



Axio-Awareness Principle in Javanese Marriage Prohibition as a Normative Framework for Anticipating Divorce Risk

Ramadhita,^{1*} Sudirman² Miftahul Huda³

^{1,2,3} Faculty of Sharia UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, Indonesia

*Corresponding Author: ramadhita@syariah.uin-malang.ac.id

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Abstract: This study aims to examine the principle of axio-awareness embedded in Javanese marriage prohibitions as a locally grounded normative framework for anticipating divorce risks. While existing studies on Javanese marital customs largely emphasise anthropological or theological dimensions, their normative rationality as a form of preventive jurisprudence in contemporary family law discourse remains underexplored. This research is motivated by the increasing rate of early-stage divorce, particularly within the first five years of marriage, indicating structural and psychological unpreparedness among couples in navigating the initial phases of family life. Employing a non-doctrinal qualitative approach, this study analyses Javanese marriage prohibitions as manifestations of the values of *eling lan waspada* (moral awareness and vigilance), situating them within an impact-awareness reasoning framework. Rather than asserting empirical causality, the analysis constructs these prohibitions as socio-cultural mechanisms that foster anticipatory reflection, moral prudence, psychological readiness, and the reinforcement of parental and senior authority in marital decision-making processes. The findings reveal that such prohibitions function as culturally embedded preventive norms aligned with key principles in Islamic jurisprudence, particularly *iḥtiyāt* (legal precaution) and *sadd al-dharā'i* (blocking the means to harm), both of which emphasise the prevention of potential harm (*mafsadah*) and the promotion of family welfare (*maṣlahah*). This study contributes to the discourse by reframing Javanese marriage prohibitions not merely as traditional beliefs but as a form of culturally rooted normative prudentialism that enhances risk awareness in family formation and offers a relevant preventive paradigm for contemporary family law.

Keywords: local wisdom; axio-awareness principle; marriage prohibition; Islamic law.

Abstrak: Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji prinsip kesadaran aksial yang tertanam dalam larangan-larangan perkawinan Jawa sebagai kerangka normatif

yang berakar pada konteks lokal untuk mengantisipasi risiko perceraian. Meskipun studi-studi yang ada mengenai adat perkawinan Jawa sebagian besar menekankan pada dimensi antropologis atau teologis, rasionalitas normatifnya sebagai bentuk yurisprudensi preventif dalam wacana hukum keluarga kontemporer masih belum banyak dieksplorasi. Penelitian ini dilatarbelakangi oleh meningkatnya angka perceraian pada tahap awal, terutama dalam lima tahun pertama pernikahan, yang mengindikasikan ketidaksiapan struktural dan psikologis di antara pasangan dalam menjalani fase awal kehidupan keluarga. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif non-doktrinal, studi ini menganalisis larangan-larangan perkawinan Jawa sebagai manifestasi dari nilai-nilai *eling lan waspada* (kesadaran moral dan kewaspadaan), dengan menempatkannya dalam kerangka penalaran kesadaran akan dampak. Alih-alih menegaskan kausalitas empiris, analisis ini mengkonstruksi larangan-larangan tersebut sebagai mekanisme sosio-budaya yang menumbuhkan refleksi antisipatif, kehati-hatian moral, kesiapan psikologis, serta penguatan otoritas orang tua dan sesepuh dalam proses pengambilan keputusan perkawinan. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa larangan-larangan tersebut berfungsi sebagai norma-norma pencegahan yang tertanam dalam budaya dan selaras dengan prinsip-prinsip utama dalam fiqh Islam, khususnya *iḥtiyāt* (hati-hati hukum) dan *sadd al-dharā'i* (mencegah sarana yang dapat menimbulkan bahaya), yang keduanya menekankan pencegahan potensi bahaya (*mafsadah*) dan peningkatan kesejahteraan keluarga (*maṣlahah*). Studi ini berkontribusi pada diskursus dengan memandang larangan pernikahan Jawa bukan sekadar sebagai keyakinan tradisional, melainkan sebagai bentuk pragmatisme normatif yang berakar pada budaya, yang meningkatkan kesadaran akan risiko dalam pembentukan keluarga dan menawarkan paradigma pencegahan yang relevan bagi hukum keluarga kontemporer.

Kata Kunci: kearifan lokal; prinsip kesadaran berdampak; larangan perkawinan; hukum Islam.



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Introduction

Divorce remains a significant social problem among Muslim communities in Indonesia.¹ Data from the Supreme Court of the Republic of Indonesia indicate that divorce frequently occurs within the first 0–5 years of marriage.² Financial

¹ Agustin Hanapi et al., “Addressing Gender Imbalance in Marriage and Wife-Initiated Divorce in Aceh: Rethinking the Role of Premarital Counselling,” *De Jure: Jurnal Hukum Dan Syar’iah* 17, no. 2 (October 2025): 479–508, <https://doi.org/10.18860/j-fsh.v17i2.29131>.

² Abdul Wafi and Shofiatul Jannah, “The Rising Trend of Divorce Cases: Social and Psychological Implications in Modern Society,” *Jurnal Ius Constituendum* 9, no. 1 (February 2024): 88–100, <https://doi.org/10.26623/jic.v9i1.8157>.

difficulties, relational boredom, and child-rearing issues are among the primary causes.³ This condition reflects a structural vulnerability in the formation of contemporary marital bonds. The couples enter marriage without adequate psychological preparedness. In fact, marriage is not merely an administrative matter; it requires spouses to possess an awareness of moral, social, economic, and legal risks. Such circumstances underscore the necessity for couples to prepare themselves by developing the capacity to identify potential risks, assess their consequences, and formulate mitigation strategies from the outset.⁴

The Indonesian government has sought to enhance marital preparedness through premarital counselling programs administered by the Offices of Religious Affairs under the Kementerian Agama Republik Indonesia before the solemnization of marriage.⁵ Nevertheless, these programs have not proven sufficiently effective in equipping prospective spouses to adapt to the dynamics of married life.⁶ They tend to be top-down, administrative in nature, limited in duration, and predominantly non-doctrinal in approach. Moreover, they often fail to provide the practical conflict-management skills necessary to prevent divorce.⁷ This gap invites consideration of integrating culturally grounded divorce risk mitigation mechanisms into national family resilience

³ Muhamad Arifin Badri, Anas Burhanuddin, and Ghufran Jauhar, "Factors Influencing The Increase in Khulu's Divorce: A Case at The Jember Religious Court (2021-2023)," *Al-'Adalah* 21, no. 1 (June 2024): 53-76, <https://doi.org/10.24042/adalah.v21i1.21074>; Ariane Utomo and Bagas Aditya, "Attitudes Toward Divorce in Indonesia," *Family Transitions* 67, no. 2 (February 2026): 117-45, <https://doi.org/10.1080/28375300.2025.2555558>.

⁴ Lukman Santoso, Khaidarulloh Khaidarulloh, and Muh Jihad Al Haqiqi, "Fragmented Legal Protection in Child Marriage Prevention: Intersections of State Law, Religious Norms, and Local Values in East Java," *Al-Ahkam: Jurnal Ilmu Syari'ah Dan Hukum* 11, no. 1 (February 2026): 27-55, <https://doi.org/10.22515/alakhkam.v11i1.14103>.

⁵ Kamarusdiana Kamarusdiana et al., "Pre-Marital Education: Concepts and Regulations in Indonesia and Malaysia," *Al-Ahkam* 32, no. 1 (April 2022): 41-64, <https://doi.org/10.21580/ahkam.2022.32.1.10709>; Adi Nur Rohman, "Prophetic Law Accentuation in Marriage Regulations in Indonesia: Efforts to Maintain Family Resilience During The Pandemic," *Pandecta Research Law Journal* 17, no. 1 (June 2022): 121-28, <https://doi.org/10.15294/pandecta.v17i1.35516>.

