 2020). Parents hope to reduce the cost of living after marrying off their children.

In-depth interviews with the participants' parents revealed most of the informants' elementary or junior high school education. Four parents, namely the parents of Participants 3, 7, 8, and 14 have no formal educational background. However, the parents of Informant 3 stated, "I only went to school until grade 3 of elementary school. I quit school to help my parents at home" (Parent Informant 3, Interview April 4, 2020). Meanwhile, the parents of Informant 5 did not know the age of birth because, at that time, birth registration was still difficult. In addition, they cannot afford to pay for their education because the school is far from home, so their parents prefer to marry at a young age. Therefore, the interview concluded that parents struggle to get an education, so they believe that marriage is the best solution.

The characteristics of the informants are similar to the parts of parents in the case of early marriage. Parents' education level is also elementary and junior high, while three parents, namely parents of informants 3, 5, 8, and 14, do not have educational documents. The low level of education of the participants' parents influenced them to marry off their children immediately. Parents think that informants do not need to study to the highest level because they will become housewives.

Causes of Early Marriage

Early Marriage as Matchmaking

Matchmaking still occurs in many rural communities and is essential in early marriage. Parents usually arrange the matchmaking process. Parents typically choose a prospective daughter-in-law based on their socioeconomic status to select the right partner. Love, kindness, and respect are relatively small before marriage, assuming these aspects will inevitably emerge with married life (Afandi, 2019).

Matchmaking is also common in cases of early marriage in various countries in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia (Efevbera et al., 2019). Teenage girls in this area are married to husbands of different ages arranged by their parents. Husbands over 30 years old; some are even 40 years old. Meanwhile, the bride and groom are 14 to 16 years old (Delprato & Akyeampong, 2017).

Arranged marriages are different from forced marriages. Matchmaking is done to choose a husband, while in forced marriage, one partner may disagree and be forced to obey the marriage rules that have been set (Afandi, 2019). Traditionally, parents decide the date and the person to be married. One research informant explained that "Girls had no choice in the past. Her father will make all the decisions about her marriage." Matchmaking shows that parents have reasons other than economic factors. The reason parents plan their daughter's wedding is based more on social factors, namely strengthening ties of friendship and kinship and the desire to have grandchildren soon. Parents will match their daughters with their friends' sons, or distant relatives. Marriage will allow parents and friends to become closer by establishing a family relationship through marriage.

The interview results showed that the matchmaking in Cimarel Hamlet was due to the close relationship between the two parents, who had been for a long time. It is interpreted that if child marriages are arranged, then the status of the parents will change to the son-in-law and become more intimate than before (Arimurti & Nurmala, 2017). This was experienced by Informant 1 who stated, "Before I got married, my parents and my husband's parents knew each other. That friendship was established long before my marriage was arranged" (Interview, April 1, 2020).

Informant 1's parents (55 years old) also support that the marriage was held to maintain the relationship with the son-in-law. He stated, "I arranged the marriage to maintain my relationship with my daughter-in-law" (Interview, April 4, 2020). It can be concluded that the matchmaking experienced by Informant 1 is based on the old relationship between parents. This is supported by Informant 1 (18 years old), who said that his parents wanted to have grandchildren, so the marriage was arranged. The informant refused the parents' request for matchmaking, but because the child must respect and obey the parents, the child complied with the request.

Matchmaking was also experienced by Informant 2's parents who stated, "I knew my son-in-law when he was a farm laborer in my rice field. Since I felt comfortable with him, I introduced him to my daughter. After they got to know each other and got along well, I arranged their marriage" (Interview, April 4, 2020). Religious factors also motivate matchmaking. The residents of Cimarel hamlet follow the rules of Islam according to the Qur'an, especially in marrying off their daughters. Therefore, the reason why parents marry off their children at an early age in Cimarel Hamlet is based on the fact that marriage is a sunnah of the Prophets.

Marriage must meet three criteria according to Islamic law. The first criterion is to have sufficient knowledge. The prospective bride and groom must know marriage laws, such as procedures for applying, terms and conditions of marriage, and divorce. The second criterion is financial readiness and income to meet basic needs. The third criterion is physical preparation for humans to continue their lineage. Physically healthy means that the reproductive organs are mature and ready for sexual intercourse, pregnancy, and childbirth (Barber et al., 2015).

Early marriage for teenagers aged 15-16 years is not allowed. Women married at a young age are very vulnerable to psychological disorders such as stress, anxiety, and trauma (Beattie et al., 2019). Teenagers are not ready to face the problems in married life. This unpreparedness will make women vulnerable to stress and anxiety. Furthermore, psychological disorders are also motivated by trauma caused by violence or coercion. These cases include physical violence, domestic fights, and sexual behavior (Mazzuca et al., 2019) (Nguyen et al., 2016).

