



## Early Marriage in Jebres Sub District of Surakarta City

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### **Abstract**

This research aimed to describe early marriage in Jebres Sub District, Surakarta City. This study was a descriptive qualitative research on the people in Jebres Sub District, Surakarta City. The informants consisted of Lurah (Village Head), chairperson of PKK (Family Welfare Empowerment), Religion Figure, Public Figure, Youth Figure, Marriage Registering Officer, Rw Chief, Rt Chief., Chairperson of Religion Affairs Office of Jebres Sub District, and Chairperson of Religion Ministry of Surakarta City. Data was collected through observation, in-depth interview, and documentation. Data analysis was carried out using data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing. The result of research showed that early marriage was conducted due to instrumental rational action value rational action, affective action, traditional action, in the form of focusing on working to support family as the form of responsibility to family after married as family and environment consider that early marriage is a way out of sin due to free sex among adolescents, biological impulse of sexual need thereby having sexual intercourse before marriage leading to pregnancy. Family made early marriage the solution to the problem of pregnancy before marriage.

**Keywords:** Instrumental Rationality; Value Rational; Affective; Traditional; Early Marriage

### **Introduction**

Finally, early marriage rate increases continuously in many countries like Africa, Southwest Asia, Ethiopia, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and North Nigeria (Ghosh., 2011; Naveed, Sofia Butt., Khalid Manzoor., 2015; Ferdousi., 2014; Sulaiman and Kamal-deen Olawale 2016; Atim., 2017; Bhanji and Neelam Saleem Punjani., 2014; Marcos., et al, 2017). Ethiopia is a state with highest early marriage proportion in the world. Intact and in-depth tradition, religion, and economy are the main reasons for the persistent discriminative practice in this state. Because constructing household earlier, girls develop psychological and emotional trauma, violence, and social service declination, reproduction health and migration problems. Thus, improving the stakeholders' sensitivity, educating girls, and supporting escape of girls becoming the victim of early marriage will be the way to mitigate adverse consequence of children marriage in Ethiopia in the future (Mengistu., 2015).

Early marriage is a problem difficult to solve, even recently Indian government has amended its law to prohibit early marriage, but children marriage in India remains to be conducted silently by rural retarded people, because to them conducting early marriage is usual. Thus, the legal framework developed does not remove the early marriage problem (Ghosh., 2011).

Early marriage remains to occur in Pakistan because law of children marriage has not been synchronized or implemented well. Children marriage occurs largely with the excuse of poverty, literacy and gender inequality. Early marriage impacts on physical, social, psychological, economic, and sexual abuse problems, and dropout out primary or secondary education (Naveed, et al., 2015).

Ferdousi (2014) states that marriage penetrates into Bangladesh, with 64 percents of girls getting married before 18 year-age. Early pregnancy often becomes a reason of early marriage, and a third of 15-19 year-old girls have been mothers or pregnant currently in Bangladesh. Although children marriage is prohibited legally, children marriage incidence still occurs in rural areas of Bangladesh. Children marriage is social habit conducted by society, particularly girls in Bangladesh. There are many reasons of conducting early marriage, primarily poverty, superstition, inadequate social benefit and inadequate consciousness.

Sulaiman and Kamal-deen Olawale (2016) suggest that marriage is generally supported with Islam; marriage age has not been determined by hadits (Prophet Muhammad Pbuh's say) or in Quran. Maturity, according to age-specific trend, is mentioned in Muslim texts as attribute of wisdom expected to be developed in boys and girls that in turn is necessary to them to undertake marriage responsibility and to avoid unfavorable physical behavior and social outcome that can result from children marriage.

In Indonesia, viewed from Central Statistic Bureau (BPS) there are more 700 millions women getting married before 18-year age, and even about 250 millions of them getting married before 15-year age. Time progress and development generates transformation of communication and information in various areas impacting on social and cultural values. Riskesdas' (2010) data shows that more than 22,000 (0.2%) young women in age interval of 10-14 year in Indonesia have gotten married before 15-year age. Everyday, more than 41,000 women get married before 18-year age (Listyarti., 2017).

Early marriage is the one conducted in less than 18-year age occurring in adolescence. Marriage under 18-year age is in contradiction with the children's right to get education, pleasure, health, and freedom of expression (UNICEF., 2011).