⁶ Hanapi et al., "Addressing Gender Imbalance in Marriage and Wife-Initiated Divorce in Aceh"; Munadi Usman et al., "The Role of Customary Law in Family Resilience and Divorce Prevention: Phenomenological Studies in Indonesia," *Al-Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 9, no. 2 (September 2024): 823-40, <https://doi.org/10.29240/jhi.v9i2.9685>.

⁷ Rima Charbaji El-Kassem et al., "Impact of Leadership Gender Stereotyping on Managing Familial Conflict, Matrimonial Strategies, Divorce Decisions and Marital Satisfaction in Qatar," *Journal of Family Business Management* 13, no. 2 (February 2022): 300-313, <https://doi.org/10.1108/JFBM-10-2021-0116>.

policies. Divorce is frequently triggered by emotional and socio-cultural factors specific to certain communities; therefore, moral values rooted in local wisdom may be more effectively internalised.

Among the ethnic groups possessing local wisdom related to marital preparedness is the Javanese community. Javanese society exercises considerable caution in selecting a spouse, adhering to the principles of *bibit* (lineage), *bebet* (socio-economic background), and *bobot* (personal qualities and education).⁸ Javanese tradition also recognises various marriage prohibitions.⁹ Previous studies have shown that these prohibitions are associated with resilience in confronting marital challenges. One prominent example is the Mirah-Golan marriage prohibition, a long-standing tradition observed by the communities of Dusun Mirah in Nambangrejo Village and Golan Village, Sukorejo District, Ponorogo Regency.

Scholarly discussions on Javanese marriage prohibitions have addressed several aspects. Javanese communities may prohibit marriage due to incompatibility of *weton* (traditional calendrical calculations based on birth dates),¹⁰ restrict marriage during certain months like *suro* (Muharram),¹¹ and discourage marriage based on birth or marriage order.¹² Violations of these prohibitions are widely believed to bring misfortune to spouses and their

⁸ Umi Masfiah, "Bobot, Bibit, and Bebet in Choosing a Mate," February 17, 2022, 341-48, <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.220206.045>.

⁹ Farah Vairuza Natasya and Teguh Setyobudi, "Balancing Tradition and Marital Stability: An Interdependence Theory Approach to Jilu Marriage Prohibition," *Sakina: Journal of Family Studies* 9, no. 1 (March 2025): 131-45, <https://doi.org/10.18860/jfs.v9i1.14458>; Hanif Fitri Yantari and Danur Putut Permadi, "Ethical Values in The Myth of Marriage Prohibition in The Month of Suro," *Javanologi: International Journal of Javanese Studies* 7, no. 1 (April 2024): 27-36, <https://doi.org/10.20961/javanologi.v7i1.80078>.

¹⁰ Miftahul Huda, "The Negotiating Process of Ponorogo's People Toward Prohibitions In Javanese Marriage Tradition," *Al-Risalah: Forum Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 17, no. 01 (2017): 87-103, <https://doi.org/10.30631/alrisalah.v17i01.24>; Suwanto Abbas et al., "The Application of Kafa'ah and Weton in the Socio-Legal Development of Marriage Law in East Java," *Nurani: Jurnal Kajian Syari'ah Dan Masyarakat* 25, no. 2 (October 2025): 493-513, <https://doi.org/10.19109/nurani.v25i2.28041>.

¹¹ Supriyadi and Nik Abdul Rahim Nik Abdul Ghani, "Negotiating Tradition and Modernity: The Practice of Prohibiting Marriage in the Month of Suro among Javanese Muslims in South Lampung," *Nusantara: Journal Of Law Studies* 4, no. 2 (October 2025): 114-28, <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.17340470>.

¹² Khoirul Hidayah et al., "The Kembar Manten in Java Majapahit Wedding Traditions in Mojokerto: Perspectives on Natural Law and Anthropology of Islamic Law," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 8, no. 2 (May 2024): 2, <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjkh.v8i2.19611>.

families.¹³ With respect to the *Mirah-Golan* prohibition, existing studies indicate that it has become a deeply embedded communal tradition and a marker of collective identity in Ponorogo.¹⁴ Breaching this prohibition is believed to result in misfortune affecting the couple, their families, and the two villages involved.¹⁵ Although previous research has examined Javanese marriage prohibitions in relation to marital dynamics, such studies remain largely ethnographic and descriptive. They have not systematically identified the underlying principle informing these prohibitions—particularly the *Mirah-Golan* prohibition—nor have they integrated such principles into a contemporary divorce prevention policy framework. The discussion tends to focus on the mythical aspect.¹⁶ Furthermore, prior scholarship has not bridged customary divorce prevention mechanisms with Islamic legal doctrine and national marriage law. Unlike earlier studies that treat Javanese marriage prohibitions as myth, belief systems, or customary norms, this article reconceptualises them as culturally embedded prudential mechanisms functioning as an informal divorce risk mitigation framework.

This article argues that marriage prohibitions within Javanese tradition constitute a concrete manifestation of axio-awareness—a value-based consciousness rooted in Javanese local wisdom. These prohibitions, including the *Mirah-Golan* restriction, should not be regarded merely as irrational myths or belief systems, but rather understood as culturally embedded prudential mechanisms. They do not determine the legal validity of marriage under

¹³ Anni Nurul Hidayati, Jarir Idris, and Uswatun Marhamah, “The Dynamics of Family Harmony in the Javanese Weton Perspective,” *Shahih: Journal of Islamic Multidisciplinary* 8, no. 1 (August 2023): 55–62, <https://doi.org/10.22515/shahih.v8i1.7458>.

¹⁴ Ferry Irawan Febriansyah and Anwar Sanusi, “Analisis Yuridis Terhadap Larangan Perkawinan Masyarakat Adat Mirah dan Golan,” *DiH: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum* 16, no. 2 (2020): 247–58, <https://doi.org/10.30996/dih.v16i2.3605>; Muhammad Nasrulloh et al., “Legal Dissonance and Social Consequences of Unregistered Ṭalāq in Indonesia,” *Al-Syakhsiyyah: Journal of Law and Family Studies* 7, no. 2 (November 2025): 33–52, <https://doi.org/10.21154/syakhsiyyah.v7i2.11686>.

¹⁵ Yessi Kumala Dewi and Arief Sudrajat, “Eksistensi Tradisi Larangan Adat Desa Golan Dan Mirah Sebagai Identitas Masyarakat Di Kabupaten Ponorogo,” *Etnoreflika: Jurnal Sosial Dan Budaya* 12, no. 1 (February 2023): 1, <https://doi.org/10.33772/etnoreflika.v12i1.1461>; Muhammad Diaz Supandi and Niken Sylvia Puspitasari, “Political Polarization and Traditional Folktales: Examining Conflicts in the Legend of Mirah-Golan,” *Al-Adabiya: Jurnal Kebudayaan Dan Keagamaan* 19, no. 2 (November 2024): 125–34, <https://doi.org/10.37680/adabiya.v19i2.5841>.

¹⁶ Dyah Anantalia Widyastari et al., “Marital Dissolution in Postmodern Java, Indonesia: Does Early Marriage Increase the Likelihood to Divorce?,” *Journal of Divorce & Remarriage* 61, no. 8 (November 2020): 556–73, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10502556.2020.1799308>.

Islamic law, nor do they causally determine marital success or failure. Instead, they operate as cultural recommendations encouraging prospective spouses and their families to engage in deep reflection and ensure psychological readiness before entering marriage. This study, therefore, seeks to reconceptualise the *Mirah-Golan* prohibition, as practised in Ponorogo Regency, not as superstition but as a rational preventive normative system.

This study offers three principal contributions. First, a conceptual contribution: it advances the Axio-Awareness principle as a unifying analytical lens for understanding Javanese marriage prohibitions, integrating the concept of *eling lan waspada* (mindfulness and vigilance) into a socio-legal framework aligned with Islamic doctrines of *iḥtiyāṭ* (precaution) and *sadd al-dharā'i*' (blocking the means to harm). Second, an empirical contribution: the *Mirah-Golan* case study, which demonstrates how prudential reasoning operates within Javanese social practice. Third, a normative contribution: it provides reflections on the relevance of culturally embedded prudential mechanisms for contemporary marriage law policy, particularly in strengthening preventive approaches to divorce risk without asserting deterministic empirical causality.

