

Nikah Muda: The Hijrah Movement of Anti-Dating Communities from Progressive to Conservative in Indonesia (A Critical Study of Hadith)

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Abstract

The proliferation of hijrah groups among youth has had a significant impact, with positive outcomes such as enhanced religious understanding among teenagers and an increase in the adoption of more Islamic attire. However, this has also brought about negative consequences, including the dissemination of radical and textual interpretations, leading to conservatism. This article aims to uncover the controversy surrounding early marriage among Muslim millennials, driven by a tendency towards textual religious understanding. The research employs a qualitative method, drawing primary data from social media platforms of anti-dating millennial communities and online Islamic organizations in Indonesia. Secondary data were sourced from books, journals, and other relevant articles. The research findings indicate that controversy arises from the selection of hadith texts and differing interpretation methods. Anti-dating communities use motivational hadiths to support early marriage, employing a literal textual understanding related to sexual motivation, religious and individual piety, the vision of a happy family, emulation of the Prophet's marriage, and assurance of sustenance from Allah. Conversely, scholars use hadiths to reject early marriages with contextual understanding. The disregard of the youth for the views of scholars opposing early marriage indicates a shift in religious authority among Muslim millennials from



traditional figures to influencers popular on social media. Early marriage reflects the hybridization of the religious identity of Muslim millennials, maintaining religious values while remaining trendy and cool. The re-reading of hadiths is conducted by examining the social-historical context and contemporary circumstances within the discourse of modernity.

Keywords: *Anti-Dating Communities; Conservative; Early Marriage; Hijrah Movement; Progressive*

INTRODUCTION

Early marriage for religious reasons is a new phenomenon among educated urban youth (Nisa, 2020), coinciding with the increasing trend of religious migration in Indonesia with conservative religious understanding. Early marriage is believed to be a form of individual piety in internalizing and implementing the ideology of migration (Nisa, 2020) by advocating early marriage to avoid adultery. This campaign is massively conducted on social media by migration communities such as Indonesia Without Dating, Single for the Sake of Allah, Single Until Halal, and Youth Migration. The propaganda of early marriage is carried out with various hashtags on social media such as #earlymarriage, #single, #matchmaking, #marriagenow, #singleforthesakeofallah, #matchmakingmarriage, #indonesiawithoutdating, #marriagewithoutdating, and #halal. PPIM research states that the migration movement is dominated by conservative-fundamentalist Islamic narratives, where religious texts are obtained and disseminated through social media (PPIM UIN Jakarta, 2020). However, the mediatization of hadith, as a source of Islamic teachings, indicates shallow religious understanding and the desacralization of meaning (Qudsy et al., 2021). Thus, there is a misreading and misinterpretation of the hadith of early marriage among young migrant people, which encourages campaigns for early marriage.

Writings on early marriage have been extensively conducted by several authors divided into three categories. First, factors influencing early marriage occurrence. Early marriage can be influenced by several factors such as religion (Ahmad, 2012; Bowden, 2013; Levitt & Ware, 2006), free association, poverty (Stark, 2018), lack of education, unemployment (Carmichael, 2011), and social norms that allow women to become wives at a young age (Blackburn & Bessell, 1997). In the Indonesian context, early marriage is also related to ethnicity and traditions in society (Bennett, 2007; Buttenheim & Nobles, 2009). Based on research conducted by Jin et al. (2005), it was found that women from rural areas marry earlier compared to women from urban areas. The Covid-19 pandemic since 2020 has contributed to the increase in early marriages (Rahiem, 2021). Second, the impact of early marriage on family resilience and women (Grace, 2004; Jones, 2014; Waller & McLanahan, 2005). Third, the trend of early marriage among migration communities (Nisa, 2020) such as Indonesia Without Dating to demonstrate Islamic identity (T. Rahman et al., 2021).

This study aims to examine the controversy surrounding the idea of early marriage among millennial Muslims, which bases its understanding solely on hadith texts. On the one hand, young migrants legitimize early marriage with certain hadiths, while on the other hand, scholars reject early marriage not only based on hadith understanding but also the negative impacts of early marriage on family resilience. Therefore, this paper seeks to answer three questions: 1) what are the hadith texts used to legitimize and reject early marriage? 2) what factors underlie these differences? 3) what are the impacts of understanding on the practice of early marriage among millennial Muslims?

