



Child Marriage in Kabang, South Yala, Thailand: Islamic Family Law Perspective

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Abstract

This research examines the impact of underage child marriage in Kabang, South Yala Region, Thailand. This is an empirical legal research method analyzed from the Islamic Law perspective. Interviews and document analysis were the methods of data collection used in the study, by which community leaders in Kabang, South Yala Region, Thailand who were involved in the marriage of underage children were interviewed. This research reveals that the factors causing the marriage of underage children in Kabang are: economic, pre-pregnant, educational, and environmental factors. Additionally, the study finds that marriages between minors will inevitably end in divorce, burden parents, and have a detrimental effect on one's health. Consequently, this study recommends that those immediately accountable for this case the village chief, the priest, the parents or guardians, the intellectuals in the community, and the youth should always take precautions to protect themselves and refrain from marrying when underage. Islamic family law views underage marriage as incompatible with the goal of marriage, which is to establish a *sakinah mawaddah wa rahmah* (happy) family. Underage marriage has more negative effects than positive ones; it is bad for the individual, the family, and the community, and it can even destroy the nation-state and the entire country.

Keywords: Child Marriage, South Thailand, Islamic Family Law

Abstrak

Penelitian ini mengkaji dampak dari pernikahan anak di bawah umur di Kabang, Wilayah Yala Selatan, Thailand. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian hukum empiris yang dianalisis dari perspektif Hukum Islam. Wawancara dan analisis dokumen merupakan metode pengumpulan data yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini, dengan mewawancarai para tokoh masyarakat di Kabang, Yala Selatan, Thailand yang terlibat dalam pernikahan anak di bawah umur. Penelitian ini mengungkapkan bahwa faktor-faktor yang menyebabkan pernikahan anak di bawah umur di Kabang adalah: faktor ekonomi, hamil di luar nikah, faktor pendidikan, dan faktor lingkungan. Selain itu, penelitian ini juga menemukan bahwa pernikahan anak di bawah umur akan berakhir dengan perceraian, membebani orang tua, dan berdampak buruk bagi kesehatan. Oleh karena itu, penelitian ini merekomendasikan agar pihak-pihak yang bertanggung jawab atas kasus ini - kepala desa, imam, orang tua atau wali, tokoh masyarakat, dan para pemuda untuk selalu melakukan tindakan pencegahan untuk melindungi diri mereka sendiri dan menahan diri untuk tidak melakukan pernikahan di bawah umur. Hukum keluarga Islam memandang pernikahan di bawah umur tidak sesuai dengan tujuan pernikahan, yaitu untuk membentuk keluarga yang sakinah mawaddah wa rahmah. Pernikahan di bawah umur lebih banyak menimbulkan dampak negatif daripada dampak positifnya, baik bagi individu, keluarga, dan masyarakat, bahkan dapat menghancurkan negara-bangsa dan seluruh negara.

Katakunci: Pernikahan Anak, Thailand Selatan, Hukum Keluarga Islam

Introduction

Marriage is a crucial means that Allah SWT devised to safeguard human dignity in the interaction between males and females. Marriage is a sacred union between a man and a woman, formed out of love and by Islamic law, to create a harmonious and loving family. Marriage is a human aspiration to cultivate serenity and harmony in one's life, while also fostering a deep affection for life, particularly between spouses.¹

The primary goal of marriage is to establish a bond of love between a man and a woman through the marriage contract. Thus, marriage meets more than just the biological-sexual need; it also satisfies the psychological need, unites two huge families of men and women, and—above all—demonstrates to Muslims their adherence to Islamic law.²

¹ Juwaini Saleh, et.al., "Marriage Guidance Towards Family Resilience in Aceh: A Study of Islamic Law Philosophy," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam* (2022). Ansori Ansori, "Qawā'id Fiqhiyyah as Islamic Epistemology and Its Application at Marriage Law in Indonesia," *JURIS: Jurnal Ilmiah Syari'ah* 22, No. 1 (2022).

² Mursyid Djawas, et.al., "Creating Family Resilience in Indonesia: A Study of Marriage Guidance Program in Aceh and South Sumatera," *al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum dan Pranata Sosial* 17, No. 1 (2022). Abdul Rahman Ghazali, *Fiqh Munakahat*, Jakarta: Kencana, 2012, hlm 7. Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1994).

