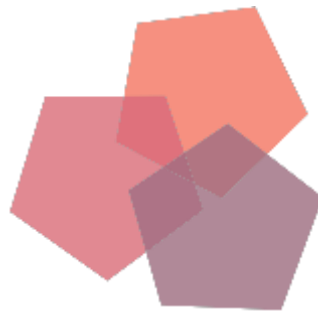


YES I DO.



A Qualitative Study on the Causes and Consequences of Divorce after Child Marriage in Sukabumi, Rembang and West Lombok Regencies

2017

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List of Terms

A

Amil	Unofficial servant at the Office of Religious Affair whose jobs to take care of marriages and matters relating to religious affairs
Arisan	Form of Rotating Savings and Credit Association in Indonesian culture, a form of Microfinance. Generally the arisan is a social gathering that takes place at a fixed interval

B

Bebalu	Divorced woman (Sasak language)
Belas	The process of separating an eloped couple in the Sasak culture

C

Cangkruk	The activity of having fun and spending time with friends; hanging out
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D

Dandan	A person finding a mate for another person; matchmaker. Usually a man/woman considered as an elder, can be a commoner or a <i>kyai</i>
Dangdut	A genre of Indonesian folk and traditional popular music
Divorce after Child Marriage	A married couple in which one party was under 19 years at the time of marriage, and who have later divorced
Dukuh/dusun (Hamlet)	An administrative-social unit under a village

Dukun	Someone considered to possess supernatural powers/shaman
H	
Hadrah	A form of Islamic musical art
I	
Iddah	The waiting time after a divorce in Islamic law after which one is allowed to remarry
J	
Janda Herang	A term for a pretty divorced young woman
K	
Kawin Siri	A wedding witnessed only by a <i>modin</i> and a witness, not registered in the Office of Religious Affairs, considered valid according to Islamic law
Kimcil	Lady companions escorts
Kodek	(Javanese/traditional) expert in Islam
Kyai	(Javanese/traditional) expert in Islam
L	
Langgar	House of prayer at village level
M	
Madrasah Diniyah	Religious based education system, usually informal
Madrasah Tsanawiyah	Islamic school equivalent to junior high school
Majlis ta'lim	Koran recitation activities
Merariq	To take a woman surreptitiously (elope) with the intent to force a marriage
Melaik	To take someone away (Sasak language)
Modin/mudin	A person who has duties and functions in the recording of death and everything related to death, marriage, <i>talaq</i> , divorce, and reconciliation. He also facilitates the fostering of harmony among religious followers, social, cultural and religious communities.
Mondok	Receiving education in a <i>pesantren</i>
Mosot	'Spinster' in Sasak language
Muhrim	Any person who is prohibited to be married due to descent, blood relations and marriage in Islamic rule (in Arabic also called <i>mahram</i>)
Musholla	Place to pray for Muslims (in general)
N	
Ngarit	Collecting grass for fodder and feeding livestock
Ngemblog	Pre-wedding tradition of Menoro Village, Rembang. In this tradition, the family of the bride visits the house of the groom's family, bringing foodstuffs.
Nyantri	Studying and staying in a <i>pesantren</i>
Nyawer	Make money contributions to pay for a performer
Nyongkolan	Sasak tradition of parading a newlywed couple to inform the public that they have just married
P	
Pengajian	Koran recitations

Perawan Tua	A derogatory term of unmarried women who are older than the average age when women are expected to be married; Spinster
Pesantren	Islamic boarding school
R	
Rapak	Divorce initiated by the wife
Rondo enom	Young divorcee
S	
Santri	Someone receiving Islamic religious education in a <i>pesantren</i> , usually boarding there until the conclusion of their education
Sirri	A wedding conducted in accordance to Islamic law but not state law
Sharia	Islamic law
T	
Talaq	In classical Islamic law refers to the right of the husband to dissolve marriage simply by pronouncing to his wife 'I reject'. ¹
Tausiah	Informal activity of Islamic dissemination
Zina	Sexual intercourse between man and woman not under the bounds of marriage.

