

Keluarga Berencana Program as a Social Strategy for Sustaining the Tradition of Early Marriage among the Bangkalan Community

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ABSTRACT

Early marriage in Indonesia remains a serious problem with multidimensional impacts, ranging from reproductive health to educational sustainability and structural poverty. The purpose of this study is to analyze the legitimacy of Family Planning or Keluarga Berencana (KB) program practice from an Islamic perspective as a response to early marriage, describe family planning practices as a social strategy for maintaining tradition, and explore the adaptive rationale behind the use of family planning to mitigate the biological and social impacts of early marriage. The research method used is empirical legal research with a qualitative approach. Data were obtained through in-depth interviews, field observations, and documentation studies, then analyzed using the *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* framework and social agency theory. The results show that the people of Gunung Sereng Village understand family planning not only as a means of birth control but also as a social mechanism to bridge tradition with state regulations. Theologically, family planning practices are seen as aligned with the *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* in preserving the soul (*ḥifẓ al-nafs*) and offspring (*ḥifẓ al-nasl*). From a social agency perspective, communities demonstrate an active capacity to negotiate religious norms, traditions, and state law through the use of family planning as a form of adaptation and soft resistance to state policies. Thus, this research enriches the study of Islamic family law and legal pluralism in Indonesia and provides a practical contribution to the formulation of marriage policies and family planning programs that are more contextual and sensitive to the socio-cultural realities of rural communities.

ABSTRAK

Pernikahan dini di Indonesia masih menjadi persoalan serius dengan dampak multidimensional, mulai dari kesehatan reproduksi hingga keberlangsungan pendidikan dan kemiskinan struktural. Tujuan penelitian ini untuk menganalisis legitimasi penggunaan KB dalam perspektif Islam sebagai respons terhadap pernikahan dini, mendeskripsikan praktik program Keluarga Berencana (KB) sebagai strategi sosial masyarakat dalam mempertahankan tradisi, serta menelusuri rasionalitas adaptif di balik pemanfaatan KB untuk mengurangi dampak biologis dan sosial pernikahan dini. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah penelitian hukum empiris dengan pendekatan kualitatif. Data diperoleh melalui wawancara mendalam, observasi lapangan, serta studi dokumentasi, kemudian dianalisis dengan kerangka *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* dan teori agensi sosial. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa masyarakat Desa Gunung Sereng memahami KB bukan hanya sebagai alat pengendalian kelahiran, tetapi juga sebagai mekanisme sosial untuk menjembatani tradisi dengan regulasi negara. Secara teologis, praktik KB dipandang selaras dengan *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* dalam menjaga jiwa (*ḥifẓ al-nafs*) dan keturunan (*ḥifẓ al-nasl*). Perspektif agensi sosial, masyarakat menunjukkan kapasitas aktif untuk menegosiasikan norma agama, tradisi, dan hukum negara melalui penggunaan KB sebagai bentuk adaptasi sekaligus resistensi lunak (*soft resistance*) terhadap kebijakan negara. Dengan demikian, penelitian ini memperkaya kajian hukum keluarga Islam dan pluralisme hukum di Indonesia, serta memberikan kontribusi praktis bagi perumusan kebijakan perkawinan dan program KB yang lebih kontekstual dan sensitif terhadap realitas sosio-kultural masyarakat pedesaan.

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A. INTRODUCTION

Early marriage is a complex social phenomenon with multidimensional impacts on both individuals and society. According to UNICEF, Indonesia still ranks high in Southeast Asia, with approximately 1 in 9 girls marrying before the age of 18.¹ This practice has serious implications for reproductive health and educational attainment, and contributes to the cycle of structural poverty.²

In response, the government passed Law No. 16 of 2019 concerning Marriage, which raised the minimum age for marriage to 19 for both parties. This regulation represents a progressive step in protecting children and achieving gender equality.³ However, its implementation often clashes with local traditions, which still view early marriage as a mechanism for maintaining family honor, social stability, and economic strategy.⁴ Thus, tensions arise between state law, religious law, and customary law within the framework of legal pluralism in Indonesia.⁵