The Marriage regulations in Indonesia are outlined in Law Number 1 of 1974. This law mandates that all Indonesians prepare for marriage. However, in practice, it is challenging to include in legislation because marriage is a sensitive matter pertaining to religious views.³ The Indonesian Marriage Law Chapter 2, Paragraph 7 specifies that a woman must be sixteen years old and a man must be nineteen years old to be eligible for marriage. The government's policy takes into account a number of factors and processes when deciding the legal age of marriage. This is to ensure that everyone is prepared and at a mature level on a mental, physical, and psychological level.⁴

The issue of underage marriage is perceived differently in the Indonesian setting. The current legislation in the Republic of Indonesia does not provide precise categories for adults and minors. Marriage Law No. 1 of 1974 specifically regulates the requirement of parental approval for those under the age of 21 who intend to marry. This means that both men and women who wish to marry must obtain parental consent if they are below the age of 21. As per Article 47 Paragraph 2, the minimum age for marriage is 19 years for males and 16 years for females. Minors, defined as individuals under the age of 18 or those who have never been married, are subject to parental authority as stipulated in Article 47, paragraph 2.⁵

Thailand, located in Southeast Asia, is inhabited by individuals from many racial and religious backgrounds. According to demographic data from 2015, Thailand has a population of 65,203,979, with 10,569,021 people over the age of 60, accounting for 16.2 percent of the total population. Thailand has officially transitioned into an aging society, with projections indicating that by 2021, the population of those aged 60 and beyond would surpass 20% of the total population.

Thailand has harbored a Muslim population since the 13th century. Within the Thai kingdom, Muslims have actively engaged in both trade and governance. Nevertheless, albeit in a state of being a minority, Buddhism constituted 95% of all religious practices in Thailand in 2000, with Islam accounting for 4%, Christianity for 0.6%, and other religions for 0.4%.⁶

The government of Thailand has successfully incorporated Islamic law, providing the Muslim minority in the southern region with acceptable personal law sources. The Islamic law and the secular law are the governing systems that regulate the behavior of Muslims. However, Muslims are exclusively bound by Islamic law, specifically in matters related to resolving marriage and inheritance disputes. The

³ Hamid Sarong, *Hukum Perkawinan Islam Di Indonesia*, (Banda Aceh: PeNA, 2010), p. 1.

⁴ Mariani Amberi, "Efforts to Prevent Child Age Marriage in The Study of Islamic Legal Philosophy and Indonesia Positive Law," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam* 7, No. 1 (2023).

⁵ Ridwan Nurdin and Sufrizal Sufrizal, "Formal Acceptance of the Marriage Age Exception in the KUA Kluet Timur," *Media Syariah: Wahana Kajian Hukum Islam dan Pranata Sosial* 25, No. 1 (2023). Darlin Rizki, et.al., "Maqasid Sharia Perspective in Changes the Marriage Age Limits for Women According to Law Number 16 of 2019," *al-Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 7, No. 2 (2022).

⁶ Sanurdi Sanurdi, "Islam di Thailand," *Tasamuh: Jurnal Studi Islam* 10, No. 2 (2018), p. 379-390. Abdul Manan, et.al., "The Expansion of Islam in Pattani, South Thailand: A Historical Analysis," *Journal of Al-Tammadun* 17, No. 1 (2022).

Islamic family law in Thailand has a rich historical background and has been upheld to promote the advancement and well-being of Muslim residents, particularly in the four Muslim provinces of the country.⁷

The laws, specifically the Islamic family law in Thailand, illustrate the measures taken to protect the Muslim community, especially the younger generation, as evidenced by programs such as *hadhanah* (child care). This legislation ensures the well-being and tranquility of children, even in a deteriorating parent-child connection, which is essential for protecting children affected by *Hadhanah* as a collective.⁸

Conversely, the issue of underage child marriage in Thailand is multifaceted. Given its potential to have adverse impacts on children's future, education, health, and even progeny. Hence, it is imperative to do this investigation to elucidate and acquire insights into the repercussions of early marriage among minors in South Yala, Thailand. The paper utilizes empirical legal research methods, which are analyzed from the standpoint of Islamic family law.⁹ Documentation and interviews are two distinct methodologies for acquiring information. Researchers conducted extensive interviews with community leaders from Kabang, South Yala Region, Thailand, who were involved in the practice of child marriage.