Early marriage problem has attracted everyone's attention because early marriage conducted by adolescents tends to exert negative effect. Early marriage practice in girls will exert physical and psychological effect, and the girls are also risky of developing infectious disease that can result in death. Although there is a regulation prohibiting early marriage, it remains to continue due to inadequate resource capacity and commitment built in society, and cultural phenomenon implanted in individual or group. To change such the culture, a process is likely required by means of affecting their culture through education, mobilization, and law or policy. Education and mobilization should walk along with law (Rembe, et al., 2011).

Atim (2017) suggests that early marriage exerts in-depth physical, intellectual, psychological, and emotional effect, even removes the girls' opportunity of getting education and growing; in addition, they must deliver baby prematurely and those effects will likely occur in a lifetime. However many communities, particularly in North Niger, keep supporting an idea that the girls should get married early or after puberty. Parents or family heads considers that marriage, to girls and boys, is a strategy of building family to relieve economic burden or of protecting girls from unexpected sexual progress.

Children born from mother getting married early has higher malnutrition risk than those born from mother getting married in majority age (Raj., et al 2010). WHO (2012) reports that complicated pregnancy and delivery are the leading cause of death among 15-19 year girls in developing countries. Out of 16 millions female adolescents giving birth annually, it is estimated that 90% have gotten married and 50 thousands of them have died. In addition, maternal death and newly born infant risks are 50 % higher in mothers under 20 year-age than in pregnant women above 20 year-age.

Delaying early marriage among young wives (10-14 to 15-17 year-ages) exert positive effect on women and children's health in Sub Saharan Africa (SSA) and Southwest Asia (SWA) and improves maternal neotetanus vaccination in women aged 15-17 – 18 year, so that the advantage gotten postpartum is likely higher in the young women group (10-14 year age) delaying early marriage (Marcos, et al., 2017).

Bhanji and Neelam Saleem Punjani (2014) reveal the need for cross-sector partnership and collaboration such as education, health, and justice, and should include girls and boys, their family, community, religion and traditional leaders, government, and other stakeholders to remove this threat.

To reduce early age marriage rate, Indonesian government develop regulation about the marriage age limit in Article 7 clause (1) of Republic of Indonesia's Law Number 1 of 1974 about marriage stating that men should be 19 (nineteen) years old and women 16 (sixteen) years old. Therefore, when a man under 19 and a woman under 16 years get married, they should ask the religion court for dispensation and BKKBN's manuals (1998) mentions that ideal marriage is the one conducted by a man aged at least 25 years and a woman at least 20 years because under that age biologically reproduction organs are still in the process toward maturity thereby having not been prepared yet to make sexual intercourse with opposite sex, moreover until being pregnant and giving birth.

Early marriage conducted by adolescents is an action, behavior, or action (Rizter and Goodman., 2004). Action and behavior intended, according to Max Weber, are automatic behavior not involving mind. Stimulus comes and behavior occurs, with a little pause only between stimulus and response, and then slightly differently, the action is considered as occurring when individual puts subjective meaning on their action.

Various early marriage problems within society and early marriage rate increase continuously, including in Surakarta City. Data of Surakarta City's Religion Ministry Office reports 27 early marriages occurring in Surakarta City in the period of January – November 2017. Surakarta City has 5 sub districts: Banjarsari, Jebres, Laweyan, Pasar Kliwon, and Serengan. The largest number of early marriage occurs in Jebres Sub District, 11 out of 303 marriages. The data indicates that high early marriage behavior activity is committed by adolescents in Jebres Sub District. Therefore, this research explains early marriage in Jebres Sub District of Surakarta City.

## ***Methodology***

This study was a descriptive qualitative research, conducted on the people in Jebres Sub District of Surakarta City. Key informant and non-key informant consisted of Lurah (Village Head), chairperson of PKK (Family Welfare Empowerment), Religion Figure, Public Figure, Youth Figure, Marriage Registering Officer, Rw Chief, Rt Chief., Chairperson of Religion Affairs Office of Jebres Sub District, and Chairperson of Religion Ministry of Surakarta City. Data was collected through observation, in-depth interview, and documentation. Data analysis was carried out using data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing.