A unique phenomenon is observed in Gunung Sereng Village, Kwanyar District, Bangkalan Regency, where the community has developed an adaptive strategy: continuing to practice early marriage according to traditional and religious norms to gain social legitimacy, but using the Family Planning or *Keluarga Berencana* (KB) program to delay the biological consequences of marriage. In this practice, family planning functions not merely as a population control tool but as a social strategy to bridge tradition with state legal regulations.⁶

This context becomes even more significant when analyzed through the perspective of *Maqāṣid al-Shari'ah* (the protection of the soul) and offspring (the protection of the offspring). Local religious leaders tend to legitimize temporary family planning practices as a form of protecting the public interest.⁷ From the perspective of social agency theory, the people of Gunung Sereng Village demonstrate that they are not passive participants, but rather active agents in negotiating the space between state law, religious teachings, and local traditions.⁸

Ibn 'Āsyūr's thoughts in *Maqāṣid al-sharī'ah al-Islāmiyyah* expand *maqāṣid* as a universal principle that emphasizes justice and welfare, so that KB can be understood as a form of social

¹ Unicef, *Ending Child Marriage: Progress and Prospects* (UNICEF, 2023).

² Refia Putri Restiana and Tubagus Ferdi Fadilah, "Relationship Between Early Marriage and Incidence of Stunting in Children Aged 24-59 Months," in *Proceedings of the 3rd Borobudur International Symposium on Humanities and Social Science 2021 (BIS-HSS 2021)*, ed. Zulfikar Bagus Pambuko et al., *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research* (Atlantis Press SARL, 2023), 667:924–29, https://doi.org/10.2991/978-2-494069-49-7_156.

³ Nurul Hikmah et al., *Impact of Constitutional Court Decision No. 24/Puu-Xx/2022 Regarding Marriage as a Prerequisite for Fulfilling the Right to Have a Family and Continuing Offspring: A Socio-Legal Perspective*, 2023, 1423–30, https://doi.org/10.2991/978-2-38476-152-4_144.

⁴ Wahyuningsih Wahyuningsih et al., *Concept Analysis of Self-Efficacy in Early-Married Adolescents Regarding the Incidence of Stunting* (Atlantis Press International BV, 2024), https://doi.org/10.2991/978-94-6463-467-9_8.

⁵ Jacob T Salihu, *Early Marriage and Sexual Abuse Among Female Children*, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.5772/intechopen.1002254>.

⁶ Muhammad Azinar et al., *Perceptions of Early Marriage in Junior High School Students in Rural Areas*, 2023, 700–711, https://doi.org/10.2991/978-2-494069-35-0_87.

⁷ Muhammad Hanif et al., *Maternal Mortality in Rural Areas of Pakistan: Challenges and Prospects*, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.5772/intechopen.96934>.

⁸ S M H Rizvi and Arpana N Tirkey, *Birth Spacing: Achieving Gender Equality Under Sustainable Development Goals*, 2021, 65–76, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-95687-9_19.

ijtihad that is relevant to the needs of modern society.⁹ Jasser Auda through *Maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* as Philosophy of Islamic Law emphasizes a systemic and dynamic approach to *maqāṣid*, which allows Islamic law to adapt to social change, including in the context of legal pluralism in Indonesia.¹⁰ This thought is in line with the views of Muhammad Hashim Kamali in Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence which emphasizes *maqāṣid* as an instrument of ijtihad to answer the needs of contemporary society.¹¹ In fact, Yusuf al-Qaradawi in *Fiqh al-Awlawiyyāt* emphasizes the importance of prioritizing greater benefits, namely the protection of life and generations, rather than simply maintaining literal traditions.¹² Thus, family planning not only functions as a public health instrument, but also as a social negotiation mechanism that allows society to balance the demands of state law, religious norms and local traditions.

