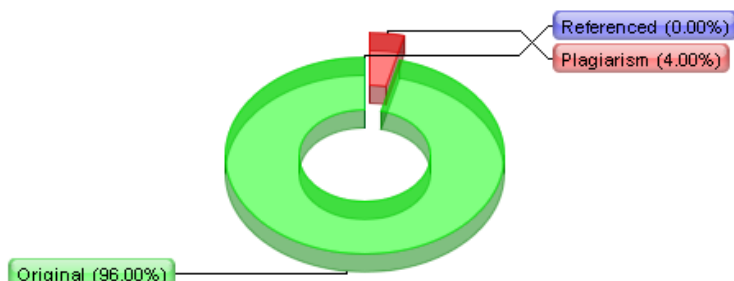


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Early Marriage in Rural South Kalimantan, Indonesia

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#### Abstract

Early marriage in Indonesia suffered a downward rise phase in each province, previously the highest order was the province of West Java and then a few years after the highest order was the province of South Kalimantan. Research method used a qualitative approach with a variant of phenomenology. Data collection techniques used a thick description while data analysis a used interactive model with four grooves that is data collection, data reduction, data presentation and conclusion continuously until saturated. Conclusion shows several factors of early marriage in Indonesia, namely the change of government system, village governance apparatus, majority religion, culture of rural communities, and social status of rural communities.

Keywords: early marriage, social culture, rural communities

#### 1. Introduction

The phenomenon of early marriage or under age marriage in Indonesia become debate and

get wide attention from all levels of society. The Early marriage or under age marriage in Indonesia

not something new, but long time ago with various events and different background.

Basic regulation in the Indonesia, Regulation Number 1 year 1974 about marriage mention age restriction a marriage consists of four men must be an old nineteen year and for women must be old sixteen year. This regulation has long been used, which currently reaches about 46 years.

The studies of Nobles and Bутtenheim: "raised in the Decade of economic change in Indonesia in 1998 from 4,078 women and 4,496 men tend to have an impact on the marriage growth of all men and women with more social economic strata Low" (2008).

Nevertheless result research UNICEF in Indonesia in the year 2002, show a score marriage young attain the age of fifteen year around eleven percent, while getting married attain the age of

eighteen year around thirty-five percent. Health Research and Development Agency, Ministry of Health suggests result basic health research on 2013 year mention 2,6 percent a married occur at

age less than fifteen year and 23,9 percent a married on age fifteen - nineteen year.

Early marriage practice, most happening in the Afrika and Southeast Asia. The Southeast Asia there are around 10 million children under age eighteen years married, while in the Afrika estimated around forty two percent of the child population, married before age eighteen years. In the twenty-nine percent young woman married at age eighteen years. High prevalence case early marriage recorded in the Nigeria around seventy-nine percent, Kongo around seventy-four percent,

Afganistan around fifty-four percent and Bangladesh around fifty-one percent (UNICEF 2006).

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Later Uecker and Stokes: “proposed a drastic change study in American families, where an American minority group of about 25%

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and 16% of men

married earlier than 23 years of age” (2008).

Although married an age early less than eighteen year is a reality faced one part child countries developing, but in the development of early age marriage have started reducing in thirty years last. Meanwhile, early age marriage in the Indonesia keeps on going at various strata economic with backgrounds different.


South Kalimantan is one province the amount of early age, marriage, including higher nationally in age younger more than other provinces. Amount of teen couple who are married in the South Kalimantan is two thousand four hundred and eighty three people with amount early age, marriage around eighteen percent from output adolescent age fourteen to sixteen year. (Data

Population and Family Bodies Nationally (2018).

## 2. Lieratur Review

Early age marriage

Oppenheimer: “to propose theory marriage timing,

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some factors influence marriage timing by either facilitating or impeding assortative mating. Transition-to-work is emphasized because work structures people's lifestyles and is the major source of socioeconomic status; however, its nature is often unpredictable in early adulthood, while other personal attributes emerge early. The theory applies to the dynamics of assortative mating under two contrasting scenarios: when gender roles are highly segregated, and when women's economic roles start to resemble those of

men” (1988).

Study age at marriage is a convenient starting point in the static and the dynamic aspects of a human population. The predominating age at which persons of each sex enter into marriage is

a highly important factor in determining the potential natural increase of the population. The marital behavior pattern of a rural population group is distinctive in that the bulk of all marriages occurs from two to three years earlier than is true for city populations (Otis, D. Duncan, John, H. McClure, James Salibuty Jr., and Richard, H. Simmons 1934).

