

# A Literature Review of Factors Influencing Early Marriage Decisions in Indonesia

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## ABSTRACT

Cases of early marriage in Indonesia have increased 3-fold since 2019 until recently. Early marriage occurs at the age of under 19 years or adolescence. Early marriage has an impact on youth related to the lack of developmental tasks. This allows for factors that cause individuals to decide to marry early. The purpose of this study is to classify and summarize the factors associated with decision making to marry at an early age in Indonesia. The method used in this study is the study of literature using three data bases (Neliti, Garuda, and Rama) with keyterms “perkawinan dini”, “pernikahan dini”, “pernikahan remaja”, “perkawinan remaja”, “nikah muda”, “kawin muda”, “perkawinan dibawah umur”, and “pernikahan dibawah umur”. There are 22 articles consisting of 21 articles and 1 thesis. The results of this study show that the factors that influence early marriage decisions in Indonesia are family ties, gender inequality, poverty and economic survival strategies, control over sexuality and protecting family honor, tradition and culture, and insecurity. The results showed that there are no specific factors happening in Indonesia, the only difference is the tradition and culture factor. Finally, the most common factors found in the journal articles studied are control over sexuality and protecting family honor.

**Keywords:** *early marriage, decision making, literature studies*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Marriage generally occurs in the age range of 20 to 30 years or can be categorized as early adulthood [1]. Marriage in Indonesia is regulated in Law Number 16 of 2019 which states that the age of individuals who can marry is 19 years for women and men [2]. This age is considered to be independent personally and economically, has a good career, and in general this age has chosen a partner, lives with a partner intimately, builds a family, and has children. In fact, there are marriages that do not occur in general, which are called early marriages. Early marriage is marriage that occurs between the ages of 15 and 18 [3]. This age can be categorized as adolescence age [1]. This is not in accordance with the task of adolescent development in terms of independence, which is characterized by not having a job to meet the needs of life [4].

Based on the incompatibility of adolescent developmental tasks, early marriage reaps various negative impacts. Santrock [1] states that early marriage is one of the factors in the occurrence of divorce. This is due to a lack of knowledge about living together as husband and wife and having a heavy responsibility in undergoing marriage [5]. Marta [6] added that the low education of individuals who marry early can hinder the development of potential and skills, making it difficult to get a job which then causes impoverishment of adolescents who marry early. When viewed from the impact of women who marry at an early

age, women will be more prone to depression [7], [8]. These depressive symptoms arise as a result of stress in marriage [9]. Another negative impact is higher anxiety, a sense of isolation, can even hurt yourself and commit suicide [8]. Biologically, adolescent girls experience sexual development [1]. This allows the reproductive organs of adolescent women are not fully ready to produce children. So that children who will be born to couples who marry early can experience poor physical health and nutrition and high infant mortality rates [7], [8].

Although various negative impacts of early marriage have been found, the phenomenon of early marriage in Indonesia has increased three times from 2019 to the present [10]. It is possible that there are factors that cause individuals to decide to marry in early age. Based on these reasons, there is a need to conduct a deeper study of the factors that influence the decision to marry at an early age in Indonesia. Hence, the purpose of this study is to classify and summarize the factors associated with decision making to marry at an early age in Indonesia.

This study aim to answer these questions: (a) what are the general factors that influence the decision to marry at an early age in Indonesia? and (b) what are the specific factors found in Indonesia regarding the decision to marry at an early age?

### **1.1. Factors Influencing the Decision to Marry Early**

Globally, the factors of early marriage are (a) family ties, namely factors found in several regions of Africa and Asia that make early marriage a means to control a region, resolve disputes, and maintain relations between certain ethnicities or communities. Next is (b) gender inequality, namely the unequal roles of women and men in social society, women are seen as not having an important role in society so that early marriage for women is considered a natural thing. Furthermore, (c) poverty and economic survival strategies, namely early marriage, especially for women, occurs to reduce the cost of daily needs in a family with a low economy. Beside, (d) control over sexuality and protecting family honor, namely early marriage is carried out on the basis of maintaining the function of women's sexuality to prevent free sex behavior and create a bad family identity. Moreover, (e) tradition and culture, namely early marriage is influenced by traditions and culture prevailing in the environment around the place of residence. Finally, (f) insecurity, namely unsafe situations such as rampant poverty and venereal disease, so marriage is carried out as an effort to overcome these situations [11].