Extensive research has been conducted on early marriage, examining both its social and health impacts. In social studies, several studies indicate that early marriage is closely linked to poverty and low levels of education. According to Rahiem, in some regions of Indonesia, early marriage is seen as a solution to economic and social problems, especially for families unable to support their daughters' education. This is also due to social norms that support early marriage as a way to maintain family dignity and avoid promiscuity.¹³

Another study by Shetty shows that early marriage poses significant risks to women's reproductive health, such as increased rates of early pregnancy, which can lead to higher maternal mortality rates. These health impacts are significantly influenced by low levels of reproductive health knowledge and lack of access to adequate health services in certain regions of Indonesia.¹⁴ Conversely, research by Givanti & Djaja found that despite the government's introduction of various family planning programs, many young couples are reluctant to participate due to persistent cultural and religious influences within society.¹⁵

Furthermore, several studies have revealed that the success of family planning programs is greatly influenced by the community's understanding and acceptance of family planning itself. Research conducted by Wulandari found that many couples consider family planning programs to conflict with their religious values. Most people consider having many children a blessing and part of their social responsibility. Therefore, despite various efforts to increase understanding of the benefits of family planning, public acceptance of these programs remains limited, especially in more religiously and culturally conservative areas.¹⁶

Previous research has generally focused on the health, educational, and economic impacts of early marriage, or on cultural and religious resistance to family planning programs. However, no study has positioned family planning as a tool for social negotiation based on the *maqāṣid* within the framework of legal pluralism in rural communities. Therefore, this study

⁹ M. T Ibn 'Āsyūr, *Maqāṣid Al-Syarī'ah al-Islāmiyyah* (Dār al-Nafā'is, 2001).

¹⁰ Auda J, *Maqasid Al-Shariah as Philosophy of Islamic Law: A Systems Approach* (IIIT, 2007).

¹¹ Muhammad Hasyim Kamali, *Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence* (Islamic Texts Society, 2003).

¹² Yusuf al-Qaradawi, *Fiqh Al-Awlawiyyāt: Dirāsah Jadīdah Fī Ḍaw' al-Qur'ān Wa al-Sunnah* (Maktabah Wahbah, 1995).

¹³ Maila D H Rahiem, "COVID-19 and the Surge of Child Marriages: A Phenomenon in Nusa Tenggara Barat, Indonesia," *Child Abuse & Neglect* 118 (2021): 105168, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2021.105168>.

¹⁴ Rizvi and Tirkey, *Birth Spacing: Achieving Gender Equality Under Sustainable Development Goals*.

¹⁵ Dofana Givanti and Benny Djaja, "Juridical Review of Early Marriage in Tangerang District Based on Islamic Family Law in Indonesia," *Edunty Kajian Ilmu Sosial Dan Pendidikan* 2, no. 8 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.57096/edunty.v2i8.128>.

¹⁶ Azinar et al., *Perceptions of Early Marriage in Junior High School Students in Rural Areas*.

offers a novel approach by viewing family planning not simply as a public health instrument, but as an adaptive strategy that enables communities to negotiate the tensions between state law, religious norms, and local traditions. The case study of Gunung Sereng Village demonstrates how the community reflectively integrates these three legal domains to produce beneficial solutions. Therefore, this research not only enriches the repertoire of Islamic family law but also makes a practical contribution to public policy that is more sensitive to the socio-cultural context. Ultimately, this study demonstrates that Islamic rationality and social reflexivity can coexist, producing innovative solutions that are both rooted in the local context and relevant to modern legal and ethical dilemmas.

Thus, this research is important in three dimensions. First, academically, it enriches the study of Islamic family law by showcasing the dynamic interaction between state law, religion, and tradition in the context of early marriage. Second, practically, it provides input for policymakers to make the implementation of Law No. 16 of 2019 more sensitive to the socio-cultural context of rural communities. Third, normative-theologically, it demonstrates the relevance of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* in providing a legitimate basis for the use of family planning as an adaptive strategy for benefit.

Therefore, Gunung Sereng Village can be seen as an important representation of the dynamics of legal pluralism and social adaptation, making it worthy of an in-depth academic case study. Therefore, the researcher endeavors to conduct this research as a contribution to examining the relationship between Family Planning (FP) as a Social Strategy in Maintaining the Tradition of Early Marriage by the Gunung Sereng Village Community, Kwanyar, Bangkalan, and Law No. 16 of 2019. This research will focus on: 1) How Islam views family planning practices as a response to early marriage in Gunung Sereng Village. 2) How do the people of Gunung Sereng Village use family planning as a social strategy to maintain the tradition of early marriage? And 3) Why do the people of Gunung Sereng Village view family planning as a step to reduce the impact of the tradition of early marriage.

