



Underage Marriage: Asserting 'Bapak's Domination Over Girls From Traditional Setting to Patriarchy

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ABSTRACT

According to the public, under-age marriage is a social matter that is contrary to social norms. However, it does not happen to the people of *Kasisang's* belief in *Bantaeng* Regency. The legacy of tradition, it is the notion about it which needs to be preserved. This study focuses on the socio-economic conditions and patriarchal culture behind that indigenous tradition. This study uses the qualitative method with phenomenology approach particularly Simone de Beauvoir's existentialist phenomenology as the unit of data analysis. In-depth interview and analysis of document use to acquire necessary information. The technique analysis data by Colaizzi is used to analyze data. The results of this study illustrate that the tradition has long been a social institution of the community there. Addressing sexual promiscuity and economic burden are the main motivation of this tradition. In addition, it also legalizes patriarchal culture which has Structure, Massive, and Systematic support (SMS) from social institutions, so that the tradition was naturally taken for granted. Considering all these things, the re-consistency and firmness of each regional institution needs to be performed with careful, coordinated, and full commitment, so that it can confine the mobility of that tradition besides doing socialization and providing adequate employment opportunities for the community in advance.



INTRODUCTION

Having discussed an under-age marriage or child marriage by most people is a difficult thing to accept socially. The aspect of health and the agenda of government are two of many factors that indicate the public rejection (Mulia, 2018). According to unicef.org (UNICEF, 2021) informed that getting married before 18 are more likely to have domestic violence experiences and less likely to remain in school for girls. Those indicators are problems of early marriage. Nevertheless, those problems are not seen the same by another community. They even take this activity as an indigenous tradition that should be preserved and passed on to the next generation. They are people who live in *Kasisang* Backwoods, Village of *Bonto Loe*, Sub-District of *Bisappu*, *Bantaeng* Regency. For them, this tradition is something that is not contradicted because it has become a habit in their daily lives. It habits because it helps lowering economic burdens, avoiding sexual promiscuity, and keeping safe family's image. Thus, it has become an inseparable part of the *Kasisang* community.

The child marriage is a real portrait of the life of girls and their so-called the '*Bapak*' (father). When entering puberty, they must prepare themselves to carry out this tradition even though there may be inner conflict or rejection within them. Carrying out this tradition is a choice that cannot be denied or rejected. The choice does not get them involved in any decision concerning their future. Their limited involvement has proven

how strong a father's judgment is in the family, especially concerning marriage. Hofstede points out that society does not propose justice, but injustice. (Priandono, 2016). It also occurs in a culture that he believes concentrates with power distance. A culture in a family, for instance, provides the power distance between parents and their children. The *Kasisang* family in *Bonto Loe* village has declared power distance between a father and his daughter or son.

Some researchers have not yet presented this tradition as a basis to think or behave towards others in a social context. (Arimurti & Nurmala, 2017) argued that the level of education or low knowledge encourages girls into the under-age marriage activity. On the other hand, (Widyawati & Pierewan, 2017) stated that the low economic level positively influences the implementation of it. Meanwhile, religious belief does not contribute to this tradition. The last study from (Rahayu, 2017) has proved that socio-economic is the issue of under-age marriage which is almost likely to be the same with other studies. It indicates that there is no any study yet to try to see child marriage in another perspective like critical paradigm and to prove that there is a big matter behind that early marriage.

There is nothing wrong with the three studies above. However, discussing child marriage as the tradition is drama series that needs still to be studied further. That tradition is positioned as a cognitive normative that justifies every reason in favor of it. As a result, the



expression and participation of girls are limited by a system of this tradition. (Marks, Lam, & McHale, 2009) They cannot be directly involved in determining their life choices. This tradition has hampered the development and expression of them in the *Kasisang* Backwoods. This matter is going to be discussed by the researcher which was never examined by the previous studies before by using Simone de Beauvoir's perspective in seeing that matter. Using this perspective considers vitally that female-like child girls are not the object or material that can be ruled by family, particularly a father in the context of biology, material, and psychoanalysis. (Prameswari, 2010) What is happening to child girls in *Kasisang* Backwoods is so related to the issue of Simone's case. By the end, some strategies can be developed to neutralize that problem in *Kasisang*.