The Importance of the Marriage Age Limit for the Bride and Groom

1. Definitions of Marriage

Various scholars have distinct interpretations of marriage with regards to language. Imam Shafi'i defines marriage as a permissible contract between a man and a woman concerning their sexual interactions. According to Imam Hanafi, marriage is a contractual agreement that grants permission for sexual relations between a man and a woman. Furthermore, Imam Malik defines marriage as a legally binding agreement that “serves the exclusive aim of granting sexual pleasure and satisfaction to the woman who enters into the marital union”.¹⁰

وَمِنْ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ خَلَقْنَا زَوْجَيْنِ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَذَكَّرُونَ

And We created pairs of all things [For example, male and female, sweet and bitter, day and night, plains and mountains, heat and cold, light and darkness.] so perhaps you would be mindful (QS. Al-Zariyat: 49)¹¹

⁷Samah Mahamatayuding, et.al., “Muslim Family Law in Southern Thailand: A Historical Overview,” *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 37, No. 3 (2017), p. 1-14. Chris Joll, “Malay Exiles in Central Thailand: Revisiting the cultural geography of Islam in Thailand and the Malay world's Northern Diasporas,” Conference: KITA Discourse Series 4 (2022).

⁸Machae Rohanee, et.al., “Children’s Protection in The Issue of Hadhanah Based on Islamic Family Law and The Law of Thailand,” *Global Journal Al-Thaqafah* 6, No. 2 (2016), p. 73-83.

⁹Peter Mahmud Marzuki, *Metode Penelitian*, Jakarta: Kencana Prenda Media, 2005.

¹⁰Mustofa Hasan, *Pengantar Hukum Keluarga*, (Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2011) hlm 15

¹¹Departemen Agama RI. *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemah* (Jakarta: Daus Sukses Mandiri, 2012), p. 522

Marriage is the essential and exclusive method endorsed by Allah and His Messenger to acquire offspring and guarantee the survival of the human race, to preserve the integrity of the family lineage, as commanded by religion.¹²

عن عبد الله بن مسعود رضي الله عنه قال : قال لنا رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم : يا معشر الشباب من استطاع منكم الباءة فليتزوج فإنه اغض للبصر وأحصن للفرج ومن لم يستطع فعليه بالصوم فإنه له وجاء

"Oh, youth! "Get married, whoever among you is capable of doing so, as it will better protect your *farji* (genitals) and lower your gaze." And whoever cannot afford it should fast since it will shield them." (HR. Bukhari, Muslim, Tirmidhi, and others).

The institution of marriage is subject to legal regulation and oversight, including the enactment of specific laws about marriage. The first paragraph of Law No. 1 of 1974 defines marriage as a physical and emotional bond between a man and a woman, where they become husband and wife. A wife seeking to establish a blissful and everlasting family unit founded on religious principles. As per the Compilation of Islamic Law, marriage is a contractual arrangement based on Allah's directive, or *Mitsakham*, to adhere to His guidance and partake in worship to uphold *Sakinah Muwadah* and foster a harmonious domestic environment.

As per the aforementioned definition, marriage is a robust agreement that includes legal elements allowing individuals to engage in sexual relations through the recitation of *nikah lafadz* and verbal expressions. Loyalty is a term that expands through the cultivation of a steadfast and dutiful relationship with God.

2. Ideal Marriage Age Limit

1. Biological Age of Marriage

As per multiple Muslim scholars, individuals who possess the maturity of a bilateral marriage exhibit the following traits: The scholars of *fiqh* unanimously consider *taklīf*, which denotes physical maturity, precisely reaching *bāligh* when semen is emitted, regardless of whether a specific girl has menstruation. If a woman agrees to see a man or woman who has received approval from the *fuqahā*, she is regarded as being pregnant. They hold conflicting opinions regarding the criteria for defining adulthood, even though the age is provided. According to scientific research, an individual's level of maturity is influenced by the specific circumstances of their environment and the timing of their first menstrual cycle. Furthermore, there might be variances in the degree of maturity across women or individuals.¹³

¹² Ibnu Hajar al-Asqalani, *Kitab Bulughul Maram*, Jakarta: Naura, 2017, Hadis No.993/1957

¹³ Andi Mappiare, *Psikologi Remaja*, (Surabaya: Usaha Nasional, 1982), p. 36

2. Psychological age of Marriage

Attitudes are the most fundamental psychological features. Senses, cognitive patterns, and visual behavior patterns include:

- a. The ability is beginning to occur and is currently increasing, refer to life adjustments
- b. A more realistic self-image and viewpoint is beginning to develop. Consider yourself for who you are, and refer to respect yourself.
- c. His family and others were pleased with the actual situation that was unfolding. Feel content and avoid becoming disappointed.
- d. Overcoming challenges with more mature answers, and more mature and actual problems are the result of more perfect thinking abilities and are supported by a realistic outlook to achieve a sense of serenity.
- e. Feelings of calm, calm in the face of disappointment which results in anger, are supported by the ability to think and control one's feelings as well as realistic situations in determining attitudes. Their attention and aspirations make them less disappointed with the failures they encounter.

The average marriage age in the Islamic world and Muslim-populated countries is from 15 to 21 years, except for Iraq and Somalia, where both males and females can marry at the age of 18. Typically, Islamic nations differentiate between potential male partners and potential female partners based on their age for marriage. Men often marry between the ages of 16 and 21, whereas women tend to marry between the ages of 15 and 18. Consequently, women tend to get married at an age that is 1 to 6 years lower than the age at which men typically get married.

The variation in marriage age arises from the fact that the Qur'an and al-Hadith do not explicitly state the age at which marriage should occur. According to Al-Quran Surah An-Nisa' verse 5, marriage is seen as a sign of a person's maturity. Therefore, the age restriction serves as an indicator of the maturity required for marriage.¹⁴

However, it is often assumed that *baliq* are capable of distinguishing between good and evil, and hence agree to marriage when someone marries (*Buluq an-nikah*) with the phrase "rusyd." According to the Shafi'i and Hanbali schools, the best age for marriage is 15 years, but Abu Hanifa believes that the age of consent for women is 19 years, and while 17 years is the same for men, Imam Malik feels that the best age for men and women is 18 years.¹⁵

Matrimony should solely occur when the couple is completely prepared to fulfill their matrimonial commitments. If this condition is not met, they will face numerous challenges that are prone to occur in early marriage. These challenges include, as mentioned earlier, an exceptionally high rate of divorce, especially among couples who married at a young age due to their lack of stable employment and

¹⁴ Dedi Supriyadi, *Perbandingan Hukum Perkawinan*, (Bandung: Pustaka Fikriis, 2011), p. 82

¹⁵ Nur Ihdatul Musyarrafa and Subehan Khalik, "Batas Usia Pernikahan Dalam Islam; Analisis Ulama Mazhab Terhadap Batas Usia Nikah," *Jurnal Shautuna* 1, No. 3 (2020).

financial insecurity. In addition, other factors that contribute to the high incidence of divorce in young marriages include the recognition among young individuals who marry early that they can still enter into subsequent marriages if they divorce; the substantial financial challenges often faced by early marriages, which hinder the process of adapting to married life; and the often intricate understanding of love and marriage held by young people, which can result in certain disillusionment.

Marriage Age Limit According to the Thailand Civil Law

Thai civil law states that marriage is lawful as long as it complies with the guidelines outlined in the 1992, Marriage Law, and then, under Thai civil law, the following age limits for marriage are also regulated:

1. According to article 1448, there must be a male and a female partner.
2. A man and a woman should choose to get married voluntarily. A marriage is void if both the man and the woman do not wish to be married.
3. A lifetime of cohabitation as husband and wife is required. a union of a man and a woman with the understanding that the union will dissolve after a set amount of time. Article 150 declares such an arrangement to be void because it is against the peace, even though the marriage is still lawful.
4. Marriage must have only one partner.¹⁶

Furthermore, there are several important notes to be considered in the marriage process in Thailand, for both men and women:

1. Both wife and husband must be 17 years old, as stated in Article 1448. If a person is married before reaching the age of seventeen, the marriage is considered invalid according to Article 1503. Both the individual getting married and their parents have the right to bring a claim on this matter. If a woman is born prior to her husband reaching the age of 17, or if the marriage remains intact until both individuals reach the age of 17, the court has the authority to seek a judgment to invalidate the marriage under Article 1504. This is because the law deems the marriage null and void from the minute it was consummated. It is not possible to petition the court for a new revocation.
2. Neither men nor women should be insane. Or, in the event that a marriage is broken, someone who is declared by the court to be incompetent under article 1449 is void under article 1495.
3. According to Article 1450, men and women do not have a familial relationship with one another or are brothers, fathers, mothers, or joint fathers and mothers. If a marriage is breached, it will be dissolved in accordance with Article 1495.
4. The adopter and the adopted are prohibited from marrying each other. The legislation does not address the issue of nullity or vacancy for marriages that violate Article 1451. Marriages that violate the mentioned provisions remain completely lawful and enforceable in all respects since the adopter and the adopted individual do not share a blood relationship. Furthermore, Article

¹⁶ Undang-Undang (Hukum Perdata Negara Thailand) Tahun 1992 M.

