



## Low Education and Early Marriage in Madura: a Literature Review

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Article Info	Abstract
<p>Article History : Received June 2019 Accepted July 2019 Published October 2019</p> <p>Keywords: Low Education, Early Marriage Groundwater, Literature Review</p>	<p>A number of data show that early marriages still occur in Madura. This is caused by several factors, one of which is low education. This study took place in Madura because in Madura early marriage is still quite a lot done. Some of the underlying factors are the Islamic understanding that if a child is already adult (<i>baligh</i>), they can already get married. In addition, Madurese people still adhere to the tradition of matchmaking and the existence of a belief called <i>sangkal</i> (if women reject applications from men, they will become spinsters or <i>ta paju lake</i> ). This study aims to conduct a literature review on the low level of education with the occurrence of early marriage in Madura. Literature search is done through portalgaruda.org, google scholar, and onesearch.id database by using the keywords "<i>pernikahan dini</i>" ("early marriage") and "<i>tingkat pendidikan</i>" ("level of education"). The literature collected by using these keywords are 31 articles, but after adding the keyword "<i>Madura</i>" the literature collected becomes 7 articles. The method used in this study is a study of narrative literature. The study shows that low education plays a role in the occurrence of early marriage in Madura.</p>

## INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is one of the countries that has a high rate of early marriage in the world. Data on early marriage shows Indonesia is ranked second in Southeast Asia after Cambodia (Rachmad, 2017). Madura is one of the regions in Indonesia located in East Java Province, where the region is based on data from the East Java National Population and Family Planning Board (BKKBN) including areas with high rates of early marriage.

According to the East Java Province BKKBN Youth Section Head, most early marriages occur in Madura, which is around 60% and evenly distributed in four districts, Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep (Sakdiyah & Ningsih, 2013). Early marriage also occurs in the Madurese subculture who live in "horseshoe" ("*tapal kuda*") areas (including Pasuruan, Probolinggo, Lumajang, Jember, Situbondo, Bondowoso, and Banyuwangi). In Probolinggo District, for example, according to the records of the local Religious Court (PA), the marriage rate under the age of 15 in 2008 increased by 500% compared to 2007, where as of September 2008 there were 10 marriages whose age was below 15 year (Hanafi, 2005).

Next data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) in 2013 (Yunitasari, Pradanie, & Susilawati, 2016) stated that the number of women aged 10 years and under 17 years in East Java (2011-2013) was 26.33%, where the number of early marriages was still high in Bondowoso (53.26%), Situbondo (51.54%), Probolinggo (48.09%), Sumenep (45.08%), and Sampang (43.33%).

Based on these data, many early marriages still occur on Madura Island (Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, Sumenep) small islands around Madura Island, and "horseshoe" ("*tapal kuda*") areas (Pasuruan, Probolinggo, Lumajang, Jember, Situbondo, Bondowoso, and Banyuwangi) (Hanafi, 2005; Haryono, 2008; Wibisono & Hariyono, 2009; Aryani, Widyarini, & Nurhaqimah, 2012; Fatmawati, 2012) because Madurese ethnic communities and Madurese subculture

communities still hold the matchmaking tradition (Sakdiyah & Ningsih, 2013; Rahayu & Bawono, 2017) both done since still in the womb (Sidiq, 2003; Sadik, 2014) and have moved on in childhood known as the *tan-mantaran* tradition. A bride child tradition is like that of an adult bride, which is done from the beginning of the engagement process (*bebekalan*) to the wedding reception process, but the difference is not done as obedient as the adult bride does, because they are still around 4-10 years old so that it has not been bound as husband and wife (Bawono, 2017).

Early marriage in Madurese women continued to occur due to the belief held by the community. Bahrudin's research (Bawono, 2012) in Banjarbillah Village, Tambelangan Subdistrict, Sampang Regency, Madura found that village communities believed that friendship between men and women who were not married was a sinful act and could cause slander. All villagers are Muslims who adhere to the teachings of Islam that marriage is the duty of all Muslims and that someone must be married if he/she reaches a sufficient age (*baligh*). In addition, if there are women who have reached the age of 15-18 years, and are not married, they will become the material of public gossip and ridiculed with the denial that there will be no more young men willing to marry the girl for a long time (*ta' paju lake*).

This belief in denial (*sangkal*) caused the villagers to marry off their children immediately, even Sidiq's (2003) study in Panaongan and Lebbeng Barat Villages, Pasongsongan Sub district, Sumenep Regency found that if the girl refused her marriage, the daughter would receive sanctions from her family and her parents did not interfere in the search for the next match.