## Result and Discussion

Surakarta City or so called Solo or Sala is an autonomous region with city status under Central Java Province, Indonesia, with total population of 570,876 people and density of 12.963/km<sup>2</sup> (Demographic and Civil Registration Service of Surakarta City, 2016). This 44.1 km<sup>2</sup>-wide city is adjacent to Karanganyar and Boyolali Regencies in the North, Karanganyar and Sukoharjo Regencies in the East and West, and Sukoharjo Regency in the South. This city is also the third biggest city in southern part of Java following Bandung and Malang, according to its population number. The eastern part of this City is passed through a river perpetuated in a Keroncong song, Bengawan Solo. Along with Yogyakarta, Surakarta is the heir of Mataram Sultanate broken through Giyanti Agreement in 1755.

Surakarta is located in lowland at 105 m altitude and the down town is at 95 m altitude, with 44.1 km<sup>2</sup> width (0.14% of Central Java's width). Surakarta is about 65 km from Yogyakarta to North East, 100 km from Semarang to South East, and 260 km from Surabaya to Northwest, and surrounded with Mounts Merbabu (3145 m) and Merapi (2930 m) in the West, and Mount Lawu (3265 m) in the east. Slightly farther to the south, *Pegunungan Sewu* (Sewu Mountains) extends. The soil around this city is fertile as it is surrounded with Bengawan Solo, the longest river in Java, and passed through with Kali Anyar, Kali Pepe, and Kali Jenes. Water originates from Mount Merapi's slope, totally consisting of 19 locations, with capacity of 3,404 l/s. The water source is on average at 800-1,200 m altitude. In 1890 – 1827, there are only 12 wells in Surakarta. Currently the capacity of groundwater taking is about 45 l/s located in 23 points. Generally, groundwater taking is conducted by industry and people illegally and in uncontrolled manner.

The characteristic of soil in Solo is sandy, with high young mineral composition as the result of Merapi and Lawu's volcanic activity. This composition, coupled with sufficiently abundant water availability, makes this low land very good for cultivating food, vegetable, and industrial plants such as tobacco and sugarcane. However, since the last 20 years, manufacturing and tourism industries develop very rapidly so that land conversion occurs widely from farming to industrial and settlement purposes.

Surakarta City and Regencies surrounding, such as Karanganyar, Sragen, Wonogiri, Sukoharjo, Klaten, Boyolali, collectively are still called ex-Surakarta Residence. Surakarta is divided into 5 sub districts, each of which is headed by a *camat* (sub district head) and 51 Keurahan, each of which is headed by a *lurah* (village head). The five sub districts in Surakarta are: Pasar Kliwon (57110) consisting of 9 Kelurahan, Jebres (57120) 11 Kelurahan, Banjarsari (57130) 13 Kelurahan, Lawiyen (or Laweyan, 57140) 11 Kelurahan, and Serengan (57150) 7 Kelurahan.

One of earliest census conducted in Surakarta Residence (*Residentie Soerakarta*) area in 1885 recorded that there were 1,053,985 people, including 2,694 European and 7,543 Chinese. The 5,677 km<sup>2</sup>-wide area had population density of 186 people/km<sup>2</sup>. The capital of residency itself had 124,041 people in 1880.

The number of Surakarta populations in 2016 was 570,876 people consisting of 282,336 males and 288,540 females, distributed in five sub districts including 51 Kelurahan in 44.1 km<sup>2</sup> width. Its sex ratio is 96.06% meaning that in 100 females there are 96 males. Its population's dependency rate is 66%. The data in 1880 reported that its population number was 124,041 people. Population growth in the last 10 years is about 0.565% per year. Population density of Surakarta is 12,963 people/km<sup>2</sup>, constituting the highest density in Central Java (Central Java's density is only 992 people/km<sup>2</sup>) (Demographic and Civil Registration Service of Surakarta City., 2016).