Arrangements for early marriage did not result in a high divorce rate in Cimarel Hamlet. Research results (Wahi et al., 2019) show that in the United States, early marriages are more likely to end in divorce. Early marriage in the United States results in higher divorce rates than those who delay marriage until after their teens. A study conducted by (Koski & Heymann, 2018) also found that almost 25% of children aged 15-16 years who were married, then separated or divorced before their eighteenth birthday. The high divorce rate also occurs in Ethiopia, which has a high prevalence of early marriage. Research conducted by (Mekonnen et al., 2019) in Ethiopia also found that the leading cause of divorce is psychological problems due to arranged marriages in early marriage.

Early Marriage to Avoid Adultery

The impact of technological developments provides convenience in accessing information, especially on social media. Teenagers in today's millennial era very much need social media. Social media influences teenagers to connect with people outside their boundaries. Electronic communication facilitates interactions based on specific interests and characteristics. It is also a platform for social interaction, using highly accessible and scalable publishing techniques. Furthermore, social media uses web-based technology to convert and broadcast media monologues into social dialogue (Adegboyega, 2019).

Informant 17 stated that using social media to send erotic messages and watch movies and pornographic films leads to prohibited sexual behavior such as masturbation. It is implied that the youth in Cimarel Hamlet use social media for prohibited access by violating the norms and morals that apply in Indonesia. Ekawati et al. (2019) found that adolescents aged 15-17 years in Indonesia use social media to access pornography. A study by Ashton et al. (2019) in Australia, and Young-Petersen & Willoughby (2020), in the United States found that pornography increases promiscuity and pregnancy in adolescents, resulting in health problems in young women.

Informant 20 also stated that they watched and exchanged pornographic films with friends, viewed nude photos alone, and were likely to practice everything they observed. This is in line with research, including the Adegboyega study (2019) in Nigeria, which found that more than 48% of Nigerian youth aged 12-17 years use the internet, with almost half logging in every day.

Furthermore, Alabi (2013) also stated that the emergence of social media on mobile phones has made Nigerian youth addicted to these gadgets, causing them to no longer have time to focus on their studies.

Many teenagers use social media and connect with someone through social media applications. The study found that 231 young women who married at a young age actively used social media. The relationships that teens create ultimately go beyond the norm. This case resulted in rampant romance among teenagers. The relationship is considered deviant behavior that violates religious standards and moral norms. Most Muslims in Cimarel hamlet believe that this behavior can lead to premarital sex between men and women. This assumption is reinforced by Blum et al. (2019) research in Middle Eastern countries.

Another reason for early marriage is to avoid fornication. Informant 4's parents stated that the marriage was arranged to shift control to the husband (Interview, April 4, 2020). Informant 5's parents said that adultery would receive social sanctions from the community (Interview, April 4, 2020). This is based on the negative stereotype that fornication should be severely punished in society. This also follows the parents of Informant 5, who stated that people who commit fornication would be paraded by society and become people who are slandered, so early marriage is the best solution to avoid such persecution. This belief is in line with Informant 4, who stated, "I got married quickly because my parents were afraid I would get pregnant out of wedlock. At that time, I accepted my girlfriend's proposal. I am afraid to defame my parents if the wedding does not occur soon" (Interview, April 2, 2020).

This practice is in line with the research of Wright & Vangeel, (2019) in the United States and Havaei et al. (2019) in Iran. Their study found that most parents worry that teenage girls will have an out-of-wedlock pregnancy. The parents also thought it would cause disgrace to the family. So, then the parents will ask the girl's boyfriend to propose to her immediately. Informant 9 stated that getting married to avoid sex was the wrong approach. In addition, Informant 11 said that avoiding sex outside of marriage was a motivation for early marriage. Meanwhile, parents' reason for early marriage is to prevent adultery, as in the Islamic faith, it is a big sin and demands social sanctions from society. In the end, the finding of a second meaning also leads to the punishment norm that prohibits premarital sex from influencing the decisions of parents and adolescents to engage in early marriage (Clyde et al., 2020; Coyne et al., 2019; Stark, 2016).

Early Marriage to Avoid Pregnancy Out of Wedlock

Early pregnancy remains a significant problem in both developed and developing countries. This is because adolescent sexual and reproductive health is a top priority of the global health agenda (Wodon et al., 2017). This phenomenon is considered a severe public health problem worldwide (WHO, 2016). Igba et al. (2018) confirmed that early pregnancy always refers to pregnancies in adolescent girls under 18 years. Pregnancy out of wedlock is caused by sexual abuse in adolescents, leading to premarital sex. This is in line with the findings of Luk (2019) and Wodon et al., (2016), which state that pregnancy out of wedlock is influenced by social and cultural factors, including adolescents who are more open to sex, lack of formal and comprehensive sex education in schools. , parents who fail to lead sexuality outreach agencies for their children, and youth in disadvantaged areas (rural and outermost).