B. METHODS

This research uses the empirical legal research type, namely legal research that uses field data as the main source for analyzing legal issues that develop in society.¹⁷ More specifically, this study adopts a sociological-empirical approach, where law is understood not only as written norms but also as social behavior lived out in community practice. Thus, this study positions the practice of early marriage and the use of Family Planning or *Keluarga Berencana* (KB) program in Gunung Sereng Village as legal realities that can be directly observed, interpreted, and analyzed.

To obtain empirical data, this study used in-depth interviews with religious leaders, village officials, young couples, and families involved in early marriage practices. Furthermore, participant observation was conducted of social and religious activities related to marriage practices and family planning use. Field data was then analyzed using data reduction, categorization, and thematic interpretation methods to obtain a comprehensive picture of the community's social strategies for maintaining the tradition of early marriage through family planning.

¹⁷ S Soekanto, *Pengantar Penelitian Hukum* (UI Press, 2010).

In addition to the empirical approach, this research also uses a conceptual approach to strengthen the theoretical analysis.¹⁸ This approach is carried out by examining the concepts of Islamic law, *maqāṣid al-syarī'ah*, social agency theory, and positive regulations such as Law No. 16 of 2019 concerning Marriage. The integration of empirical and conceptual approaches allows this research not only to describe social phenomena but also to interpret them within a normative-theological and positive legal framework. Thus, this research is able to explain the relationship between applicable legal norms and social practices in society, while also emphasizing the relevance of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* as a legitimate basis for the use of family planning in the context of legal pluralism in Indonesia.

C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. *Keluarga Berencana* Program as a Social Strategy for Sustaining the Tradition of Early Marriage

Based on the data analysis, the researcher compiled a synthesis of findings according to the three main sub-foci of the study. These findings were systematically summarized in tabular form to clarify the patterns, trends, and empirical contributions of each sub-focus studied:

Table 1. Research Findings

No.	Research Focus	Description
1.	Islamic Views on Family Planning or <i>Keluarga Berencana</i> (KB) Program Practices as a Response to Early Marriage	Based on research findings, the Islamic view adopted in Gunung Sereng Village is pragmatic and oriented toward the welfare (<i>maqāṣid</i>). Religious leaders emphasize that the essence of marriage in Islam is physical and mental readiness (<i>al-ba'ah</i>), not merely numerical age. Within this framework, Law No. 16 of 2019, which sets the age limit at 19 years, is not seen as contradictory to sharia but is instead considered in line with Islamic teachings because it helps ensure the couple's readiness. The family planning program is widely accepted as an instrument for achieving the noble goals of sharia (<i>Maqāṣid al-sharī'ah</i>), particularly the protection of life (<i>ḥifẓ al-nafs</i>) by preventing high-risk pregnancies and the protection of offspring (<i>ḥifẓ al-nasl</i>) by ensuring the quality of the generation. Religious leaders and institutions such as the Religious Courts provide theological legitimacy, viewing the use of family planning as a preventative measure to ward off greater harm (<i>mafsadah</i>) resulting from early pregnancy.
2.	The Use of Family Planning as a Social Strategy in Maintaining Tradition	The Gunung Sereng Village community demonstrated high social agency by developing an innovative three-stage adaptive strategy to align tradition with state law. The mechanism is: 1) First marry according to customary and religious norms to gain social legitimacy; 2) Immediately use family planning to delay pregnancy and mitigate risks; 3) Officially register marriages at the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) upon reaching the legal age of 19. This strategy represents a way for the community to navigate the duality of structures (state

¹⁸ Marzuki, *Penelitian Hukum* (Kencana Prenada Media, 2017).

	law vs. customary norms) in a non-confrontational manner. The function of family planning has been repositioned from a state population tool to a strategic community tool for risk management and time management. The success of this strategy is supported by various social actors: health workers as facilitators, religious and customary leaders as legitimators, and parents as agents of transmission of this new norm.
3. Reasons People Use Family Planning to Reduce the Impact of Early Marriage	The primary reasons why people view family planning as an effective solution are pragmatic and rational. The primary driver is a collective awareness of the real health risks of early pregnancy, such as childbirth complications and mental health disorders, which they seek to avoid. Conceptually, family planning is seen as a "readiness bridge," a tool that creates a window of time for young couples to reach physical, emotional, and economic maturity after their social marriage is recognized, but before assuming the responsibilities of parenthood. Thus, family planning helps align "social time" (when it is considered appropriate to marry according to tradition) with "biological and economic time" (when it is safe and ready to have children). It also serves as an empowering tool for young couples, especially women, to have greater control over their reproductive health and future planning.