The existence of this tradition unconsciously has covered many local institutions. They all realize that early marriage is disagreeable with the law of marriage (Number 16, Year of 2019, Chapter 7), but they constantly carry on this tradition. By giving a dispensation of age through the law to that tradition has already legalized and expanded the patriarchal culture through the tradition of child marriage. It illustrates that there is a strong link between local institutional legalization and that tradition. This view makes this study have a well-built point which makes it contrast with those previous studies. (Nimrah & Sakaria, 2015) figured out that

most states which have a patriarchal system are always to get men over women whom they always dominate both in domestic and public areas. Accordingly, the women have lost their power and their opportunity to be limited by the local institution itself which should protect from that indigenous tradition.

Although this tradition tends to refute the views of the general public about it, it cannot hide that this tradition also shapes a patriarchal practice or domination of so-called the '*Bapak*' (father) towards his daughters. The girls' future is in turn determined by the father's ruling. They also cannot have their own childhood because of their fathers. In other words, the *Bapak's* judgment is the daughter's judgment. The father's courage becomes the critical essence of his position as the major and first subject in the social system (Israpil, 2017). In some ways, every individual in the family has the same rights, including daughters. They have their rights to make a choice to what they want without any disruption from their father (Nawir & Risfaisal, 2015). At this point, the researcher wants to show that not only the cultural aspect that is neatly wrapped in the tradition, but it also demonstrates the presence of patriarchal culture through local institutional legalization which makes certain women or girls lose their rights.

The story of under-age marriage in *Kasisang* Backwoods, *Bonto Loe* Village, *Bisappu* Sub-district, *Bantaeng* Regency does not only signify a tradition, but also the



power relation built by the 'Bapak' to their daughters. To some extent, communication and relationship require intersubjective mutual understanding in building up a social cohesion that is zero from domination. (Olifia & Gora, 2017) From psychology of communication particularly psycho-humanism illustrates that the existence of human beings can only be found when they are seen intersubjectively as mankind or subject to subject, not subject to object (Rakhmat, 2021). For this reason, this paper is intended to see how the condition of the social structure of society in constructing the practice of early marriage tradition and most of it to highlight the patriarchal practice behind the tradition.

METHODOLOGY

This study used a qualitative method. Helaluddin dan Wijaya (Helaluddin & Wijaya, 2019) said that the qualitative method had the same meaning as quality. The quality indicated too high degree or essential meanings of an object or certain social phenomenon. It was different from the quantitative that only saw a phenomenon based on a numerical standard.

This study was a type of phenomenology approach. Rationality was studied from people's experiences that make things like child marriage understandable and intelligible for them (Sloan & Bowe, 2014). Through those experiences can examine some objects that make child marriage was rational for people in

Kasisang Backwoods. The phenomenon of the child marriage could be seen meaningfully from the perspective of the existential phenomenology of Simone de Beauvoir. Her perspective illustrated that all women had experienced inferiority and minority. They were not essential to mankind, but incidental human beings. Their 'being' in society was constructed by a system of so-called culture or tradition. At last, this perspective of Simone de Beauvoir was used to get more awareness about some indications that managed to establish that tradition and how that tradition could run well without any disruptions.

There were two main data sources. They were in-depth interview and document analysis. In that context, the researcher already had had in-depth interview with the key informant, namely Selvi Rahayu (25-year-old). She was chosen because she had well enough insight of that tradition as the Chief of *Kasisang* Backwoods and had enough experiences of it from her family who mostly got early married. She came up to complement the second sources of this study which was document analysis. She had been interviewed approximately for two months, from June to July of 2020.

The last (second) data came from the use of the academic document written by Selvi Rahayu (Rahayu, 2017). The researcher used this document to summarize some significant information about child marriage in *Kasisang* Backwoods to equip the information from Selvi



Rahayu in responding the main issues of this study which were the agenda of socio-economic and patriarchal culture.

Finally, the significant data was analyzed by Colaizzi's analyzing method as presented in the following table 1 (Sobur, 2013).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The Interpretation of Child Marriage Tradition of the key

informant, Selvi Rahayu (25-year-old).