### **1.2. Definition of Early Marriage**

UNICEF [12] defines early marriage as a formal or informal marriage to a couple whose one or both of them are under 18 years of age. In contrast to Indonesia, the characteristics of early marriage are not under the age of 18 years but under the age of 19 years for both men and women according to Law Number 16 of 2019 [2]. When viewed from the age range, the age characteristics of individuals who engage in early marriage are included in the adolescent age group, starting at the age of 10 to 12 years and ending at the age of 18 to 21 years [1].

### **1.3. Impact of Early Marriage**

The law in Indonesia stipulates that the legal age limit for marriage is 19 years due to the high rate of maternal and child mortality with maternal age under 19 years of age [2]. Children who will be born to couples who marry early can experience poor physical health and nutrition and high infant mortality rates [7], [8]. These biological problems can have a direct impact on the welfare of children born [13]. When viewed from the psychological condition of women who marry at an early age, they are prone to depression [7], [8]. Anxiety, isolation, even self-harm and suicide are also experienced by women who marry early [8]. Marta [6] added that low education in individuals who marry early can hinder development in potential and skills, so they cannot compete in getting jobs which causes impoverishment in adolescents who marry early. If traced further, early marriage is also one of the factors in the occurrence of early divorce [1].

### **1.4. Adolescence**

Adolescence is the period between childhood and adulthood. Individuals are said to be teenagers if they are at the age of 10 to 20 years [1]. Adolescence is also referred to as the stage of searching for self-identity [1]. This self-identity search stage is an individual's decision regarding his identity, individual roles, and individual life goals [1]. The task of adolescent individual development according to Robert Havighurst is (a) accepting physical conditions and using them effectively; (b) have close relationships with peers regardless of gender; (c) understand the roles of each gender; (d) have a desire to not be emotionally dependent on parents and family; (e) preparing for the next level, namely a career; (f) preparing for the next stage of development, namely getting married and having a family; (g) start to be socially responsible; (h) Every behavior is based on values and ethics [4].

In addition to developments that occur during adolescence, problems also exist at this time such as the use of illegal substances, juvenile delinquency, academic problems such as dropping out of school, teenage pregnancy, sexual diseases, eating disorders, depression, and suicide [1]. In addition, at that age also raises the behavior of disobeying school rules and other juvenile delinquency [1].

## **2. METHOD**

This study uses the literature review method, which is the method used to identify theories and previous research in accordance with the selected research topic and the methodology used [14]. Inclusion criteria in this study are secondary data that contains the variables of factors that influence the decision to marry early in Indonesia. The secondary data that will be studied are findings in Indonesia which have a maximum range of 10 years of publication and the research method on the secondary data studied is the qualitative method. Secondary data search was carried out through database website such as Neliti, Rama, and Garuda. Secondary data search was conducted using the keywords “perkawinan dini”, “pernikahan dini”, “pernikahan remaja”, “perkawinan remaja”, “nikah muda”, “kawin muda”, “perkawinan dibawah umur”, and “pernikahan dibawah umur”.

The steps for selecting secondary data found in the database according to the inclusion and exclusion criteria are shown in figure 1.