A lot happens to teenagers in Cimarel because dating is not only limited to close friends. Relationships that have been established are at the stage of premarital sex. Premarital sex symbolizes a modern lifestyle and a form of love for a girl and a boyfriend (Asare et al., 2019).

Community leaders in Cimarel hamlet consider pregnancy out of wedlock shameful, and the person will be exiled or even expelled from the village. So to avoid these sanctions is to get married immediately. Three informants explained that they married early because they were pregnant before officially married. Therefore, the marriage was to cover the disgrace. Society views early marriage as a solution to pregnancy out of wedlock. Informants 19 and 20 experienced bleeding during childbirth, and the baby was born with low birth weight. Research has found that early pregnancy is associated with a higher risk of maternal and infant complications (Yildirim et al., 2019). Adolescent mothers are at risk for complications, including hypertensive pregnancies, unsafe abortions, urinary tract infections, and premature rupture of membranes (Barber et al., 2015). Complications arising from pregnancy and childbirth are the number one cause of death in adolescent girls (15-19 years) worldwide (WHO, 2016).

Informant 7 (19 years old) married at 16 because she was pregnant out of wedlock. The marriage was held to prevent the family from social sanctions. Informants clearly describe that teenagers are vulnerable to premarital sex, leading to pregnancies outside of marriage. Therefore, marriages need to be carried out so that the disgrace does not spread, and the family does not receive sanctions from the community. This is in line with the statement of Informant 7's parents who said, "The marriage took place because she was three months pregnant. He is often home alone, so his girlfriend often comes over. Her pregnancy was a disgrace that needed to be covered up. Then I immediately married her" (Interview, April 4, 2020).

Early Marriage Due to Economic Factors

Early marriage is also seen as a solution to financial problems by parents. Therefore, many parents recommend getting married immediately even though the child is still not old enough to get married. Families living below poverty standards force parents to immediately marry off their children to reduce parental dependence (Kenny et al., 2019; Lang & Weinstein, 2015; Raj et al., 2019; Smith et al., 2016).

Parents cannot send their children to school because there is no money to support them. So, for the men to propose, the parents immediately accepted the proposal and set a wedding date. Interviews show that the motive for early marriage as a solution to financial problems is because the family lives in poverty. Parents immediately marry off their children, so the economic burden on parents will be reduced.

Table 5: Matrix of interpretation of early marriage in Cimarel Hamlet based on Schutz phenomenological perspective

Number of Informants	Age at Marriage Current	age	Educational background	Motive for (<i>in-order-to</i>)	Motive because (<i>because-of</i>)	Interpretation
1	14	18	Elementary school			
2	15	19	Junior high school		1. To maintain friendship between parents	
3	15	22	Junior high school		2. Want to have grandchildren soon	Matchmaking
4	16	20	Elementary school	Both parents mutually know and be close	3. Parents have found a	
5	15	21	Junior high school			

6	15	19	Elementary school		good future husband	
7	16	19	school			
8	16	19	Elementary School	The rise of free sex and the development of information technology (social media)	Avoiding social sanctions	Avoiding sexual immorality
9	14	17	Elementary School			
10	14	17	Elementary School			
11	15	20	Elementary School	Poverty		
12	15	20	Elementary School	Poverty	Relieve burden on parents	Economic solution
13	16	21	Junior High School	Pregnancy	Covering the family's disgrace	Pregnancy out of wedlock
14	15	22	JHS			
15	15	19	Junior high school	Poverty	Lighten the burden on parents	Economic solution
16	16	19	Elementary school			
17	16	18	Junior high school	Pregnancy	Covering family shame	Pregnancy out of wedlock
18	16	19	Elementary school	Poverty	Relieve parents burden	Economic solution
19	15	19	Junior High School	Pregnancy	Covering family shame	Pregnancy out of wedlock
20	15	18	Elementary School	Poverty	Easing the burden on parents	Economic solutions

Source: Processed from research results, 2020.

Early marriage due to economic factors is a common problem in the Dusun community. Early marriage also occurs for certain reasons, such as limited natural resources owned by an area, low levels of education, and lack of job opportunities also add to the high number of cases of early marriage in Indonesia (Rumble et al., 2018). Therefore, early marriage is one solution to reduce family responsibilities. However, the responsibility is added because the husband lives with the wife's family.

One of the early marriage informants who married at a young age due to economic factors was Informant 11 who stated, "I am the third child of seven children in my family, and my siblings are still children. My parents worked as farm laborers with uncertain income. I decided to get married to lighten their load" (Interview, April 2 2020). This

is in line with Informant 11's parents who stated, "I support marriage because it will ease the responsibilities in the family." (Interview April 4, 2020).

