

Comparison of Judges' Decisions on *Isbat Nikah* in the Marriage of Minors in the Religious Courts of Bulukumba

Sitti Fatimah Tarimana^{1*}, Rahmi², Muhammad Arash bin Mahmusin³

¹Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin Makassar, Indonesia. E-mail: nurul.tarimana@gmail.com

²Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin Makassar, Indonesia. E-mail: rahmidanial63@gmail.com

³Universiti Sains Islam Malaysia. E-mail: arash_eduusim@raudah.usim.edu.my

*Corresponding Author

How to Cite:

Tarimana, S. F., Rahmi, & Mahmusin, M. A. bin. (2023). Comparison of Judges' Decisions on *Isbat Nikah* in the Marriage of Minors in the Religious Courts of Bulukumba. *PAREWA SARAQ: JOURNAL OF ISLAMIC LAW AND FATWA REVIEW*, 2(2). <https://doi.org/10.64016/parewasaraq.v2i2.21>

Abstract

Isbat nikah (*isbat of marriage*) is needed by some people who do not have a marriage book, because with the approval of the Judge's decision, the party applying for *isbat* can register their marriage book. This study aims to reveal the judge's consideration in deciding the *isbat nikah* case of marriage of minors at the Bulukumba Religious Court. This empirical research was conducted at the Bulukumba Religious Court. The research approach is juridical-normative by observing the decision. Data collection techniques in this study are interviews, observation and documentation. The results of the study indicate that the Judge's consideration in deciding the *Isbat Nikah* Case for Marriage of Minors remains based on Law Number 1 of 1974 on the amendment of Law Number 16 of 2019. Whatever the reason for the litigant in applying for *Isbat Nikah* when violating the existing law, the judge has the right to decide the case accordingly. The causes of child marriage in Bulukumba Regency are caused by a number of factors, including economy, education and socio-culture. Socio-cultural factors are more often used as a reason by perpetrators of early marriage, with following in the footsteps of parents as the most frequently mentioned factor. An understanding of the changes in the age of marriage rules in Indonesia must be socialised so that there are no violations of the marriage law.

Kata Kunci: *Isbat of Marriage; Child Marriage; Religious Court Judgement; Judge's Decision; Bulukumba Religious Court.*

Abstrak

Isbat nikah (*isbat perkawinan*) dibutuhkan oleh sebagian orang yang tidak memiliki buku nikah, karena dengan persetujuan putusan Hakim, pihak yang mengajukan *isbat* dapat mendaftarkan buku nikahnya. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap pertimbangan hakim dalam memutuskan kasus *isbat nikah* pernikahan anak di bawah umur di Pengadilan Agama Bulukumba. Penelitian empiris ini dilakukan di Pengadilan Agama Bulukumba. Pendekatan penelitian bersifat yuridis normatif dengan mengamati keputusan. Teknik pengumpulan data dalam penelitian ini adalah wawancara, observasi dan dokumentasi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pertimbangan Hakim dalam memutuskan Kasus *Isbat Nikah* Perkawinan Anak di Bawah Umur tetap berdasarkan Undang-Undang Nomor 1 Tahun 1974 tentang perubahan Undang-Undang Nomor 16 Tahun 2019. Apapun alasan pihak yang berperkara mengajukan *Isbat Nikah* ketika melanggar hukum yang ada, hakim berhak memutuskan perkara yang sesuai. Penyebab perkawinan anak di Kabupaten Bulukumba disebabkan oleh sejumlah

faktor, antara lain ekonomi, pendidikan dan sosial budaya. Faktor sosial budaya lebih sering dijadikan alasan oleh pelaku pernikahan dini, dengan mengikuti jejak orang tua sebagai faktor yang paling sering disebutkan. Pemahaman tentang perubahan aturan usia perkawinan di Indonesia harus disosialisasikan agar tidak terjadi pelanggaran hukum perkawinan.

Keywords: Isbat Perkawinan; Perkawinan Anak; Putusan Pengadilan Agama; Keputusan Hakim; Pengadilan Agama Bulukumba.