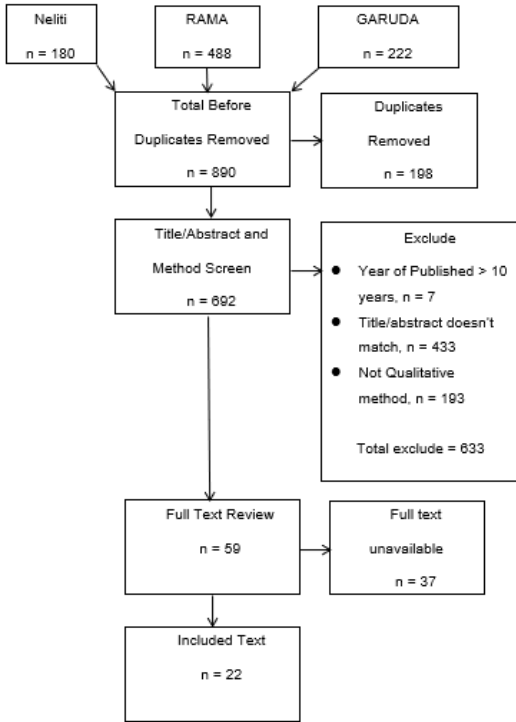


Figure 1. PRISMA Flowchart of Literature Study

Secondary data that is studied more deeply is as many as 22 data. The 22 secondary data is data that has been measured through risk bias tools according to The Joanna Briggs Institute (JBI) Critical Appraisal tools [15]. The risk bias matrix of the 22 secondary data studied is shown in figure 2.

	K1	K2	K3	K4	K5	K6	K7	K8	K9	K10	KK
Ridwan & Muair (2010)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Irawati (2011)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Astuty (2013)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Goddess (2013)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Kartasawati & Lukitningsih (2013)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Rahman et al. (2015)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Fitriyani et al. (2015)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Fitriani (2016)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Rosamadhan & Taufan (2016)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Sugianti (2017)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Hidayati & Uyun (2017)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Yusmanita (2017)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Syukaasih (2017)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Muslim (2017)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Wahyuningisih (2018)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
B. & Toro (2018)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Parapat (2019)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Pratiwi et al. (2019)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Khacerani (2019)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Satriyandari & Utami (2019)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Zannah et al. (2019)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Nurwisa et al. (2020)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Figure 2. Risk Bias Matrix

Notes. Rating K1-K10: + Yes, - No, ? Unclear, 0 Not applicable. KK Rating: + Appropriate, - Not suitable, ? Further search. K1 = similarities between philosophical perspectives and research methodologies, K2 = similarity between research methodology and research questions or objectives, K3 = similarity between research methodology and the methods used to collect data, K4 = similarity between research methodology and data representation and analysis, K5 = similarities between research methodology and interpretation of results, K6 = statements about the researcher's culture or theory, K7 = influence of researchers on research and vice versa is also addressed, K8 = participants and their statements are sufficiently represented, K9 = research is ethical according to current criteria or for recent research recently, and whether there is evidence that the ethos is approved, K10 = the conclusions in the research report are consistent from the analysis, or interpretation of the data, and KK = the overall assessment

### 3. FINDINGS

There are 22 articles in this study. These articles are published in 2010 until 2020 and use qualitative methods. The participants in the articles were both man and woman. These articles are mostly from Sumatra Island. Based on the result of the study on 22 articles, the following is a summary of the factors that influence an individual's decision to marry early in Indonesia in table 1.