This research is important based on three arguments. First, early marriage has become a controversial issue in Indonesia. Some Indonesian Muslim communities accept early marriage, while others

reject it. Second, the controversial reasons for early marriage are based on the selection of hadith texts and interpretations of religious texts. Third, there is a shift in the motivations for early marriage among young people, from economic and social issues to the trend of identity as millennial Muslim piety (Nisa, 2020). This research is based on the argument of early marriage as a form of individual piety to perfect religion among young migrant people, based on a specific understanding of hadith texts. On the other hand, it shows the deauthorization of scholars, where young people ignore criticism and rejection from religious figures who have religious authority among Muslims. This controversy coincides with the mediatization of hadith, which impacts the shallowing of hadith meanings and desacralization of religion.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Migration (*hijrah*) is interpreted by Muslims in various ways. Hijrah is related to changes in place and behavior. In the context of Islamic history, *hijrah* signifies Prophet Muhammad's migration from Mecca to Medina, which brought fundamental changes for the Muslim community (Alam, 2007; Arjomand, 2009). In contemporary context, the meaning of *hijrah* has evolved, not only as a mere change of place but also a change in attitude, behavior, and appearance. Hijrah is understood as a shift from anywhere towards Islam (Kibble, 2016). In the context of Muslim diaspora, *hijrah* is a religious behavior of Muslims juxtaposed with secular dimensions (A. Ali, 2010). According to the Islamic State, *hijrah* means to attract foreign fighters (Uberman & Shay, 2016). In essence, *hijrah* is the process of a Muslim becoming better (Sunesti et al., 2018), as the transformation of an individual from less religious to more pious. Sunesti et al. (2018) introduces the term "Hijrah lifestyle" for those who migrate, which can be seen from their

appearance, wearing Islamic clothing, robes, having beards, wearing large veils, and some wearing niqabs.

Hijrah is a part of the movement of young Muslim communities in Indonesia (Youth Islamic movement) which has been studied in three categories. First, the religiosity of the hijrah community on social media. Social media serves as a platform to enhance religious knowledge of the hijrah community but is superficial (Hidayat et al., 2021). The hijrah community is diverse, including musicians and celebrities (Fitri & Jayanti, 2020; Qomaruzzaman & Busro, 2021). Second, hijrah as a change in behavior as a new construction of urban Muslim identity (T. Rahman et al., 2021). PPIM UIN Jakarta (2020) describes hijrah as marked by a new perspective on religion, such as hijab migration, lifestyle, migration from the prohibited which is internalized in daily life. However, hijrah also exhibits negative aspects such as misogyny and patriarchy, intolerance, and takfiri accusations. Third, hijrah is related to pop culture, modern capitalist systems, and the commodification of religion (Amna, 2019; Lyansari, 2019; Yudiana et al., 2021).

METHOD

This research is qualitative, examining hadiths that legitimize and motivate early marriage while also presenting arguments from scholars who reject early marriage. Primary data is sourced from online media of anti-dating communities, youth communities that reject dating by advocating early marriage such as the Early Marriage Movement, Youth Migration, and Indonesia Without Dating on Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube in the form of memes, flyers, brochures, visuals from videos, and/or images. Responses and interpretations of scholars regarding early marriage are also sourced from online media, while the experiences of early marriage practitioners are obtained through websites. Online information is

selected based on the themes that are the focus of the research. The interpretation and understanding of Muslims regarding the hadith texts influence the practice of early marriage among young people. This research uses descriptive analysis and textual analysis techniques, with the aim of extracting information obtained in-depth and measured based on comparisons with existing data.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Hadiths on Social Media

Hadiths are the words and deeds of Prophet Muhammad that serve as the second source of Islamic teachings after the Quran. Hadiths guide the daily lives of Muslims (Barazangi, 2015; Ramírez, 2015; Syamsuddin, 2020) and serve as a source of Islamic norms and values (legal norms) for the Muslim community (K. Ali, 2004). In the current era of digital religion, social media not only changes the process of production and consumption of religious information but also the patterns of dissemination of religious beliefs (PPIM UIN Jakarta Team, 2020). Therefore, the hadiths studied, understood, and shared through social media are the result of Muslims' understanding based on their religious knowledge. In contemporary discourse, hadiths are reinterpreted according to the context of modernity (K. Ali, 2004), such as gender and women's issues, reinterpreted to reclaim Islamic identity and message (Barazangi, 2015).

Studies on hadiths on social media fall into three categories. First, internet usage shows how social media influences the experiences and understanding of personal commitments and social involvement demonstrate the subjectivity of contemporary Muslims (Lengauer, 2018) to express Muslim identity and maintain networks in a global context (Fakhruroji, 2019). Among the younger Muslim generation, social media is used to express piety (Husein & Slama, 2018) and practice their Islam (Slama, 2018). Second, although social media is a

fast medium for learning, understanding, and sharing hadiths, the understanding of hadiths on social media tends to be shallow and not comprehensive because it does not consider the historical socio-cultural context of hadiths (Qudsy et al., 2021). Third, there is a dominance of conservative religious narratives on social media related to women's issues, state relations, citizens, and groups within society, as well as practices, both good and bad (PPIM UIN Jakarta, 2020).