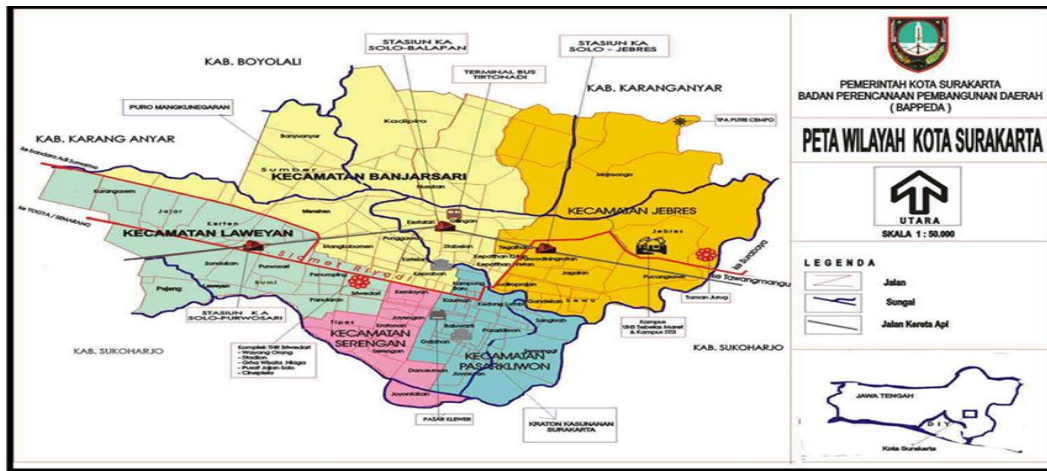


Fig. 1 Map of Surakarta City's Area

Compared with other cities in Indonesia, Surakarta is the densest one in Central Java, and the eighth densest one in Indonesia, with the 13<sup>th</sup> narrowest area, and the 22<sup>nd</sup> largest population number out of 93 autonomous and 5 administrative cities in Indonesia. The description of sub districts in Surakarta can be seen in Table 1.

**Table 1** Population density, area width, growth rate of each sub district in 2016

No	Sub District	Width	Population%	Density	Grow rate
1	Banjarsari	33.63	31.71	12,221/km <sup>2</sup>	0.25
2	Jebres	28.57	25.61	11,623/km <sup>2</sup>	0.88
3	Laweyan	19.62	17.93	11,844/km <sup>2</sup>	-0.21
4	Pasar kliwon	10.95	15.18	17,893/km <sup>2</sup>	-0.07
5	Serengan	7.24	9.87	17,131/km <sup>2</sup>	-0.59

Source: Central statistic bureau of surakarta city (2016)

From the table above, it can be seen that Jebres Sub District has highest growth rate (0.88) compared with other sub districts. It can be concluded that child birth acceleration occurs in Jebres Sub District in census period of 2016. Thus, it is possible that there is a higher increase in marriage couple number in Jebres Sub District compared with that in other Sub Districts.

The densest sub district in Surakarta is Pasar Kliwon, the width of which is only a tenth of Surakarta's total width, while Laweyan is the sub district with lowest density. Surakarta's population growth rate is 0.25% during 2016, far below the population growth rate of Central Java, 0.46%.

If Surakarta buffering areas are combined entirely (Solo Raya: Surakarta, Kartasura, Colomadu, Ngemplak, Baki, Grogol, Palur), its width is 130 km<sup>2</sup>, with population number of more than 800,000 people.

Educational Basic Data (*Dapodik*) of Surakarta City's Education and Culture service shows that there are 85,803 students and 869 schools in 2016: 308 TK/RA (kindergarten), 292 SD/MI (elementary school), 97 SMP/MTs (Junior High School), 56 SMA/MA (Senior High School), 46 SMK (Vocational Middle School), 54 PT (colleges), and other 16 schools. There are two large universities in Surakarta: Sebelas Maret University (UNS) and Surakarta Muhammadiyah University (UMS), both of which belong to the best 50 universities in Indonesia. There is also State Islam Religion Institute (IAIN) of Surakarta and Indonesian Art Institute (ISI) of Surakarta. In addition, there are other 52 private universities such as Unisri (Slamet Riyadi University), Tunas Pembangunan University, Setia Budi University, STIKES Muhammadiyah, Islam Batik University, and etc. Surakarta now becomes the study destination for Junior High School graduates from all Indonesian areas.

Economic growth in Surakarta City shows predisposition and is on the range as same as that of provincial economic growth (5%), with construction sector being the most dominant one (26.90%), followed by trading (22.26%) becoming the special economic characteristic of Surakarta City constituting trading city for surrounding areas.

Per capita income can reflect on productivity level of individual populations. Per capita Gross Regional Domestic Product (GRDP) of Surakarta City is IDR 55,872,442.24 in 2016. This figure is higher than that in previous year, IDR 52,791,260.94.

Family's economic status can be seen from economic activity of family head and members and their contribution to family's economy. Majority family heads work as private employees (48.55%), entrepreneur (16.76%), and daily laborer (8.42%). Majority women work as housewife (6.51%). The data indicates that the role of private business in Surakarta City contributes very considerably to creating the per capita income of Surakarta City's people. Thus, small industrial and trading sector still absorb most workers in Surakarta City.