**Table 1. Summary of Research on Factors Influencing Early Marriage Decisions in Indonesia**

No	Author (Year of Publication)	N (W/M/ Informant )	Research sites	Research result	Factor Categorization
1	Ridwan & Munir [16]	2 (W 1, M 1)	Medan city	(a) Married to be able to have sex; (b) getting married because they feel they have been able to take responsibility; (c) marry to cover shame; (d) marriage is carried out because of an arranged marriage carried out by the family; (e) marriage is done as a form of worship.	(a), (b), (c) Control over sexuality and protecting family honor. (d) & (e) tradition and culture.
2	Irawati [17]	13 (W 9, M 3)	Klaten	(a) marriage is carried out on a daughter with the hope that the man who will become her husband will be able to support family life, (b) marriage is carried out on the basis of mutual love and concern for the individual about the occurrence of premarital pregnancy which can embarrass the family; (c) getting married due to a lack of parental knowledge about early marriage, this is due to an economic shortage which then has an impact on low education for parents and children; (e) parents marry off their daughters because they are afraid that they will become “old maids” if they are not married for too long; (f) marriage is carried out to cover the family's disgrace due to premarital pregnancy.	(a) & (c) Poverty and economic survival strategies (e) tradition and culture (b) & (f) control over sexuality and protecting family honor.
3	Astuty [18]	4 (W 3, Informant 1)	Deli Serdang Regency	(a) marriage is carried out on daughters due to the stability of the prospective husband who will marry off, so that it can help finance family life; (b) the poor family economy also makes parents and children less concerned with education, so they choose to get married immediately; (c) early marriage occurs because parents have prepared a partner for their child; (d) married as a result of promiscuity; (e) getting married due to parental concerns that if they have unmarried daughters, they will be called “old maids”.	(a) & (b) poverty and economic survival strategies (c) & (e) tradition and culture (d) control over sexuality and protecting family honor
4	Dewi [19]	-	Donggala County	(a) marriage is based on an arranged marriage carried out to maintain good relations with friends of their parents; (b) getting married due to parental concerns that if you have an unmarried daughter at the age of 20 years, she will be called an “old maid”; (c) marriage is carried out because of parental concerns about deviant behavior in daughters	(a) Family ties (b) tradition and culture (c) control over sexuality and protecting family honor.

- |   |                                  |    |                   |  |   |
|---|----------------------------------|----|-------------------|--|---|
| 5 | Karismawati & Lukitaningsih [20] | -  | Mojokerto Regency | <p>(a) marriage is based on mutual love and wants to fulfill the need for love; (b) marry because they cannot continue their education due to economic deprivation; (c) low education also creates a lack of knowledge about early marriage, so early marriage is carried out; (d) marrying girls is caused by the assumption that the role of women after marriage is only to take care of children and take care of their husbands, so they do not need to have a high education; (e) getting married is done to reduce the family's economic burden; (f) getting married because of parental concerns about the delay in marrying a girl or marrying at the age of 24 or 25 years, this will make the child called a spinster and insult the family's good name; (g) have married peers; (h) parents marry off their children because the child's relationship with a partner is too close, thus raising parents' concerns about behavior that causes family disgrace; (i) marriage is carried out because of a premarital pregnancy.</p> | <p>(a), (h), &amp; (i) Control over sexuality and protecting family honor<br/>(d) gender inequality<br/>(b), (c), &amp; (e) poverty and economic survival strategies<br/>(f) &amp; (g) tradition and culture.</p> |
| 6 | Rahman et al. [21]               | 12 | Banjarbaru City   | <p>(a) marriage is carried out on the basis of mutual love and concerns about premarital pregnancy due to a relationship with a partner who is too close; (b) getting married to ease the family's economic burden, this also makes education stop and they don't have other activities; (c) married because they were arranged by the family; (d) marriage is carried out because of a premarital pregnancy; (e) early marriage is a custom in the area.</p>  | <p>(a) &amp; (d) Control over sexuality and protecting family honor<br/>(e) &amp; (c) tradition and culture<br/>(b) poverty and economic survival strategies.</p>   |
| 7 | Fitriyani et al. [22]            | 21 | Indramayu Regency | <p>(a) marriage is carried out to avoid being called "old maid" if not married at the age of over 17 years or over 20 years, or over 30 years; (b) getting married covers the disgrace of a premarital pregnancy; (c) getting married is done to keep the surrounding community from talking about the relationship with a partner who is too close; (d) getting married because of the discontinuation of education due to economic deprivation; (e) economic deprivation makes individuals engage in prostitution to earn a quick income, but prostitution causes premarital</p>   | <p>(a) &amp; (f) Tradition and culture<br/>(b) &amp; (c) control over sexuality and protecting family honor<br/>(d) &amp; (e) poverty and economic survival strategies.</p>                                       |