This study employs an empirical research design with a qualitative approach. The research was conducted in Nambangrejo and Golan villages, Sukorejo Subdistrict, Ponorogo Regency, East Java, where the *Mirah-Golan* marriage prohibition remains actively observed and socially internalised as a living norm. The selection of these sites is based on their analytical uniqueness: the prohibition continues to operate without formal legal sanctions, yet it retains strong normative authority within the community. This makes the two villages a significant locus for examining how local wisdom functions as a non-state mechanism of marital regulation and risk mitigation.

Primary data were collected through in-depth interviews with diverse informants, including village elders, religious figures, community leaders, and youth representatives. Informants were selected using a snowball sampling technique to identify individuals possessing historical knowledge and cultural authority regarding the tradition.¹⁷ The diversity of participants was intended

¹⁷ Reza Banakar, *Normativity in Legal Sociology: Methodological Reflections on Law and Regulation in Late Modernity*, 1st ed. 2015 (Cham: Springer, 2015), <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-09650-6>.

to strengthen the credibility of the findings by capturing intergenerational and socio-religious perspectives.

Table 1. Profile of Research Informants

Code	Age	Role
SJ	64	Village Elder (Golan)
SUJ	58	Village Elder (Golan)
KH	57	Village Elder (Nambangrejo)
SH	56	Village Elder (Nambangrejo)
MH	49	Religious Figure
MD	45	Village Elder (Nambangrejo)
AS	45	Religious Figure (Sukorejo)
LM	40	Religious Figure
AN	23	Youth Representative (Golan)
DW	52	Village Elder (Nambangrejo)

Source: Author, 2025

In addition to interviews, data were enriched through limited field observation of community interactions and documentation review, including local chronicles and written records concerning the Mirah–Golan narrative. The inclusion of observational and documentary materials enabled methodological triangulation and reduced reliance on a single source of subjective data. Data validity was further tested through source triangulation by comparing interview results with written materials and prior academic studies on local marriage prohibitions. Secondary sources include Law No. 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage as amended by Law No. 16 of 2019, which provides the normative framework for marriage regulation in Indonesia. To strengthen the Islamic legal dimension—particularly regarding the prudential principle (*sadd al-dharā'i*)—this study incorporates classical *uṣūl al-fiqh* works such as *al-Muwafaqat* by al-Shāṭibī and *al-Mustasfa* by al-Ghazālī, as well as contemporary discussions on preventive legal reasoning within Islamic jurisprudence. Historical accounts of Ponorogo society are referenced from *Babad Ponorogo*, while the interaction between Islamic law and adat is examined through *Tradisi Hukum Indonesia and Islamic Law and Adat Encounter* by Ratno Lukito. These sources are complemented by peer-reviewed journal articles and relevant studies on adat law and marriage prohibitions.

Data analysis follows the interactive model of Miles and Huberman, consisting of data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification. The term data condensation is employed to reflect the process of selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting, and transforming raw data without implying the loss of substantive meaning. Data were organised according to the research focus and subsequently analysed using collective theory. The findings were then interpreted to examine how the Mirah–Golan prohibition functions as a culturally embedded prudential mechanism within the broader framework of Islamic law and state marriage regulation.¹⁸

Mirah–Golan Marriage Prohibition: A Socio-Cultural Context

The prohibition of marriage between Mirah and Golan constitutes a local tradition of the community in Ponorogo Regency, particularly in Mirah Hamlet of Nambangrejo Village and Golan Village. Both are located in Sukorejo District, Ponorogo Regency, East Java Province, Indonesia. This tradition continues to be preserved and firmly upheld by the community. According to AS, a religious leader in Sukorejo District, Ponorogo Regency, the community has sought various solutions to the marriage prohibitions embedded in Javanese traditions.¹⁹ This statement is consistent with the findings of Miftahul Huda, who argues that Javanese society in Ponorogo Regency attempts to negotiate culturally with certain marriage prohibitions.²⁰ For example, the prohibition of the *Ngalor–Ngulon* (north–west) marriage pattern is circumvented by conducting the marriage at the Office of Religious Affairs (*Kantor Urusan Agama/KUA*). This situation differs from the *Mirah–Golan* marriage prohibition, where no member of the community has yet dared to violate the rule, as stated by KH, an elder of Mirah Hamlet.

According to Purwowijoyo, the *Mirah–Golan* marriage prohibition originated from the failed marriage plan between Joko Lancur—the son of Ki Ageng Honggolono—and Dewi Amirah—the daughter of Ki Ageng Mirah. Both figures were prominent personalities in the historical establishment of the

¹⁸ Julianne Cheek and Elise Oby, *Research Design: Why Thinking About Design Matters* (SAGE Publications, 2023); Matthew B. Miles, A. Michael Huberman, and Johnny Saldana, *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook* (SAGE Publications, 2018).

¹⁹ AS, Religious Figure at Sukorejo Subdistrict, *Interview*, 2 July 2024.

²⁰ Huda, “The Negotiating Process of Ponorogo's People Toward Prohibitions In Javanese Marriage Tradition.”

Ponorogo Duchy, with Bathoro Kathong serving as its first duke (*adipati*).²¹ The political transition from the Majapahit Kingdom to the Demak Sultanate, as well as the religious transformation from Hindu–Buddhist traditions to Islam, formed the broader socio-historical background of the Mirah–Golan marriage prohibition. According to SJ, Ki Ageng Honggolono initially rejected the proposed marriage due to differences in religious affiliation and political alignment between the two families. However, Joko Lancur’s insistence on proposing to Dewi Amirah eventually persuaded Ki Ageng Honggolono to proceed with the proposal. Ki Ageng Mirah himself was not pleased with the proposal from Ki Ageng Honggolono. Apart from the fact that Joko Lancur was known as a gambler, Ki Ageng Honggolono was also regarded as a figure who opposed the emergence of Demak as a new political power in Java.²²

Concerns regarding the safety of his family and the villagers led Ki Ageng Mirah to avoid giving a direct acceptance or rejection of the proposal. Instead, he imposed several conditions on Ki Ageng Honggolono: he had to construct a dam capable of irrigating all the rice fields in the Mirah area within a single night, and he had to present a granary filled with rice and another filled with soybeans that could move by themselves.²³ These conditions are known as a form of ritualised refusal, a cultural mechanism designed to preserve the honour of both parties without expressing a direct rejection.²⁴ It serves as a social stabiliser, allowing the refuser to save face while showing respect to the asker. Ki Ageng Honggolono attempted to fulfil these conditions. According to Purwowijoyo, however, supernatural intervention ultimately prevented the acceptance of Ki Ageng Honggolono’s proposal.²⁵

The historical narrative of Golan Village recounts that Ki Ageng Mirah attempted to thwart Ki Ageng Honggolono’s efforts to fulfil the marriage requirements. The dam intended to irrigate the Mirah rice fields was destroyed, while the rice and soybeans in the granaries disappeared. According to SJ, Ki Ageng Mirah’s efforts involved supernatural beings. In contrast, SH

²¹ Purwowijoyo, *Babad Ponorogo*, vol. 1 (Ponorogo: Dinas Pariwisata dan Seni Budaya Pemerintah Kabupaten Ponorogo, 1987).

²² SJ, Elder of Golan Village, Sukorejo Subdistrict, *Interview*, 30 December 2024.

²³ SH, Elder of Nambangrejo Village, Sukorejo Subdistrict, *Interview*, 4 July 2024.

²⁴ Saleem Abdelhady, “Ostensible Refusals in the Jordanian Culture,” *Cogent Arts & Humanities* 11, no. 1 (December 2024): 2331279, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2024.2331279>.

