

DILEMMA OF DISTANCE LEARNING POLICIES IN THE CULTURAL FRAMEWORK OF EARLY MARRIAGE IN AMBUNTEN- SUMENEP, EAST JAVA

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Abstract: During the distance learning period, according to data from the BKKBN Sumenep District, cases of early marriage have increased. This study discusses the effect of distance learning policies implemented in Indonesia during the pandemic period, namely at the end of 2019 to 2021 on cases of early marriage in Ambuntan District, Sumenep Regency, East Java. This study uses primary data from the results of interviews with children who married early in December 2019 to April 2021, namely 5 informants who married at an early age. In addition, researchers made observations about the implementation of distance learning and early marriage there. It was found that distance learning is a stimulus that the culture of early marriage in Sumenep District which they believe is worth doing to minimize the impact of young people's association, namely adultery. The lack of parental role in distance learning assistance, as well as environmental and structural support for early marriage, makes students make marriage a primary choice rather than school. In addition, early marriages that take place occur due to several factors, namely culture, family, and economy.

Keywords: Society, Distance Learning, Early Marriage.

Introduction

Learning, which is expected to have a positive effect on students, actually increases the cases of students who enter into early marriages. Children and parents being forced to stay at home and not mobilize do not provide comfort. According to population data from 1 March 2019-30 December 2019 at the Sumenep District Population and Civil Registration Office. A total of 281 couples out of 1257 early marriage couples. Couples who enter into early marriage are couples who meet the requirements, namely having fourteen factors that influence early marriage so the research conducted is 281 early marriage couples. Early marriage is a marriage whose age is categorized as child age and has been written in Indonesian legislation.¹ Marriage is one of the alternatives for school children and is also one of the traditions of the people of Madura. One tradition that is still preserved by the Madurese community today is marriage at a young age. This marriage is considered common and is still preserved by the Madurese community.²

Studies on distance learning during the Covid 19 pandemic tend to address three things. The first is about parents' anxiety about distance learning. Parents tend to be anxious when they see their children become cranky because they are bored. The child is bored because they only stay at home, and doesn't go to school for a very long time to meet their friends and teachers.³ The second is about the obstacles of distance learning in Indonesia. The implementation of distance learning currently uses technology, one of which is mobile phones and the internet. The use of this technology is a problem for students who come from poor families, and those in rural areas. This condition is an obstacle to distance learning in the Covid-19 era.⁴ The third is about the construction of sexuality and power relations in the discursive practice of early marriage. The phenomenon of early marriage occurs because of the discourse and knowledge formed in society and legitimized by a group of people. Finally, a thought was formed to normalize

¹ Rohmaniyah Inayah, "Konstruksi Seksualitas Dan Relasi Kuasa Dalam Praktik Diskursif Pernikahan Dini," *Musāwa Jurnal Studi Gender Dan Islam* 16, no. 1 (2018): 33–52.

² Agus Khoirotul Waq'ah Mahfudin, "Pernikahan Dini Dan Pengaruhnya Terhadap Keluarga Di Kabupaten Sumenep Jawa Timur," *Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 1, no. 1 (2016).

³ Ibid.

⁴ N. F. Azzahara, *Mengkaji Hambatan Pembelajaran Jarak Jauh Di Indonesia Di Masa Pandemi Covid-19*, 2020.

the phenomenon of early marriage. One form of justification is the discourse on the sin of free sex and the dangers of the female body.⁵

This article aims to complement existing studies that have not yet revealed the effectiveness of distance learning carried out during the Covid 19 period. The main focus of this study is the high number of cases of early marriage performed by students during distance learning. Distance learning indirectly affects the minds and behavior of children so they decide to carry out early marriage. This article will answer three questions. First, the practice of early marriage occurs in the ambunten, sumenep district east java. Second, the factors that cause children to decide to do early marriage during distance learning. Third, how the implications of post-marriage conditions have been experienced by families, children, and society.

Early marriage is a practice that is still perpetuated by the community, especially in the Ambunten sub-district of the Sumenep district. The Ambunten community still performs early marriages for their children. Children who are still undergoing education also freely perform early marriages. The reason they do early marriage is because of several factors such as economy, education, parents, self, Covid-19, and arranged marriage. The practice of early marriage persists in the Ambunten because the various factors above have become a culture. Although children and parents know about the good and bad of early marriage, they still carry it out. The discourse that it is better to get married than to commit adultery is also a benchmark for why early marriage should be practiced.

This research wants to take a deeper look at the concept of early marriage in the Ambunten amid distance learning during the pandemic. Is early marriage a solution to avoid adultery, by putting aside the formal education that is being pursued? or is distance learning the main stimulus for justifying early marriage so as not to commit adultery? This question will be explored in more depth in this article.

The Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia has caused a tremendous impact on society. The impact of Covid-19 occurs in various fields such as

⁵ D. Inayah, "Komodifikasi Sensualitas Perempuan Dalam Film Indonesia (Analisis Isi Pada Film 'Negeri Tanpa Telinga')" (Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang, 2017).

social, economic, tourism and education.⁶ Therefore, a circular was issued by the government on March 18, 2020, and all indoor and outdoor activities in all sectors were temporarily postponed to reduce the spread of corona, especially in the education sector. On March 24, 2020, the minister of education issued circular number 4 of 2020 concerning the implementation of education policies during the emergency period of the spread of Covid-19 in the circular explained that the learning process was carried out at home through online or distance learning facilities. This learning is carried out to provide meaningful learning experiences for students. Learning activities from home have a focus on life skills education, including the Covid-19 pandemic.⁷ The learning process is carried out at school using online or distance learning through the guidance of their respective parents. Online implementation, among others, is to utilize the internet network in the online learning process. In online learning students have the flexibility of time to learn, can learn whenever and wherever students are and by using online have their methods of teaching and learning. Students can interact with teachers through several applications that have available namely classroom, video conference, telephone or live chat, zoom, and WA group.

Early marriage is one of the crucial and serious problems in Indonesia. According to data from UNICEF, the country with the highest presentation of early marriage in the world, Indonesia is included in the top five. According to the report of the National Family Planning Coordinating Board (BKKBN), Basic Health Research (Riskesdas) data in 2010 showed that the age of marriage between the ages of 15-19 years was 41.9 percent. The results of BKKBN research show that several factors influence women's first marriage including social, economic, cultural, and rural-urban residence.⁸

Early marriage is the marriage of children whose age is categorized as children's age as above. According to Indonesian Law No. 23 of 2002 concerning child protection article 1 number 1 "A child is someone who is

⁶ Jawahir Gustav Rizal, "Pandemi Covid-19, Apa Saja Dampak Pada Sektor Ketenagakerjaan Indonesia?," Kompas.com, 2020, https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2020/08/11/102500165/pandemi-covid-19-apa-saja-dampak-pada-sektor-ketenagakerjaan-indonesia?page=all#google_vignette.

⁷ W. A. F. Dewi, "Dampak Covid-19 Terhadap Implementasi Pembelajaran Daring Di Sekolah Dasar," *Edukatif: Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan* 2, no. 1 (2020): 55–61.

⁸ Soebijanto Ida Ayu Sriudiyani, "Perkawinan Muda Di Kalangan Anak Muda: Mengapa?," *Policy Brief Pusat Penelitian Dan Pengembangan Kependudukan, BKKBN* 1, no. 6 (2011).

not yet 18 years old including children who are still in the womb.” In line with this law, early marriage or child marriage according to the International Plan Parenthood Federation (IPPF) is: “any marriage carried out below the age of 18 years, before the girl is physically, physiologically, and psychologically ready to shoulder the responsibilities of marriage and childbearing.”⁹

One of the problems faced by families and a problem in Indonesia is early marriage. From data obtained by UNICEF 2003, Indonesia is the 5th country with the highest presentation of early marriage in the world. According to the report of the national family planning coordinating agency (BKKBN), basic health research data (risekdas) in 2010 showed that the first age of child marriage at the age of 15-19 years was 41.9 percent.¹⁰ The ratio of early marriages in urban areas in 2021 was 26 out of 1000 marriages. This increased in 2013 to 32 out of 1000 marriages, therefore the data makes that until now early marriage is still a trend for some people in Indonesia.¹¹

While in Islamic law regarding underage marriage according to the opinion of the fiqh is the goal. the purpose of marriage in religion is not only to get offspring but also to fulfill religious instructions to establish a harmonious, prosperous and happy family. Harmonious in using the rights and obligations of family members. Prosperous means the creation of physical and mental tranquility due to the fulfillment of the needs of physical and mental life so that happiness arises, namely love between family members.¹²

Early marriage not only causes happiness but also causes various problems. Some of the problems that arise are domestic conflicts. This conflict occurs because there are things that do not match the expectations and desires of the couples. Another factor is the economy, which is not fulfilling household needs. The problem that causes early divorce is the mental immaturity and lack of maturity of early marriage couples. Furthermore, domestic violence (KDRT) is due to ongoing disagreements and no problem solving so one of them escapes by committing domestic

⁹ Inayah, “Konstruksi Seksualitas Dan Relasi Kuasa Dalam Praktik Diskursif Pernikahan Dini,” 33–52.

¹⁰ Soebijanto Ida Ayu Sriudiyani, “Perkawinan Muda Di Kalangan Anak Muda: Mengapa?”