8	Fitriyani [23]	21	Indramayu Regency	<p>pregnancy which then leads to early marriage; (f) getting married because of following a foreign culture regarding living with a partner, thus causing premarital pregnancy and then deciding to get married.</p> <p>(a) marriage occurs due to uncontrolled premarital sex by the parents which results in premarital pregnancy; (b) marriage occurs due to the assimilation of foreign cultures regarding the habit of living together with a partner and exposure to pornographic videos and images seen by teenagers on social media.</p>	<p>(a) Control over sexuality and protecting family honor (b) traditions and culture.</p>
9	Rosramadhan & Taufan [24]	20 (W)	Deli Serdang Regency	<p>(a) marriage is carried out due to lack of economics and cannot continue education, so marrying a man who is older and already has income to ease the burden on his parents in paying for life; (b) getting married because they have a belief that rejection of an application can be an "old maid"; (c) marriage is done because the individual considers education not important, this is due to the individual's view of the role of women as adults who only take care of their husbands and children; (d) marriage is carried out on the basis of premarital pregnancy which makes individuals feel ashamed if they are not married.</p>	<p>(a) Poverty and economic survival strategies (b) tradition and culture (c) gender inequality (d) control over sexuality and protecting family honor.</p>
10	Sugiarti [25]	10 (W)	Cirebon Regency	<p>(a) marriage is carried out on the basis of parents' expectations to be able to help the family economy; (b) also married because of parental concerns about the occurrence of bad adolescent associations; (c) marriage occurs because of an arranged marriage with parents; (d) getting married is done because parents think that education for girls is not important because the role of women when they are married is only to take care of the household; (e) marriage is carried out because it covers the disgrace of premarital pregnancy caused by lack of parental supervision</p>	<p>(a) Poverty and economic survival strategies (c) tradition and culture (b) &amp; (e) control over sexuality and protecting family honor (d) gender inequality</p>
11	Hidayati & Uyun [26]	8 (M 4, Informant 4)	Palembang city	<p>(a) marriage is carried out because of the lack of control of adolescents in association with the opposite sex which results in premarital pregnancy; (b) marriage is based on getting love and affection from his wife in the future according to what his mother gave him; (c) marriage is based on a</p>	<p>(a), (b), &amp; (c) Control over sexuality and protecting family honor (d) poverty and economic survival strategies.</p>

				long-standing relationship with the partner and avoids slander from society; (d) getting married because they cannot continue their education due to economic deficiencies and are accustomed to earning a living for their family	
12	Yusmanita [27]	11 (W 6, Informant 5)	Indragiri Hilir Regency	(a) parents marry off their children starting with an arranged marriage to strengthen family relations; (b) marry because of the desire of children to ease the family's economic burden; (c) parents have the opinion that education is not an important thing, it is enough just to graduate from elementary school and then get married immediately; (d) marry on the basis of individual wishes because they love each other and want to realize their love; (e) married because there was a premarital pregnancy and the individual's parents wanted the child to be born to have intact parents	(a) Family ties (b) poverty and economic survival strategies (c) gender inequality (d) & (e) control over sexuality and protecting family honor.
13	Syukaisih [28]	21 (W 7, Informant 14)	Pekanbaru City	(a) getting married because the family's low economy makes education stop, causing a lack of knowledge about reproductive health in adolescents; (b) the absence of activities because children cannot continue their education makes parents worried about deviant behavior that can cause family disgrace, so parents immediately marry off their children; (c) being married is influenced by married peers, discussing sexual activity, and watching porn.	(a) Poverty and economic survival strategies (b) control over sexuality and protecting family honor (c) traditions and culture.
14	Musalim [29]	12 (W 6, M 6)	Kampar District	(a) getting married is caused by lightening the burden on the family; (b) getting married due to premarital pregnancy	(a) Poverty and economic survival strategies (b) control over sexuality and protecting family honor.
15	Wahyuningsih [30]	5 (W)	Musi Rawas Kabupaten District	(a) marriage is carried out on the basis of mutual love and fear of premarital pregnancy; (b) getting married is done because the individual believes that marriage is a form of worship; (c) marriage is carried out because of an arranged marriage conducted by the parents; (d) marriage is carried out due to lack of knowledge about reproductive health and early marriage, this is due to low education due to economic deficiency	(a) Control over sexuality and protecting family honor (b) & (c) tradition and culture (d) poverty and economic survival strategies.