²⁵ Purwowijoyo, *Babad Ponorogo*, vol. 1.

argues that Ki Ageng Honggolono's attempt was essentially a form of deception: the rice and soybean granaries were actually filled with *damen* (rice stalks) and *titen* (soybean stalks). Ki Ageng Honggolono allegedly used the assistance of supernatural beings to transform these materials so that they appeared real. These differing historical versions eventually generated mutual suspicion. For the people of Golan, Ki Ageng Mirah was perceived as a religious leader who was inconsistent with his decisions. Conversely, for the people of Mirah, Ki Ageng Honggolono was believed to have employed deceit to meet the conditions set by Ki Ageng Mirah.²⁶

The sense of humiliation resulting from Ki Ageng Mirah's rejection caused Ki Ageng Honggolono to become enraged. Soon after, Dewi Amirah suddenly passed away, which subsequently led Joko Lancur to take his own life. Following the death of his son, Ki Ageng Honggolono pronounced an oath recorded by Purwowijoyo in *Babad Ponorogo* as follows:

“People of Mirah, forever you shall not store *kawul* (straw) nor keep *titen* (soybean husks). Do not plant soybeans; whoever violates this will face misfortune. Furthermore, the people of Mirah are forbidden to establish marital relations with the people of Golan.”²⁷

The chronicle of Golan Village records Ki Ageng Honggolono's oath as follows:

“The people of Golan and Mirah, generation after generation, are forbidden to establish marital ties. Any object or material originating from Golan—such as wood, stones, and the like—must not be brought into Mirah. The belongings of the people of Golan and Mirah must never be united. The people of Golan are forbidden from making roofing from dried straw, while the people of Mirah are forbidden from planting, storing, or producing food made from soybeans. Whoever among the people of Golan or Mirah and their descendants dares to violate this command shall incur my wrath, suffer misfortune, and encounter calamity.”²⁸

The oath of Ki Ageng Honggolono serves as the foundation for the Mirah–Golan marriage prohibition. His words, delivered as those of a respected leader

²⁶ Purwowijoyo, vol. 1.

²⁷ Purwowijoyo, vol. 1.

²⁸ Harjono, *Riwayat Babat Desa Golan: Kubur Keramat Ki Honggolono* (Ponorogo: Pemerintah Desa Golan, 1970).

believed to possess supernatural authority, came to function as binding directives transmitted across generations. In Javanese philosophy, the dictum *sabda pandhita ratu tan kena wola-wali* emphasises that the words of a leader must not be revoked or contradicted. Upholding and preserving such pronouncements represents a form of devotion and loyalty to ancestral authority. Violations of the marriage prohibition are believed to bring misfortune in life, as conveyed by SJ, an elder of Golan Village,²⁹ and MD, an elder of Mirah Hamlet.³⁰ This belief is reinforced by empirical experiences within the community. For instance, individuals who dared to violate the prohibition against planting soybeans in the Mirah area reportedly experienced sudden death. Similarly, individuals who attempted to enter into *Mirah-Golan* marriages were said to suffer mental disturbances or even death.

Encounters between descendants of Mirah and Golan during various community social activities are perceived by some members of society as situations that may potentially trigger disturbances. According to the testimony of SUJ, when individuals from both lineages unintentionally attend the same communal celebration, unusual occurrences are often reported, such as rice or water that fails to cook despite prolonged heating, or ceremonial equipment that suddenly breaks down.³¹ Interestingly, within the prevailing community narrative, these disturbances are believed to cease once one of the parties from either the Mirah or Golan lineage leaves the location of the event.

Although such phenomena are difficult to explain empirically from a rational perspective, similar experiences are said to recur in various social events, thereby forming a collective belief continuously reproduced within the community. From the perspective of the theory of collective memory proposed by Maurice Halbwachs,³² this phenomenon can be understood not merely as a matter of empirical factuality but as a construction of social memory maintained through processes of interaction and intergenerational transmission. Halbwachs argues that memory does not exist solely at the individual level; rather, it is shaped and sustained by social frameworks of

²⁹ SJ, Elder of Golan Village, Sukorejo Subdistrict, *Interview*, 30 December 2024.

³⁰ MD, Elder of Nambangrejo Village, Sukorejo Subdistrict, *Interview*, 3 July 2025.

³¹ SUJ, Elder of Golan Village, Sukorejo Subdistrict, *Interview*, 30 December 2024.

³² Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, with Internet Archive (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), <http://archive.org/details/collectivememory00halb>.

memory that enable groups to interpret past experiences collectively. In the context of the *Mirah-Golan* community, narratives about disturbances during communal events when descendants of both lineages meet function as symbolic mechanisms that reinforce collective memory of the historical conflict between their ancestors. The repetition of stories and testimonies of residents, and the association of everyday events with memories of past conflicts, gradually crystallise into social beliefs accepted as “cultural realities.” Thus, although such events may be debated scientifically in terms of their rationality, the persistence of these narratives demonstrates how collective memory shapes perceptions of risk, regulates social behaviour, and maintains symbolic boundaries between groups within the community.

Axio-Awareness as the Normative Foundation of *Mirah-Golan* Marriage Prudence

The *Mirah-Golan* marriage prohibition has existed since the fifteenth century. In this regard, LM states that the prohibition has persisted for centuries and has been transmitted from generation to generation. Sociologically, this marriage prohibition functions as a mechanism through which the community maintains social harmony.³³ The basis of the prohibition is rooted primarily in local narratives. Stories that eventually evolved into a belief system surrounding the *Mirah-Golan* marriage prohibition originate from oral traditions and the collective experiences of the community. These foundations are further reinforced by local accounts that circulate in everyday life, particularly stories linking misfortune or marital failure to marriages between individuals from *Mirah* and *Golan*.

The existence of collective memory concerning the *Mirah-Golan* marriage prohibition plays a significant role in shaping the community's orientation toward prudence in the process of marriage formation. The collective memory does not merely function as a historical recollection of past events; rather, it serves as an interpretive framework that guides present social actions. Narratives about the historical conflict between the figures of *Mirah* and *Golan* are transmitted across generations through oral traditions and social practices, thereby cultivating a shared awareness of the importance of

³³ LM, Religious Figure, Ponorogo Regency, *Interview*, 13 September 2025.

maintaining social harmony in marital relations. The collective memory operates not only at the symbolic level but also influences decision-making mechanisms within families. According to DW, individuals who trace their lineage to either Mirah or Golan do not merely examine the *weton* (the Javanese calculation of birth days) of prospective spouses, as is commonly practised in Javanese marriage traditions. They also conduct a more extensive genealogical investigation of family lineage. This genealogical verification typically involves extended family members, community leaders, and village elders to ensure that the prospective couple does not share a genealogical connection to the *Mirah-Golan* lineage.³⁴

This practice indicates that marriage is understood as a social institution that extends beyond the personal relationship between two individuals, encompassing the collective considerations of broader kinship networks. KH explains that when genealogical investigations reveal a connection to either the Mirah or Golan lineage, both families generally accept the findings as sufficient grounds to discontinue the marriage plan.³⁵ Such decisions are usually made collectively and are accepted as an expression of respect for the social norms that prevail within the community. This day, no residents of Mirah or Golan have dared to violate the prohibition. Even when individuals from these villages live outside their hometowns, there are no known cases of marriages between them. Although they recognise that religious doctrine does not prohibit such marriages, unions between Mirah and Golan are considered socially taboo. This adherence can be understood as a form of compliance with customary law that functions to maintain social cohesion. In other words, the prohibition is not merely a matter of belief but also serves as a mechanism of social control within the community. Consequently, the dialectic that emerges typically takes the form of negotiation—namely, negotiation aimed at preserving customary traditions in accordance with shared communal convictions.

The experience recounted by SUJ illustrates how this mechanism operates in social practice. He once encountered a situation in which his prospective daughter-in-law was discovered to belong to the Mirah lineage.

³⁴ DW, Elder of Nembangrejo Village, Sukorejo Subdistrict, *Interview*, 24 December 2024.