This study revealed some information with Selvi Rahayu as the key informant who also work as the head of backwoods concerning with the issue of the under-age marriage in *Kasisang Backwoods, Bonto Loe Village, Bisappu District, Bantaeng Regency* as presented in the following table 2.

Table 2: The interpretation of Child Marriage by Selvi Rahayu.

Category of senses	The interpretation of Child Marriage	Sources
Reducing immorality	" <i>Takut anaknya nakal</i> " (Afraid to see their daughters and sons are delinquent).	Interview with Selvi Rahayu
Reducing immorality	" <i>Takut hamil di luar nikah</i> " (Afraid to see their daughters and sons do sexual promiscuity).	Interview with Selvi Rahayu
Father's supremacy	" <i>Keluarga menomorsatukan Siri' (harga diri) dalam keluarga</i> " (Family has considered highly family's dignity as supremacy)	Interview with Selvi Rahayu
Local Institution/Tradition	" <i>Pernikahan dini sudah turun temurun</i> " (Child marriage is legacy).	Interview with Selvi Rahayu

Source: Author's compiling (2022)

Documents' Meanings of the Child Marriage Tradition

This study also revealed that child marriage tradition had been interpreted mostly at the same points. There were four types of meanings of child marriage taken from Selvi

Rahayu's documents comprising a local institution or tradition; a socio-economic; deprivation immorality; and patriarchy practice found out on those documents. These meanings were summarized and mapped as presented in the following table 3.



Table 3: The meanings of Child Marriage taken from Documents of Selvi Rahayu's Thesis.

Category of senses	Documents' meanings of Child Marriage	Sources/Direct Quotation
Local institution/tradition	Sri Erni (17 years old) said that <i>"Mungkin sudah budaya dari dulu. Nenek kami, orang tua kami, hingga kakak-kakak kami juga menikah dini"</i> (It is an old culture maybe. Our grandmother, parents, and sisters do child marriage).	Selvi Rahayu's Thesis
Local institution/tradition	Riskayani (20 years old) said that <i>"Pernikahan dini memang sudah budaya dari dulu. Orang tua dan masyarakat sekitar mendukung pernikahan ini"</i> (A child marriage is certainly a culture. Our parents and people do not get any objection of it).	Selvi Rahayu's Thesis
Local institution/tradition	Amiruddin (21 years old) stated that <i>"Kata orang tua saya, pernikahan dini memang budaya dari dulu"</i> (My parents' argued that a child marriage is a way of life).	Selvi Rahayu's Thesis
Low economic	Sri Erni and Wandu's parents work as farmers.	Selvi Rahayu's Thesis
Low economic	Reski Amalia and Amiruddin's parents are farmers.	Selvi Rahayu's Thesis
Low economic	Riskayani and Irwandi Judahi's parents are farmers.	Selvi Rahayu's Thesis
Reducing immorality	Sri Eni said that <i>"Mungkin saya akan nakal. Pernikahan dini menyelamatkan saya dari pergaulan bebas"</i> (I am going probably to be a rogue. An under-age marriage keep safe me from promiscuity).	Selvi Rahayu's Thesis
Reducing immorality	Riskayani and Irwandhi Judahi said that <i>"Pernikahan dini dilaksanakan karena takut terjerumus pada pergaulan bebas"</i> (A child marriage is done to avoid sexual promiscuity).	Selvi Rahayu's Thesis

Source: Author's managing (2022).



Local Tradition: Judging Legitimacy of Child Marriage as Local Institution.

The tradition of child marriage in *Kasisang* Backwoods, *Bonto Loe* Village, *Bisappu* District, *Bantaeng* Regency was an identity that not only introduced their presence to the outworld but also asserted their position on the issue of early marriage. This indigenous tradition had become accustomed to the lives of girls who lived in that village. It was not surprising that many of them were found out doing early marriage. Grandma and Mother had carried out and inherited this tradition as well.

Sri Erni (17-year-old) was an informant who said that child marriage was an indigenous tradition in *Kasisang* Backwoods that had been going on for a long time and involved our grandmothers, parents, and sisters, so it was not something to worry about. Meanwhile, another informant named Amiruddin (21-year-old) stated the same thing that it was a culture that had existed for a long time. Having underlined the views of the two previous informants, Riskayani (20-year-old) likewise ensured that this tradition was part of the habits of people in this village and this was fully supported by parents and the local community.

