

## Circular Letter as Social Engineering: The Authority of the East Java Provincial Government in Preventing Child Marriage

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### Abstract

Child marriage is an issue that occurs in various countries around the world, especially in Indonesia. Although there are already laws in Indonesia regulating the age of marriage, this has not been enough to minimize the practice of child marriage in society. This is what prompted the East Java Provincial Government to issue the East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage. This research aims to analyze the aspects of the East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage as social engineering related to efforts to prevent child marriage. This research is a normative legal study that uses a conceptual and legislative approach. The research results show that although the legal status of the East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage is as a policy regulation and thus not binding on the general public, it still possesses aspects of sociological legitimacy, where it can serve as a means to influence and provide socialization to the community regarding efforts to minimize the practice of child marriage. The East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage is also in line with Roscoe Pound's concept of social engineering, which emphasizes the importance of planning, implementation, and the impact of a legal product on society.

**Keywords:** Child Marriage; Policy Regulations; Social Engineering.

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## INTRODUCTION

Local governments have the duty to participate in regulating and simultaneously improving the welfare of the community. The task of regulating the community by local governments is intended so that the community can take certain actions that can have a positive impact on both individuals and society.<sup>1</sup> The task of ensuring the welfare of the community is intended so that local governments, with various legal instruments and policies, are expected to be able to broadly improve the welfare of the community.<sup>2</sup> As mandated by the constitution in Article 18 paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, it is emphasized that provincial, re-

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<sup>1</sup> Enny Nurbaningsih, *Problematika Pembentukan Peraturan Daerah: Aktualisasi Wewenang Mengatur Dalam Era Otonomi Luas*, 1st ed. (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2019).

<sup>2</sup> Emmanuel Ariananto Waluyo Adi and Theresia Rachelita Devia Irani, "Reflections and Expectations of Democracy in The Implementation of Regional Autonomy: Long - Term Potential for Appointment of Acting Regional Heads," *Pledoi: Jurnal Hukum dan Keadilan* 2, no. 1 (2023): 50-68.

gency, and city regional governments can exercise their own authority based on the principles of autonomy and delegated tasks. The authority to govern independently is intended so that local governments can understand the problems and needs of the community in the region, allowing them to formulate appropriate solutions to the issues faced by the community in the area.<sup>3</sup> One of the regional governments that has the authority to regulate and formulate various policies as a solution in society is the provincial regional government.

Provincial local governments, as regulated in Law No. 23 of 2014 on Regional Government (Regional Government Law), have two functions simultaneously, namely as autonomous regions and extensions of the central government.<sup>4</sup> As an autonomous region, the provincial local government can independently formulate legal products or policies to achieve the welfare of the community as long as they do not conflict with higher regulations.<sup>5</sup> As an extension of the central government in the region, the provincial local government led by the governor is obliged to implement various policies from the central government to be effectively applied in the region. One of the efforts of the provincial government in addressing the issues in society is by issuing Circular Letters (SE). In general, Circular Letters (SE) are not legal products because, aside from not being part of the hierarchy of legal norms as regulated in Law No. 12 of 2011 on the Formation of Legislation (Law P3) and its amendments, Circular Letters (SE) are also categorized only as *beleidsregel* or policy regulations that are internally binding for state apparatus.<sup>6</sup>

Although it is not a piece of legislation, in practice, Circular Letters (SE) are adhered to and often serve as a reference in implementing policies by local governments. This is similar to the practice carried out by the East Java Provincial Government, which issued the East Java Governor's Circular Letter Number 474.14/810/109.5/2021 (East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage Age) that generally outlines several important substances, such as: (i) protection and fulfillment of children's rights, (ii) improvement of human resources, especially the implementation of 12 years of compulsory education for children, and (iii) efforts to recommend the ideal age for marriage, which is a minimum of 25 years for men and

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<sup>3</sup> Luh Putu Sudini and Made Wiryani, "Juridical Analysis of Local Government Authority on the Establishment Local Regulations Eco-Tourism Development," *Diponegoro Law Review* 7, no. 1 (2022): 53-69.