The findings demonstrate that family planning practices in Gunung Sereng Village constitute an adaptive and integrative response to the socio-religious challenges posed by early marriage. From the theological standpoint, the local Islamic perspective reflects a contextual and welfare-oriented interpretation of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*. Family planning is perceived as a legitimate instrument to achieve the higher objectives of Islamic law—particularly the preservation of life (*ḥifẓ al-naḥs*) and progeny (*ḥifẓ al-nasl*). This interpretation aligns with contemporary legal frameworks, such as Law No. 16 of 2019, thereby harmonizing religious doctrine with national regulations on marriage age. Religious leaders and judicial institutions play a pivotal role in conferring theological legitimacy upon family planning, framing it as a preventive mechanism to avert potential harm (*mafsadah*) associated with early pregnancy.

Sociologically, the community exhibits strong agency through a three-phase adaptive mechanism that reconciles customary norms, state law, and religious ethics. The sequence—conducting customary marriage, implementing family planning to delay conception, and formalizing marriage upon reaching legal age—illustrates a pragmatic negotiation between tradition and modernity. This hybrid strategy signifies the transformation of family planning from a state-driven population policy into a community-devised social strategy for managing risks and synchronizing socio-cultural expectations with legal and biological readiness.

Furthermore, the community's motivation to employ family planning is grounded in pragmatic rationality and collective awareness of health, psychological, and economic factors. Family planning serves as a "readiness bridge" that enables young couples to attain maturity before undertaking parental responsibilities. Consequently, it emerges not merely as a reproductive health intervention but as an empowering socio-religious tool that integrates

Islamic ethics, public health considerations, and social resilience in mitigating the adverse effects of early marriage.

2. Religious Rationality in *Keluarga Berencana* Practices: An Analysis based on *Maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*

The first focus of this study aims to understand the Islamic perspective on family planning practices as a response to early marriage in Gunung Sereng Village. The results reveal a highly pragmatic, contextual, and welfare-oriented religious perspective, significantly different from the general perception of religion as rigid and resistant to change. In-depth analysis through the *Maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* framework demonstrates that acceptance of this strategy is not a compromise with religious teachings, but rather an implementation of the essence of those teachings.

a. Beyond Textual *Fiqh*: Prioritizing Readiness and Benefit

One of the most significant findings is how religious leaders in Gunung Sereng Village consistently emphasize the concept of "readiness" (*al-ba'ah*) as a fundamental requirement for marriage, transcending the rigid debate over a numerical minimum age. One religious leader's statement that marriage depends more on "physical and mental readiness" than age is key to understanding the theological foundations of the phenomenon under study. This view effectively shifts the discourse from the formal-textual realm of *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) to the substantive-purpose realm of *maqāṣid* (objectives).

This finding contrasts sharply with previous research, such as that by Givanti & Djaja and Wulandari. In their research, they found that religious and cultural factors often act as major barriers to the acceptance of family planning programs and marriage age regulations. Communities in these contexts tended to view these programs as interventions that contradicted their religious values. However, in Gunung Sereng Village, the opposite is true. Religious elites are actually agents providing theological legitimacy for adaptive practices.^{19,20}

Furthermore, the finding that Law No. 16 of 2019, which sets the age limit at 19, is considered "in line with Islamic teachings that encourage readiness" represents a crucial intersection between state law and local religious interpretation. This shows a process of "Islamization" of positive law, where state law is not seen as an alien secular product, but rather as an instrument that functionally helps Muslims achieve the goals of their sharia. In this case, the state, through its regulations, is seen to have carried out *ijtihad* to protect its citizens, an action that is fully supported by the *maqāṣid* framework.

b. *Keluarga Berencana* Program as the Manifestation of *Ḥifẓ al-Nafs* and *Ḥifẓ al-Nasl*

If early marriage without preparedness is seen as a potential source of harm, then family planning in this context is positioned as an instrument to reject such harm (*dar' al-mafāsīd*). Religious leaders' acceptance of family planning is based on its functional understanding as a tool to achieve higher sharia goals, particularly the protection of life and offspring.