³⁵ KH, Elder of Nembangrejo Village, Sukorejo Subdistrict, *Interview*, 24 December 2024.

After the information was confirmed through family genealogical investigation, the family consciously decided to cancel the marriage plan without generating conflict between the parties involved. The prospective couple themselves accepted the decision as part of the social norms that must be respected.³⁶ A similar phenomenon was described by AN, who explained that younger generations within the *Mirah-Golan* community generally possess a preventive awareness of the prohibition. Even without explicit instructions from their parents, young individuals who discover genealogical connections to Mirah or Golan tend to adopt an anticipatory stance by refraining from continuing the relationship toward marriage.³⁷

This view is reinforced by SH, who emphasises that marriage should not be undertaken hastily. In a local expression often conveyed by village elders, “a soulmate is not as abundant as moringa leaves,” implying that the decision to marry must be approached with careful consideration and involve the guidance of parents and elders.³⁸ This statement reflects the understanding that marriage within the community is perceived as a decision with long-term consequences, requiring wisdom derived from the life experience of older generations. This phenomenon relates to the axio-awareness principle, namely value-based consciousness that influences how individuals and communities perceive risk and make social decisions. Unlike normative compliance driven by external pressure, axio-awareness emerges through the internalisation of values regarded as prerequisites for maintaining social harmony. In other words, individuals do not merely follow norms due to formal obligation but because they perceive those values as ethical guidelines relevant to sustaining social life.

Within the *Mirah-Golan* tradition, axio-awareness is reflected in three principal value orientations: prudence, social harmony, and intergenerational responsibility. These values shape the collective perception that marriage is not merely an emotional relationship between two individuals but a social institution with broader implications for the stability of extended families and communities. Consequently, the *Mirah-Golan* prohibition cannot be understood solely as a genealogical taboo rooted in local mythology; rather, it

³⁶ SUJ, Elder of Golan Village, Sukorejo Subdistrict, *Interview*, 30 December 2024.

³⁷ AN, Youth Representative, Golan Village, *Interview*, 26 December 2024.

³⁸ SH, Elder of Nambangrejo Village, Sukorejo Subdistrict, *Interview*, 4 July 2024.

represents a concrete manifestation of value-based consciousness that structures mechanisms of prudence in the formation of marriage. The prohibition operates through the transformation of values into social mechanisms that influence decision-making processes. Within the framework of risk Mechanism theory, this process can be interpreted as a form of cultural risk mechanism. The risks in question extend beyond the possibility of interpersonal conflict between spouses; they also involve potential disruptions to social harmony within broader kinship networks.

Collective memory regarding the historical conflict between Mirah and Golan shapes a strong perception of risk within the community. These narratives are not always treated as historically verified facts but rather as moral symbols reminding the community of the potential emergence of social disharmony should the value of prudence be ignored. In this way, collective memory functions as a cognitive mechanism influencing how individuals evaluate the social consequences of marital decisions. This awareness of risk is subsequently translated into social practices, such as genealogical verification and collective deliberation before marriage. These processes create what may be described as a deliberative pause, a reflective interval before marital commitments are formally established. In many cases of divorce, marital conflict arises because the decision to marry is made impulsively or without sufficient consideration of the psychological and social readiness of the couple. The presence of such a reflective pause functions as a deliberative space that enables families and prospective spouses to more carefully assess the implications of their decisions.

Furthermore, community compliance with the *Mirah-Golan* prohibition is closely related to a relational ethical structure that positions parents and elders as sources of social wisdom. In communities with strong communal orientations, the life experiences of older generations are regarded as practical knowledge for managing family life. Consequently, the decision to adhere to the prohibition is often interpreted as a form of respect for the moral authority of parents and elders who possess more extensive experience in building and sustaining family relationships. From this perspective, compliance with the *Mirah-Golan* prohibition cannot simply be reduced to traditional determinism or submission to local myths. Rather, it reflects a deliberative process that integrates value considerations, social experience, and long-term orientations

toward family stability. The decision not to proceed with a marriage once a *Mirah-Golan* genealogical connection is discovered, therefore, represents a value-based decision-making process rather than a mere response to social pressure.

Nevertheless, it is important to emphasise that the mitigating function of this tradition should not be interpreted deterministically. There is no quantitative empirical evidence directly demonstrating that adherence to the *Mirah-Golan* prohibition significantly reduces divorce rates. The relationship between the two is more appropriately understood as an inferential and mechanistic association, in which social mechanisms encouraging prudence in marital decision-making may theoretically contribute to greater family stability. Accordingly, the *Mirah-Golan* prohibition can be repositioned from a simple genealogical taboo into a form of value-based risk Mechanism. It does not operate through formal legal regulation but through the internalisation of values that shape the collective awareness of the community regarding the importance of prudence in the formation of family institutions.

From a broader perspective, this phenomenon demonstrates that local wisdom can function as a preventive mechanism in the Mechanism of family life. Through axio-awareness, cultural values not only establish social norms but also create cognitive frameworks that encourage individuals to consider the long-term consequences of marital decisions. In this sense, the *Mirah-Golan* prohibition may be understood as a cultural instrument that slows impulsive decisions, filters potential conflicts before legal relationships are established, and strengthens social legitimacy in the formation of families. At this point, the theoretical relevance of the tradition becomes evident. It illustrates that social mechanisms rooted in collective memory and cultural values may function as effective forms of risk mechanisms within communal societies. In other words, marital stability is influenced not only by formal legal regulations but also by value-based structures of consciousness that shape how communities perceive, anticipate, and manage risks in family life.

Cultural Values and Preventive Mechanism in Islamic Law: The *Mirah-Golan* Marriage Prohibition as a Premarital Risk Mitigation Framework

Although the *Mirah-Golan* marriage prohibition strongly influences social practices in the Ponorogo community, it has no effect on the legal validity of marriage under Islamic law or Indonesian marriage law. In Islamic jurisprudence, marital prohibitions apply only to relationships explicitly categorised as *maḥram*, either permanent (*taḥrīm mu'abbad*) or temporary (*taḥrīm mu'aqqat*).³⁹ Genealogical relations between descendants of *Mirah* and *Golan* do not fall within these categories. Consequently, there is no juristic basis that renders marriages between the two lineages legally prohibited. If such a marriage fulfils the pillars and legal requirements prescribed by Islamic law and the statutory regulations governing marriage in Indonesia, it remains valid both religiously and legally. Therefore, the *Mirah-Golan* prohibition should not be understood as a formal legal norm but rather as a cultural norm that lives within the community (*living norm*). Its legitimacy derives not from state law or formal jurisprudence, but from social acceptance that has been transmitted across generations.

Nevertheless, the existence of the *Mirah-Golan* prohibition should not automatically be dismissed as an irrational practice or a tradition that contradicts Islamic teachings. From the perspective of Islamic legal theory, the tradition can be interpreted through the framework of *sadd al-dharā'i'*, a principle emphasising the importance of preventing pathways that may lead to harm.⁴⁰ This principle does not operate solely to prevent intrinsically unlawful acts; it may also function in situations where social harm or conflict is anticipated. Within the context of the *Mirah-Golan* prohibition, the concern is not the legal status of the marriage itself, but the potential social and psychological tensions that might arise within the community. The prohibition thus operates as an anticipatory social mechanism aimed at maintaining household stability and communal harmony.

This preventive orientation can be further understood through the concept of axio-awareness. A form of social consciousness shaped through the

³⁹ Fitri Rafianti, Arik Dwijayanto, and Azharuddin Mohd Dali, "The Dialectics of Islamic Law and Customary Law on Marriage Concept of Javanese Muslim in Malaysia," *Justicia Islamica* 18, no. 2 (November 2021): 298–317, <https://doi.org/10.21154/justicia.v18i2.3126>.