Anti-Dating and Early Marriage Movements in Indonesia

Early marriage refers to the marriage between a man and a woman at a young age. The definition of a young age varies according to several institutions. Youth is for those persons in the age group of 15-24 years (United Nations, 2021). Referring to Law number 16 of 2019, the minimum age limit for marriage is 19 years for both men and women. Those under 18 years old are classified as children. Thus, some young ages fall into the category of children. If they marry, they fall into the category of child marriage.

At a young age, individuals are already familiar with dating. Surveys show that Indonesians are familiar with dating at the age of 12, along with puberty. Teenagers who date have permissive behavior towards the opposite sex: 92% of teenagers hold hands while dating, 82% kiss, and 63% engage in petting. These behaviors then trigger teenagers to engage in sexual intercourse (Ekasari et al., 2019). Dating behavior has not only negative impacts on the perpetrators but also contradicts Islamic teachings. Therefore, the hijrah community provides the solution of early marriage to avoid dating, which is prohibited by religion (Ayeshaputri et al., 2022; Nisa, 2021).

Studies on early marriage consist of three categories: first, societal perceptions of early marriage (Erwinsyah et al., 2018). Early marriage is understood as an important institution supported by social norms and families, and as an individual choice (Vu, 2018) to achieve spirituality and satisfaction in marriage. Second, factors

causing early marriage influenced by various factors including culture, social, and religious factors (Homzah & Sulaeman, 2007), poverty, low education, family pride, and sexual behavior (Bennett, 2007), religious piety (Nisa, 2020), the desire to have children, gain freedom and responsibility, influenced by influencers who construct marriage as a form of freedom, romance, and happiness in marriage (Damayanti et al., 2021). Third, the impact of early marriage on family resilience: family finances, emotions, reproductive health (R. T. A. Rahman & Yuandari, 2020), women's subordination (Davids, 2007).

Narrative of Early Marriage Hadiths

The campaign for early marriage by the Anti-Dating Community is based on misreading, misinterpretation, and misquoting of hadith texts. Popular early marriage hadiths among the hijrah community are divided into five categories: 1) sexual motivation, 2) religious motivation and individual piety, 3) imagination of a happy family, 4) emulating the marriage of the Prophet, and 5) assurance of sustenance from Allah.

Sexual Motivation

The primary and foremost motivation of the anti-dating community in promoting early marriage propaganda is sexual motivation, to avoid adultery. Adultery is sexual intercourse outside of marriage prohibited by Islamic law. Nevertheless, adultery is sometimes committed by young people dating, even though they know it is forbidden. Adultery occurs because of dating, which is a sinful and forbidden act that brings sin. Thus, dating is believed to be the door to adultery and leads to hell, as quoted in [Figure 1](#).

Figure 1

A Post from <https://www.instagram.com/indonesiatanpapacaran/> "Your girlfriend could be your hell. Dating is the door to adultery, making it easier to open when alone together"



Source: Instagram Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran @ indonesiatanpapacaran.

Based on the depiction of a blazing fire in the above image, it illustrates hell as the place of punishment for those who sin and violate religious prohibitions such as committing adultery. The narrative of the adulterer's punishment in hell is as follows. From Samurah bin Jundab RA, who narrated about the Prophet's dream that the Prophet said: "Then we saw in it men and women who were naked. Suddenly there came a blazing fire from beneath them. When the fire approached them, they cried out." He said, "I said to the two of them

(two angels), 'Who are these?' Both of them said, 'As for the men and women who are naked in the crucible, they are the adulterers'" (HR. Bukhari, Book of Interpretations. No. 6525) (Al-Bukhari, 2002)

Dating is prohibited based on Quranic verses and hadiths as follows. "And do not approach unlawful sexual intercourse. Indeed, it is ever an immorality and is evil as a way" (Qur'an, 17:32)

لا يخلون رجل بامرأة إلا مع ذي محرم

"A man should not be alone with a woman except with her mahram"
(HR. Bukhari, Book of Marriage, No. 4832)

Figure 2

A Post from <https://www.instagram.com/indonesiatanpapacaran/> "Be careful, there's a devil among you when you're dating"



Source: Instagram Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran @ indonesiatanpapacaran.

The slogan "be careful, there's a devil among you when you're dating" with an illustration of a man and a woman dating above serves as a warning against dating illustrated by the anti-dating community. This sentence is taken from the Prophet's hadith:

لَا يَخْلُونَ رَجُلًا بِأَمْرٍ إِلَّا كَانَ تَالِيَهُمَا الشَّيْطَانُ

"A man should not (be) alone (with) a woman, unless the third of them is Satan" (HR. Al-Hakim in Al-Mustadrak, No. 387) (Naisaburi, 1990)

In Islam, Satan is a symbol of evil, who likes to tempt humans. In the story of Adam and Eve descending to earth from heaven, Satan played an important role in tempting them to disobey Allah's command. Not only during worship, such as starting to read the Quran, Muslims recite prayers to be protected from Satan, but Satan is also believed to tempt humans, including young couples dating, to do something forbidden morally and religiously.