Impact of Early Marriage in Cimarel Hamlet

The average age of early marriage in Cimarel hamlet is 14 to 16 years. Informants tend to have a low level of education, especially at the elementary or junior high school level. Marriage and education are considered contradictory because young women who marry will face limited mobility during pregnancy and childcare responsibilities. The interview results revealed that early marriage informants dropped out of school and did not continue their education. Early marriage also directly impacts education in other developing countries, such as Malawi and Zambia (Efevbera et al., 2019).

Of the 20 informants, some stated that they experienced complications of bleeding and anemia during pregnancy and childbirth. These complications occur because women under the age of 20 are at risk of early delivery, low birth weight, and childbirth bleeding, increasing maternal mortality (Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Bandung Barat, 2021). Early pregnancy has a high risk of complications during pregnancy and childbirth. The highest chance of death occurs in mothers under the age of 17 years, mainly due to complications of pregnancy and childbirth.

Early marriage in Cimarel hamlet also burdens girls with responsibilities as wives, partners, mothers, and other roles intended for adults. Young women aged 14-16 years are considered not ready to carry out these tasks. Various studies have shown that young women at an early age have a high risk of experiencing anxiety, depression, or suicidal thoughts, partly because they do not have status, power, support, and control over their own lives (UNICEF, 2016).

Early marriage also has a psychological impact on girls, especially for divorce. National data reports that the divorce rate in Indonesia continues to increase from 16% in 2009 to 20% in 2018 (Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Bandung Barat, 2021). It was found that the majority of divorces were carried out by married couples under the age of 25. Women who marry early and eventually divorce for some reason experience a problematic psychological situation characterized by sadness, disappointment, frustration, discomfort, anxiety, unhappiness, self-blame, stress, depression, fear, and worry for the individual (Beattie et al., 2019).

This was experienced by Informant 3 who stated,

"I got married because my parents arranged it. My husband is ten years older than me. Early in our marriage, we often argued about not being careful in the household. Until the following years, I regret this matchmaking. Now I worry that my marriage will continue in these uncomfortable conditions, until one day I can divorce my husband" (Interview, April 2, 2020).

The wife in the informant is much younger than the husband. The average age of the husbands of the informants in this study was 30 to 35 years. The age gap that is too far makes the husband's maturity level higher. Most of the study participants still need the help of their husbands, especially in raising children.

Early marriage has an intergenerational effect. Babies born from early marriages have a higher risk of death, with a twice greater chance of dying before one year than children born to mothers who are twenty years old (Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Bandung Barat, 2021). Babies also have a higher chance of being born early, with low birth weight and malnutrition.

The absence of available health facilities in Cimarel also supports the lack of monitoring of health workers' children's growth and development. The absence of health facilities in Cimarel Hamlet will not be able to handle cases such as malnutrition, slow growth, and severe developmental cases such as Down syndrome. Parents must take their children to the nearest sub-district (Cililin) to get adequate health services (eg, Cililin Hospital). They have to travel for two to three hours for one trip. Therefore, it can take a lot of time, effort and cost.

Early marriage not only underlies but also supports gender inequality in society. Early marriage can lead to continued poverty, ignorance of inadequate education and health for the next generation, and deprivation of people's productivity in both the short and long term. Informants of early marriage in Cimarel Hamlet cannot develop their potential because they do not have a minimum education qualification of high school. Therefore, the role of the wife in family and community life is lacking. The wife has no position in making family decisions, only taking care of the children and the house.

Early marriage is detrimental to women and their children from a health perspective. Moreover, it will worsen the regional health status if this case occurs in an area with inadequate health facilities. Married young women are more likely to experience domestic violence and have a lower position in society. They are often denied pursuing education, employment, or entrepreneurial opportunities. Finally, the teenage bride will lose justice in social life.

CONCLUSION

The results showed that the significant cause of early marriage in Cimarel Hamlet was the low education of parents and the family's economic status. In addition, religious and cultural factors influence the decision of parents to marry off their children at an early age. The low economic status of parents causes them to decide to marry off their children early to reduce family responsibilities. Schutz's phenomenological perspective reveals that early marriage is interpreted in several ways by the people in Cimarel Hamlet. The need for early marriage is defined as 1) matchmaking, 2) avoiding adultery, 3) avoiding pregnancy out of wedlock, and 4) solving family and community financial problems.

Early marriage has affected wives and children, especially their education and health. In the end, it will cause the people in this area to remain in poor condition. It also impacts Indonesia's development targets, focusing on reducing poverty, hunger, health, and promoting gender equality. The solution to reducing cases of early marriage in Cimarel Hamlet is to increase access and health facilities, such as providing health information for women, especially information about the risks of early marriage on women's physical and mental health. In addition, discussion sessions with the community, religious, and stakeholders are needed regarding the negative impact of early marriage on young women.

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