¹¹ Inayah, “Konstruksi Seksualitas Dan Relasi Kuasa Dalam Praktik Diskursif Pernikahan Dini,” 33–52.

¹² Abdul Rahman Ghozali, *Fiqh Munakahat* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2010).

violence. The next problem is the lack of experience in taking care of children because they already have children at a young age. The lack of knowledge of couples in educating children can be caused by parents who have low education and mental immaturity.

This research uses a qualitative method where the researcher goes directly to the research site. The research was conducted in May 2021-June 2021 in various villages in the district of Ambunten Sumenep East Java. Researchers get data from 5 informants who have done early marriage either women who are still underage or both partners are still underage. With the data that has been obtained, namely the couple AN (marriage at the age of 14 years) the last education of elementary school, and MG (marriage at the age of 15) the last education of junior high school this couple married in March 2020. The second couple G (married at the age of 23) and AZ (married at the age of 16) have the last education of junior high school, this couple married in April 2020. The third couple is HL (married at the age of 25) and TK (married at the age of 16) currently in grade 3 high school this couple got married in February 2021. The fourth couple is TT (married at 19 years old) last education is junior high school and CT (married at 14 years old) dropped out of school during junior high school this couple got married in November 2020. The fifth couple is SY (married at 17 years old) with the last education of junior high school and IA (married at 16 years old) currently still attending grade 11 high school. The above is data on research subjects from several couples who entered into early marriage during the Covid-19 pandemic. The data was obtained by researchers through random samples.

The Implementation of Distance Learning Policy amid Early Marriage Culture

The case of early marriage in Indonesia has been in the spotlight and has increased from year to year. Indonesia ranks 37th in the number of early marriages in the world, and 2nd in Southeast Asia. Culture and population density are factors influencing the high number of early childhood cases in Indonesia.¹³ In this study, the author focused more on children who had early marriages during the pandemic, namely at the end of 2019-2021. There is a fact that one of the causes of early marriage in the Sumenep Subdistrict is

¹³ Nasution Rosramadhana, *Ketertindasan Perempuan Dalam Tradisi Kawin Anom: Sibaltren Perempuan Pada Suku Banjar Dalam Perspektif Postcolonial* (Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2016).

Distance Learning carried out by students. Distance Learning makes children vulnerable to not continuing school, so dropping out of school is a decision that many take while implementing the education policy. Policy implementation is how individuals or groups and institutions carry out program administrative activities or actions on previously decided policies.¹⁴ The distance learning policy that is carried out provides many illustrations that the existing obstacles cannot necessarily be overcome. Especially looking at the conditions that exist in each different region, one of the results of this study found that economic factors are the biggest obstacle in implementing distance learning policies. There is no qualified facility to carry out remote learning, so this system is only carried out using existing facilities.

The existing facilities are mostly private, namely cell phones. Through mobile, there are restrictions on mobilization, and distance learning is carried out only by conveying assignments and sharing information via mobile. Furthermore, the learning process cannot be carried out optimally, this is also due to economic factors, namely, parents must continue to make a living and there is no time to accompany their children. Finally, the learning is independently carried out by children. Such a system makes for a failure in the implementation of distance learning policies. The existing facilities are mostly private, namely cell phones. Through mobile, there are restrictions on mobilization, and distance learning is carried out only by conveying assignments and sharing information via mobile. Furthermore, the learning process cannot be carried out optimally, this is also due to economic factors, namely, parents must continue to make a living and there is no time to accompany their children. Finally, the learning is independently carried out by children. Such a system makes for a failure in the implementation of distance learning policies. The existence of unpreparedness of the system gives it emphasizes that the importance of the policy implementation process must pay attention to the readiness of the group that implements it. Resources in this case including the existing system are one of the factors that must be considered in the performance of policy implementation so

¹⁴ D. S. Van Meter and C. E. Van Horn, "The Policy Implementation Process: A Conceptual Framework," *Administration & Society* 6, no. 4 (1975): 445–88. P. Sabatier and D. Mazmanian, "The Implementation of Public Policy: A Framework of Analysis," *Policy Studies Journal* 8, no. 4 (1980): 538–60. M. S. Grindle, *Politics and Policy Implementation in The Third World*, vol. 4880 (Princeton University Press, 2017).

resource readiness has a large role in the implementation of distance learning policies.¹⁵ The findings in this study, the resource factor looks so weak that the implementation of distance learning policies can be declared unsuccessful. One of the indicators of non-success is the high dropout rate during the implementation of distance learning.