Three most important pillars supporting the economy of Surakarta City are: construction (26.90%), trading (22.56%), industry (8.58%), and information and communication (10.62). Economic growth rate of Surakarta City is 5.44% in 2015. This figure is higher than that in previous year (5.24%). Data of Jebres Sub District in 2017, based on data of Surakarta's Central Statistic Bureau viewed from Demographic aspect, is presented in Table 2.

From Table 2, it can be summarized that there are 11 Kelurahan in Jebres Sub District, with the population number of 146,209. The economic condition of people in Jebres Sub District, Jebres, is explained as follows. Considering the development analysis report for Surakarta City in 2016, the superior industry in Jebres Sub District includes furniture, batik textile and garment. In addition, there are also supporting industries such as hotel, course service, education and training service.

**Table 2** Population number, area width, and density level of each kelurahan in 2016

Kelurahan	Population Number	Area Width	Population Number
Kepatihan Kulon	2,423	0.18	13,461
Kepatihan Wetan	2,618	0.23	11,383
Sudiroprajan	3,860	0.23	16,783
Gandekan	9,286	0.35	26,531
Sewu	7,264	0.49	14,824
Pucangsawit	13,822	1.27	10,883
Jagalan	12,194	0.65	18,760
Purwodiningratan	5,062	0.37	13,681
Tegalharjo	5,016	0.33	15,200
Jebres	33,076	3.17	10,434
Mojosongo	51,588	5.33	9,679
Total	146,209	12.60	11,604

Source: Central Statistic Bureau of Surakarta City in 2017

Marriage or mating is related to demographic problem. Law Number 23 of 2002 about Child Protection mentions that the limit of adult age is 18 year, while Article 7 Clause 1 of Marriage Law mentions that the minimum marriage age is 16 years for female and 19 years for male. Social reality of early marriage in Jebres Sub District is that actually people and adolescents living in Jebres Sub District have known the ideal age to conduct a marriage, but early marriage remains to be done due to family's urge and pregnancy out of marriage due to free sex; free sex itself is due to parents' inadequate control because parents work busily and have no enough time to talk about and share anything with their children and to give them good advice and direction. Many minors are ready to get married but unready to establish household, so that there is likely a faster increase in marriage couple number in Jebres Sub District.

Adolescents getting marriage early in Jebres Sub District are those who are studying in Senior High School, and due to their marriage, they cannot continue their study; consequently the knowledge the early marriage couples have in Jebres Sub District is very low and it makes them finding formal occupation difficultly and finally working in informal sector only.

Viewed from Weber's perspective, early marriage occurs due to individuals taking meaningful measures (Ritzer., 2012). By its type, Max Weber's Social action consists of instrumental rationality, value-oriented rationality, traditional, and affective actions.

**Early marriage is an instrumental rationality action (Zwerk Rational)** because an individual does this social action based on consideration and conscious choice related to the objective of action and the availability of instrument used to achieve it. Early marriage couples in Jebres Sub District no longer continue their study as the form of their responsibility to family, and they prefer focusing on working to support their family. Because of having Junior High School diploma only and having ever studied up to Senior High School level only, the job they get is in informal sector only, as painter, Office Boy (OB), billboard posting officer, and bird cage seller.

**Early marriage is a value-rational action (Werk Rational)** as the instruments existing are only conscious consideration and calculation, while its objectives have been existing in its relation to individual values that absolute in nature. Early marriage is done intentionally by some adolescents in

Jebres Sub District due to environment factor or family considering it as a way out of sin due to free sex among adolescents.

**Early marriage is an affective action or an action affected by emotion (Affectual action)** because biological impulse of sexual need among adolescents is so high, adolescents' emotion is still labile, and knowledge they have is low, thereby making sexual intercourse before marriage and resulting in pregnancy.

**Early marriage is a traditional action or habitual action (Traditional Action)** because early marriage in Jebres Sub District is conducted due to some factors: pregnancy before marriage due to free sex and then marriage becomes a solution taken by family to solve the problem.

### **Conclusion**

Thus, early marriage in Jebres Sub District of Surakarta serves as the form of responsibility to family after married as family and environment consider that early marriage is a way out of sin due to free sex among adolescents, biological impulse of sexual need thereby having sexual intercourse before marriage leading to pregnancy. Family made early marriage the solution to the problem of pregnancy before marriage.

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