1. Introduction

Marriage is a Sunnatullah (divine tradition) that applies to all creatures, including humans, animals, and plants (Nur ihdatul musyarrafa, 2020). The provision concerning the minimum age for marriage, when viewed through the lens of *Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* in building a family, must fulfill several principles in order to achieve the objectives of marriage and avoid divorce (Hendrah, 2021). Early-age marriage, although legally permissible under certain statutory provisions for the sake of public welfare, is methodologically justified through the concept of *maṣlaḥa mursala*. The phenomenon of child marriage appears to be a recurring "trend." In the past, early marriage was considered normal due to the belief that marrying off children quickly meant accepting fate or divine matchmaking. However, societal attitudes have gradually shifted, with increasing opposition to child marriage. Several factors contributing to early marriage include misinterpretations of religious teachings, customary traditions, economic pressures, and premarital pregnancies (Maika Dian Agustin, 2022).

Marriage is a strong bond that unites a man and a woman. Within this bond, both husband and wife are mutually committed to fulfilling their respective rights and obligations as stipulated (Rahmatiah. HL, 2021). Therefore, it is mandatory for every marriage to be officially registered at the Office of Religious Affairs (*Kantor Urusan Agama*, KUA). As stipulated in Article 7(1) of the *Compilation of Islamic Law*, marriage can only be legally recognized through a marriage certificate issued by the registrar (Qadir Gassing, 2022).

Indonesia guarantees its citizens the freedom to choose their spouses in order to establish a family (Muammar Bakry, 2020). In Islamic law, a marriage is deemed valid if it fulfills all essential elements and requirements, as mandated by the Sharī'ah. However, the increasing complexity of legal regulations has led to various problems, including the emergence of unregistered marriages (*nikah sirri*). *Nikah sirri* refers to a marriage conducted without official registration at the KUA, although it fulfills the religious elements of marriage—such as the presence of the bride and groom, two witnesses, a guardian (*wali*), *ijab qabul* (consent), and the *mahr* (dowry) (Muhammad Ishky Rumaf, 2022). Such marriages, conducted secretly and outside the legal framework, have legal consequences, one of which is the lack of a marriage certificate. *Isbat nikah* serves as a legal remedy for unregistered marriages, as it allows for the validation of such marriages through the court, as provided under Article 7 of the *Compilation of Islamic Law*, with certain requirements (Jamal Jamil dan Istiqamah Musfira, 2021).

This situation often arises because some segments of the Muslim community still prioritize a fiqh-centric interpretation of marriage. According to this view, a marriage is considered sufficient as long as the religious requirements and conditions are fulfilled, even without official registration or a marriage certificate. This understanding leads to the practice of *nikah sirri* without involving an official Marriage Registrar (*Pegawai Pencatat Nikah*, PPN). In Islamic teachings, there is no specific provision stipulating a minimum age for marriage. Based on Islamic law, individuals of any age may enter into marriage as long as the essential elements are fulfilled (Jusnita, 2020).

According to Article 49 of Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 3 of 2006 on Religious Courts, the jurisdiction of the Religious Court includes examining, adjudicating, and resolving first-level cases among Muslims in areas such as marriage, inheritance, wills, endowments, zakat, almsgiving, and Islamic economics. Therefore, *isbat nikah* applications must be submitted to the Religious Court.

Isbat nikah is a combination of two terms: *isbat* (validation) and *nikah* (marriage). It refers to the judicial validation of a marriage between a Muslim man and woman that fulfills all religious requirements but has not been officially registered with the KUA. Another definition of *isbat nikah* is a legal determination, affirmation, verification, or court recognition of a marriage that was previously performed due to certain circumstances. It is considered a voluntary civil case filed by a married couple, and the outcome is a judicial decree (Ummul Khaerah S, 2022).

Isbat nikah is especially important for individuals who do not possess a marriage certificate. With the court's approval, the couple can proceed to register their marriage at the KUA. It confirms the marriage of a couple that was conducted in accordance with Islamic religious principles—fulfilling all conditions and elements of a valid marriage—but was not registered with the authorized official, in this case, the marriage registrar at the KUA (Yusmi, 2022). Applications for *isbat nikah* can be rejected if the petitioners married before reaching the legal age without obtaining a court dispensation. In such cases, the court may declare the application inadmissible, or *Niet Ontvankelijke Verklaard* (NO). An NO decision indicates that the application is formally defective and cannot be accepted for substantive examination.