Apart from the matchmaking and beliefs believed by the Madurese ethnic community and the Madura subculture, early marriage still occurs due to low educational factors. Although this early marriage has a direct impact on the disconnection of education and women's reproductive health (Sakdiyah & Ningsih, 2013; Sumbulah & Jannah, 2012), this early marriage still continues. This is because demographic

factors are still very dominant found in Madura. One such demographic factor is education. Most levels of education are elementary school education. This low level of parental education eventually makes parents less supportive of children in continuing their education to a higher level, especially in girls who are later married (Sakdiyah & Ningsih, 2013; Yunitasari et. al, 2016).

The relation between parents' low education level and early marriage is also stated by Martino, Collins, and Phyllis (2004) who say that parents' education level greatly influences the tendency for children to get married early because low parents education is very vulnerable for children to do early-age marriage. This is because parents lack knowledge and insight into the effects of early marriage so parents also support children to have early marriages.

The low level of education of parents which has an impact on the occurrence of early childhood marriages eventually also has an impact on the low level of education of their children because their children's education is stopped after marriage. This is as stated by Maemunah (2008) who said that most of the teenagers who did not go on to higher education because the average level of education of their parents was also low, so that they did not support children in continuing higher education.

This was also found in the Madura subculture community in Probolinggo Regency who found that the practice of early marriage still occurred because the community still positioned girls as second-class citizens. As a result, parents accelerate the marriage of their daughters for reasons such as higher education which is considered unimportant for girls and

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

From the results of the literature searches that have been done previously, we found 31 articles that discussed early marriage related to the level of education. After we added the word

the independence of girls economically which is considered not important for her (Hanafi, 2005).

Research by Munawara, Yasak, & Dewi (2015) in Jambu Monyet Hamlet, Lenteng Barat, Sumenep Regency also found that girls were ordered to immediately marry their parents for economic reasons. Education for girls is considered not too important, especially to finance their children to continue their education to a higher level, as was found in the Pocogan 1 Lajing Hamlet, Arosbaya, Bangkalan Regency (Kurniawati, Rachmad, & Yuriadi, 2017).

Based on the description above, this paper will examine previous studies on early marriage in Madura related to low levels of education. So the purpose of this study is to explain the relationship between low levels of education and early marriage in Madura through literature studies.

## METHODOLOGY

We searched the journal database on portalgaruda.org, googlescholar, and oneseach.id with these keywords: "*pernikahan dini*" ("early marriage") and "*tingkat pendidikan*" ("level of education"). We used these database is because we would like to focus on early marriage and level of education that was done in Indonesia, especially in Madura.

This research was using narrative literature study. Based on those literature studies, we were able to obtain 31 kinds of literature which have been selected based on several criteria, such as (1) study which conducted in Indonesia, specifically Madura; and (2) study focusing on level of education and early marriage.

## Results

"Madura", only 7 articles were reviewed related to low levels of education. In this study, literature study which conducted by the researcher was presented in tables based on findings of previous research (Table 1).

**Table 1.** Findings on low education and early marriage in Madura

Author (year)	Research Sites	Findings
Hairi (2009)	Bajur Village, Waru Sub-District, Pamekasan District	This study found that educational factors can cause early marriage. Parents consider higher education not important, just graduating from elementary school is enough. Especially women.
Sumbulah, Jannah (2012)	Pandan Village, Galis Sub-District, Pamekasan District	Low education is the driver of early marriage. Parents who only attend school until elementary school feel happy if their children already have a liking and parents do not know of the consequences of this early marriage. Low parent education makes a narrow mindset that affects parents to immediately marry off their daughters.
Muzaffak (2013)	Karang Duwak Village, Arosbaya Sub-District, Bangkalan District	The level of education has a significant influence on the decisions of parents in marrying their children. Respondents who have a low education level have the possibility of not marrying their children early at 0.029 times compared to those who have higher education. In other words respondents who have low education have the possibility of marrying their children early at 34.48 times higher than those who have higher education.
Sakdiyah, Ningsih (2013)	Pereng Ampel, Pamoroh Village, Kadur Sub-District, Pamekasan District	The results of data analysis show that the driving factors for early marriage are educational factors. The majority of education levels of respondents who married early were as many as 28 people or reached 56% with elementary school education, those with junior high school education and equivalent to 20 people or 40% while those with high school/ <i>Madrasah Aliyah</i> (MA) education as many as 2 people or about 4% and those who continued education no undergraduate level.
Fawaid, Hadi (2015)	Bangkes Village, Kadur Sub-District, Pamekasan District	One of the factors that caused Bangkes Village to conduct early marriages was the low level of education. Educational factors greatly influence a person's mindset and behavior in determining attitudes. Low education in a person fosters a simple mindset, which makes them less thinking ahead in getting married.
Mahfudin, Waqi'ah (2016)	Dapenda Village, Batang-Batang Sub-District, Sumenep District	The average education in Dapenda Village is still relatively low. No one continued his education to college. The high and low age of the first marriage is the low access to education. The low level of education is caused by a lack of a family economy. The lack of costs is an obstacle to the continuation of education.
Susilo (2017)	Pelangaran Hamlet, Brata Tinggi Village, Tlanakan Sub-District, Pamekasan District	The results showed that the social context of the research village was a village that had a high dropout rate, the education level of the subject was low. The work of most subjects is farmers, They farm with a profit sharing system because they plant on other people's land.