On the other hand, the early marriage community uses the opinions of scholars to legitimize its views:

"The scholars once said, one solution to the sin of adultery is to facilitate marriage. If marriage is easy, then half of his religion is protected from the sin of adultery. Conversely, if marriage is difficult, adultery will be easy. Human biological needs are natural, Islam regulates them so that these needs are channeled correctly. That is by getting married, not dating and adultery" (Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran, 2022)

Religious Perfection Motivation

Another reason for early marriage is religion. Marriage is believed to be a form of individual piety in order to perfect religion, achieve Allah's pleasure, and attain paradise. Some quotes that circulate on this matter are: "... Occupation is not a reason not to perfect half of religion because the sustenance of two people who have married is guaranteed by Allah" or "If someone loves each other, they will always guide the one they love to seek the pleasure of Allah". The hijrah community believes that marriage is half of religion based on the Prophet's hadith:

إِذَا تَزَوَّجَ الْعَبْدُ فَقَدْ كَمَّلَ نَصْفَ الدِّينِ ، فَلْيَتَّقِ اللَّهَ فِي النِّصْفِ الْبَاقِي

"If someone has married, it means that he has perfected half of his religion. Then let him fear Allah in the rest of it" (HR. Baihaqi, authenticated by Sheikh Al-Bani in As-Silsilah Ash Shahihah no. 625) (Al-Albani, 1997).

Pro-early marriage young people believe that paradise can only be attained easily through marriage, by being a wife who is obedient to her husband. They believe that the blessing of marriage and Allah's pleasure are determined by the husband's pleasure.

إذا صلت المرأة خمسها وصامت شهرها وحفظت فرجها وأطاعت زوجها قيل لها ادخلي الجنة من أي أبواب الجنة شئت

"If a woman who always prays five times a day, also fasts for a month (in the month of Ramadan), and keeps her chastity (from adultery) and obeys her husband, then it is said to her, "Enter paradise through whichever door you like" (HR. Ahmad, Book of Purification. No. 1573)

Imagining Getting a Righteous Partner and a Happy Family

Millennial hijrah believers believe that good people will find good partners. Hijrah men are considered to be good spouses. A hijrah husband is believed to be able to appreciate his wife, be responsible to his family, be romantic, understanding, patient, caring, faithful, maintain a diligent gaze, and gentle. Meanwhile, hijrah women are gentle, calm, patient, maternal, good at cooking, and obedient to their husbands. They also believe that men and women who are patient not to date will become loyal partners, not cheat, and not commit adultery in marriage.

Although in reality, a person's good religious qualities do not always make them a good husband as dreamed by young people. Their belief is based on textual understanding of the Quranic verse: "Evil women are for evil men, and evil men are for evil women; and

good women are for good men, and good men are for good women”
(Qur'an, 24:26)

Figure 3

A Post from <https://www.instagram.com/indonesiatanpapacaran/> " If before marriage you are patient enough not to date, then after marriage you will be better able to protect yourself from cheating"



Source: Instagram Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran @ indonesiatanpapacaran.

The illustration in [Figure 3](#) shows the image of two veiled women who are single (not dating) wearing red and white clothing accompanied by the phrase "If you can patiently stay single before marriage, then after marriage you can better maintain fidelity to your partner" seems to imply that someone who is single before marriage can guarantee loyalty to their partner after marriage. However, in reality, in the name of religion, polygamy practitioners are then done without the wife's permission as mentioned in the Marriage Law of 1974. This was found in several cases by the researchers in society. In

addition, polygamy is often done without considering justice and the economic ability of men as mentioned in the Quran. (Quran, 4:34)

Emulating the Prophet's Marriage

The marriage of the Prophet serves as inspiration for young hijrah believers. However, they only emulate the Prophet's wives from the feminine qualities of women as patient, struggling, and obedient to their husbands. The preferred stories of these wives, include: the story of Khadijah with her struggle and sacrifice in the Prophet's da'wah struggle; the story of Aisha who lived in hardship and suffering, the story of Fatima who was obedient to her husband; the romantic marriage of Aisha and the Prophet; the story of Hagar being left by her husband in the desert; and the trace of Rahmah, the wife of the Prophet Job, whose faith is strong even though she is tempted by Satan. These Prophet's wives received paradise rewards for their deeds.

On the other hand, the Prophet's wives were tough, independent, smart, confident, and brave women. They became equal partners in marriage, not subordinate to their husbands. This last aspect is not expressed in the early marriage campaign, so they view women only as complements to men, living only for men's interests due to partial religious understanding.

Marriage Brings Sustenance

The early marriage community believes that Allah guarantees sustenance for those who marry. A post by Berkah Menikah states: "Just make it halal first. The issue of wealth, we'll ask Allah together later. Occupation is not a reason not to perfect half of religion because the sustenance of two people who have married is guaranteed by Allah."