Isbat nikah has also been misused by individuals who violate the marriage law, turning it into a loophole. For instance, it has been used to justify polygamy by claiming the second wife is already pregnant, to bypass denied dispensations, or to retroactively legalize hastily arranged marriages. Therefore, it is essential for judges and law enforcers to act decisively and selectively when determining which cases are eligible for *isbat nikah*. When an *isbat nikah* is granted despite the petitioner having married below the legal age without prior dispensation, it constitutes a form of legal subversion, as it violates the statutory age requirements for marriage (Darmi, 2022). In such cases, judges must exercise strict judgment in deciding whether or not the marriage merits validation.

The purpose of *isbat nikah* is to obtain legal recognition from the court and allow the couple to register their marriage at the local KUA. Official registration, proven through a marriage certificate, is crucial, as unregistered marriages lack legal force and must undergo available legal remedies

2. Research Methods

The type of research employed in this study is field research, which involves direct engagement with the field or the community being studied to gain a clear understanding of a particular social phenomenon or issue (Sutrisno, 2023). In field research, researchers typically conduct observations, interviews, surveys, or direct experiments with the research subjects at the designated location. Field research is a methodological approach that relies on direct observation of the environment or site chosen as the research object. Through this method, the researcher engages directly with the field to obtain empirical data and insights. The primary objective of field research is to comprehend the phenomena or events occurring within a natural or social environment, allowing the researcher to make informed observations about the subject under investigation. This direct interaction with the field enables a more authentic understanding of the context and dynamics at play. The approaches adopted in this study include the empirical juridical approach and the normative approach. These approaches are used to examine the legal and religious dimensions of the phenomena being investigated. The data collection methods employed in this research consist of observation, interviews, and documentation. These techniques are utilized to gather comprehensive and credible data from the field, ensuring the validity and reliability of the research findings.

3. Discussion

3.1. Judges' Opinions on Child Marriage Cases

Marriage is one of the means to minimize acts of adultery; it is also a sacred and noble institution as it fulfills part of one's religious obligations. The purpose of marriage is to achieve *mawaddah* (affection), namely to form a family filled with love and mutual support, including physical and emotional aspects (Fandi, 2020). Almost all women aspire to get married. This is affirmed in the Qur'an, Surah An-Nur (24:32):

"Marry those among you who are single and the virtuous among your male and female slaves. If they are poor, Allah will enrich them out of His bounty. Allah is All-Bountiful, All-Knowing." (Kementerian Agama RI, 2019)

The legal age of marriage in Indonesia has undergone changes in line with legal developments concerning the minimum age for marriage (Jayusman, 2023). Early marriage is in direct contradiction with the applicable law. Based on Law No. 16 of 2019 amending Law

No. 1 of 1974 on Marriage, Article 1 paragraph (1) states: *"Marriage shall only be permitted if the man and the woman have reached the age of 19 (nineteen) years."*

Despite the clear stipulations of the law, in practice, many individuals continue to enter into early marriages, violating these regulations for various reasons. The first common reason is free association among youth, often influenced by misuse of social media, a lack of self-restraint, and the wearing of revealing clothing. The second reason is parental influence—many parents hasten their children's marriages out of fear they might commit acts forbidden by religion. Additionally, due to cultural heritage, some parents believe: *"I married young, at 15, so it's fine for my child to do the same."* This is further exacerbated by a lack of understanding regarding the legal age for marriage.

In contrast, Islamic law does not prescribe a specific minimum age for marriage. Classical scholars such as Imam al-Shafi'i, Malik, Hanbali, and Hanafi do not require *mukallaf* (legal maturity) or psychological readiness; for them, *aqil* (sanity) and *baligh* (puberty) are sufficient. The Prophet Muhammad himself married Aisha at a young age.

Couples who marry at an early age without prior approval from the Religious Court often later submit a *marriage isbat* (legalization of marriage) request in order to obtain legal recognition. This *isbat nikah* has become a pathway for individuals to circumvent child marriage laws. However, not all *isbat nikah* applications are granted by judges.

According to Judge Indriyani Nasir, S.H., some *isbat nikah* cases are granted while others are dismissed. The decision depends on whether the essential and legal requirements of marriage are fulfilled. She states:

"Cases involving the circumvention of child marriage laws stem not only from family-related factors but also from economic hardship, lack of education, and problematic social environments. Parental roles are crucial in guiding children, but in reality, many young couples file isbat nikah because their parents believed the children were ready for marriage—often due to them dropping out of school to work. The lack of awareness causes parents to make decisions they believe are right without considering the legal prohibitions. Another reason for rejecting isbat nikah cases (Niet Ontvankelijk Verklaard/NO) is when the couple previously applied for marriage dispensation and were denied, yet they proceeded to marry regardless."