16	B. & Torro [31]	12	Central Mamuju Regency	(a) marriage is carried out because there is a premarital pregnancy caused by a lack of parental control regarding the child's association; (b) the lack of economics makes the individual's education stop and lack of knowledge about early marriage; (c) getting married because parents have arranged an arranged marriage to avoid the occurrence of bad adolescent associations.	(a) & (c) Control over sexuality and protecting family honor (b) poverty and economic survival strategies
17	Parapat [32]	5	Deli Serdang Regency	(a) marriage is based on the parents' goal so that the daughter lives independently and is financed by the man who will marry her, as well as economic deficiencies that also stop education; (b) marriage is carried out because premarital pregnancy occurs due to lack of self-control in adolescents in association with the opposite sex	(a) Poverty and economic survival strategies (b) control over sexuality and protecting family honor
18	Pratiwi et al. [33]	7 (W 3, Informant 4)	Central Bengkulu Regency	(a) marriage is carried out as an individual desire to ease the economic burden on the family; (b) getting married is done because of the fear of losing a partner and wanting to live together with a partner to realize his love; (c) getting married is done because they have routinely had premarital sex and their peers are married too, so it raises a feeling of worry if they don't get married soon they will be referred to as "old maids"	(a) Poverty and economic survival strategies (b) control over sexuality and protecting family honor (c) traditions and culture.
19	Khaerani [34]	-	Sasak	(a) marriage is carried out to realize his love even at first without the knowledge of the parents, but then the parents are forced to allow the child to marry; (b) getting married is done because it is considered the best step because they cannot continue their education due to economic shortages; (c) marriage is carried out as an effort to prosper the family's economy; (d) the peer environment is already married, so the individual wants to get married soon	(a) Control over sexuality and protecting family honor (b) & (c) poverty and economic survival strategies (d) traditions and culture.
20	Satriyandari & Utami [35]	18 (W 5, M 5, Informant 8)	Sleman Regency	(a) marry to cover the shame of not having a partner when giving birth due to premarital pregnancy; (b) getting married because a premarital pregnancy occurs due to the lack of parental control over the association of adolescent children; (c) marriage is carried out because of adolescent promiscuity which usually occurs in the surrounding environment	(a) & (b) Control over sexuality and protecting family honor (c) traditions and culture.



21	Zannah et al. [36]	-	Sumenep Regency	(a) marriage occurs due to parents who have prepared a mate for their daughter in order to avoid being called an "old maid" if they are not married at the age of 15 years; (b) the occurrence of promiscuity which is carried out regularly every night of the week, thus encouraging individuals to get married immediately; (c) marrying due to lack of economics which makes education stop, so marrying a man who is already economically established and of an age to solve the problem	(a) & (b) Tradition and culture (c) poverty and economic survival strategies.
22	Nurwia et al. [37]	7 (Informant 2, 5 W/M)	Central Buton Regency	(a) parents marry off their children with the aim of being able to help meet their parents' living expenses and ease the burden on the family because the children are already the responsibility of the man who marries them; (b) lack of economics causes parents to have low awareness of the importance of education, parents only focus on marrying off their children; (c) the surrounding environment has children who are already in a relationship with a partner or dating, so parents have concerns if they have unpaired children and make parents match their children	(a) & (b) Poverty and economic survival strategies (c) tradition and culture

#### 4. CONCLUSION

Early marriage generally occurs because of family ties, gender inequality, poverty and economic survival strategies, control over sexuality and protecting family honors, tradition and culture, and insecurity [11]. The factors causing early marriage are also described in the results of this study. However, control over sexuality and protecting family honor were the most common factors found in 22 articles. This can be interpreted that this factor is the most influences the decision to marry early in Indonesia. In addition, there are no specific factors that cause early marriage in Indonesia.

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