<sup>4</sup> Aminah Aminah et al., "Implementation of The Effectiveness of Regional Autonomy in Indonesia," *Jejak* 14, no. 1 (2021): 123-133.

<sup>5</sup> Dicky Eko Prasetio, "Sejarah Dan Eksistensi Pembentukan Peraturan Daerah," *Sol Justicia* 5, no. 2 (2022): 151.

<sup>6</sup> Efraim Jordi Kastanya Fitriani Ahlan Sjarif, "Surat Edaran Sebagai Instrumen Administrasi Negara Di Masa Pandemi Covid-19," *Hukum & Pembangunan* 51, no. 3 (2021): 791.

a minimum of 21 years for women.<sup>7</sup> In general, the substance of the East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage is indeed good and aims to prevent the increasingly rampant practice of child marriage in society. In the East Java Province itself, the number of child marriages still occurs frequently despite experiencing a decline. The Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) recorded that child marriages in East Java in 2021 reached 17,151 cases, which decreased by 11.99% to 15,095 in 2022, and in 2023 there was a further decrease of 18.29%, bringing the total to 12,334.<sup>8</sup> The decrease in the number of child marriages is also due to the enactment of East Java Governor Regulation Number 85 of 2023 concerning the Regional Action Plan (RAD) for the Prevention and Handling of Child Marriage for the years 2023-2024. (Pergub Jatim Pencegahan Perkawinan Anak). From the above description, it appears that the instrument of the East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage is an initial effort before being supplemented by the East Java Governor's Regulation on Preventing Child Marriage. This effort is interesting because it uses the Circular Letter (SE), which is a policy regulation, as a form of social engineering or a means to bring about change in society.

This research specifically discusses the Circular Letter (SE) as social engineering as carried out by the East Java Provincial Government to successfully prevent child marriage. Similar research related to policies and regulations concerning child marriage has indeed been conducted by several previous researchers, such as Mayunita et al. (2023), who analyzed child marriage handling policies involving coordination with various sectors and agencies.<sup>9</sup> This research specifically discusses the Circular Letter (SE) as social engineering as carried out by the East Java Provincial Government to successfully prevent child marriage. Similar research related to policies and regulations concerning child marriage has indeed been conducted by several previous researchers, such as Mayunita et al. (2023), who analyzed child marriage handling policies involving coordination with various sectors and agencies.<sup>10</sup> Research focusing on empowerment efforts and the enhancement of the role of PKK in relation to the prevention of child marriage was also conducted by Sirait et al. (2024), who

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<sup>7</sup> D. Salim, E. F., Judiasih, S. D., & Yuanitasari, "Persamaan Syarat Usia Perkawinan Sebagai Wujud Kesetaraan Gender Dalam Meminimalisir Perkawinan Bawah Umur Di Indonesia," *Acta Diurnal: Jurnal Hukum Kenotariatan* 5, no. 1 (2021): 1-19.

<sup>8</sup> Dinas Pemberdayaan Perempuan Perlindungan Anak dan Kependudukan Jawa Timur, "Masif Lakukan Pencegahan, Pj Gubernur Adhy: Angka Perkawinan Anak Di Jatim Terus Turun Signifikan," 2024, <https://dp3ak.jatimprov.go.id/berita/link/2704>.

<sup>9</sup> Feramita Hasani Boby Sry Mayunita, Junaid Gazalin, "Implementasi Kebijakan Pencegahan Perkawinan Usia Anak (Studi Pada Kabupaten Konawe Selatan, Sulawesi Tenggara)," *TheJournalish: Social and Government* 4, no. 2 (2023): 203-213.

<sup>10</sup> Amrin Nurfiendi, "Efektivitas Perubahan Atas Pasal 7 Uu Perkawinan Terhadap Penurunan Angka Perkawinan Anak Di Kabupaten Semarang," *Legacy: Jurnal Hukum dan Perundang-undangan* 4, no. 2 (2024): 91-102.

substantively emphasized that child marriage should be socialized gradually and can even accommodate the cultural and religious aspects of the community.<sup>11</sup>

If we refer to the previous research mentioned above, the study related to the prevention of child marriage through Circular Letters (SE) has not been analyzed in the three previous studies. Therefore, this research is original with a focus on the aspect of Circular Letters (SE) as social engineering in preventing child marriage, particularly in East Java Province.