Selain sumber daya, kondisi lingkungan adalah faktor utama yang mempengaruhi adanya kinerja kebijakan, sehingga dapat berhasil atau tidak.¹⁶ Environmental conditions, both geographically and culturally existing, are major factors that influence the implementation of a policy. In this study, a culture was found that was very contrary to the carrying capacity of the existence of distance learning policies. The culture of early marriage that existed long before the existence of the distance learning policy made the implementation of this policy worse. In the culture of early marriage, this research was carried out because of the lack of parental knowledge about the importance of children's education. So that education is carried out without more effort to succeed and reach a higher and independent level. There is a fact that distance learning is carried out by middle and high school students online there is boredom experienced by parents and children when carrying out Distance Learning. In addition to being a culture where formal education is considered less important, many other cultures also end up being obstacles to the implementation of this policy.

Madurese people are known as a society that is thick with cultural preservation and customs. Many customs were passed down by ancestors and became traditions that are still practiced today.¹⁷ One of the traditions that are still practiced today is the tradition of marrying at an early age. This practice of early marriage is considered prevalent and is still preserved by the Madurese community. As an area that still preserves culture, according to a report by the Office of Women's Empowerment for Child Protection and Population (DP3AK) of East Java Province until the end of September 2020,

¹⁵ H. E. Kapioru, "Implementasi Peraturan Daerah Kota Kupang Nomor 15 Tahun 2011 Tentang Retribusi Pelayanan Parkir Di Tepi Jalan Umum," *Nominal: Barometer Riset Akuntansi Dan Manajemen* 3, no. 1 (2014): 101-19.

¹⁶ Ibid. E. A. Purwanto, "Revitalisasi Studi Implementasi Kebijakan Publik," *Jurnal Kebijakan Dan Administrasi Publik* 8 (2004).

¹⁷ Mahfudin, "Pernikahan Dini Dan Pengaruhnya Terhadap Keluarga Di Kabupaten Sumenep Jawa Timur."

it was 4.79 percent (9,453 out of 197,068) of child marriage age of 19 years and 16 years.¹⁸ In the data, it is stated that Madurese society is one of the largest contributors to women's first marriage at the age of fewer than 20 years. This is alleged because the Madurese people still preserve the culture of early marriage which are still a custom today. Meanwhile, child marriage according to data in Sumenep regency reaches 60 percent. The data above is data obtained from BKKBN and is a benchmark that cases of early marriage are still widely carried out by the Madurese people. The data comes from population data from March 1, 2019, to December 30, 2019, at the Population and Civil Registration Service of Sumenep Regency. A total of 281 couples out of 1257 eligible early marriage couples, namely early marriage couples have fourteen factors that affect early marriage, so the study 281 early marriage couples.¹⁹

From the data above, it can be seen that the practice of early marriage is still perpetuated by the people of Ambunten Sumenep, East Java. The practice of early marriage is still a habit of the local community. The culture of marrying young where there is a discourse of the Ambunten community that according to religion early marriage is the best step to avoid adultery and maintain the good name of the family makes it deeply rooted and becomes a tradition of the people of ambunten sub-district of sumenep regency. The actions taken by most societies by allowing their children to marry at an early age, and children who are willing to marry are part of perpetuating values. Values that are considered true and believed in that society. In Ambunten Subdistrict, some people perform marriages at a young age so the purpose of this marriage is not realized by the community because the above discourse becomes a habit of the community based on forming a happy and eternal family based on divinity. The actions taken by most societies by allowing their children to marry at an early age, and children who are willing to marry are part of perpetuating values. Values that are considered true and believed in that society. In Ambunten Subdistrict, some people perform marriages at a young age so the purpose of this marriage is not realized by the community

¹⁸ Ribus Wijoto, "Data Tahun 2020 Sampai Bulan September 197 Ribu Anak Di Jatim Nikah Usia 16 – 19 Tahun, Gubernur Akan Terbitkan SE," *Berita Jatim*, 2021, <https://beritajatim.com/politik-pemerintahan/9-ribu-anak-di-jatim-nikah-usia-16-19-tahun-gubernur-akan-terbitkan-se/>.

¹⁹ *Dokumen Dinas Kependudukan Sumenep Tahun*, 2019.

because the above discourse becomes a habit of the community based on forming a happy and eternal family based on divinity.²⁰

For the people of Ambunten Subdistrict, Sumenep Regency, early marriage has become a tradition because it has a construction that it is better to marry early than to commit adultery and it is better to maintain the good name of the family, this has taken root in the life of the ambunten community. Therefore the deep-rooted construction makes society accustomed to early marriage. This is evidenced because the practice of early marriage with children who do not have an ID card and even still occupy school is well implemented. Carrying out the procedure of underhand marriage (*nikah sir*). Siri marriage is carried out at the Islamic Boarding School with the presence of Penghulu (Kiai), marriage guardians, and witnesses but children who do not have a marriage certificate ID card will be detained in the KUA. The structures and systems that support the practice of early marriage have made stimulus the increasing phenomenon of early marriage practices during the pandemic. In addition to the distance learning system that makes it better for people to marry than schools, there are also environments and community structures that can perpetuate this practice, namely parents, religious leaders, and of course the government itself so that the term “understanding of marriage certificates” appears in KUA if they are not old enough.