¹⁹ Givanti and Djaja, "Juridical Review of Early Marriage in Tangerang District Based on Islamic Family Law in Indonesia."

²⁰ Wahyuni R Wulandari et al., "Is Marriage Age Restriction Un-Islamic? (Comparative Study of Indonesia and Pakistan With Gender Perspective)," *Kne Social Sciences*, ahead of print, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.18502/kss.v8i21.14781>.

Research findings indicate a high collective awareness of the health risks of early marriage, a reality also confirmed by Shetty's research. Shetty highlighted the high risks to women's reproductive health resulting from early marriage. Data from health workers in Gunung Sereng echoes these findings, specifically mentioning "pregnancy complications," "premature birth," and "mental health disorders." Herein lies the religious rationality of the Gunung Sereng community. They do not dismiss these scientifically proven risks as destiny. Instead, they actively seek theologically acceptable solutions to mitigate these risks.²¹

Protection of Offspring (*Hifẓ al-nasl*): As outlined in the theoretical framework, *hifẓ al-nasl* not only means increasing the number of offspring but also ensuring their quality. By allowing young couples time to mature emotionally and financially, family planning helps create a more conducive environment for raising healthy and prosperous children. This represents a shift from the paradigm of quantity to quality, an interpretation of the *maqāṣid* (objectives of the Islamic principles) that is highly relevant to the challenges of the modern era.

Thus, the discussion of the first research question confirms that the Islamic perspective developing in Gunung Sereng Village is progressive and substantive. They have successfully integrated modern health programs (FP) into the Islamic ethical framework through the lens of *Maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, viewing it not as a threat to religion, but as a tool to achieve the noble goals of religion itself.

3. Social Agency Mechanisms in Adapting to Early Marriage Practices

The second focus area focuses on how the Gunung Sereng Village community uses Family Planning or *Keluarga Berencana* (KB) program as a social strategy. Discussion of these findings, using Social Agency Theory, reveals an ingenious social mechanism in which individuals and groups actively negotiate with the structures around them to create beneficial outcomes for themselves, without resorting to direct confrontation.

a. *Keluarga Berencana* Program as a Tool of Agency in Structural Duality

Anthony Giddens's theory of social agency emphasizes the concept of the duality of structure, namely that social structures not only constrain but also enable the actions of agents. The phenomenon in Gunung Sereng Village is a concrete illustration of this concept. Society is faced with two structures that are mutually attractive: (1) This structure is informal, flexible, and enabling. It provides social legitimacy for early marriage and is even seen as a mechanism for maintaining family honor and social stability. This finding aligns with Rahiem's research, which shows that communal norms are often the primary drivers of early marriage. (2) This structure is informal, flexible, and enabling. It provides social legitimacy for early marriage and is supported by communal expectations, as Rahiem has also found in other contexts.²²

At the intersection of these two structures, the people of Gunung Sereng demonstrate their agency. They do not passively accept one structure and reject the other. As theory suggests, they are reflective agents, able to understand the limitations and opportunities of both structures. The result is a remarkable adaptive strategy: they leverage the resources of

²¹ Rachana R Shetty et al., "Age at Marriage and Its Determinants in Kerala and Bihar," *Discover Global Society* 2, no. 1 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.1007/s44282-024-00078-0>.

²² Rahiem, "COVID-19 and the Surge of Child Marriages: A Phenomenon in Nusa Tenggara Barat, Indonesia."

one structure (state-mandated family planning) to navigate the limitations of another structure (the Marriage Law) in order to maintain a third structure (tradition).

The sequence of actions "marrying according to customary/religious law -> using family planning -> officially registering the marriage upon reaching the age of consent" is central to this strategy. It is a conscious and purposeful act of agency. They reproduce the essence of tradition (social marital status) while cleverly delaying or managing the consequences dictated by the other structure (biological and legal consequences).