## RESEARCH METHODS

This research, with a focus on the analysis of Circular Letters (SE) as social engineering in preventing child marriage, particularly in East Java Province, is a normative legal study because it examines legal aspects doctrinally and is based on legislation.<sup>12</sup> The primary legal materials used include: Law No. 23 of 2014 on Regional Government (Regional Government Law) and Law No. 16 of 2019 on Amendments to Law No. 1 of 1974 on Marriage (2019 Marriage Law). The secondary legal materials in this research include: Circular Letter of the Governor of East Java No. 474.14/810/109.5/2021 (East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage), journal articles, and research results discussing policy regulations, social engineering, and child marriage. The non-legal materials used are language dictionaries. The approach used in this research is the conceptual and legislative approach. The analysis of legal materials is conducted prescriptively, aiming to formulate legal recommendations on the legal issues presented in this research.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Rini Setiawati Resmaya Agnesia Mutiara Sirait, Yenny Aman Serah, "Pembentukan Kadarkum PKK Desa Dalam Upaya Pencegahan Perkawinan Anak," *Jurnal Pembelajaran Pemberdayaan Masyarakat (JP2M)* 5, no. 4 (2024): 755-764.

<sup>12</sup> Cynthia Hadita Eka N.A.M. Sihombing, *Penelitian Hukum*, 1st ed. (Malang: Setara Press, 2022).

<sup>13</sup> Rahmadi Indra Tektana Efendi, A'an, Dyah Ochtorina Susanti, *Penelitian Hukum Doktrinal* (Yogyakarta: LaksBang Justitia, 2019).

## ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

### A. The Position of the Governor's Circular as an Effort to Prevent Child Marriage

Child marriage is essentially a common issue that occurs in various developing countries, including Indonesia.<sup>14</sup> This has also become one of the focuses of The United Nations Children's Fund, which highlights the practice of child marriage and defines that child marriage is a marriage conducted by a child under the age of 18.<sup>15</sup> This definition is global, meaning it is understood in its general nature where the age of 18 is set as the "threshold" to determine when someone is considered an adult, even though in practice, different countries have varying ages at which someone is considered an adult.<sup>16</sup> In Indonesia, child marriage can be understood as an attempt to conduct marriage carried out under the provisions of the law. If referring to the Marriage Law of 2019, the minimum marriage age in Indonesia is set at 19 years for both men and women.<sup>17</sup>

The formulation of the minimum age limit for marriage at 19 years for both men and women in Indonesia has actually been a long struggle because, in the previous Marriage Law, it was stipulated that the minimum age for marriage in Indonesia for men is 19 years, while for women it is 16 years.<sup>18</sup> The effort to equalize the minimum age for marriage in Indonesia to 19 years for both men and women actually began with the Constitutional Court Decision No. 22/PUU-XV/2017, which mandated the importance of equalizing the minimum age limit for both men and women to marry.<sup>19</sup> From the Constitutional Court's decision, it was followed up with the revision of the 2019 Marriage Law, which then accommodated efforts to equalize the minimum age limit for both men and women.

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<sup>14</sup> Hijrah Lahaling et al., "Children's Rights In The Context Of Child Marriage In Gorontalo Province," *Sasi* 28, no. 2 (2022): 234.

<sup>15</sup> Nur Mohamad Kasim et al., "Optimization of Marriage Registration as Legal Certainty of Children's Rights in the Perspective of Maqasid Shariah," in *International Conference on Law Reform*, vol. 3, 2022, 1-9.

<sup>16</sup> Ernawati Ernawati, Abdul Gani Abdullah, and Zaitunah Subhan, "Child Participation in Marriage Dispensation in Southeast Asian Muslim Countries from The Perspective of the Convention on the Rights of the Child," *Journal of World Science* 2, no. 8 (2023): 1137-1148.