1598/32 stipulates that the adoption shall be nullified if the marriage contravenes Article 1451.

5. As per Article 1452, an individual cannot be considered a spouse of another individual. If a marriage contravenes the aforementioned rules, it is considered null and void under Article 1495. The individual involved has the entitlement to assert the invalidity of the polygamous marriage. Alternatively, one could pursue legal action in court to obtain a definitive ruling declaring the plural marriage as null and void. Upon the assertion of a claim or the determination by a court, a polygamous marriage is rendered invalid and without legal effect. Regardless of the partner's good faith and lack of awareness of the previous marriage, this dual marriage is invalid and does not comply with Islamic law. An individual in such a situation would be unable to enter into a new marriage unless a court declares the existing marriage null and void or a court order invalidates the marriage. Legally recognized as a married couple for instance, Mr. Kheaw coerced Nang Khao into marrying him. This marriage is invalid. However, since Mrs. Khao does not have the legal authority to enter into a new marriage, she has requested that the court nullify her previous marriage with Mr. Kheaw.
6. A widow may get married again as long as it is at least 310 days after the last marriage was finalized, though Section 1453 provides several exceptions.
7. As per Section 1454, individuals who are under the legal age of adulthood are only authorized to enter into marriage if they have obtained consent from their parents or legal guardians. Consent, once granted through the prescribed process described in Section 1455, is irrevocable. The registrar is obligated to officially record the marriage once consent has been granted, as per legal requirements. Moreover, parents, adopters, or guardians who have previously given agreement for a child to enter into matrimony may thereafter choose to revoke their permission, even if the marriage has not been formally recorded. Moreover, as a result of the restriction clause in Article 1455, the consent cannot be withdrawn. Revoking this consent is absolutely prohibited.¹⁷

Factors Causing Underage Child Marriages in Kabang, South Yala Region, Thailand

The author possesses direct experience on the persistent occurrence of marrying individuals who are below the legal age in Kabang Regency, located in the South Yala Region of Thailand. According to article 15, the woman must be at least 17 years old at the time of marriage, before she reaches a certain age. According to Thailand's civil code, which has been in effect for over 17 years, it is said that "article 1435 is derived from engagement." The unconstitutional engagement that took place seventeen years ago, including both men and women, will be considered null and

¹⁷Undang-Undang (Hukum Perdata Negara Thailand) Tahun 1992 M.

void, including under Thai civil law. Underage marriage is the act of getting married before reaching the legally prescribed age.¹⁸

Marriage adheres closely to the principles of the Islamic religion practiced by the people of Kabang district, as they understand the consequences for those who violate the rules of marriage, including not only age-related factors but also the mental maturity of individuals. The level of maturity, in its most comprehensive sense, is commonly assessed based on their physical attributes, exemplified by their imposing stature, as well as their capability to aid their family in overcoming challenges and entering into matrimony.

Consequently, the marriage will be officiated by a woman who fall under the following circumstances.

1. Premarital Pregnancy

Through the internet and other technological advancements, one can access knowledge from various viewpoints, which can be either beneficial or harmful. Examples include explicit images, unrestricted sexual content, and other related subjects. In addition to that, the impact of television, telephones, and the Internet, together with the proliferation of cafes, are considered to be catalysts for the diminished morale of today's youth. These situations may lead youngsters to engage in pre-marital sexual intercourse leading to pregnancy pre-marriage.¹⁹

2. Education Factor

One element that contributes to underage marriage is as follows. In this instance, the wrongdoer entered into matrimony prematurely due to their level of education. They choose to get married after graduating from school due to their lack of employment and inactivity. Additionally, there were other informants who asserted that parents were insufficiently attentive to this matter at the school. This phenomenon is particularly prevalent when the parents lack formal education. Given the current state of the economy, marriage serves as a viable option for young unemployed individuals, not engaged in any form of employment, and not enrolled in educational institutions. There is a prevailing tendency for parents, children, and society to possess a limited level of education or information. They engage in thorough deliberation and completely grasp the importance of the objective. This union augments the probability that their underage offspring will enter into matrimony.²⁰

¹⁸Undang-Undang (Hukum Perdata Negara Thailand) Tahun 1992 M.