Hogan: “explain about age at marriage, which demographic factors and family background (family structure and social, economic standing) are irrelevant in age at marriage, but early job status related to age at marriage. Although this related only weakly because activities are time-consuming” (1978).

Dahl: “to give a name early age, marriage with early teen marriage, which he argued between early teen marriage and dropping out of high school have historically been associated with a variety of negative outcomes, including higher poverty rates throughout life. Early teen marriage and dropping out school and higher poverty is being cycled interrelated in human life” (2010).

According to Walker: "that there is a regional pattern in countries with

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the highest rates of early marriage

are also the countries with the highest rates of poverty and highest population growth rates. Therefore needed a sub-regional strategy to address the problem of early marriage in the zone with the highest incidence" (2012).

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Ji: "suggested

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that those in

a love marriage are more likely to continue schooling than those in an arranged marriage. The more educated ones who balance personal autonomy and obedience to cultural authorities win parental support in both their marriage formation and personal development unlike the increasingly elongated, sequential transition to adulthood as they take on family and student roles simultaneously with practical

familiar support" (2013).

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Marrying too

old, too young, or not, all could elicit scorn from all sides: family, friends and neighbors. The same could occur when a partner was much younger or older. During modernization, new societal norms of marriage are supposed to have emerged and to have become more pervasive, as individual access to and timing of marriage became less dependent on family fortunes and family

strategies (Kok 2014)

The roles of family composition in the timing of first marriages in two mountain villages in the eastern part of Transylvania (in present-day Romania) between 1838 and 1940. The dominant role of family composition in the decision to marry in the case of both males and females.

Although strong age norms existed with regards to marriage, which show that the ordinal position of birth, number of siblings, parental presence, and the historical period during which a marriage was concluded, all played decisive roles in determining the age at the time of marriage of males and females (Pakot 2014)

Gruber: "suggested marriage patterns in Albania around 1900 and the influence of religion on the marriage pattern in Southeastern Europe are given. The descriptive analysis reveals religious influences on marriage patterns, which religious factors influence marriage age pattern a family" (2017).

3. Methodology

Research methods used a qualitative approach with a variety of phenomenology.

Qualitative research, phenomenology is research which aims to understand the meaning individual.

Observed reality varies and lots of data which is impossible can be disclosed through questionnaire

such as object background, the exact one will be revealed from observation and interaction another

researcher with object for getting emails interpretation i.e: description base on the informant's perception of a phenomenon that is being that is being studied (Bogdan and Taylor 1975).

One method in determining the source of information in qualitative research is the method of selecting informants aims with technique criterion-based selection. This technique is used so human, background and certain events selected for providing important information which is impossible with another way (LeComte & Preissle 1993; Creswell, 2009).

In this research, researcher set criteria source of information made informants base several criteria. As for criteria source of information determined, as follows: one, government apparatus at religious office South Kalimantan Province; two, village government apparatus; three, religious leader; four, public figure; five, an early marriage couple; six, family of early marriage couples.

As for reason for choosing technique criterion-based selection as follows: first, government apparatus as implementing policies associated with marriage registration; second, religious leaders

and public figure are exemplary community figure; third, early marriage couple is an individual

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pairs who do early-age marriage; fourth, a family of early marriage couples are a place of interaction early marriage couple after nor before marriage.

Technique data collection used three activities is field observation, in depth interview with an adolescent who commits early age, marriage and documentation secondary data which support

research. Research informant used purposive sampling and snowball sampling in select adolescent

who commits early age marriage.

Data analysis in research used data analysis, qualitative with interactive model Miles and Huberman (Miles and Huberman 1984). This interactive model consist activities data collection, data reduction, data display and conclusion. Analysis conducted continuously until saturated with validity data used triangulation method.

Data reduction as selection process, concentrating on simplifying, and transformation rough data that appear from written notes on the field. Display data as a set of information arranged

from conclusions and action taking and verification as an effort to find the meaning of things, record order, pattern, explanation, configuration, cause and effect flow and proposition.

#### 4. Result and Discussion

Early marriage as phenomenon that occur in almost all countries in the world. Early marriage in the country has a different amount and certain characteristics. There is a high one and

there is a low one



in accordance with the conditions of

the region.

In Indonesia, definition of early marriage based on marriage Regulation Number 1 year 1974 mention limitation provision age of marriage for citizen, the women are old sixteen year and the man is old nineteen years. If it's a marriage done below limitation, regulatory provision, then called early marriage.

Nevertheless, the early marriage phenomenon in Indonesia is experiencing a downward rise phase in each province area. In the year 2015 the province of West Java is the highest province in early marriage, which then several years shifted in the province of South Kalimantan which has the highest early marriage.