<sup>17</sup> Yopani Selia Almahisa and Anggi Agustian, "Pernikahan Dini Dalam Perspektif Undang-Undang Perkawinan Dan Kompilasi Hukum Islam," *Jurnal Rechten: Riset Hukum dan Hak Asasi Manusia* 3, no. 1 (April 2021): 27-36.

<sup>18</sup> K Priseliya and S Ngaisah, "The Age Dispensation for Marriage in Sidoarjo Religious Court: Research on 2022," *Yuris (Journal of Court and Justice)* 2, no. 1 (2023), <https://journal.jfpublisher.com/index.php/jcj/article/view/365>.

<sup>19</sup> Mia Hadiati and Febriansyah Ramadhan, "Observing The Differences in Constitutional Court Decision About the Legal Age of Marriage," *Jurnal Konstitusi* 19, no. 3 (2022): 643-672.

In general, child marriage is caused by several factors such as economic factors, parental coercion, pregnancy before marriage, and traditional customs or practices.<sup>20</sup> Economic factors become a classic factor where, in traditional societies, entrepreneurship is considered one of the ways to break free from the shackles of poverty. This generally occurs in rural communities or in societies that still hold traditional views. The next factor is parental coercion. This factor is generally identical to the practice of "arranged marriages," where in certain societies, children are betrothed by their parents from birth or early childhood.<sup>21</sup> The next factor is pregnancy before marriage, which has also become one of the phenomena occurring in the era of technological and informational development. The development of technology and information, which ultimately refers to modernization, has several negative impacts, one of which is the prevalence of free mixing.<sup>22</sup> This free mixing, if not controlled, can lead to pregnancies outside of marriage, and generally, as a "sanction" for such pregnancies, both partners are immediately subjected to a marriage ceremony.<sup>23</sup> Pregnancy outside of marriage at a young age is what then leads to the prevalence of child marriage. The next factor is tradition or customs. It cannot be denied that the prevalence of child marriage is also influenced by customs or traditions that are believed to be hereditary, especially when associated with certain beliefs.<sup>24</sup>

Child marriage, as caused by several factors mentioned above, can also have negative impacts on society, such as: divorce, domestic violence, abandoned children, and other negative effects. Various negative impacts related to child marriage occur because, psychologically, both partners do not yet have the mental maturity to enter into marriage, which can lead to negative consequences for both the husband or wife and their child. Another impact of child marriage is related to the child's future, especially when child marriage leads to domestic violence that ends in divorce, leaving the child neglected.<sup>25</sup>

From the phenomenon of the negative impacts of child marriage, the government, especially local governments, is expected to be active and responsive in formulating various legal products and policies to prevent child marriage. The importance

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<sup>20</sup> Endang Prastini, "Pernikahan Usia Dini Dalam Tinjauan Hukum Dan Psikologi Anak," *Aufklarung: Jurnal Pendidikan, Sosial dan Humaniora* 2, no. 2 (2022): 43-51.

<sup>21</sup> Zuriatul Khairi Inaz Zahra, Amirah Diniaty, "Isu-Isu Dalam Praktik Konseling Perkawinan Dan Perspektif Islam," *Educational Guidance and Counseling Development Journal* 3, no. 1 (2021): 10-11.

<sup>22</sup> Jane Im et al., "Women's Perspectives on Harm and Justice after Online Harassment," *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction* 6, no. 2 CSCW (2022).

<sup>23</sup> Hilda Fentiningrum, "Komparasi Aborsi Dalam Perspektif Maqashid Syari'Ah Imam Ghazali Dan Hubungannya Dengan Faktor Ekonomi," *Kodifikasia* 15, no. 1 (2021): 69-88.

<sup>24</sup> Lahaling et al., "Children's Rights In The Context Of Child Marriage In Gorontalo Province."