⁴⁰ Wahbah al-Zuhaili, *Ushul Al-Fiqh al-Islami*, vol. 2 (Damascus: Dar al-Fikr, 1986).

internalisation of cultural values embedded within the community. In this framework, values function not merely as moral norms but as sources of collective awareness that guide how society interprets potential risks in social life. Cultural traditions, therefore, do more than regulate behaviour; they cultivate sensitivity toward the possible consequences of particular actions. Within Javanese society, values such as relational balance constitute fundamental principles of social life. Marriage, in this cultural context, is not merely a personal union between two individuals but also a process that connects broader kinship networks. Such value consciousness encourages prudence in marital decision-making.

From this perspective, the *Mirah-Golan* prohibition is interpreted as a manifestation of this value consciousness. Collective memory concerning the historical conflict between the figures of Mirah and Golan forms an interpretive framework that shapes community perceptions about the potential for disharmony if the two genealogical lines are united through marriage. Narratives transmitted across generations function not only as stories of the past but also as a cultural medium for constructing collective awareness about possible social risks. Through this process, collective memory becomes a vehicle for transmitting values that shape axio-awareness within the community.

This awareness subsequently influences how society evaluates the appropriateness of marriage, particularly in relation to the long-term stability of family relationships. Cultural values thus function not only as normative guidelines but also as cognitive frameworks that guide social decision-making. Within this framework, the *Mirah-Golan* prohibition operates as a risk-filtering mechanism at the pre-marital stage. Through genealogical verification and family deliberation, the community creates a reflective space that allows prospective couples and their families to carefully consider the broader social implications of marriage. Such processes effectively slow down marital decision-making so that it is not driven solely by emotional considerations but also informed by collective experience and cultural values.

At this point, the relationship between *sadd al-dharā'i'* and axio-awareness becomes clearer. The principle of *sadd al-dharā'i'* provides the normative framework within Islamic legal thought concerning the importance

of preventing potential harm, whereas axio-awareness explains how such preventive consciousness emerges in social practice through the internalisation of cultural values. In other words, *sadd al-dharā'i* operates at the level of legal principle, while axio-awareness explains the social mechanisms through which precautionary reasoning becomes embedded in the collective consciousness of society.

This perspective is reflected in the testimony of SH, an elder from Mirah Village, who emphasises that marriage should not be undertaken in conditions of uncertainty. According to him, if individuals are genuinely convinced that a relationship between descendants of Mirah and Golan will not produce negative consequences for household life, then the marriage may indeed proceed. However, if doubts remain within the couple or their families regarding potential social consequences, it is preferable not to continue with the marriage.⁴¹ This view indicates that the prohibition is not always understood as a rigid and absolute ban, but rather as a precautionary consideration grounded in perceptions of social risk. Within the framework of axio-awareness, such doubt represents not merely subjective anxiety but a reflection of value consciousness formed through collective social experience.

Interestingly, SH also relates this principle to an ethical teaching within Islam that encourages believers to abandon matters that generate doubt. A well-known prophetic tradition advises individuals to leave what causes uncertainty and turn toward what does not generate doubt. This ethical orientation reinforces a prudential approach to decision-making, particularly in matters such as marriage that have long-term implications for family stability. From the perspective of *Sadd al-Dharā'i*, such an attitude represents an effort to block potential pathways to conflict or instability. From the perspective of axio-awareness, it reflects a form of value-based rationality embedded within the cognitive structure of the community.

Through this framework, the *Mirah-Golan* prohibition can be understood as a value-based risk mitigation mechanism. Cultural values generate collective awareness (axio-awareness); that awareness shapes a cautious orientation in partner selection, and such caution ultimately functions as a filtering mechanism aimed at minimising potential risks before marriage takes place.

⁴¹ SH, Elder of Nambangrejo Village, Sukorejo Subdistrict, *Interview*, 4 July 2024.

The prohibition thus illustrates how local communities develop culturally grounded mechanisms to maintain family stability. Collective memory, historical experience, and precautionary reasoning interact to form an informal system of risk management within the institution of marriage.

Despite lacking formal legal authority, this cultural mechanism plays an important social role. It slows impulsive marital decisions, encourages family deliberation, strengthens awareness of potential social risks, and promotes a long-term orientation in the formation of households. At the same time, it also functions as a mechanism for maintaining social cohesion. Marriage plans do not always proceed smoothly, and when genealogical verification reveals a *Mirah-Golan* connection, prospective couples and their families often adopt an attitude of *nrimo-legowo*—accepting the situation with sincerity and composure. Rather than forcing the marriage to proceed, social relationships are typically maintained in the form of kinship or brotherhood (*pareduluran*), demonstrating that the prohibition serves to preserve social harmony within the community.

This orientation toward harmony reflects a broader principle within Indonesian customary law. As argued by Ratno Lukito, the pursuit of social harmony constitutes a fundamental value in adat systems. Individuals are inseparable from their communities, and personal interests are expected to align with communal welfare. Socialisation processes beginning in childhood cultivate this orientation, encouraging individuals to respect customary norms even in the absence of formal sanctions. Within such contexts, compliance with cultural norms emerges not through coercion but through internalised value consciousness.⁴² Islamic legal thought has historically accommodated such traditions. As noted by Mohammad Salim al-Awa, cited by Ratno Lukito, customary practices (*adat*) may be preserved within the framework of Islamic law so long as they align with societal welfare (*maṣlahah*).⁴³ The *Mirah-Golan* prohibition represents not a challenge to Islamic monotheistic principles (*tawḥīd*), but rather a form of social prudence intended to safeguard family stability and communal harmony.

⁴² Ratno Lukito, *Tradisi Hukum Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Teras, 2008); Ratno Lukito, *Legal Pluralism in Indonesia: Bridging the Unbridgeable* (Routledge, 2012).

⁴³ Ratno Lukito, *Pergumulan Antara Hukum Islam Dan Adat Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: INIS, 1998).

Over time, the prohibition has undergone a process of cultural institutionalisation. It is no longer merely an oral tradition but has evolved into a powerful social doctrine embedded within the community's collective consciousness. This doctrine operates simultaneously at three levels: the cognitive dimension (belief), the expressive dimension (speech), and the practical dimension (behaviour). According to MH, a religious figure in Ponorogo, the strength of this doctrine is reflected in the attitudes of younger generations who consciously choose not to pursue marital relationships with individuals from the *Mirah-Golan* lineage. Such decisions arise not only from social pressure but from long processes of value internalisation within family and community environments.⁴⁴

At the same time, MH emphasises that choosing not to marry a particular individual should not necessarily be viewed as a mistaken act. Individuals retain the freedom to determine their life partners so long as their choices do not violate fundamental religious principles. In this sense, the decision to avoid *Mirah-Golan* marriages can be understood as a social preference emerging within a specific cultural context, rather than as a form of coercive discrimination. In practice, the prohibition functions primarily as a preventive moral guideline within family discourse rather than as a rigid social rule imposed on the community.⁴⁵

Collective memory surrounding the *Mirah-Golan* narrative further reinforces this cultural orientation. Stories transmitted through family narratives, advice from community elders, and symbolic social experiences gradually shape the perception that relationships between the two lineages entail potential risks. Individuals involved in such relationships often experience hesitation or anxiety as they navigate the tension between personal aspirations and established social expectations. This condition may be understood as anticipatory anxiety. This anxiety arises from negative expectations constructed by the surrounding social environment even before the feared events actually occur.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ MH, Religious Figure, Ponorogo Regency, *Interview*, 23 July 2025.

⁴⁵ MH, Religious Figure, Ponorogo Regency, *Interview*, 23 July 2025.

⁴⁶ Charlotte Huff, "Understanding Anticipatory Anxiety during Key Life Transitions," <https://www.apa.org>, January 6, 2025, <https://www.apa.org/>.