This finding provides a significant new perspective compared to the research of Givanti & Djaja. In their study in Tangerang, they found that young couples tended to be reluctant to participate in family planning programs due to cultural and religious factors. This illustrates a conflicting relationship between agency (individual reluctance) and structure (state programs).²³

In contrast, in Gunung Sereng, individual and collective agency embraced the family planning program. Why? Because the program had been repositioned and given new meaning by the community. It was no longer simply a family planning program, but had become a "strategic tool" that enabled them to maintain their cultural identity in a changing legal landscape. This demonstrates that the success or failure of a structural program depends heavily on how local agents interpret it and integrate it into their social practices.

b. Collective Reflexivity and the Key Role of Social Actors

This complex strategy is not the result of isolated individual actions, but rather the fruit of collective reflexivity facilitated by various key social actors. Giddens argues that modernity is characterized by increasing reflexivity, where individuals and institutions continually examine and reform their practices based on new information. This is evident in Gunung Sereng Village.

The community collectively reflected on the new circumstances they faced: stricter laws and improved health literacy. The result of this reflection was a social consensus to adopt the "family planning as a bridge" strategy. This process would not have occurred without the crucial role of the various agents that make up the village's social ecosystem: (1) Health workers. They act as agents of change by injecting new information and resources into the social system. By framing family planning within a positive health narrative, they successfully overcome initial resistance, a challenge that Wulandari's research failed to address.²⁴ (2) Religious and Traditional Figures. They function as agents of legitimacy. By providing moral and cultural approval, they transform family planning use from a potentially "deviant" practice into a "wise" and "responsible" one. They help align this new practice with existing normative structures. (3) Parent. They are agents of transmission. By supporting and guiding their children to adopt these strategies, they ensure that these adaptive practices are passed on and become part of the new social norm, at least for now.

The dynamic interactions between these agents demonstrate how social change occurs, not through top-down orders, but through processes of negotiation, reinterpretation, and facilitation at the grassroots level. This is a vivid demonstration of how structure and agency

²³ Givanti and Djaja, "Juridical Review of Early Marriage in Tangerang District Based on Islamic Family Law in Indonesia."

²⁴ Wulandari et al., "Is Marriage Age Restriction Un-Islamic? (Comparative Study of Indonesia and Pakistan With Gender Perspective)."

dialectically shape each other. Structures (laws, family planning programs) provide the conditions and resources, but agency (collective community action facilitated by key actors) determines how these conditions and resources are interpreted and used in everyday social practices.

4. The Rationality Behind Strategy: An Analysis of Motivation and Impact

The third focus issue investigates "why" society views family planning as an effective measure to reduce the impact of early marriage. Discussion of this question reveals layers of rationality underlying their social strategies, which include both short-term pragmatic considerations and long-term aspirations. These reasons, when analyzed, once again show strong coherence with the universal principles of welfare in *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*.

a. Risk Mitigation as a Pragmatic Motivation

The primary and most fundamental impetus behind the adoption of family planning strategies is a pragmatic rationality for risk mitigation. The Gunung Sereng community, despite their attachment to tradition, demonstrates a high level of awareness of the inherent dangers of early marriage. This challenges stereotypes about rural communities often perceived as resigned or ill-informed.

This motivation is directly related to the broader context illustrated by previous research. A study by Shetty clinically demonstrates significant reproductive health risks.²⁵ Meanwhile, research by Rahiem indicates that early marriage is often a strategy to address economic challenges. The findings in Gunung Sereng reinforce both of these narratives. The community here is not only aware of the health risks outlined by Shetty but also actively takes steps to prevent them. They also appear to be aware that early marriage followed by childbearing can exacerbate, rather than resolve, the economic challenges that may be driving them, as Rahiem suggests.²⁶

Therefore, the use of family planning is a rational calculation. The social benefits of marriage (maintaining honor, fulfilling expectations) are still reaped, but the costs (health risks, sudden economic burdens) are minimized or postponed. This is an action based on a careful cost-benefit analysis, with physical and economic well-being as the primary priority. This is a manifestation of what Giddens calls reflexive monitoring of actions, where agents continually evaluate their actions in relation to their potential consequences.

b. *Keluarga Berencana* program as a Bridge to Readiness: Aligning Social and Biological Time

This discussion culminates in the understanding that the primary function of Family Planning or *Keluarga Berencana* (KB) program in this strategy is as a "readiness bridge." This is the most important conceptual finding of this research. Society is faced with a fundamental dilemma: the conflict between "social time" and "biological/economic time."