Early Marriage and its Legalization Polemics

The existence of the practice of early marriage is the problem of how the mechanism of early marriage is carried out so that it becomes an impeachment and legalized by local norms and customs. The practice of betel marriage (religious marriage) for children has resulted in many people in Ambunten District conducting child marriages by manipulating the age to be legally and religiously approved and recorded by the KUA. The phenomenon of siri marriage is familiar in Madura, this has been done and has become a culture. Many things underlie it, namely economic limitations (kua marriage costs are expensive), limited information about the impact of serial marriage,

²⁰ Inayah, “Konstruksi Seksualitas Dan Relasi Kuasa Dalam Praktik Diskursif Pernikahan Dini,” 33–52.

and the culture/beliefs adopted by the local community.²¹ This result is in line with research in Madura that age manipulation is considered legal for the community, so informants say that age registration in KUA is only to get a marriage certificate. According to one of the sources about the marriage he ran the couple AN and MG their marriage is still not recorded in KUA because they still do not have an ID card and if the couple is still at the age of eating a marriage certificate, they will be detained. It is no different from other underage couples when they hold their weddings in series where the marriage is not held in KUA but in Islamic boarding schools with Penghulu (Kiai Pondok), witnesses and guardians of marriage, the marriage will be directed at the Islamic boarding school.

Early marriages also involve both parents and parents' responses to marriages performed by their children are mixed. The reason parents approve of their children's marriage is that they are afraid that their children will get slandered by neighbors because they often invite their fiancées to play at home as the couple SY(17) and IA(16) parents anticipate so that unwanted things do not happen. Fears of adultery and promiscuity make early marriages rampant, especially in permissive environmental conditions.²² This condition underlies parents marrying off their children even though parents do not know whether the decision is correct or not because it is to maintain the good name of the family. Meanwhile, the parents of other couples do want a wedding because their child has not continued school and the groom's family wants a wedding. Parents of children in the Ambunten Sumenep Subdistrict are used to allowing their children to leave school because the discourse of marriage is better than adultery which is then reconstructed by the community so that it becomes a culture in the Ambunten Sumenep community. In addition to the reason for adultery, it is also a polemic in itself that children who are still early to marry and have children are the pride of their parents.²³ It is also experienced informants that the culture of early

²¹ A. F. M. Sufyan, "Analisis Terhadap Tingginya Nikah Siri Di Kabupaten Pamekasan," *Al-Manhaj: Journal of Indonesian Islamic Family Law* 1, no. 2 (2019): 161–95.

²² E. R. Oktavia et al., "Pengetahuan Risiko Pernikahan Dini Pada Remaja Umur 13-19 Tahun," *HIGEIA (Journal of Public Health Research and Development)* 2, no. 2 (2018): 239–48.

²³ D. Trisilowaty and N. D. K. S. Hidayati, "Budaya Perkawinan Anak Di Madura," *Prosiding SNP2M (Seminar Nasional Penelitian Dan Pengabdian Masyarakat) UNIM* 2 (2020): 196–201. F. Rahman et al.,

marriage in Sumenep is a proud thing, not something that is considered taboo or even prohibited. Parents and the environment provide full support for this practice, especially since the pandemic has made environmental factors and education policies the main triggers for the increase in cases of early marriage.

Furthermore, the educational conditions there were found that the teacher's response to his students who dropped out of school because of an early marriage did not have the power to give the decision to continue school. The condition of women who are pregnant or married tends to experience rejection in educational institutions.²⁴ This is because teachers do not have the right to accept when rules and systems do not provide opportunities for it. The dilemma of regulations and policies in the field of education must not override the moral and ethical values that exist within a sphere of society. So the issue of education and early childhood marriage in Indonesia is something complex. This can be seen from the educational attainment of children who are easily married much lower in children who marry at a fairly mature age.²⁵ In addition, education is also one of the main factors in how this early marriage becomes a culture in an area. Low education has a high chance of getting married to parents immediately regardless of what activities are carried out. This is also a form of parental concern if the child is in a relationship with the opposite sex.²⁶ This fact can give the government a separate record to make efforts so that the education that should be the right of every citizen can be enjoyed by each citizen. This is so that the level of education and public knowledge about the negative impacts of early marriage can be well socialized.²⁷

The tradition of carrying out betrothal in childhood or adolescence makes the school a complementary institution of the family itself so that

"Kajian Budaya Remaja Pelaku Pernikahan Dini Di Kota Banjarbaru Kalimantan Selatan," *Media Kesehatan Masyarakat Indonesia* 11, no. 2 (2015): 108–17.