Fluctuations in early marriage figures in Indonesia made the country with a high level of early marriage. Indirectly, this fluctuation is associated with the central government program, where the shift in fluctuations of early wedding figures occurs when the central government program is handed over to the local government.

The tendency of local governments in implementing the central government's advanced program is more quickly oriented without considering the achievement of targets and the impact of the program on early wedding figures. It is therefore in reality more early wedding figures than numbers that are numbered in the local government.

This may be the case, according to Blank, Charles and Salle: "which presents the results of research on the possibility of lower administrative data of survey data under certain conditions in early marriage phenomenon. This is due to the systematic avoidance behavior of applicable law in certain places carried out by early marriage partners" (2009).

In Indonesia in fact, in the case of marriage applies two types of rules, namely the official rules of the Government based on Law Number 1 year 1974 and Islamic rules adopted among the

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Islamic community. The official rules of this government have the consequences of official records of the state while the Islamic rule does not have official records by the state against couples who commit marriages.

The behavior of avoidance of marriage spouse occurs when they are at a young age that is not in accordance with prevailing government regulations, so that these early marriage partners are likely to choose to use Islamic rules despite the consequences Their marriages are not officially recorded in the state.

Although there are different views based on regulation nor the scholar about limitation male and female age in an early marriage, but in this research used limitation based on applicable regulation in the Indonesia.

In Indonesia apply advanced provision of the regulation, which govern if there is a marriage done under the age limit, then the marriage must be through court proceedings or another term

must get court approval.

This advanced regulation in practice like giving way or relief for who will do early marriage. Nevertheless, early marriage done a lot used another way, such as through the village government apparatus which this village government apparatus makes change age in the marriage candidate pair.

This condition finally creates difference amount data early marriage between Religious Department Office and Population and Family Bodies Nationally Province, which Religious Department Office counts numbers based number of court agreement in each district, while Population and Family Bodies Nationally Province counting number based number of couples of childbearing age.

Diagram 1. Persentation Married Women's Age

Source: Basic Health Research, 2010

Diagram above show number of married women at age ten - fourteen year around 4.8

percent, at age fifteen - nineteen around 41.9 percent, at age twenty-twenty-four around 33.6 percent, at age twenty five-twenty twenty nine around 11.5 percent, at age thirty-thirty four around

1.9 percent and at age thirty-five above around 0.6 percent.

This data shows in detail early marriage that occurs at age ten-fourteen year around 4.8 percent and on the data couples of childbearing age at age fifteen-nineteen around 41.9 percent including data early marriage.

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Subsequently Bogue: "proposes four classifications marriage age pattern i.e: first, child marriage for marriage below eighteen year; second, early marriage for marriage age eighteen - nineteen years; third, marriage at maturity for marriage age twenty - twenty one and forty, late marriage for marriage age twenty-two and the rest" (1967).

This can be seen from calculation, logic, couples of childbearing age, which count down one year before becoming couples of childbearing age, so means more couple of childbearing age married at an early age.

Moreover, couples of childbearing age who recorded this some already have three children until four children, then it can be ascertained they make a marriage at a young age. For example, couples of childbearing age old nineteen year, then mean they do a marriage occur on age eighteen year or can even be at age fifteen year because couples of childbearing age already have children more than one child.

Subsequently, this can be proven from search for their neighbors in a village that their marriage was first accompanied by his father or mother because in the rules Islam, for married women, which whom the result from the actions of his parent before marriage or child out of wedlock then if the woman is marriage who become her marriage guardian is his mother not his father.

Search for this case can show why couples of childbearing age has children not in accordance with the distance of their marriage and can be know the reason they married first because pregnant before marriage or not before marriage such as arranged by parents.

Apparently digging information with an early marriage partner, it's not easy because early marriage partner has a feeling of shame to be interviewed about early marriage they did first. They realize and assume early marriage, they did first not an active child their age, which it should be at that age they go to school.

Until now sometimes they are feeling jealous see children their age first still going to school, for them school is fun and have a friend so you can chat and tell stories various things according to their age.

The tendency of early marriage partners do not know and do not understand toward regulation number 1 year 1974 toward marriage. They do early marriage just like that without understand toward applicable regulations. Therefore, if they are asked toward applicable regulations then they are answer don't know at all.

Beside not understanding toward regulation of marriage, that early marriage partner also don't understanding age restriction for married woman, nor for married man which are contained in the regulation. Once for them if it's suitable then they can do marriage.