Such anxiety may affect emotional comfort within marital life. Persistent worry can disrupt emotional security between spouses, influence communication patterns, and increase vulnerability to domestic conflict.⁴⁷ However, it is important to recognise that negative events occurring within *Mirah-Golan* marriages are not necessarily caused by violations of the prohibition. In social practice, however, such events are frequently interpreted as consequences of breaking the norm. This interpretive pattern reinforces collective prejudice while simultaneously sustaining the social legitimacy of the prohibition. Within this broader context, the principle of axio-awareness provides a conceptual framework for understanding how cultural values generate preventive orientations in marital decision-making. Rather than functioning as a rigid prohibition, the *Mirah-Golan* tradition can thus be understood as a culturally embedded mechanism that encourages reflective awareness, prudence, and social responsibility in the formation of marriage.

Integrating the Axio-Awareness Principle into Indonesia's Premarital Education Policy

Divorce has become a persistent socio-legal issue among Muslim families in Indonesia.⁴⁸ Data from the Supreme Court of the Republic of Indonesia show that 461,139 Muslim divorce cases were recorded in 2022. The number slightly declined to 423,452 cases in 2023 and 417,750 cases in 2024, but increased again in 2025 to 470,008 cases.⁴⁹ These figures show that although divorce rates fluctuate, the overall level remains high. A similar trend appears at the regional level. Data from the Central Statistics Agency show that divorce cases in East Java remain consistently significant, reaching 88.213 cases in 2023, increasing to 77.658 cases in 2024, and slightly declining to 83.208 cases in 2025.⁵⁰ At the

⁴⁷ Mohammad Zecky Najmudin, Ishaq Ishaq, and Moh Lutfi Nurcahyono, 'The Phenomenon of "Marriage Is Scary" and the Role of Premarital Guidance in Preparing the Mental and Emotional Health of Prospective Brides and Grooms', *Academia Open* 10, no. 2 (December 2025): 10.21070/acopen.10.2025.12921-10.21070/acopen.10.2025.12921,

⁴⁸ Ramadhita Ramadhita, Mahrus Ali, and Bachri Syabbul, "Gender Inequality and Judicial Discretion in Muslims Divorce of Indonesia," *Cogent Social Sciences* 9, no. 1 (December 2023): 2206347, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2023.2206347>.

⁴⁹ Supreme Court of the Republic of Indonesia, *Laporan Tahunan Mahkamah Agung Republik Indonesia Tahun 2025: Pengadilan Terpercaya Rakyat Sejahtera* (Jakarta: Mahkamah Agung Republik Indonesia, 2026).

⁵⁰ Central Bureau of Statistics. "Nikah dan Cerai Menurut Provinsi (kejadian), 2025 - Tabel Statistik," September 2, 2026, <https://www.bps.go.id/id/statistics-table/>.

local level, Data from the Central Statistics Agency of Ponorogo Regency show that the court handled 1,864 divorce cases in 2023. This number declined to 1,633 cases in 2024. And increasing again to 1,664 cases in 2025.⁵¹

These statistics suggest that divorce in Indonesia is not merely an incidental outcome of individual marital disputes but reflects deeper structural challenges within the institution of marriage. Many marital conflicts originate not only from disagreements that emerge during married life but also from insufficient preparation of couples before marriage. This condition indicates that the sustainability of marriage is closely related to the capacity of prospective spouses to anticipate and manage the social, psychological, and economic dynamics of family life. Consequently, divorce prevention policies increasingly emphasise the importance of premarital preparation as a mechanism for mitigating marital risk.

Recognising this issue, the Indonesian government has introduced several preventive policies aimed at strengthening marital preparedness. One of the earliest initiatives was the *Kursus Calon Pengantin/Pre-Marriage Course (Suscatin)* programme implemented by the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The programme was conceptually inspired by the normative framework of Law No. 1 of 1974 on Marriage, which emphasises that marriage is intended to establish a happy and enduring family based on religious values. In this context, prenuptial education was designed as a non-litigation mechanism that equips prospective couples with basic knowledge about marital responsibilities, family management, and religious obligations before entering marriage. *Suscatin* was formally institutionalised through the Regulation of the Directorate General of Islamic Community Guidance No. DJ.II/491 of 2009 and aimed to function as an educational intervention that prevents marital conflict from escalating into legal disputes.⁵²

However, empirical studies reveal significant limitations in the implementation of *Suscatin*. Research by Abubakar et al. demonstrates that the programme often functions merely as an administrative requirement before marriage registration rather than as a substantive educational intervention. Its

⁵¹ Central Bureau of Statistics of East Java Province. "Nikah dan Cerai Menurut Kabupaten/Kota (kejadian) di Provinsi Jawa Timur, 2025 - Tabel Statistik," September 2, 2026, <https://jatim.bps.go.id/id/statistics-table/>.

⁵² Hanapi et al., "Addressing Gender Imbalance in Marriage and Wife-Initiated Divorce in Aceh."

implementation frequently takes the form of brief lectures delivered to a large number of participants, limiting opportunities for interactive learning and reflective engagement. As a result, the programme tends to emphasise doctrinal compliance rather than the development of relational competencies, such as communication skills, emotional maturity, and conflict management.⁵³ Studies by Djazimah and Hayat further identify limited time allocation and financial constraints as key factors that reduce the effectiveness of the programme.⁵⁴ Meanwhile, Karimah and Idrus argue that the absence of a strong mandatory framework contributes to low levels of public participation and engagement.⁵⁵

In response to these critiques, the Ministry of Religious Affairs later reoriented its policy approach from informational education toward counselling-based intervention. This policy shift was formally introduced through the Decree of the Directorate General of Islamic Community Guidance No. 379 of 2018, which established the *Bimbingan Perkawinan Pranikah/Pre-Marital Counselling (Bimwin)* programme. Unlike its predecessor, Bimwin adopts a participatory and competence-based learning model that emphasises family resilience, gender awareness, and the prevention of domestic violence. The programme incorporates interactive pedagogical approaches, including group discussions, role-play, and reflective exercises, which aim to strengthen participants' psychological readiness and relational capacity. This transformation reflects a broader policy transition from the transmission of normative knowledge toward behavioural and attitudinal change in marital preparation.⁵⁶

Nevertheless, several structural challenges remain in the implementation of prenuptial counselling programmes. Research by Hanapi et al. demonstrates that the programme often fails to meet national implementation standards due

⁵³ Fatum Abubakar et al., "Analisis Evaluatif Pelaksanaan Suscatin Berbasis Model Cipp Di Kua Kecamatan Tidore Kepulauan," *Familia: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga* 6, no. 1 (June 2025): 123–54, <https://doi.org/10.24239/familia.v6i1.259>.

⁵⁴ Siti Djazimah and Muhammad Jihadul Hayat, "Pelaksanaan Kursus Pranikah Di Kota Yogyakarta: Urgensitas, Efektivitas Hukum, Dan Tindakan Sosial," *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 11, no. 1 (June 2018): 59–68, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2018.11105>.

⁵⁵ Siti Iffah Karimah and Mohamad Arafah Idrus, "Efektivitas Kursus Calon Pengantin (Suscatin) Bagi Ketahanan Keluarga Oleh Kementerian Agama Di Distrik Aimas Kabupaten Sorong," *Muadalah : Jurnal Hukum* 2, no. 2 (November 2022): 136–46, <https://doi.org/10.47945/muadalah.v2i2.759>.

⁵⁶ Hanapi et al., "Addressing Gender Imbalance in Marriage and Wife-Initiated Divorce in Aceh."

to limited coverage, a shortage of qualified facilitators, and weak monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. Moreover, some scholars argue that the counselling framework may inadvertently reproduce patriarchal norms rather than addressing structural gender inequalities that frequently underpin divorce cases initiated by wives. These findings suggest that although institutional interventions are essential, their effectiveness remains contingent upon broader socio-cultural dynamics that shape marital behaviour.⁵⁷

While state policies attempt to address marital stability through formal institutional mechanisms, preventive practices also emerge within local cultural systems. In many societies, traditions function as informal regulatory institutions that guide marital decision-making and encourage prudence in partner selection.⁵⁸ Within the cultural context of Ponorogo Regency, one such mechanism is the traditional prohibition of marriage between descendants of *Mirah-Golan*. Normatively, this prohibition has no foundation in Islamic law or Indonesian positive law, since the genealogical relationship between the two lineages does not fall within the category of *maḥram* relationships that legally prohibit marriage. Nevertheless, the tradition continues to exert strong normative influence within the community.