Socially, being part of this tradition had a quite good consequence in terms of social recognition (prestige). Sri Erni said that getting married at a young age was a positive achievement in society. Therefore, holding marriage at an early age was relatively acceptable for most girls. This acceptance cannot be separated from the view that marriage at an early age was aimed to avoid the cost of sexual promiscuity. Sri Erni said that to avoid sexual promiscuity, we should

better do early marriage. In other words, sexual promiscuity in this village was a serious problem that needed to be prevented through marriage at an early age.

The process of early marriage was generally carried out utilizing matchmaking between the two families. Although at the beginning of the matchmaking, many of the main resistance came from the perpetrators of it, they were also happy along the journey of their marriage. This was conveyed by Riskayani that she and her husband did not love each other, but they were able to get through it with evidence of a child who was gifted to us by Almighty God. After obtaining approval from both parties, the marriage took place at the Office of Religious Affairs (*Kantor Urusan Agama*). Because the age of the perpetrators was generally far from the applicable rules (Law No. 1 of 1974 Article 7 Paragraph 1), sometimes the **KUA** gave dispensation or even manipulated the age of the perpetrators.

It was conveyed by Amiruddin that his family at **KUA** assisted to arrange the marriage and proposed to him to change his age so that he was much older even the head of the marriage ceremony did not have a problem with it. Sri Erni stated the same thing that the **KUA** manipulated the wedding date to match the existing regulations, which was 16-year-old because at that time she was 15-year-old.

From a legal point of view, of course, what the Office of Religious Affairs (**KUA**) had done was wrong, but for the **KUA** it was not. For them, avoiding problems of the prohibition of under-age marriage was the main thing that needed to be avoided rather than



questioning it. In addition, the local government also had no problem with it. They had contributed to its success. Amiruddin said also that the local government and KUA permitted us to get married at an early age.

He indeed said again that the local government and KUA permitted them to marry at an early age to avoid various problems, whether it was a riot or a fight. Under-age marriage was also found in other areas of *Bantaeng* Regency. This was reported by CNN Indonesia (Eko, 2018) that there had been an early marriage between Fitrah Ayu (14-year-old) and Syamsuddin (16-year-old) in Letta Village, *Bantaeng* Regency.

The story was not much different from the under-age marriage couples in *Bonto Loe* Village, community leaders, village priests, and several stakeholders in Letta Village agreed to marry the two of them according to the applicable rules (request for dispensation) in the religious court. The Child Protection Agency (LPA) (Basri, 2019) presented that the percentage of underage marriages in the South Sulawesi area was 30.5% which put South Sulawesi in the fifth stage according to the Chairperson of the South Sulawesi LPA, Fadiah Machmud.

The data indicated that under-age marriage was not strange for people in South Sulawesi. It was held for various reasons. One of the reasons was a tradition that had meaning and value in society as problem-solving in the form of sexual promiscuity which was usually faced by teenagers. This tradition indirectly prevented this despicable act. At the same time, this also reinforced the hegemony of this tradition against other discourses. For example, the legal

discourse had weakened when this tradition was fought for.

In the end, the under-age marriage in *Kasisang* Backwoods could be seen as a tradition, identity, and discourse struggle. This condition was a cultural event that proved how this tradition was held very strong by local people while beating other issues such as medical and law. At this point, the tradition of under-age marriage was a collective moral imperative of *Kasisang* indigenous people that manifested in a social institution.

Local Tradition: The Intercourse of Child Marriage and Low Economic.

The under-age marriage in *Bonto Loe* Village is a tradition that signifies the socio-economic conditions of the local community. The limited economy is a description of their socio-economic conditions. Most of them have professions as farmers besides traders or gardeners. These conditions have forced teenagers to be unable to continue their education and choose to help their parents and even get married at a young age. The strong stigma of people who believe that education does not bring much change to their socio-economic conditions has resulted from the under-age marriage to grow up continuously. Thus, even broader access to education cannot prevent this tradition.