An Early age, a marriage which is conducted because existence the wishes of parents they're. Thus wishes of parents become the basis which they are do early age marriage. Often their parent does marriage arranged for the son, his with manly choice parents there, which usually manly choice parents, they already those had a job in the village.

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Mostly work husband couples early age, marriage are a trucker or work other such as a mine worker. Tenantry work who manly that encourages parents marry son him, with expectations son he's happier and prosperous.

This about the couple's early age, marriage, especially the husband, there are two explanations: first, if manly the couple's early age, marriage still in school then tendency of marriage are do because, like the likes both partners, so in this condition parents they only have a role bless the marriage.

Meanwhile, second, if manly the couple's early age, marriage already have a job and his female partner still in school such as primary and secondary school then tend which determine their marriage are women's parents.

This condition cause woman accepts it marriage desire which is conducted by their parents, although there are women who early somewhat less accept the wishes of his parents however women are receive a long time.

Parents marry their child based advice on the religion of Islam through religious leaders in the village who tells the story prophet Muhammad SAW marry Siti Aisyah at age twelve years. Often stories are practiced them so they marry their children at that age.



They were obedient in practice appeals the history of the prophet Muhammad in the past. Generally the behavior of the prophet Muhammad is exemplary for the adherents of Islam, which is in the village.

Subsequently, early age marriage in a village are old habits villagers, which children who have grown up considered ready to marry. Therefore if there is a girl who are over age ten years considered adult ready to marry with manly other.

For parents in the village, girls who have grown up should be mated so the girl can learn more quickly married life and responsible for his family. Early age, marriage for parents or place of learning life experience. The girl has instantly gained valuable experience how to take care of the household. Even though parents there are participating in learning his son married.

Marriage is considered a status for the family, which if the girl who have grown up and quickly married, then the family and girls are considered success in life. But if the girl who have grown up and not married quickly, then the family and girls are considered unsuccessful in life.

Girls who get a husband will get praise by villagers with a good expression, while girls who has not got a husband will be gossiped with a bad thing, such as this is girls considered spinster.

Marital status becomes the self-esteem of a family, especially parents so this matter automatic push quickly gets married their children. A fast child gets married will increase the honor of the family.

Other than that children who get married quickly will reduce the burden family living expenses. Where's the daughter married, no longer covered by parents, but by her own husband. If the husband lives well then also expected can bear the cost of living his wife's parent. Although the logic of early marriage of the child who get husbands have a job and not on married children with people who do not have jobs.

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The child is married with peers at school, usually after marriage, which they are riding with their parents. Parents will bear the burden of living costs of his married child until the husband gets a job. Although realizing increase in the number of new members increasing the burden of life of parents.

However, if the woman had a pregnancy before marriage then the marriage is carried out impromptu with invite the close family. Here the parents are cannot do much other than to marry his son.

Although manly parent bear the shame on his son's deeds, but there is no other way other than to marry his son who are still aged fourteen or fifteen years. This early age, marriage as a responsibility the male side of the event.

Some factors that cause early marriage in rural Indonesia, namely: the first factors of change of government system. Changes in the centralization of governance systems to decentralized systems in self-marriage handling programs have had an impact on the fluctuations in the early marital figures in each province.

The fluctuation of this distinction at the highest level of the early wedding number in each province, which is alternately occupied by other provinces, such as in 2015 was occupied by the

province of West Java which then a few years later occupied the South Kalimantan province in the first stage.

The centralized system weakens the early marriage handling program in Indonesia, where the local government's tendency is not able to handle early marriage phenomenon in the region. Regional governments tend to be more oriented towards completing the program than achieving the target of early wedding figures in the region.

Then the change of governance system indirectly encourages avoidance behavior against government regulation by the marriage partner, where the early age marriage partner tends to be more freely choose the form of marital rule even though With the official his marriage not recorded consequences in the country.

Early marriage couples take the risk of not being officially recorded in the state administration so that they can marry according to their wishes, if they choose to use Indonesian rule, then they cannot do early marriage Due to age that has not fulfilled marital requirements.

Early marriage couples chose a shortcut through the majority religious rules he adopted, whereby this rule was more flexible in marriage approval at the time of their age. The principle of the majority religion legalize marriage compared to the young couple violates the rules of religion through free sex.

Second, the village governance apparatus. Village government apparatus tends to facilitate early marriage partners by doing the practice of changing the age of the young couple. The age of the early spouse adjusts to the prevailing conditions so that the young couple can marry according to state provisions.

The Village government apparatus provides a letter and woman status certificate, while elevating the number of the pair's second age. This practice was done by the village apparatus on

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the grounds that the married couple were their families. Where as part of the village government officials the family was obliged to help his family who would be married.