List of Abbreviations

ABK	Anak Buah Kapal (seaman)
ARI	Aliansi Remaja Independen
Badilag	Badan Peradilan Agama (Religious Court)
Binmas	Bimbingan Masyarakat (Societal Education)
BP4	Badan Penasihatian Pembinaan dan Pelestarian Perkawinan (Marriage Counseling Agency)
BPS	Badan Pusat Statistik (Statistics Indonesia)
D2	Diploma 2 (two-year higher vocational education)
Dikpora	Dinas Pendidikan, Pemuda, dan Olahraga (Office of Education, Youth and Sports)
DPPKB	Dinas Pengendalian Penduduk dan Keluarga Berencana (Office of Population Control and Family Planning)
Dinsos	Dinas Sosial, Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Keluarga Berencana (Office of Social Service, Women Empowerment and Family Planning)
PPKB	
FAD	Forum Anak Desa (Village Youth Forum)
GAMAK	Gerakan Anti <i>Merariq Kodek</i> (Movement Against Elopement at a Young Age)
GSC	Generasi Sehat dan Cerdas (Healthy and Smart Generation)
Kadus	Kepala Dusun (head of hamlet)
Kemenag	Kementerian Agama (Ministry of Religious Affairs)
KIT	Royal Tropical Institute
KK	Kartu Keluarga (Certificate of Family Members)
KPAD	Kelompok Perlindungan Anak Desa (Village Child Protection Committee)
KUA	Kantor Urusan Agama (Office of Religious Affairs)

¹ Abed Awad and Hany Mawla (2013). "Divorce. Legal Foundations." The Oxford Encyclopedia of Islam and Women. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

MA	Madrasah Aliyah (Islamic school equivalent to elementary school)
MI	Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (Islamic school equivalent to elementary school)
MT	Madrasah Tsanawiyah (Islamic school equivalent to junior high school)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NTB	West Nusa Tenggara province
PA	Religious Court
PAUD	Early Childhood Education
PKK	Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (Family Welfare organization)
PNS	Civil Servant
PRT	Pekerja Rumah Tangga (domestic worker)
Puskesmas	Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat (Community Health Center at district level)
Puskesmasdes	Pusat Kesehatan Desa (Community Health Center at village level)
Posyandu	Pos Pelayanan Terpadu (Unified Service Delivery Unit, first-line health service deliverer)
PUP	Peningkatan Usia Perkawinan (Raising the Age of Marriage)
RA	Raudhatul Athfal (Islamic school equivalent to kindergarten)
RT	Rukun Tetangga (Smallest neighborhood unit consisting of 10-50 households)
RW	Rukun Warga (Neighbourhood unit consisting of 3-10 RTs)
S1	Strata Satu (Undergraduate)
S2	Strata Dua (Graduate)
SD	Sekolah Dasar (Elementary School)
SLTA	Sekolah Lanjutan Tingkat Akhir (High School)
SLTP	Sekolah Lanjutan Tingkat Pertama (Intermediate School)
SMK	Vocational school
SMS	Short Message Service
TKI	Tenaga Kerja Indonesia (Indonesian migrant worker)
TKW	Tenaga Kerja Wanita (Female migrant worker)
UPT DPPKB	Unit Pelaksana Teknis Dinas Pengendalian Penduduk dan Keluarga Berencana (Technical Implementation Unit of Population Control and Family Planning Service Office)

Executive Summary

BACKGROUND

Although there are no statistical data showing the relationship between child marriage and the rate of divorce, there are indications that child marriage contributes to divorce rates in Indonesia. Research on child marriage conducted by PLAN International (2015) in Pakistan, Bangladesh and Indonesia found that the objection of young people to child marriage was considered to cause disharmony, conflicts and domestic violence in marital relations, and sometimes divorce. Studies on divorces in the context of child marriage in Indonesia are few and the study presented in this report is an attempt to fill this research gap.

The study had the general objective of identifying the causes and consequences of divorce after child marriage in three areas of the YES I DO programme, namely Sukabumi, Rembang and West Lombok Regencies. Specifically, this study observed the types of divorce, causes and consequences of divorce, and the post-divorce coping mechanisms. The YES I DO programme in Indonesia is a collaboration between Rutgers WPF Indonesia, Plan Indonesia and Aliansi Remaja Independen (ARI). The study was needed to inform the activities of these YES I DO partners in the three areas.