The persistence of this prohibition demonstrates that cultural norms can function as powerful mechanisms of social regulation that shape marital behaviour. The tradition is rooted in collective narratives concerning historical conflicts between the figures of Mirah and Golan. These narratives, transmitted across generations, construct a shared interpretative framework through which the community perceives potential risks associated with uniting the two lineages through marriage. Even though the historical authenticity of these narratives may not always be empirically verifiable, their symbolic significance sustains their social legitimacy within the collective consciousness of the community.

This phenomenon can be analytically explained through the concept of axio-awareness, which refers to a form of value-based social consciousness

⁵⁷ Hanapi et al.; Ridho Rokamah and Rifah Roihanah, "Social Factors and Coping Models of Women as The Violence Victims In Ponorogo District," *Justicia Islamica: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial* 16, no. 2 (November 2019): 219–46, <https://doi.org/10.21154/justicia.v16i2.1707>.

⁵⁸ Naema N. Tahir, "Understanding Arranged Marriage: An Unbiased Analysis of a Traditional Marital Institution," *International Journal of Law, Policy and the Family* 35, no. 1 (January 2021): ebab005, <https://doi.org/10.1093/lawfam/ebab005>.

generated through the internalisation of collective norms and cultural values. Within this framework, cultural traditions function not merely as moral prescriptions but also as cognitive structures that shape how individuals interpret social risks and make life decisions. Through the process of value internalisation, traditions cultivate a reflective orientation that encourages individuals to consider the long-term implications of marital decisions. In the context of the *Mirah-Golan* prohibition, axio-awareness manifests in the practice of genealogical verification conducted by extended families before marriage. This verification process effectively creates a deliberative social space that slows down the decision-making process of marriage. Consequently, the decision to proceed with or cancel a marriage is not solely determined by the emotional preferences of the couple but also by broader considerations regarding the potential social consequences for family relations in the future. In this sense, the tradition operates as a culturally embedded precautionary mechanism that encourages prudence in marital formation.

The precautionary logic embedded in the *Mirah-Golan* tradition exhibits functional similarities with state-sponsored prenuptial education programmes administered through the Offices of Religious Affairs. Both mechanisms aim to enhance awareness of marital risks before marriage is formalised. The primary difference lies in the source of legitimacy that underpins each mechanism. The *Mirah-Golan* prohibition derives its authority from collective memory and cultural values embedded within the community, whereas prenuptial education programmes derive their legitimacy from formal legal frameworks and public policy. From the perspective of axio-awareness, these two mechanisms represent distinct yet complementary modes of constructing social consciousness regarding marriage. Local traditions cultivate awareness through the internalisation of cultural memory and communal values, while state policies attempt to construct awareness through institutional education and counselling programmes. Their interaction suggests that marital stability is shaped not only by formal legal regulation but also by the normative value systems that operate within society. Despite its institutional significance, prenuptial education programmes continue to face practical limitations.⁵⁹ In

⁵⁹ Riki Akbar, "Problematika Kursus Calon Pengantin Dalam Membentuk Keluarga Sakinah Perspektif Maqashid Al-Syariah," *KALOSARA: Family Law Review* 3, no. 1 (August 2023): 21–30, <https://doi.org/10.31332/kalosara.v3i1.5849>.

many cases, couples perceive such programmes as bureaucratic requirements for marriage registration rather than as opportunities for meaningful reflection on marital readiness. Limited programme duration, insufficient resources, and lecture-dominated teaching methods reduce the potential of these programmes to stimulate deeper self-reflection among participants regarding the responsibilities and challenges of married life.⁶⁰

Another critical limitation lies in the lack of integration between prenuptial education curricula and local cultural values. National programmes are generally designed using a standardised framework that may overlook the socio-cultural dynamics influencing family life at the local level. In reality, cultural traditions often play a significant role in shaping community perceptions regarding responsibility, commitment, and risk within marriage. In this regard, the concept of axio-awareness offers a conceptual framework for strengthening the effectiveness of prenuptial education programmes. Premarital education should not be limited to the transmission of normative legal knowledge but should also facilitate deeper value reflection among participants. Integrating local cultural perspectives into the curriculum can help prospective couples recognise that communities develop diverse social mechanisms to safeguard marital stability. Cultural traditions such as the *Mirah-Golan* prohibition can therefore serve as illustrative cases demonstrating how communities construct collective awareness of marital risks. Incorporating such local value systems into prenuptial education programmes would enable marriage courses to function not merely as instruments of knowledge transfer but also as reflective spaces where prospective spouses critically engage with the ethical and social responsibilities inherent in marital commitment.

Conclusion

This study confirms that the *Mirah-Golan* marriage prohibition cannot merely be understood as an irrational local tradition; rather, it functions as a social mechanism that embodies a dimension of prudential caution within the marriage practices of the community. The prohibition represents a

⁶⁰ Anggi Angraeni, Patimah, and Zulas'ari Mustafa, "Efektivitas Kursus Calon Pengantin Terhadap Kesiapan Calon Pengantin Perspektif Masalah Mursalah," *Qadauna: Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa Hukum Keluarga Islam* 6, no. 1 (December 2024): 19–33, <https://doi.org/10.24252/qadauna.v6i1.30785>.

manifestation of the Axio-Awareness principle, which emphasises reflective consciousness and moral vigilance. This principle aligns with the Islamic legal concepts of *iḥtiyāt* (prudential precaution) and *sadd al-dharā'i* (blocking the means to potential harm). In this regard, the *Mirah-Golan* marriage prohibition should not be viewed solely as a customary norm but as a value structure that shapes the collective awareness of the community to undertake social screening before entering into marital commitment.

The prohibition operates as a social mechanism that encourages a process of cultural verification before marriage, including tracing family genealogy, consulting customary leaders or village elders, and considering potential social consequences that may arise from the union. These practices demonstrate that the marriage prohibition functions as a form of prudential social reasoning, namely a process of social deliberation aimed at minimising the potential for familial conflict and the risk of marital disharmony. Without claiming a deterministic causal relationship between the prohibition and marital stability, the findings of this study suggest that the value of caution embedded in local cultural practices may serve as an inspiration for preventive approaches in marriage policy, particularly in strengthening strategies for divorce risk mitigation. In this context, the integration of cultural values, social awareness, and legal frameworks may open avenues for the development of more contextual and prevention-oriented marriage policies.

Nevertheless, this study has several limitations. First, it focuses on a single local case—the *Mirah-Golan* marriage prohibition—therefore, its empirical findings are not intended to be broadly generalised to all forms of marriage prohibitions within Javanese culture or Indonesian society as a whole. Second, the study primarily employs a qualitative socio-legal approach oriented toward interpreting values and social practices; consequently, it does not provide quantitative measurements regarding the relationship between marriage prohibitions and levels of marital stability or divorce rates. Third, the analysis primarily highlights the dimension of prudential caution in social practices and has not yet explored in depth the potential tensions between such cultural norms and modern legal principles, particularly the principle of individual autonomy in choosing a marital partner.

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Disclosure Statement

Ramadhita acted as the primary author who developed the conceptual framework, designed the comparative study, examined legal sources, and prepared the initial draft of the manuscript. Sudirman contributed by critically reviewing the substance of the article, reinforcing the theoretical discussion, conducting the final editing of the manuscript, and ensuring methodological and citation consistency. Miftahul Huda assisted in gathering and verifying legal materials, conducting the doctrinal literature review, and supporting the comparative analysis as well as the refinement of the normative arguments. All authors approved the final version of the manuscript and confirmed that no conflicts of interest were associated with the research or publication of this article.

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