<sup>25</sup> Joko Setiyono Priskila Kurniawati, "Enforcement of Human Rights in Providing Children Protection in the School Educational Environment in the City of Surabaya)," *International Journal of Social Science and Human Research* 5, no. 7 (2022): 2808-2816.

of the state's role in preventing child marriage is in line with Satjipto Rahardjo's view that the state must be an institution capable of managing various aspects of social life, especially those aspects that have the potential for negative impacts on society.<sup>26</sup> In Suteki's view, the function of the state as a social institution is important, especially in being able to provide various preventive measures as well as repressive actions against various aspects related to social community life.<sup>27</sup>

The function of the government, particularly the local government as emphasized by Suteki, in relation to the phenomenon of child marriage, is relevant to the preventive function where the local government should be able to formulate various legal products and policies that can minimize child marriage. One of the provincial regional governments in Indonesia, namely the East Java Provincial Government, subsequently enacted the East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage in 2021. The East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage actually has three important substances, namely:<sup>28</sup> first, the protection and fulfillment of children's rights; second, the improvement of human resources, especially the implementation of 12 years of compulsory education for children; and third, efforts to encourage the ideal age for marriage, which is a minimum of 25 years for men and 21 years for women. If viewed from a juridical aspect, the position of the East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage is classified as very weak and even does not qualify as a piece of legislation. Circular Letters in the theory of state administrative law are known as products of *beleidsregel* or policy regulations. In general, there are three main characteristics of a policy regulation that distinguish it from statutory regulations, namely: first, the binding force of a policy regulation is internal, meaning it only binds state apparatus. Second, policy regulations only govern daily practices related to the administration of the state and do not regulate the public or general society, let alone impose obligations on the community. Third, policy regulations are not statutory regulations, so they not only do not bind the public but also cannot be used as a legal basis for certain legal actions.

Circular Letters (SE), although not a product of legislation, are often more frequently adhered to by state apparatus and the general public in practice. This is because, generally, Circular Letters (SE) are substantively simpler and directly convey the message as it is, making them easy to understand and implement.<sup>29</sup> This is cer-

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<sup>26</sup> Satjipto Rahardjo, *Membedah Hukum Progresif*, 3rd ed. (Jakarta: Kompas, 2008).

<sup>27</sup> Suteki, *Politik Hukum Hak Atas Air* (Yogyakarta: Thafa Media, 2021).

<sup>28</sup> Vera Novianti, Muhamad Aksan Akbar, and Syamsul Rijal, "Position of Policy Regulations ( *Beleidsregel* ) in the Indonesian Positive Law System," *Sangia Nibandera Law Research* 1, no. 1 (2024): 49-57.

<sup>29</sup> Muhamad Ali Hasan and Anna Erliyana, "The Existence of Policy Regulations and the Court ' s Authority to Review Policy Regulations ( *Beleidsregel* )," *International Journal of Politics and Sociology Research* 11, no. 2 (2023): 405-411.

tainly different from legislation that has a hierarchical orientation where rules that are general in nature, such as constitutions and laws, are sometimes only general and abstract and require implementing regulations to be applied in society.<sup>30</sup>

Referring to the practice of using the East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage in East Java Province, in substance, the Circular (SE) does not contradict the legislation. One of the contents of the East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage is the suggestion and recommendation that ideally, the marriage age for men should be at least 25 years and for women at least 21 years. The recommendation from the East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage can be considered interesting because it clearly does not contradict the provisions in the 2019 Marriage Law, which stipulates that the minimum marriage age in Indonesia is 19 years for both men and women, as the content of the East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage is merely a suggestion and recommendation. However, in practice, it is the substance of the East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage that is implemented and socialized in the community, resulting in a decrease in the number of child marriages in East Java in the following years, namely 2022 and 2023.

Based on the above description, it can be concluded that the legal status of the East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage is a policy regulation that is not generally binding. However, the East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage actually has sociological legitimacy, as it can serve as a means to influence and provide socialization to the community regarding the minimum age for marriage, which is at least 19 years old. It also includes socializing the recommendations of the East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage, which sets the ideal age for marriage at a minimum of 25 years for men and 21 years for women.