RESEARCH METHODS

The research was conducted in three areas of the YES I DO programme, namely the Cisolok village in Sukabumi Regency (West Java), Menoro village in Rembang Regency (Central Java) and Kediri Induk village West Lombok Regency (West Nusa Tenggara). All areas have a high rate of child marriage, however, they have different characteristics. For example, Cisolok is semi-urban, Menoro is rural and Kediri Induk is an urban area.

There were 46 interviewees from the three areas: 30 main participants and 16 key informants (such as family members, teachers, policy stakeholders). The main participants were males and females who were divorced after child marriage; seven were in the age group of 15-18 years and 23 were in the age group of 19-24 years. Of them, 21 had an unregistered divorce and nine had a registered divorce.

Participants of the FGDs were general community members, grouped by age and gender. FGDs were conducted with two age groups, those between 18 and 24 years (one FGD with males and one with females) and those aged 25-50 years (also one FGD with males and one with females), and each FGD consisted of six to eight participants. In addition to the both research techniques, this research also used the *photo voice* technique.

Transcripts of the in-depth interviews and FGDs were uploaded, coded and analysed using NVivo software. The findings of the research were discussed with the YES I DO Alliance in Jakarta in November 2017. Research dissemination and validation workshops were also held in each area with local partners and other stakeholders. The workshop in Rembang was held on December 11, 2017 while the workshops in Sukabumi and West Lombok were held on December 19, 2017. In each workshop, the researchers presented the main findings of the study to get input and recommendations, especially related to the stakeholder's programmes at district level.

This study has obtained the ethical clearance from the Research Ethics Committee of Faculty of Public Health, Universitas Indonesia in the letter No. 493/UN.F10/PPM.00.02/2017.

WHY DOES DIVORCE OCCUR?

One of the prominent impacts of child marriage in the three areas was economic problem. Girls had dropped out of their schools and boys found it difficult to find a job to provide for their family. Young couples were hardly able to make ends meet without the support from their parents. These economic hurdles sometimes generated tensions that culminated in a fight between young husbands and wives.

The tension was said to increase when it is the wife who works while the husband is unable to be a reliable provider for the family. Gender inequality in the division of roles within the family also triggered the occurrence of household problems that lead to divorce. In West Lombok, although it was said that women can work, men are obliged to provide the livelihood. In Sukabumi, although women have greater access to employment than men, the permission to work remains in the hands of husbands who have the main responsibility to earn in the family. In the case of Rembang, men were reported to play a very dominant role in the family, especially in economic terms, marginalizing the position of women to take care of domestic issues.

In the midst of economic difficulties and pressures from gender roles and expectations, it appeared that young couples also struggle with their emotional immaturity, at times is manifested in possessive attitudes towards the partners and infidelity. In Sukabumi and Rembang there were cases of infidelity reported, although not many. In West Lombok, affairs were more frequently found. Some of these cases of infidelity in West Lombok were with former lovers, while in Rembang, infidelity occurred due to migration of partners. When the husband worked elsewhere, he may have met another woman, and got remarried. As explained by study participants, emotional immaturity of young couples in the face of domestic problems often leads to prolonged quarrels. Trivial matters could trigger discord, violence and even divorce.

Emotional immaturity in some cases was also reflected in how young people develop their relationships from the beginning. In some cases encountered, marriages were the culmination of getting acquainted on the social media such as Facebook. One reported cause of divorce after child marriage in Sukabumi was due to the lack of awareness of the youth to further examine the family background of their partners. Some of the relationships that began via social media ended in divorce.

Matchmaking was another reason mentioned for divorce. In the case of matchmaking, initially, girls do not have the autonomy to determine their partners, but various problems experienced during marriage embolden them to file for divorce, as indicated by several study participants. Interference of parents in a (married) child's domestic life could also worsen the condition of the household, ending in divorce. Furthermore, some participants said that when marriage occurs because of premarital pregnancy, most marriages will end shortly after the child is born.

In the three research areas, there was stigma related to spinsters and young female divorcees. Some girls chose to marry at a young age rather than becoming an 'old maid' or spinster, despite the risk of divorce after child marriage. Even though it was undesirable, divorce was common in the research areas and was not considered as taboo.