Figure 4

A Post from <https://www.instagram.com/berkahmenikah/> "Just make it halal first. The issue of wealth, we'll ask Allah together later. Occupation is not a reason not to perfect half of religion because the sustenance of two people who have married is guaranteed by Allah"



Source: Instagram Berkah Menikah @berkahmenikah.

Quoting the opinion of Ibn Baththal that what is meant by spending is to spend obligatory spending such as livelihood for the family and livelihood for maintaining kinship ties (*silaturrahim*): "When a servant is in every morning, there are two angels descending and praying, 'O Allah, give a reward to those who like to spend (diligently provide for their families)'. The other angel prayed, "O

Allah, give bankruptcy to those who are unwilling to give charity (provide sustenance)" (HR. Bukhari, no 1442 and Muslim 1010) (Al-Bukhari, 2002; Naisaburi, 1990). Table 1 summarizes topics related to early marriage for male and female, along with its arguments.

Table 1

Topics on Early Marriage and Its Basis Arguments

Topics	Male	Female	Argument
Sexual motivation	Punished for adultery, prohibited from being together without a mahram, summoning Satan.	Punished for adultery, prohibited from being together without a mahram, summoning Satan.	HR. Bukhari, Kitab Ta'bir. No. 6525, HR. Bukhari, Kitab Nikah, No. 4832, HR. Al-Hakim in Al-Musytadrak, No. 387
Religious motivation and individual piety	Perfecting religion, husband loves wife	To perfect religion, wives must obey their husbands.	HR. Baihaqi, in Al-Bani's <i>As Silsilah Ash Shahihah</i> No. 625, HR. Ahmad, Kitab Thaharah. No. 1573
Happy family imagination	Loyal husband	Loyal wife	QS. An-Nur 26, QS. An-Nisa 34
Guarantee of sustenance from Allah	Husband supports wife and family	Wife waiting to be supported	HR. Bukahri, No. 1442 and HR. Muslim No. 1010

Source: Authors' analysis.

Progressive Scholars Reject Early Marriage

Religious scholars in Indonesia play a crucial role in interpreting religious texts and issuing fatwas to their followers. Concerning early marriage, various viewpoints have been articulated by scholars, based

on diverse considerations and profound examination of Quranic texts and hadiths often used as legitimization by millennial Muslim generations.

Mental, Physical, Psychological, and Financial Preparedness for Marriage

All scholars from different organizations assert that marriage should not merely be based on the desire to legalize sexual relations but must be prepared for economically, physically, psychologically, and mentally. As stated in NU Online, for instance: "Implicitly, Sharia requires those who intend to marry to be truly prepared mentally, physically, and psychologically, mature, and understand the meaning of marriage, which is part of worship" (Thamrin, 2008).

This view aligns with the hadith of the Prophet: "O young people! Whoever among you is able to marry, should marry, for marriage helps in lowering the gaze and guarding the modesty. And whoever is not able to marry, should fast, as fasting diminishes his sexual power." (HR Bukhari no. Kitab an-Nikaah, no. 5066 Muslim, Kitab an-Nikaah no. 1402) (Al-Bukhari, 2002; Naisaburi, 1990).

This hadith indicates three things: 1) marriage if capable. Capability becomes the primary requirement for marriage, including physical, psychological, mental, and economic capabilities. The Prophet Muhammad exemplified marrying at the age of 25 when financially capable and ready for marriage. Another hadith mentions the criteria for choosing a spouse based on wealth, lineage, beauty, and religion; 2) marriage can guard against adultery. The hadith clearly explains that marriage can "lower the gaze and preserve chastity," interpreted as restraining oneself from committing adultery; and 3) fasting as a shield against adultery. Fasting in Islam is not only an act of refraining from food and drink but also from sexual desire. Even spouses who fast are forbidden from engaging in sexual intercourse during daylight hours. Thus, those unable to control their

sexual desires are encouraged to fast rather than marry unless meeting religious requirements.

Ideal Age for Marriage in Islam

Scholars agree that there is no specific age limit for marriage in Islam but also do not tolerate child marriage and early marriage, as they often bring more harm than benefit. MUI agrees with Law No. 16 of 2019 regarding the marriage age, which sets the age at 19 for both males and females. Looking at the age aspect, early marriage should not be a problem. However, the issue that arises is that they are young individuals not yet economically mature, impacting family resilience. According to MUI, marriages that lead to harm are considered unlawful. Early marriage based on the hadith about Aisha's marriage to Prophet Muhammad at the age of 9 is also criticized by scholars. From 'Aisha that the Prophet married her when she was six years old and consummated his marriage when she was nine years old (HR. Muslim, Kitab Nikah. No. 2550) ([Naisaburi, 1990](#)).