Having a low economy makes it difficult for them to compromise with this tradition. They consider the choice to marry at an early age as the best choice in their family. By getting married, they can reduce the economic burden or earn income owned by the family. The under-age marriage is a way out of the socio-economic problems faced by many poor



families in *Kasisang* Backwoods, a village of *Bonto Loe*. For example, the parents of a married couple, Sri Erni and Wandu, both of them are farmers.

Meanwhile, the parents of other informants also have the same profession as Sri Erni and Wandu's parents. This background is enough to prove that there is a relatively significant relationship between economic conditions and the decision to marry at a young age. In other words, the awareness of carrying out marriage at a young age is also determined by the socio-economic conditions of the community. The more poverty, the greater the possibility of getting married.

The tradition of under-age marriage in the *Bonto Loe* community is an effort to reduce the economic problem that often burdens families in *Bonto Loe* Village. This problem has cost so many cases of under-age marriage almost every year. They do not have any job which can meet their daily needs. The farming profession is a job that is economically difficult to cover the needs of the family. Sastratmadja (Adiguna, 2014) figured out that most people still consider the farming profession to be poor and detrimental work. The small profit as a farmer is enough reason for families to marry off their fellows due to getting fear that it will make it difficult for them in the future. (Parsons, et al., 2015)

Economic limitation in turn has preserved the tradition of child marriage.

Local Tradition: Revealing Under-Age Marriage as Immorality Question.

The under-age marriage is a socio-cultural tradition that implies the dependence and obedience of the *Bonto Loe* community in their daily lives.

Having not been concerned with gossip and other consequences, they continue to carry out this tradition without feeling the anxiety of getting negative stigma as a respect for their ancestors. The loss of concern about the negative stigma of perpetrators of under-age marriage cannot be separated from their direct experience or especially the experience of previous perpetrators of it.

This is enough to convince them to stick to this habit. Amiruddin (21-year-old) said that there is no negative impact from it, especially on the health aspect, which has been promoted to be a serious threat to perpetrators of it. This knowledge in the end becomes a new insight for them as well as an instrument of justification and defense when some threats or challenges come from outside to provoke this tradition.

This tradition is not just a ritual practice, but it is believed to be a kind of problem-solving that has been faced by teenagers, namely sexual promiscuity. Sri Erni clearly stated that the affirmative action for under-age marriage has saved me from misbehaving. Misbehavior can be interpreted as sexual promiscuity. This tradition has the philosophical value of the *Kasisang* community in witnessing and solving various problems faced by teenagers today, especially regarding to sexual promiscuity. The value in this tradition is an effort by them to describe the current youth associations that tend to be negative so that maintaining the good name and identity of *Kasisang's* adolescent girls is an obligation.

It is undeniable that the implementation of this tradition is denied at the beginning by the perpetrators of the tradition, but they finally realize and accept the family's decision over time.



According to Selvi Rahayu (25-year-old), a Backwoods Head in *Kasisang* Backwoods, *Bonto Loe* Village, said that sexual sexual promiscuity is a serious problem in this area and the victims are too many. That statement is a strong signal that under-age marriage is presented as a social control agenda. Furthermore, Selvi Rahayu figured out that this tradition can reduce the number of sexual promiscuity.

On the other hand, the tradition of under-age marriage in *Kasisang* Backwoods *Bonto Loe* signifies the dominance of narrative text of this tradition over narration legal and medical texts. KUA, the headman, and even the local government do not give a serious response or are firmly against this marriage legally despite many violations in it. This points out that this tradition has received a lot of support from the residents. This form of support is usually done by giving a legal dispensation even the manipulation of age to pave the child marriage.

Adolescent Girls of *Kasisang*: Asserting Domination of 'Bapak' Through Indigenous Tradition of Child Marriage.