²⁴ E. Mambaya and S. Stang, "No TitleFaktor Yang Berhubungan Dengan Pernikahan Dini Di Kelurahan Pangli Kecamatan Sesean Kabupaten Toraja Utara," *Media Kesehatan Masyarakat Indonesia Universitas Hasanuddin* 7, no. 2 (2011).

²⁵ B. A. Pratiwi et al., "Analisis Pernikahan Usia Dini Di Kabupaten Bengkulu Tengah Tahun 2017," *Jurnal Kesmas Asclepius* 1, no. 1 (2019): 14–24.

²⁶ Oktavia et al., "Pengetahuan Risiko Pernikahan Dini Pada Remaja Umur 13-19 Tahun," 239–48.

²⁷ F. Bahriyah, S. Handayani, and A. W. Astuti, "Pengalaman Pernikahan Dini Di Negara Berkembang: Scoping Review," *Journal of Midwifery and Reproduction* 4, no. 2 (2021): 94–105.

education cannot go hand in hand with the existence of life at home. The fact is that children who are still in school already have a partner both married and who is still fiancée. In the end, most of them dropped out of school because of a couple whom both thought getting married was better to avoid adultery. The distance learning policy, as if to be a stimulus to increase the case of early marriage. The results of the study found that their frequent activities at home and without the burden of education and work chose to get married was the right thing. This can be seen in one of the couples who are still in school, namely the couple SY (17) and IA (16) the IA party as the female party is still a high school student because the couple has graduated from high school and invited her to get married. The existence of PJJ makes the intensity of meeting increase and the reduction of educational activities so that the decision to get married is made. However, if the school is aware of the incident of early marriage, the school is concerned about this case because it is an act that violates the regulations. This is also the case with the couple HL(25) and TK(16) the kindergarten still has the status of a high school student but the marriage is also still being carried out. The practice of early marriage was in the spotlight of the school but the school could not do much because it had been initiated by its parents.

The contradiction between the implementation of the distance learning policy and the culture of early marriage in Ambunten District provides a form of evaluation for the policy. The implementation of the distance learning policy makes children interact more and more with gadgets, so the opportunity to access adult content is increasing. This has resulted in many early marriages due to getting pregnant outside of marriage.²⁸ So the implementation of the PJJ policy and its success is strongly influenced by existing resource and environmental factors. If the environment is supportive and the condition of the community with values that they believe can be used to support the food policy implementation can be carried out as expected. If not, then the government must make a special effort to provide treatment following the conditions of the community and the environment. This is done solely for the success and sustainability of the remote learning policy carried out during the Covid-19 pandemic. Apart from the weaknesses of this

²⁸ Anik Wahyuningtyas, "Fenomena Pernikahan Dini Di Masa Pandemi," Bhirawa Online, 2020, <https://www.harianbhirawa.co.id/fenomena-pernikahan-dini-di-masa-pandemi/>.

system, the existence of PJJ innovation is part of the change and adaptation of society and its environment to be better in the future.

Early marriages carried out by children in ambunten sub-district are not without reason. The reason why children carry out early marriages as done by the couple SY(17) and IA (16) Due to Covid 19 students doing PJJ became bored and my thinking changed my desire to continue school became disrupted. This is one of the reasons to leave school because he is lazy with learning at school and engrossed in his fiancée. One of the couples HL(25) and TK(16) also experienced something similar TK was one of the high school students experiencing unrest "my house on the mountain I also don't have a smartphone looking for a cell network is difficult then my fiancée asks to get married and the parents agree" those are some of the reasons underlying some couples having early marriages.²⁹ Therefore, the dissolution of discourse and has been frozen by religious leaders makes the actions of society. This became the living belief of the ambunten community tradition to the basis of marrying off their children to avoid adultery and to maintain the good name of the family. However, some sources say that early marriage has bad grades because it can have an impact on divorce and even domestic violence due to the lack of psychological maturity and maturity of a child and maturity in decision-making.

Life Implications of Early Marriage and Educational Sustainability

Etymologically the term sexuality does not yet exist in Indonesian. Sexuality comes from the word sex which has the meaning of distinguishing features between women and men. Sexuality itself is the interaction between biological, psychological, and environmental values as well as other social factors of the individual consisting of knowledge, norms, rules of behavior as well as subjectivity related to sex.³⁰ In life after marriage, many things need to be done and considered for married couples, as well as for couples resulting from early marriage. Life after early marriage is an important thing to highlight. Like the post-marital life practiced by couples G(23) and AZ(16), their view of the duty of husband and wife is to earn a living to be the duty

²⁹ Inayah, "Konstruksi Seksualitas Dan Relasi Kuasa Dalam Praktik Diskursif Pernikahan Dini," 33–52.