Similarly, Judge Fadhliyatun Mahmuda, S.H.I., emphasizes that in deciding *isbat nikah* cases, the provisions of the law concerning the legal age of marriage must be strictly upheld. Violating these regulations constitutes a serious offense. She asserts:

"These cases are common among youth who are eager to follow trends. Causes include free association, misuse of social media, and exposure to inappropriate content. Many young people choose not to pursue education due to negative peer influences. Most isbat nikah cases we adjudicate involve underage marriages conducted without prior dispensation. Often, it is only when legal documentation such as a marriage certificate is needed that couples approach the Religious Court for legalization. At the time of the marriage, they had not considered the legal consequences."

Judges vary in their rulings on cases involving the circumvention of child marriage laws. Not all such cases are granted, even when urgent reasons are cited, such as the need to register a child for school. Judges remain bound by the legal stipulation regarding the minimum age for marriage.

Ideally, couples intending to marry while underage should first seek marriage dispensation from the Religious Court to avoid future complications. Nevertheless, in practice, many young couples proceed with marriage without securing legal dispensation, leading judges to conclude that such actions constitute violations of existing legal norms.

3.2. Causes of Underage Marriage According to Isbat Nikah Applicants and the Legal Consequences of Unregistered Marriage

The Qur'an emphasizes that pairing in marriage is a divine decree for His creation (Maidin, 2019). However, age becomes one of the principal aspects to be considered as a condition for marriage. From the perspective of Islamic law, age is not a primary benchmark for the validity of marriage (Nurmayasari, Patimah, 2021). Nevertheless, underage marriage often results in significant consequences for the individuals involved, their marriage, and their future offspring.

Based on interviews conducted by the researcher, several factors were identified as the primary reasons why individuals proceed with underage marriages:

- a. Parental Influence: Parents' anxiety regarding their children's behavior often leads them to prioritize personal concerns over the emotional well-being of their children.
- b. Peer Influence and Uncontrolled Social Media Use: Negative social environments and unrestricted use of social media contribute to free association among youth, which often leads to early marriage (Suhaebatul Khaerah, 2021).
- c. Economic Factors: Financial hardship is frequently cited as a reason for early marriage, with the belief that marriage can alleviate the economic burden on the family.
- d. Cultural Traditions: In communities where early marriage is a cultural norm, children are inclined to follow the precedent set by their parents.

Based on the responses from those who entered into underage marriages, nearly 90% of their reasons align with those identified by judges—particularly parental influence and peer pressure, which are the most dominant factors. Among school-aged children and those who have dropped out, early marriage is often perceived as a competitive life goal, romanticized as a dream of living together with one's partner, without fully considering the positive and negative consequences involved.

The negative impacts of early marriage, often overlooked by both parents and the individuals involved, include interrupted education, lack of life skills, and psychological unpreparedness to manage the responsibilities of married life (Sirajuddin, 2022). High divorce rates are closely linked to underage marriages. Medical research further indicates that girls who marry and engage in sexual activity at a young age face a 58% higher risk of developing cervical cancer.

Public opinion on underage marriage is divided. Some believe that as long as a man is capable of meeting the woman's expectations, marriage is permissible—arguing that capability depends on effort. Others argue that if a couple is emotionally ready, marriage

should proceed without delay. The belief that Islam does not explicitly prohibit underage marriage has led many to marry off their children at a young age. However, many such marriages result in unstable family dynamics, frequent conflicts, and even polygamy without the first wife's consent. In these cases, polygamy is often seen as an ideal solution to avoid greater domestic discord (Firmansyah, 2019).

Supporters of underage marriage frequently cite positive impacts such as avoiding zina (unlawful sexual relations), reducing the financial burden on parents, and fostering responsibility among emotionally mature youth. Indonesian law provides a form of tolerance for unregistered marriages by allowing couples to submit an *isbat nikah* application to the Religious Court. However, not all applications are approved. Judges evaluate each case by considering all relevant aspects, including the essential and legal requirements of marriage.

According to Article 5 of the Compilation of Islamic Law:

1. In order to ensure order in marriage among Muslims, every marriage must be officially recorded.
2. The registration of marriage, as stipulated in paragraph (1), must be conducted by a Marriage Registrar as regulated in Law No. 22 of 1946 in conjunction with Law No. 32 of 1954 (Agung Prama Sarno, 2022).