Aisha did not marry at a young age as mentioned in the hadith. Through historical research, Aisha married the Prophet at the age of 18. This opinion is in line with historical research indicating that Aisha was born four years before Muhammad was sent as a Messenger and married the Prophet in the 10th year of his prophethood, three years before the Hijrah, at the age of 14. Aisha engaged in sexual relations with the Prophet at the end of the first Hijri year when she was already 18 years old ([Mol, 2015](#)). Although 18 years old currently falls into the category of childhood, it was considered adulthood in the 7th century CE.

In the current context, 18 years old is still considered childhood. Nevertheless, there are differences in backgrounds, contexts, socio-cultural, and traditional differences between Aisha's marriage and today's young Muslim marriages ([Shihab, 2011](#)). In the early Islamic context of the 7th century CE, the age of 9 was considered mature

enough for marriage. Shihab states that the social and cultural context of society in early Islam differs from today. In the past, men marrying young girls was commonplace, unlike today, where marrying young girls is considered a form of crime and contradicts children's rights. M. Quraish Shihab, one of the progressive scholars in Indonesia, states that legitimizing early marriage based on Aisha's marriage practices cannot be justified. Ordinary humans are not the same as the Prophet. The Prophet was granted privileges by Allah, making it impossible for everything to be followed by humans.

Purpose of Marriage in Islam

Marriage in Islam aims to create a harmonious family (*sakinah*), filled with love and mercy (*mawaddah* and *rahmah*) (QS. Ar-Ruum 21). *Sakinah* represents mutual respect and cooperation among all family members. Meanwhile, *mawaddah* and *rahmah* represent affection toward the spouse. To achieve *Sakinah*, household principles must be based on fundamental principles: human rights principles and reciprocity. The principle of rights in marriage aims to preserve offspring (*hifdz al-nasl*) (Khakim & Thobroni, 2019). The principle of reciprocity is applied in the form of giving and receiving, sharing feelings, and advising between spouses. Spouses in the Quran are likened to garments for each other (*hunna libasun lakum wa antum libasun lahunna*, wives are garments for husbands and husbands are garments for wives). The marital bond between spouses is a strong covenant based on love and affection.

To achieve the goal of marriage, *harm* (destruction) resulting from marriage must be avoided. Quraish Shihab expressed as quoted from NU Online. If avoiding adultery actually adversely affects young married couples, it can become haram (Amaliyah, 2021). Therefore, welfare must be achieved through financial readiness, knowledge, and mental readiness for couples intending to marry. Marriage age should not be a measure of readiness for someone. Even at a sufficient

age, if not capable and ready, marriage only brings harm that must be avoided (Suprima, 2022).

Negative Impacts of Early Marriage

M. Quraish Shihab, one of the Indonesian scholars, stated that marrying out of fear of adultery is like treating a disease with a disease. Early marriage will bring more significant problems than adultery. For example, children born tend to be uneducated, neglected, and lead to divorce. Generally, early marriage impacts economically, socially, health-wise, and in household resilience. If marriage invites harm, it is considered haram (CNN Indonesia, 2021). Therefore, Shihab provides a solution to avoid adultery, by providing education that raises awareness that adultery is a sinful act. And marriage should be done in accordance with the hadith of the Prophet "marry for those who are capable."

Factors Contributing to the Difference in Understanding of Early Marriage

The differences in views between the youth in Anti-Dating Community and Muslim scholars on early marriage are influenced by several factors, including knowledge and understanding of texts, their experiences, and interests. Table 2 summarizes these factors.

Table 2

Factors Contributing to the Difference in Understanding of Early Marriage between Anti-Dating Community and Muslim Scholars

Factors	Anti-Dating Community	Muslim Scholars
Differences in reference sources	Social media, shallow understanding	Reference to the Holy Qur'an and hadith
Differences in religious text	Arguments that support young marriage	Texts supporting and opposing young marriage

Factors	Anti-Dating Community	Muslim Scholars
Differences in Understanding	Textual	Thematic and contextual
Differences in experience	Personal experience	Reality in everyday life
Differences in support and example	Family, friendship influencer	Stories of Prophets, friends and scholars
Differences in interests	Commodification of religion	Give correct guidance to the ummah

Source: Authors' analysis.

Based on the presentation in Table 2, it can be categorized that the views on early marriage between millennial youth and scholars are vastly different from each other. This disparity encompasses citation of evidence, explanations, understanding of evidence, and motivations in carrying out such practices. Interestingly, why are young people, who should be thinking progressively and innovatively, conservative in their religious understanding? This is because of the influence of social media and their conservative social circles. The knowledge and insight of young people are shaped by the information they acquire through digital technology, including religious matters. The understanding and religious experience of young people are determined by the type of information they encounter daily, including about early marriage (Abubakar & Nabil, 2018).