However, sometimes the practice of changing the age of young couples will be known when the young couple has children, where in the making of birth certificate of the Child on the date of birth of parents. A comparison of the date of his parents ' birth with the child is known that his parents married at a young age.

Third, the Islamic religious factor. This religious factor is divided into the Islamic institutional apparatus and religious leaders in rural areas. There is a tendency of Islamic institutional apparatus to facilitate early marriage due to the religious beliefs of those who consider marriage in religious rules better than young couples having intimate relationships outside the marriage.

Islamic institutional apparatus tends to refuse if there is data on high early wedding figures in the region, the apparatus seeks to cover the figures of early marriage data, they remain firmly in

his belief that adolescents are married better than The youth violated religious teachings through sexual intercourse outside of marriage.

The religious leaders of the majority or people who dipanuti in the village often teach the religious principles rigidly, not considering the state aspect. Where the religious leader in his hospital allows early marriage of young age couples due to the interest of the Prophet Muhammad

SAW Although the marriage of the prophet is known in the past indirectly live in one house but until the age His daughter is considered ripe.


The state aspect is not considered in the rule of marriage, but the rules of marriage are considered to impede people to marry based on their religious teachings. The religious leaders never explained the position of rule in marriage and its goodness for a nation.

Fourth, culture factors of rural communities. The culture of rural communities tends to still be a reference to marriage. The culture of the rural community, such as the shame that is still being denied by them. The value of this shame culture is still a reference to rural society. Where they will feel embarrassed if his son is unmarried and his son violates the rules in the social relationship of marriage.

The condition encourages parents to marry their children if it is considered as an adult who is characterized by changing body shape and there are men who want to marry their children. Women should be name from their age not from changes in body shape which is considered to exhibit reproductive readiness.

Marriage like this happens if the man already has a job in the private, not looking at any kind of work as long as it has income and is responsible with his wife and family of his wife. The amount of income the man will marry his son does not become his little big size. The assumption of the man's income will increase itself through his provision from God if they are married later. Especially if you have children, then the sustenance will also continue to grow.

Fifth, the social status of rural communities. In rural areas the status becomes important in the lives of its people. This Status as

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a symbol for the success and

honor of a family or someone.

For example, married or unmarried status is a measure of the success of life for people and families.

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Rural communities will be discussing the status of a married person, if a person is not married will always be talked about and turned over until the person has a live spouse. Marriage is assumed to be the end life journey of a teenager, and if it is married, then the person is said to be adults in his life.

Many families will marry their children ASAP, let alone their child is seen often go with a man. They will ask for the seriousness of the relationship, especially if the man comes from a high social status where there is a kind of pride in them if his child marries a man who has a high social

status.

Some of the above factors strongly encourage early marriage in rural Indonesia. Early marriage is assumed to be a good deed, which must be done because it is considered to bring a common good to one and his family.

This is the reason why early marriage management programs are less successful in rural Indonesia, there are differences in perception between rural communities and governments tend to encourage people to ignore the program and They continue to run their local perception.

Rural local conditions have lasted so long that there is no other option for teenagers to ignore local conditions, where forever, they will continue to follow the local conditions in marriage. Teenagers are thus trapped to continue preserving these local conditions which are considered to be of the common good.

Aizer: "raises the tendency of teenagers growing in a significant environment will precisely reduce their future thinking behavior in everyday life. Teenage decision-making skills will be ineffective in the local environment around them" (2017).

Some impact early age, marriage at rural communities, as follows, namely: first, dropout school. Trends that occur early marriage is done at the time of the couple school at level primary school and first education school so that after marriage then the couple do not continue school. For example, if the woman still studying in primary school then the woman will quit school, otherwise if the man still studying in first education school then the man will quit school.

Second, the cost of living the family. The tendency of early marriage not owning a house so come to settle in the home by parents. Therefore manly the couple's early age, marriage has no job, then cost of his life often assisted by parents. In the long run living conditions with increase in house occupants cause increasing living costs, which are an automatic increasing economic burden that family.

Third, divorce. The tendency of early age, marriage partners do not have mature experience in marriage and have a low level of education so the couple's early age, marriage very vulnerable to domestic shocks such as little problem arises can lead to divorce. Sometimes it's just a problem dissent or difference of attitude in responding to a problem daily life, can push they are to do divorce or split up.

## 5. Conclusion

Some factors that cause early marriage in rural Indonesia, namely the change of the

governance system of centralization to decentralized, village governance apparatus, majority rural

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religion, culture of rural communities and Social status of rural communities. The impact of early marriage in rural communities includes dropouts, family life burdens and divorce.

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