## Discussion

A number of data show that early marriages still occur in Madura, which is around 60% and evenly distributed in four districts, Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep (Sakdiyah & Ningsih, 2013). Some of the underlying factors are the Islamic understanding that if a child is already adult (*baligh*), they can already get married. In addition, Madurese people still adhere to the tradition of matchmaking and the existence of a belief called *sangkal* (if women reject applications from men, they will become spinsters or *ta paju lake* ).

Beside those factors, early marriages caused by low education. Based on the table 1, from 7 articles found by the author, it shows that the low level of education, both for parents and children, has an impact on early marriage. Research by Hairi (2009) found that there were very few residents in Bajur Village who reached the same level of education as high school, especially until college. The majority of the education level only reaches junior high school, even the primary school level is the highest number of education levels in this village. This illustrates that the village community ignores and cares about education.

This study were supported by research Muzaffak (2013), Mahfudin & Wa'qiah (2016) which found that parents greatly influence the role and position of children in the family. They often assume that women will only become wives and work in the kitchen. Even though high school will remain in the kitchen and if married later will come with the husband. This resulted in a very small opportunity to study for women, so the tendency of girls to get married early was getting bigger. Research from Sumbulah & Jannah (2012), Fawaid & Hadi (2015) also found low levels of education leading to a tendency to marry underage children. Parents who only go to school until they finish elementary school feel happy if their children already have and parents do not know the consequences of this early marriage.

In Pereng Ampel Hamlet, Pamoroh Village, Kadur Sub District, Pamekasan Regency, the majority of education level of respondents who married early as many as 28 people or reached 56% with elementary school education The majority of low education also causes public

opinion about early married teenagers who cannot think of their children's education (as many as 30 people or 60%) (Sakdiyah & Ningsih, 2013).

From the 7 articles above, it was explained that the economic conditions owned by the family included low. With low economic conditions (Sumbulah & Jannah, 2012; Hairi, 2009, Susilo, 2017) parents are unable to finance their children to a higher level of education. In addition, parents also assume that higher education, especially for girls, is not very important. By marrying their children early, parents also hope to reduce the burden because children already have their own families.

Based on the literature review conducted by the author, it can be said that early marriage that occurred in Madura was related to a low level of education from parents. This low level of parent education causes parents to not understand the impact of early marriage so parents tend to get their children to get married early. This is what causes children's education to be stalled and their education to be low like their parents.

Selain itu, the author's literature search results also found that children were forced to marry early, so they did not continue their education because they still adhered to a philosophy that is still held firmly until now, which is obedient to the orders of *bhuppa'-bhâbhu* (parents), *ghuru* (teacher, *kiai*), *rato* (government). They obey their parents so they are willing to get married early if it is an order from their parents.

## CONCLUSION

Early marriage still occurs in Madura. One of the factors that led to the occurrence of this early marriage was the low level of education, both the low level of education of parents and children who were married. Parents who have a low level of education assume that high education is not too important for children, especially girls so parents tend to marry off their children if they are old enough (*baligh*). Children can not refuse the wishes of parents who marry off because in Madura there is a philosophy that is still held firmly up to now that is obedient to *bhuppa'-bhâbhu* (parents), *ghuru* (teacher, *kiai*), and *rato* (government).

Thus, one of the efforts that can be done to suppress the occurrence of early marriage in Madura is through education, so that children are not disconnected from school. By completing their education, at least until high school, children will postpone their marriage time. Parents need to be given an understanding of the importance of education and the impact of early marriage. It is hoped that the regional government will also think about opening up employment opportunities for these parents. Because after all, this low level of education is also related to the family economy. If the family economy is fulfilled, it is hoped that parents will be able to send their children to higher education, so that early marriage does not occur.

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