The concepts of *social time* and *biological time* represent two distinct temporal dimensions in determining an individual's readiness for marriage. *Social time* is shaped by community traditions and norms that dictate when a person—particularly an adolescent—is

²⁵ Shetty et al., "Age at Marriage and Its Determinants in Kerala and Bihar."

²⁶ Rahiem, "COVID-19 and the Surge of Child Marriages: A Phenomenon in Nusa Tenggara Barat, Indonesia."

considered “appropriate” for marriage, and in some cases, this may even generate social pressure to do so. In contrast, *biological time* pertains to the individual’s physical, psychological, and financial conditions, which may not yet support the substantial responsibilities of pregnancy, childbirth, and child-rearing. The disjunction between social and biological time often creates tension between cultural expectations and personal readiness in cases of early marriage.

The strategy developed by the Gunung Sereng community is an ingenious solution to this time conflict. Marriages are conducted according to social time, thus maintaining communal harmony and traditional values. However, by using family planning, they artificially delay the onset of biological time (pregnancy) until the couple is deemed sufficiently prepared by health and economic standards.

In other words, they have engineered a new transitional phase in the life cycle: a period of deliberate “childless marriage,” which serves as an incubator for young couples to achieve maturity and stability. Family planning is the technology that enables this transitional phase. It serves as a bridge connecting the point at which they are socially permitted to marry with the point at which they are holistically ready to become parents.

These findings significantly enrich the existing literature. While previous research, such as that by Givanti & Djaja,²⁷ tends to depict a binary and conflictual relationship between tradition and state programs, this study reveals a “third way,” or a more complex spectrum of adaptations. This demonstrates that local communities possess a remarkable capacity for social innovation—the ability to adopt modern tools and integrate them into their cultural frameworks to address contemporary dilemmas. This is not a story of resistance or resignation, but rather a story of remarkable resilience, creativity, and social agency.

D. CONCLUSION

The Gunung Sereng Village community accepts the use of Family Planning or *Keluarga Berencana* (KB) program as an adaptive strategy legitimized by religious rationality based on the principles of Islamic law (*maqāṣid al-sharī‘ah*). Religion is not viewed as a barrier, but rather as a theological foundation through a shift from textual fiqh to substantive understanding. Law No. 16 of 2019 is accepted as an instrument to ensure marriage readiness, in line with the principles of *maqāṣid*. Within the framework of fiqh (*dar’ al-mafāṣid muqaddamun ‘ala jalbil maṣāliḥ*), family planning is positioned as a preventive measure to protect the soul (*ḥifẓ al-nafs*) and offspring (*ḥifẓ al-nasl*), with an orientation toward the quality of the generation, not merely the quantity. The family planning strategy in this village operates through a three-stage adaptive mechanism: first, marrying according to customary and religious law to gain social legitimacy; second, using family planning to delay pregnancy; and third, officially registering the marriage at the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) after reaching the legal age. This mechanism reflects the practice of delayed compliance with state law. The strategy’s success is supported by the role of social actors: health workers as agents of empowerment, religious and traditional leaders as agents of legitimacy, and parents as agents of tradition transmission and adaptation. The community considers this strategy effective because it is driven by pragmatic rationality: health risk mitigation, economic

²⁷ Givanti and Djaja, “Juridical Review of Early Marriage in Tangerang District Based on Islamic Family Law in Indonesia.”

stability, and educational opportunities. Family planning is understood as a bridge of readiness that connects "social time" (tradition) with "biological and economic time" (physical and financial readiness). By entering a childless marriage phase, young couples gain space to build holistic readiness. This strategy also serves as an empowering instrument, especially for young women, to control their reproductive health and future within the existing cultural framework. Meta-reflectively, this case study demonstrates that Islamic rationality and social reflexivity can coexist, producing innovative solutions rooted in the local context yet relevant to modern legal and ethical dilemmas. Thus, this research not only contributes to the discourse on Islamic family law and public policy but also enriches the global discourse on how religion, tradition, and the state can be creatively negotiated for the common good.

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