¹⁹ Interview with Abdunwaheng Waenuseng, the *Imam* at Masjid Lalae on Kabang, Yala Selatan, Thailand, December 10, 2020.

²⁰ Interview with Kuyi' Tuwaeputik, the *Imam* at Masjid Banan Dama in Kabang, Yala Selatan, Thailand, December 10, 2020.

3. Environmental Aspects

Because Thailand has too many free associations and no constraints on applying this scenario, environmental variables influence the behavior of young people marrying in society.²¹

The Impact of Child Marriage in Kabang, South Yala Region, Thailand

The consequences of underage marriage, whether positive or negative, inevitably impacts several aspects, including the practice of marrying at a young age. Contemporary youth tend to mature at an accelerated pace compared to previous generations, although they require more time to cultivate their emotional development. The discrepancy between rapid physical development and delayed emotional development leads to psychological and social problems.

1. Impact of Divorce

It is undeniable that married couples who are underage cannot fulfill their legal responsibilities or are unaware of them. Physical and mental flaws, which are frequently highly self-centered, are the cause of this. This could lead to underage marriage, which would result in disputes, arguments between husband and wife, and possibly divorce in different houses.

2. Parental Burden

Decision made by parents to marry off their grown offspring. The path through life does not finish in youth. However, since the single person does not have a steady employment to support their family, this presents a new issue—namely, the daily living expenditures of their children, which they must pay.²²

3. Health

The majority of informants are unaware of the unfavorable consequences. For example, due to underage marriage, the reproductive organs are not yet developed (they are still maturing), hence they are not ready to reproduce. Sexual encounters with people of the opposing sex can begin at an early age. The change of normal cells (which frequently increase in children) to malignant cells can result in intrauterine infections and cancer. Furthermore, there will be health dangers. This condition affects the female partner throughout pregnancy and childbirth. Pregnancy hurts adolescent well-being. In fact, she is not prepared to become pregnant. However, there are conditions that force you to incur risks, and some of the hazards of pregnancy and childbirth are outlined below. Teenagers (those under the age of 20) can sense it: Ischemia (anemia) is temporary. Pregnancy is harmful to the unborn child. Fetal growth restriction, early birth, and pregnancy malnutrition.

²¹ Interview with Machitah Maning, the community leader at Moyi in Kabang, Yala Selatan, Thailand, December 10, 2020.

²² Interviewed with Sulaiman Kadee, the *Imam* at Masjid Lelatak in Kabang, Yala Selatan, Thailand, December 10, 2020.

Conclusion

Based on the aforementioned data, it is evident that several factors, such as economic conditions, external pregnancies, educational factors, and environmental influences, have a role in the occurrence of child marriages in Kabang, South Yala Region, Thailand. Children hold the belief that if they find a spouse with whom they feel suitable, they will face societal pressure to marry at a young age. This pressure stems from their limited knowledge and influence from cultural factors such as movies and other forms of media. The consequences of child marriage encompass the facilitation of divorce, the burden on parents, and the impact on health. Therefore, the study suggests that persons who have direct accountability for this situation, such as village heads, priests, parents, local intellectuals, and adolescents, should consistently prioritize their well-being and refrain from entering into marriage while still underage. When examined through the lens of Islamic family law, child marriage goes against the intended purpose of marriage, which is to create a harmonious and loving family.

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Interviews

- Interview with Abdunwaheng Waenuseng, the Imam at Masjid Lalae on Kabang, Yala Selatan, Thailand, December 10, 2020.
- Interview with Kuyi' Tuwaepatik, the Imam at Masjid Banan Dama in Kabang, Yala Selatan, Thailand, December 10, 2020.
- Interview with Machitah Maning, the community leader at Moyi in Kabang, Yala Selatan, Thailand, December 10, 2020.
- Interview with Sulaiman Kadee, the Imam at Masjid Lelatak in Kabang, Yala Selatan, Thailand, December 10, 2020.