## **B. Circular Letter as Social Engineering to Prevent Child Marriage in East Java Province**

The East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage, although not a legal product, particularly legislation, is oriented towards successfully preventing child marriage in East Java. This can be seen from the inclusion of the East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage in various references to activities related to the prevention of child marriage in East Java. The East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage also serves as a "bridge" before the enactment of the legal product in the form of the East Java Governor's Regulation on Child Marriage Prevention, which was enacted in 2023. This indicates that the use of policy regulations, particularly Circular Let-

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<sup>30</sup> Wahyu Prianto, "Analisis Hierarki Perundang-Undangan Berdasarkan Teori Norma Hukum Oleh Hans Kelsen Dan Hans Nawiasky," *Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Sosial dan Pendidikan* 2, no. 1 (2023): 15-16.



ters (SE), in practice is not only intended as an administrative instrument binding internally within the institution.<sup>31</sup> Policy regulations, especially in the form of Circular Letters (SE), in this context become a kind of "interim regulation" before the formulation of legislative products. In the context of the East Java Governor's SE on Child Marriage, it serves as an "interim regulation" before the enactment of the legal product, namely the East Java Governor's Regulation on the Prevention of Child Marriage.

The East Java Governor's Office views child marriage as one of the efforts by the East Java Government to address child marriage, which is essentially oriented as a means of social engineering. The concept of law as social engineering was first proposed by Roscoe Pound, who enlightened legal experts to act and work like engineers, namely designing, calculating, and executing a legal idea or discourse.<sup>32</sup> Simply put, Pound stated that law as social engineering must be carefully planned, optimally implemented, and is expected to have a significant and substantive impact on society.<sup>33</sup>

The general view regarding Pound's idea of social engineering emphasizes the multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary characteristics of law, so that a legal product is not only related to legal science but also intertwined with various other sciences.<sup>34</sup> Laws related to various fields and other sciences require that their formulation takes into account the needs and interests of society, so that in their application, the law can serve as social engineering for the community. Regarding the East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage, this is actually relevant to the concept of social engineering as proposed by Pound. In this context, the East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage must be understood substantively, as a means to conduct thorough legal planning to prevent child marriage. Therefore, before the enactment of the East Java Regional Regulation on Child Marriage Prevention, the East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage is made a "temporary regulation" to ensure that the spirit of preventing child marriage is optimal in East Java Province.

Related to Pound's concept of social engineering, the East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage also has an orientation towards implementation and legal impact. Since the issuance of the East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage, the

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<sup>31</sup> Insan Tajali Nur, "Juxtaposition Of Beleidsregel Based On Populistic Regulations," *Lembuswana Law Review* 1, no. 1 (2023): 66-77.

<sup>32</sup> Zong Xian H'ng, Jia Ying Soon, and Nabeel Althabhwani, "Theory and Application of Roscoe Pound's Sociological Jurisprudence: Transgenderism," *Current Law Journal Legal Network Series* 10, no. 1 (2022): 1-26.

<sup>33</sup> Ahmad Qiram As-suvi and Moh Zainullah, "Sociology of Law in The Perspective of Roscoe Pound and Donald Black and Its Relevance in The Indonesian Context," *PJLS: Peradaban Journal of Law and Society* 1, no. 2 (2022): 82-95.

<sup>34</sup> Zainal Muttaqin, "Formalization of Islamic Law in Indonesia in the Framework of Social Engineering Theory by Roscoe Pound," *El-Mashlahah* 11, no. 2 (2021): 97-115.

East Java Provincial Government and the regency and city governments in East Java have simultaneously begun campaigns and socialization efforts to minimize child marriage. In this context, although the East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage is not a piece of legislation, it possesses sociological legitimacy in the form of efforts to implement its substance, which is the prevention of child marriage. This has become an important matter to be optimized by the East Java Provincial Government and the regency and city governments in East Java.

## CONCLUSION

The legal status of the East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage is that it serves as a policy regulation, thus it is not binding on the general public. Although it is not a piece of legislation, the East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage actually possesses sociological legitimacy, as it can serve as a means to influence and provide socialization to the community regarding efforts to minimize the practice of child marriage.

The East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage has relevance to Roscoe Pound's concept of social engineering. This is because, although the East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage is not a piece of legislation, it serves as an "interim regulation" before the enactment of legislation with the same substance. This underscores that the East Java Governor's Circular on Child Marriage possesses sociological legitimacy in the form of efforts to implement its substance, which is the prevention of child marriage, making it important to be optimized by the East Java Provincial Government and the regency and city governments in East Java.

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