Early marriage is influenced by two factors: internal and external. Internal factors can be seen from the decision to marry early, which is influenced by religious understanding, personal experiences, and family support. Family environment, education, and friendships construct the narrative of young people's identities, where there is an exchange of values and knowledge. A person will feel comfortable in

an environment that is deemed suitable or aligned with their adopted values (Abubakar & Nabil, 2018).

The experience of early marriage is expressed by one supporter of early marriage as follows:

"I fall into that category (marriage is worship, avoiding adultery), maybe getting married young (approaching 24 years old). As a man, of course, it is my obligation to provide for the family. I haven't finished college yet, and neither has my prospective wife (strong religious background). Our parents provide 'wholehearted' support, from completing college (which doesn't actually change the conditions as previous students, but their status is different now). So, each of us is still funded by our respective parents (smart, isn't it?). Until we both graduate! So, when you're ready, there's no need to delay marriage. There is Allah who will help you face what you fear. Start with bismillah Hopefully, Allah will make it easy for you" (Pujiono, 2020).

Social circles, influencers, and digital media influence the external factors of early marriage. Social circles include the flourishing groups among young people, such as the Hijrah Youth Movement, Let's Study (Felix Siaw), Bright Jakarta, Musawarah, and the Strangers Al-Ghuraba, Hijrah Youth (Hanan Attaki). They hold regular religious studies and halaqoh to indoctrinate their members with the spread of conservative ideology (Triana, 2021), including for early marriage. Moreover, they also actively campaign for early marriage through social media platforms like Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube. These groups usually have strong militancy, following their leaders' instructions without question. Young people aged 19-25 are no longer under parental control but are influenced by peer environments that adhere to certain ideologies and lifestyles, including early marriage.

The hijrah community campaigns for early marriage through digital and social media. Facebook and Instagram are two social media platforms with many users in Indonesia. The number of followers on Instagram for ITP reaches 884 thousand followers,

Gerakannikahmuda 413 thousand with the slogan "dating after marriage is fun." Pejuang nikah muda (Young Marriage Fighters) has 146 thousand followers. Shift Pemuda Hijrah has 100 thousand followers.

Influencers who marry at a young age, whether religious figures or celebrities, serve as role models for members of the hijrah community, such as: Salmafina Khairunnisa and Taqy Malik, Alvin Faiz and Larissa Chou, Dinda Haw and Rey Mbayang, and Natta Reza and Wardah Maulina. They are considered inspirational because of their journey to embrace Islam and establish a household at a young age, although the first two mentioned couples' marriages ended in divorce.

Early Marriage between Religiosity, Modernity, Millennial Muslim Identity, and the Deauthorization of Scholars

Early marriage serves as a negotiation between religiosity, modernity, and millennial Muslim identity (Sunesti et al., 2018). Religiosity refers to the perception, attitude, or embodiment of religious values, both in understanding and practicing religion. Early marriage is considered a form of individual piety because it follows the tradition of the Prophet and avoids the forbidden act of adultery. Religious activities are evident from religious practices such as religious gatherings, mosque prayers, and diligent recitation of the Quran. Additionally, their appearance also reflects Islamic attire with full coverage. Men wear robes and skullcaps, while women wear robes, long hijabs, and some wear veils. Their understanding shapes their religious knowledge.

The movement for early marriage in Indonesia is closely linked to the strengthening of conservative religious movements in the public sphere. A study by PPIM UIN Jakarta (2020) indicates that conservative religious dominance on social media accounts for 67.2%, compared to moderate groups at 22.2%, liberal at 6.1%, and Islamic at

4.5%. The religious understanding of young migratory people tends to be normative conservative, understanding religious teachings in a textual-literal manner (CNN Indonesia, 2021). Textual understanding is literal, literary, and understanding the text as it is presented in the hadith (Abdul et al., 2021; Adinugraha & Ulama'i, 2020; Hasan et al., 2019; Nadeem, 2015). In the context of the hadith of early marriage, a literal understanding of the hadith text portrays marriage as the Prophet's tradition, a form of worship, and a path to heaven, thus encouraging young people to marry at a young age without considering financial, physical, and mental capabilities as mentioned in other hadiths and the Prophet's marriage practices. The dominance of conservative religious narratives within the migratory community has led to various misreadings, misunderstandings, misinterpretations, and misquotations of early marriage, affecting perceptions, knowledge, and practices of early marriage.