3.3. Comparative Analysis of Judges' Decisions in Granting Marriage Legalization (*Isbat Nikah*) for Underage Marriages

Judges play a crucial role in carrying out their duties and core functions based on the provisions established by law, operating under the principle of flexibility (Yuliani Safitri, 2022). A judge's ruling represents the culmination of a legal dispute, as it substantiates the claims made and delivers a fair, final, and impartial decision. Judicial considerations depend on the specific nature of each case brought before the court (Yul hidayah, 2022). The emergence of two court decisions involving the same issue but based on different judicial considerations prompted this study. The research focuses on analyzing the interpretive methods applied in the two rulings, particularly the differing interests of the parties involved in Decision Number 780/Pdt.G/2021/PA.Blk and Decision Number 99/Pdt.P/2022/PA.Blk.

Based on the judges' rulings in examining, adjudicating, and deciding upon cases of marriage legalization (*isbat nikah*), two decisions are used as the basis for comparison. In Decision Number 780/Pdt.G/2021/PA.Blk and Decision Number 99/Pdt.P/2022/PA.Blk, the judges asserted that the harmonious relationship within the applicants' households could not serve as a justification for granting their petitions. The applicants were found to have violated Law Number 16 of 2019, which amended Law Number 1 of 1974 on Marriage. Article 1 paragraph (1) of the amended law clearly states: "Marriage is only permitted if the man and woman have reached the age of 19."

Because the applicants violated the statutory age requirement for marriage, the judges decisively ruled that the *isbat nikah* petitions could not be accepted. From the judicial considerations in both decisions, several similarities and differences can be observed:

The similarity in both Decision Number 780/Pdt.G/2021/PA.Blk and Decision Number 99/Pdt.P/2022/PA.Blk is that neither included a specific mention of the applicants' ages at the time of marriage in the *posita* of the claim. Both petitions were rejected by the panel of judges because it was proven during trial that both the applicants and their respective spouses had married underage and had not obtained a marriage dispensation from the Religious Court, thus violating Law Number 16 of 2019 regarding the minimum legal age for marriage (Nur Umniati Kalsum, 2023).

The difference lies in the *petitum* of each petition. In Decision Number 780/Pdt.G/2021/PA.Blk, the *isbat nikah* was requested to facilitate the withdrawal of BPJS (social insurance) benefits. In contrast, in Decision Number 99/Pdt.P/2022/PA.Blk, the *isbat nikah* was requested to obtain formal legal recognition of the marriage.

From these two decisions, it is evident that there are both similarities and differences, as well as interconnections. Both rulings resulted in the petitions being denied. Although the content of the *posita* and *petitum* differed, both judges relied on Law Number 16 of 2019 as the primary legal basis for rejecting the petitions.

4. Conclusion

Based on the findings of this study on the legal cases of *isbat nikah* (marriage legalization) involving underage marriages, the following conclusions can be drawn: The judges' legal considerations in deciding *isbat nikah* cases involving underage marriages consistently refer to Law Number 1 of 1974 as amended by Law Number 16 of 2019. Regardless of the reasons submitted by the parties in requesting *isbat nikah*, if the request violates the applicable legal provisions, the judge has the authority to issue a ruling in accordance with the law. The occurrence of underage marriages in Bulukumba Regency is driven by several factors, including economic conditions, education levels, and socio-cultural influences. Among these, socio-cultural factors are most frequently cited, particularly the tendency to follow parental precedent. Many individuals who enter underage marriages choose not to continue their education. The average age at which children in Bulukumba seek to marry is around 15 years, despite the legal minimum marriage age being set at 19 years. These marriages are often conducted without regard for their legal consequences, such as the lack of legal recognition, the wife's ineligibility to claim joint marital assets upon divorce, and the child being limited to maternal inheritance rights. Judicial considerations for declaring a case inadmissible (*niet ontvankelijke verklaard* or NO) in *isbat nikah* cases typically involve couples who marry while underage without obtaining a marriage dispensation from the Religious Court, or those whose dispensation request was rejected but proceed with the

marriage regardless. This phenomenon is frequently linked to a broader trend of youthful impulsiveness influenced by peer pressure, inappropriate use of social media, exposure to unsuitable media content, and a desire to follow prevailing social trends.

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