The historical bond of indigenous tradition for adolescent girls of *Kasisang* makes it difficult for them to get out of their status and at the same time their femininity path. This fact puts their entity to feel 'lost' and becomes 'other'. The presence of the 'other' is often seen as a serious threat and a burden to men, so it seems that there is a continuous and consistent effort to eliminate this 'other' figure. The elimination of them in social practice indicates they are particularly objects that can be treated straight. The object means nothing to hear, nothing to

see, even nothing to sympathize with. The incident of under-age marriage in *Kasisang* Backwoods, *Bonto Loe* Village can be interpreted as an effort to silence or eliminate the entity and their awareness of the existence of their bodies that are forced to submit to being slaves of a tradition. Martin Buber said *I-it* relationship. (Abun & Magallanes, 2018). However, Carl Rogers argued that social interaction should make people grow up and actualize human becoming. (Rakhmat, 2021).

For *Kasisang*'s adolescent girls, getting married at an early age looks like a non-negotiable obligation—until this article is compiled, there have been two adolescent girls who get married in early 2021. Making any offers indicates there is an effort to show resistance to a long-preserved tradition. They are defined through this marriage tradition. (Becker, 2010). The more they can carry out and maintain this tradition, the more prestigious it will be. The condition is unwittingly being socio-cultural engineering for setting aside them because they are considered as a family economic burden.

In spite of being aware of it; they are unable to free themselves because they are already controlled by the male in their family as the sole right holder and authority, namely the '*Bapak*' (father). The '*Bapak*' or father becomes someone that must be respected. It is clearly said by Hofstede that in a family which has a huge power distance, the father is afraid of everyone and has a hierarchy position to decide everything that makes him comfortable (Priandono, 2016). This social construction is a determining factor for them to have experienced dominance over men (Purnomo, 2017).



This construction certainly does not simply take place, but it is supported by various parties by Structure, Massive, and Systematic (SMS) manners.

The systematic aspect represents how the child marriage is carried out in a neat and patterned manner without any impression of coercion and resistance from various parties. This is also highlighted by the value of that indigenous tradition which not only manages as a belief that offers a response to community problems in *Kasisang* Backwoods of *Bonto Loe* Village (e.g. poverty) but also social prestige that can provide sufficient social sphere for their activities in the community (Dini, 2017).

Simone de Beauvoir argued that the existence of institutionalized early marriage makes it difficult for women, instead of getting oppression against them (Heriyani, 2018). This explains that this activity has long been well-coordinated and planned as a tradition. Therefore, it is necessary to make extra efforts to reform the existence of that tradition to gain their freedom as women.

Another aspect that is no less important for the continuation of this tradition of child marriage is the massive situation. The massive situation denotes that this tradition is carried out by many adolescent girls in *Kasisang* Backwoods, the village of *Bonto Loe*. It points out that it is not difficult to find married couples who are underage. This massive situation allows many of them psychologically to be brave and not hesitate to carry out the tradition which has been going on for a long time. Thus, this massive situation further strengthens their courage to marry even though there are challenges that come after on their way.

The last issue is a structured standard. The under-age marriage gives a signal of the existence of a structural order that bolsters the continuity of this tradition. This order tends to give dispensation so that this tradition is not only invulnerable with society and culture but also legal. The Office of Religious Affairs (Kantor Urusan Agama), the attorney Officer, the Regional Police, and the Head of Village/Backwoods are structural components of state institution that facilitate the sustainability of this child marriage tradition.

Local institutions which build up systematically, structurally, and massively there make the situation and social processes running well and warming. In addition, the way we talk to people is set by the system of our dynamic culture. It declares that when early marriage is calculated as a formal and normal tradition, then it also takes place to the social process (communication). In consequence, there is almost no conflict setting up there because this local institution which manifested in under-age marriage tradition has directly determined people's thought and their interaction to something normal or regular social activity. (Mas'udah, 2014) figured out that culture and communication are a single system which has a mutual relation.

The intervention of government officials through a marriage institution is very possible for them to control and determine the future of adolescent girls there. The authority and legality of this marriage institution have increasingly put them as the 'other' on male's position including their '*Bapak*' (father).



Simone de Beauvoir (Heriyani, 2018) argued that although marriage (institution) provides comfort and happiness, it has eliminated women's freedom and creativity and even becomes a divided self due to experiencing alienation in principle. In the end, these girls get labels or stereotypes that cannot be avoided because they only have one choice, namely to be devout (*shaleha*) to their father and virtuous (*shaleha*) to their husbands. The label or stereotype put them as inferior, a position that does not require them to build a choice or assumption other than what has been formalized in society through the socio-economic structure and even religion.