³⁰ Mardiana, "Aktivitas Seksual PraLansia Dan Lansia Yang Berkunjung Ke Poliklinik Geriatri Rumah Sakit Pusat Angkatan Udara DR Esnawan Antariksa," 2012. D. Fujiati, "Seksualitas Perempuan Dalam Budaya Patriarki," *MUWAZAH: Jurnal Kajian Gender* 8, no. 1 (2016).

of a husband, while the wife is to help the husband. Such is the result of the interview about the duties of the husband and wife of the above couple. After the marriage, the husband worked for a living, and G worked odd jobs, at the same time, he worked as a farm laborer, and a coolie, and worked on projects. As for MG(15) and AN(14) couples, the duties of husband and wife become the post-marital life of MG and AN couples because they interpret their duties as husband and wife and carry out the portion they want. Whereas with newly married couples SY(17) and IA(16) their understanding of the duties of husband and wife is still not applicable to them in their post-marital life because they are still living with their parents this is because their decision to marry them is very fast and the husband has not worked while the wife is still a high school student. Here are the factors that cause the high number of early marriages and their impact on the sustainability of education in Ambunten District.

1. Economic Factors.

The people of the Ambunten have a majority of livelihoods as farmers and fishermen and the income level is quite low. In addition to the tradition of not being allowed to refuse proposals, there is also the assumption that child marriage economically reduces the burden on the family.³¹ Therefore, the economic level including the lower middle class is also experienced by parents of underage couples such as one the couples MG(15) and AN (14) the couple got married at a young age and the parents with low income after marriage the couple went to Kalimantan to make a living together so that the parents did not pay for their daughters because they were already provided for by their husbands. Economic factors and the assumption that children are a burden make children's access to education very difficult. It is a social problem that the mindset about the importance of education in the family to improve people's living standards can be improved. Socialization and internalization of the importance of education and improving the quality of human resources through formal and informal education.

If economic uncertainty is the main factor in the existence of early marriage, then this must be found a solution.³² The existence of

³¹ A. Juhaidi and M. Umar, "Pernikahan Dini, Pendidikan, Kesehatan Dan Kemiskinan Di Indonesia, Masihkah Berkorelasi?," *Khazanah: Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Humaniora* 18, no. 1 (2020): 1–24.

³² *Ibid.*

economic factors should be minimized by the government's efforts to provide educational assistance through social security policies. So it is hoped that assistance from the economic sector in the field of education provides a form of illustration that receiving education at a low cost can provide a better life expectancy. In addition, the opening of job opportunities for people living in 3T areas through the form of affirmation policies, provides opportunities to achieve a better level of the economy. Socialization of these programs that support education in Indonesia should be more expandable and carried out massively.

2. Personal Factors

Parents and family are one of the factors of marriage at a young age, where the construction of the Madurese community has been formed that will soon marry off their children if they are adults because this has been done for generations. Parents will not calm down if their children are not married and it is a desire that their children must follow so that parents' worries can disappear, namely fear of committing adultery.³³ A suitable couple will carry out therefore this is a major factor if the parents approve and support the marriage then the early marriage will proceed. In addition to economic factors, underage marriages occur in the ambunten sub-district of Sumenep regency due to the self-will of the couple. This is because the two already fell in love with each other, so there is a desire to get married immediately regardless of age. Like the couple SY (17) and AI (16) even though the female side still has the status of a student, it does not hinder both parties because there is already a belief in getting married and loving each other. Therefore, the choice of parents so that negative things and slander from neighbors do not happen, then early marriage is carried out. The role of the family in providing value instillation about the importance of education is the main thing. When the family does not provide support for the instillation of values in children on the importance of education, the child will not be motivated to get a high education. Education and knowledge are considered unimportant parts of life. The quality of human resources is the key to a change in civilization. The environment can change for the

³³ Kohno et al., "Why Girls Get Married Early in Sarawak, Malaysia - an Exploratory Qualitative Study," *BMC Women's Health* 20 46, no. 1 (2020).

better if the agents of change, namely humans themselves, do not have the fighting power and quality to change the environment for the better

Assistance for both families and individuals to continue their education well before marriage is an important thing that needs to be instilled early. Individual readiness for knowledge and mentality is the main provision in carrying out marriage and not just the fulfillment of wants or needs. So education must be at the forefront of reducing the main factor of this early marriage, namely personal desire. Education through government programs must be included in living rooms to collaborate to build a better generation.³⁴ It is not only the task of the teacher in the school, but the teacher and parents must collaborate to realize a strong mental state in the child.