Early Marriage as a form of Modernity

The use of the internet and social media as a propaganda tool for early marriage shows that young people are very familiar with information technology as part of modern humanity. Millennial Muslims living in the digital technology era, such as computers, tablets, and smartphones, share their ideas through memes using pop culture with captions, slogans, symbols, and images that appeal to young people's tastes (Qudsy et al., 2021). Young people use the internet and other online media not only for religious learning but also to share religious knowledge, understanding, and experiences favored by young people (Abubakar & Nabil, 2018). The source of knowledge about hadith determines a person's understanding of religious texts. The mediation of hadith in the form of memes, slogans, symbols on social media serves as a source of religious knowledge for young people and as a means to share religious knowledge and understanding. However, unfortunately, the mediation of hadith does

not provide broad and deep knowledge but rather is very superficial. The mediation of hadith leads to misinterpretations, mistranslations, and misquotations of hadith based on shallow religious understanding (Ramle & Huda, 2022). Making early marriage a solution to dating is a form of misinterpretation. Islam does not encourage early marriage and prohibits dating. Errors in quoting or citing hadith messages result in misunderstandings of hadith meanings.

The Hybridization of Millennial Muslim Identity in Early Marriage

The religiousness of millennial Muslims today forms a hybrid identity (Abubakar & Nabil, 2018). Hybrid identity is a blending of cultures, traditions, values, and principles that guide young people partly due to intensive interaction with their surrounding contexts and traditions. Young people make Islam their way of life but also maintain their identity as modern youth. Early marriage is considered a form of piety to avoid the evils of dating, which are detrimental especially to women. The narrative of early marriage is a form of resistance to the lifestyle of young people who change partners frequently, fear commitment, and are not ready to take responsibility. Believing early marriage to be trendy and cool for young people is not only a misinterpretation of religious texts on social media but also contradicts the views of scholars in Indonesia, as mentioned earlier.

The Deauthorization of Scholars in Early Marriage

The phenomenon of early marriage among migratory youth indicates a shift in religious authority from traditional religious figures to influencers in online media. Young people overlook the views of scholars who criticize and reject early marriage. Instead, they follow the views of young celebrities and influencers that align with the lifestyle and identity of young Muslims, although their religious knowledge and understanding are very limited. On the other hand,

progressive scholars do not only understand hadith texts literally but also contextually. Contextualizing hadith is based on contextual understanding of hadith that considers the context of a text, both socio-historical context and the context of hadith understood in the present time (Saeed, 2005). Hadith in contemporary discourse seeks to criticize doctrines based on interpretations or reassessment of the importance of hadith understanding (K. Ali, 2002, 2006) in accordance with human values and norms to reclaim Muslim identity, as done by progressive Muslim groups. Indonesian Muslim feminist groups, such as Mubadalah, campaign for mutual respect between husbands and wives to achieve gender equality and justice in the family. This movement also counters conservative religious narratives, including the subordination of women perpetuating patriarchal dominance in families to realize a just Islamic spirit. Thus, hadiths of early marriage should be understood by considering the text and context of the hadith to encourage a comprehensive and holistic understanding of the hadith (Ramle & Huda, 2022) so that both partners can more easily achieve the goal of marriage, which is to build a family that is tranquil, loving, and merciful.

CONCLUSION

Based on the data presented above, this paper answers three questions. First, that the textual understanding of hadith among migratory youth not only impacts the misconception of marriage, which is considered only as a short-term solution to the sexuality of young people, but also the imagination of marriage that is not based on a comprehensive understanding of the purpose of marriage and adequate preparation for entering married life. This indicates that the religious understanding of migratory youth is dominated by conservative religious understanding, including in marriage. Second, the difference in views between millennials and progressive scholars

is caused by differences in understanding, depth of knowledge, motivation, and experiences between progressive scholars and millennial migratory youth. Third, the consequence of a superficial and shallow understanding of hadith texts results in many misunderstandings and misinterpretations that lead to the destruction of marriages. Furthermore, the impact of divorce and other post-marriage issues such as adultery, domestic violence, and polygamy without the wife's consent has become very common. This is due to the lack of fundamental and in-depth understanding of hadith texts among millennial migratory generations, which are used as a source of practice. This study has limitations from social media and one group of migratory communities. For future studies, more sources are needed by comparing several migratory communities and supplemented with interviews with young migratory marriage practitioners.

Author Contributions

Conceptualization: R., I., Z.A., & Z.; Data curation: R., I., Z.A., & Z.; Formal analysis: R., I., Z.A., & Z.; Funding acquisition: R., I., Z.A., & Z.; Investigation: R., I., Z.A., & Z.; Methodology: R., I., Z.A., & Z.; Project administration: R., I., Z.A., & Z.; Resources: R., I., Z.A., & Z.; Software: R., I., Z.A., & Z.; Supervision: R., I., Z.A., & Z.; Validation: R., I., Z.A., & Z.; Visualization: R., I., Z.A., & Z.; Writing - original draft: R., I., Z.A., & Z.; Writing - review & editing: R., I., Z.A., & Z. All authors have read and agreed to the published version of the manuscript.

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Informed Consent Statement

Informed consent was not required for this study.

Data Availability Statement

The data presented in this study are available upon request from the corresponding author.

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Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare that they have no conflicts of interest.

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