WHAT HAPPENS AFTER THE DIVORCE?

The study found that after divorce, both parties return to their parents. If the divorcing couple has children, then custody of children in general will fall to the mother. In the three research areas, the majority of study participants indicated that divorced women become a burden to their families, as parents not only have to support their children, but also their grandchildren.

It was found that some villagers in Cisolok (Sukabumi) and Kediri Induk (West Lombok) tend not to register marriages legally, both in KUA (the Office of Religious Affairs) and civil records, due to illegal (but valid according to religion) marriages. Likewise with divorce, people in these two villages tended not to register their divorce to the Religious Court, even if they were legally married.

Some of the participants interviewed in Cisolok (Sukabumi) did not register their marriage to KUA because child marriage is prohibited. The common practice was to conduct *sirri* marriage² in front of the village *amil*; or falsify the age of the child to a legal marriage age. None of the participants interviewed in Cisolok registered their divorce to the Religious Court for economic reasons. The practice around a divorce included signing a stamped *talaq* (divorce) certificate signed by both parties and the head of *Rukun Tetangga*³ (RT)/ *Rukun Warga*⁴ (RW), because the couples could not afford the administrative cost of the KUA marriage and the divorce fee (on top of transport to the Religious Court located about 30 to 60 minutes from the village). The practice, albeit illegal, was socially recognized. In Kediri Induk village, the tendency of people not to register marriage and divorce was more influenced by the local Islamic culture. Although *sirri* marriage and *talaq* were not legal, they were socially and religiously recognized. In Menoro village, in general, people tended to register their marriage and divorce legally, because of public awareness to formalize divorces. One of the reasons was the *mudin*⁵ who mediated the processing of divorce for Menoro village community members.

Due to the lack of job opportunities in Cisolok village, young women who divorced after child marriage were encouraged to migrate for work. The migration destinations of these young women were to the cities, to become factory workers, and abroad to become migrant workers (to Hong Kong, Taiwan, Saudi Arabia). This poses a new vulnerability for young women. In Kediri Induk village, one of the defense mechanisms of young men and women who divorced after child marriage was migrating to look for jobs outside the village, and some migrated abroad although this was not common. In Menoro village, participants reported that one of the survival mechanisms of divorced men to forget the problem is alcoholic drinks, whereas girls usually will be sent to *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) by their parents or look for work outside Menoro.

The study showed that divorce has varying effects on the educational situation of divorced girls. In all three areas there are opportunities to access education. In Cisolok, there is a choice of education in the form of PKBM and GSC programmes in formal school, whereas in Kediri Induk there is an open school. However, these opportunities were not always accessed by the divorcees. This was due to economic and social reasons, namely the shame that comes with the status of being divorced. Unlike the two other areas, in Menoro village, the *pesantren* was an alternative choice of education that could be accessed by adolescents who experienced divorce. Some cases indicated that divorcees were continuing their education in *pesantren*, whether requested by the parents or by their own desire.

In addition to the various problems experienced after divorce, some of the participants actually felt more comfortable, free, happy and have control over themselves.

ARE THERE ANY RESPONSES FROM THE REGIONAL GOVERNMENT TO DIVORCES AFTER CHILD MARRIAGE?

² A wedding conducted in accordance to Islamic law but not state law.

³ Smallest neighbourhood unit consisting of 10-50 households.

⁴ Neighbourhood unit consisting of 3-10 RTs.

⁵ A person who has duties and functions in the recording of death and everything related to death, marriage, *talaq*, divorce, and reconciliation. He also facilitates the fostering of harmony among religious followers, social, cultural and religious communities.

Unlike child marriage, the phenomenon of divorce after child marriage has not been the concern of local governments. In West Lombok, the Government has issued Circular Letter (SE) Number SE/150/1138/KUM, setting the age of marriage to above 20 years. The Regent of West Lombok was also quick to respond to this circular by launching the running Anti-*Merariq Kodek* Movement (GAMAK) to the village and hamlet levels.

In Rembang, Dinsos PPKB has a programme focusing on economic and social counseling for divorcees. In addition, the Government of Rembang Regency also has the Peningkatan Usia Perkawinan (PUP, Raising the Age of Marriage) programme, targeting teenagers and families.