3. Cultural Factors.

The existence of hereditary discourse has been reproduced and become a consequence in a society where "early marriage is better than adultery and it is better to maintain the good name of the family. This construction is deeply rooted in the life of the Madurese people so various practices of arranged marriages and engagements have emerged, giving rise to the practice of early marriage as has been done by the couples above. In addition, the existence of arranged marriages from childhood is also a culture that stimulates early marriage. The purpose of child-arranged marriages is for personal and family interests. Both sides want to unite their children for a purpose-based interest. To maintain the lineage The marriage is carried out with the aim that the lineage in the family is not lost. Therefore, parents make an arranged marriage in their family. Where the girl since childhood has been betrothed by her parents, and immediately married off shortly after the child menstruates. Generally, girls start menstruating at the age of 12. Hereditary marriages are carried out early because of the culture of engagement from an early age which causes children to have a partner. As the couple HL(25) and TK(17) did the couple were matched and engaged in junior high school so the two of them were very close and then had a wedding. Similarly, the couple G(23) and AZ(16) started their meeting because they met with the family and then they liked each other and matched each other and

³⁴ S. Nurjanah and M. Ikhsanudin, "Dampak Pernikahan Dini Terhadap Pendidikan Anak Dalam Keluarga," *Al-I'tibar: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 5, no. 1 (2018): 38–44.

carried out the wedding. Madurese people determine a mate for their child based on three choices, the first is a parental agreement when the child is still in the womb to maintain the line of friendship or maintain a relationship. Second, the will of parents who want to match their children since childhood, whether there is permission from their children or there is no permission from their children. Third, the will of the bride-to-be from a man or woman who chooses for herself the future life partner with the blessing of the parents.

This culture is a manifestation of modern education that cannot be built properly. So hanging on to life by simply marrying and marrying as a door to move on with life is a form of conservative action that is not worth maintaining. The high rate of child marriage shows that the empowerment of law enforcement in marriage law is still low.³⁵ So socialization and internalization of the law of marriage is an absolute thing to do to form a new, more massive culture. Presenting the concept of modern and religious education is one of the efforts to socialize and internalize Islamic values and positive laws about the importance of mental strengthening and readiness before marriage. Again, not only the government must carry out this whole task but educational institutions, and parents also collaborate, synergizing as a whole to realize the construction of the desired value in our society in a good way about marriage and proper marriage.

Cultural factors are a strong factor where early marriage amid the implementation of distance learning policies is increasing.³⁶ A conservative mindset over the culture that exists in an environment can construct people's behavior so that it is like the prevailing culture. If you cannot build a new habit from people who have the belief to change the environment, it will not be able to be changed according to the needs of the new environment. One of the needs of the new environment is education. Educational needs should be fought to improve the quality of human resources. If the quality of education improves, childcare patterns will also be better, so the potential to

³⁵ S. Salmah, "Pernikahan Dini Ditinjau Dari Sudut Pandang Sosial Dan Pendidikan," *Al-Hiwar: Jurnal Ilmu Dan Teknik Dakwah* 4, no. 6 (2017).

³⁶ Bahriyah, Handayani, and Astuti, "Pengalaman Pernikahan Dini Di Negara Berkembang: Scoping Review."

ask children to marry at an early age will also decrease.³⁷ In addition, the increasing knowledge of families and parents about marriage will also be a provision for them not to be permissive of the request for early marriage that has been carried out and has become a culture.³⁸ The government should also make efforts to socialize about marriage rules and the negative impacts of early marriage both from health, social and economic aspects.³⁹

Conclusion

The practice of early marriage carried out by the ambunten community of Sumenep regency is increasing during the pandemic. This is because the distance learning policy is considered ineffective and has an impact on reducing children's educational activities. So many students choose to carry out marriages instead of not doing activities and just waiting and doing independent tasks that cannot be done. The failure of remote learning practices is influenced by the limited existing system, economic factors, and human resources, namely families who cannot assist students.

The practice of early marriage is also faced with the fact that the existence of early marriage is better than adultery. This is supported by Kiyai as religious figures through the mechanism of serial marriage in Islamic boarding schools as well as from the KUA who withhold marriage books before they are old enough. This means that the legalization of this practice becomes a difficult polemic regardless of the culture of society. Some factors trigger early marriage, namely economic factors, personal factors, and cultural factors. This can be reduced by the commitment of the government, religious leaders, and parents to build a new culture, namely an education-conscious culture.

³⁷ Mambaya and Stang, "No TitleFaktor Yang Berhubungan Dengan Pernikahan Dini Di Kelurahan Pangli Kecamatan Sesean Kabupaten Toraja Utara."

³⁸ Rahman et al., "Kajian Budaya Remaja Pelaku Pernikahan Dini Di Kota Banjarbaru Kalimantan Selatan."

³⁹ Sufyan, "Analisis Terhadap Tingginya Nikah Siri Di Kabupaten Pamekasan."

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