At last, it can be seen that patriarchal culture is to be true as the local institution has no need to question the local community (Rokhima, 2014) (Fadlyana, Eddy, & Larasaty, 2009). They believe in that local institution as something that calls God's will. It signifies that what has been God's will must be obedient and respectful. The idea or any movement to fight back on it will be considered a disgraceful signal. In consequence, the value of local institutions has a high degree as well as the value of moral religion. Both of them cannot be separated or controverted due to the fact that they are reciprocal.

CONCLUSION

This study has proven that child marriage in *Kasisang* Backwoods, *Bonto Loe* Village, *Bisappu* District, *Bantaeng* Regency is the indigenous tradition that carries on up to date. The implementation of it that gets involved adolescent girls (10-18 years old) has made fundamental implications for the development of the under-age marriage in *Kasisang*

Backwoods. It has experienced a shift in understanding to child marriage which has been banned and opposed by society in general. It gets a proper place and exclusive attention for the *Kasisang* community. The *Kasisang* are not worried about the threats or consequences of it. At the same time, they saw this under-age marriage not only as an indigenous tradition that has to be carried out, but also it gives more additional value to them.

Turning down the sexual promiscuity, not being rouge, and making less of the economic burden due to they are poor are real configurations of those values that the local community to be anxious about. The high cases of sexual promiscuity are considered to be solved by this tradition as well as the economic problems that have been concerned by the people of *Bonto Loe*.

The farming profession, which is mostly carried out by residents, does not guarantee the welfare of their families at all. This lack of guarantee emerges to force them to then choose to marry off their fellows at an early age. This is at least able to reduce the duty for parents or the head of the family (father) for their welfare.

On the other hand, this local tradition also puts up another story behind the under-age marriage. It is convinced that the '*Bapak*' (father) has dominated every decision-making in the family. He is the first and foremost subject in the family system. He dominates and controls every right and obligation carried out by every member of the family. This includes the obligation to carry out the tradition of child marriage. The future of the fellow's household cannot be separated from his



authority. For the reasons of sexual promiscuity and economic matters, the 'Bapak' can 'force' their fellows to carry out marriage even if they are not old enough. The stage of the tradition of under-age marriage has finally shifted into a patriarchal practice. Thus, the power relations shown by the 'Bapak' in this tradition have ensured that the practice of patriarchal culture is deeply embedded in the *Kasisang* community.

The strong support from the system and social structure in society also perpetuates this patriarchal practice. Starting from the Head of the Village/Backwoods, the Regional Prosecutor's Office, the Regional Security Apparatus, to the Office of Religious Affairs (*Kantor Urusan Agama*) are part of the system and structure that preserves this tradition. When there are fellows who want to get married and it is known that they are not old enough, the local regional institution will give an age dispensation, so that they can get married. The lack of firmness and consistency in implementing the rules make this tradition difficult to break out. In other words, this tradition has been running Structurally, Massively, and Systematically (SMS), so that it is complicated to change the people's perspective on it.

The challenge ahead is the issue of limiting the under-age marriage from the traditional trap that has become a habit of the *Kasisang* community.

It is undeniable that this tradition can reduce social matters (sexual promiscuity) and sufficient economic certainty, but we cannot also turn our eyes out to the various problems caused by this tradition. At the same time, the challenge also comes from the owner of

the family authority, namely the 'Bapak' who appears to call out that this tradition should apparently carry on.

Re-consistency and firmness of each regional institution needed to be done carefully, coordinated, and full of commitment, so that it can restrict the mobility of the indigenous tradition. In addition, it is also necessary to conduct socialization related to the cost of under-age marriage and provide decent employment opportunities for both parents and young men and women, so that the economic burden is no longer a reason for their justification in carrying out this tradition.

CREDIT AUTHORSHIP CONTRIBUTION STATEMENT

Name: Jalaluddin. B, the only one who managed all alone this paper starting from Introduction, Methodology, Result and Discussion, to Conclusion (IMRAD).

DECLARATION OF COMPETING INTEREST

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