In Sukabumi, BP3AKB of Sukabumi Regency has a Firstborn Postponement programme (postponing the birth of the firstborn by three years through family planning) in case of child marriage. In addition, BP3AKB also has a PUP programme and community and school-based PIK R programme. In schools, the *Sekolah Siaga Kependudukan* (SSK) programme has been implemented in SMPN 1 Cisolok and SMAN 1 Cisolok.

Since early 2017, the Village Child Protection Groups (KPADs) in the three study areas have been actively running their activities. The main KPAD activities are to assist and educate the public about child marriage. In West Lombok, KPAD together with the government were said to play a role in documenting and accompanying the process of *belas* (separation) in the event of *merariq*⁶. This role is significant because it involves the negotiation process to allow the marriage or not.

In Rembang, the existence of KPAD was supported by the Regional Regulation of Rembang Regency No. 6 of 2014 on the Implementation of Child Protection, namely in Article 6 point (b) which discusses the importance of the existence of KPAD at the village level. In addition to providing assistance to parents of married children, Menoro KPAD also conducted socialization focusing on the prevention of child marriage. This socialization was conducted through various village activities, and KPAD was funded by the APBDs.

In Sukabumi, since the KPAD was newly established (less than one year), its role so far has been conducting raising awareness about child marriage prevention in school committees, village meetings, and *Majlis Ta'lim* (Koran recitation activities). In addition to the institutional role, the head of the KPAD was said to have had a significant role in facilitating the prevention of divorce after child marriage through consultations.

DISCUSSION

There were two types of divorce that occur after child marriage, namely registered and unregistered divorce. In Menoro village, the majority of divorces were registered. This is in contrast to the other two areas, where the majority of divorces were unregistered. In Kediri Induk village, most cases of divorce after child marriage were not officially registered. This made that possible remarriages would (also) be *sirri* marriages. In Cisolok village, although most divorces were not registered in the Religious Court, there was a certificate of stamp duty issued by the head of RT/RW. By using this "divorce certificate", divorced parties could remarry formally in the local KUA.

Divorce occurring after child marriage, whether registered or unregistered, was caused by various factors. Some of the reasons as mentioned by study participants included economic problems emotional immaturity, infidelity, and domestic violence, but also matchmaking, premarital pregnancy, and parental intervention. Many of these factors are manifestations of the imbalanced gender relations in all three study areas, both in the family and at community level.

⁶ To take a woman surreptitiously (elope) with the intent to force a marriage.

Divorce had several impacts, including the additional economic burden of the family of the divorcees. After the divorce, many girls returned to their family and were financially supported by their parents, including if they already had children. Boys also returned to their family but they were likely having their own income.

Female divorcees were stigmatized by the community, which caused some of them to be embarrassed to interact socially and access education. The divorced men were not stigmatized due to their superior status in the community.

After divorce, both men and women had their own ways of responding to the existing conditions. Some mechanisms of 'post-divorce survival' included working (often involving migration), remarriage, isolation, or alcoholism.

Chapter 1. Introduction

BACKGROUND

Globally there are 1,408,000 women aged 20 to 24 years who have been married before the age of 18 years (UNICEF, 2016). In Indonesia, according to the Statistics Indonesia and UNICEF report (2016), the percentage of women married under the age of 18 years continues to increase, i.e. from 24.5% in 2010 to 24.7% in 2011 and 25% in 2012.

While the percentage of child marriage is slightly increasing, data also show a growing number of divorce cases in Indonesia. Data from the Religious Court show a significant increase in divorce cases in Indonesia, both divorce lawsuits and *talaqs*. In classical Islamic law, divorce lawsuit refers to a petition that is filed to initiate the suit by the wife, while *talaq* refers to the right of the husband to dissolve marriage simply by pronouncing to his wife 'I reject'.

According to Statistics Indonesia data referring to the Directorate General of Religious Courts of the Supreme Court, in 2014 the number of divorce cases granted, both divorce lawsuits and *talaqs*, amounted to 344,237. This number increased to 347,256 in 2015 and 365,633 in 2016. In the last three years, the annual increase is about 3% (BPS, 2017). Divorce data by age group are not available, so there are no official data on divorce after child marriage. Furthermore, in the practice of child marriage there is often a tendency to manipulate the child's or children's age so that marriage can be registered legally.

Although there are no statistical data showing the relationship between child marriage and the rate of divorce, there are indications that child marriage contributes to divorce rates in Indonesia. Research on child marriage conducted by PLAN International (2015) in Pakistan, Bangladesh and Indonesia found that the objection of young people to child marriage was considered to cause disharmony, conflicts and domestic violence in marital relations, and sometimes divorce (Yarrow et al. 2015).

Based on research on child marriage conducted by the Center for Gender and Sexuality Studies of FISIP UI (2013) in Banyuwangi, marriage at a young age triggers the occurrence of conflicts due to small problems that cause disharmony in the household, leading to divorce. Kitson (1992) also states that individuals married at a young age are more likely to report difficulties in marriage, such as going out with other men/women and infidelity. Cases of divorce after child marriage in Indonesia are sometimes caused by imbalances in gender relations (Marcoes, et al 2016). The wife is the most vulnerable party to be a victim of a one-sided divorce. References to cases of divorce after child marriage also came across in the YES I DO baseline study (Hydayana et al. 2016).

PROBLEM STATEMENT

The study by 18+ Coalition and the Indonesian Women's Coalition in 2016 on child marriage in Tuban, Bogor and Mamuju Regencies documented two cases of child marriage through *sirri* marriages⁷ that ended in divorce. A study in Kopang District, Central Lombok Regency (2010) mentioned that the cause of the increase in divorces in the district was largely due to child marriage. The factors causing divorce after child marriage are internal and external. Internal factors include low level of education in the community, lack of religious knowledge, family economic factors, and family disharmony. Meanwhile, the external factors mentioned include affairs committed by married persons, community or traditional cultural customs (socio-cultural factors) and the mass media (Watoni 2010).

⁷ A wedding conducted in accordance to Islamic law but not state law.

Studies in other countries also show the relationship between child marriage and divorce. According to a study on early marriage in Jordan conducted by UNICEF (2014), there were 1,038 divorces involving girls aged 15-17 and 267 divorces involving boys aged 15-17 years in 2012. A study of child marriages and divorces among Meranao women (one of the major Muslim tribes in the southern Philippines) showed that divorces were caused by several factors: incompatibility, intervention from in-laws, presence of other wives, family conflicts, financial problems, and the failure of the wife's role.

Divorce after child marriage can have a negative impact on the family's welfare and can cause various problems, such as poverty, family disharmony and neglect of children. From the Indonesian government perspective, the concept of family resilience and prosperity is important. When the family is prosperous, then Indonesia will have a high quality generation, according to development goals. Thus, a study on divorce after child marriage could provide important information that could be used to attain progress on indicators related to welfare and family resilience. This is stated in Law no. 52 of 2009 on Population and Family Development and Minister of Women Empowerment and Child Protection Regulation No. 6 of 2013 on Family Development.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The general objective of this study is to identify the causes and consequences of divorce after child marriage and to inform the YES I DO programme operational in three areas, namely Sukabumi, Rembang and West Lombok Regencies.

The specific objectives of this research are:

1. To map various types of divorce after child marriage
2. To explore causes of divorce after child marriage
3. To explore the consequences of divorce after child marriage
4. To understand the post-divorce coping mechanisms of the divorcees, family and immediate environment
5. To inform relevant stakeholders (government at different levels, Village Child Protection Committees, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and others) as an effort to prevent child marriage and divorce after child marriage

STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

This report consists of eight chapters. The first and second chapters contain the general description of the research and the methodology used. The third chapter discusses the literature review of child marriage and divorce after child marriage, both at the global and national level. The fourth, fifth, and sixth chapter discusses the child marriage and divorce after child marriage practices in Sukabumi, Rembang, and West Lombok. In the seventh chapter we present the discussion of the three cases: the similarities and differences among them. In the last chapter we conclude this study report and give recommendations to the YES I DO programme.

Chapter 2. Methodology

STUDY DESIGN

This research used a qualitative approach to allow the researchers to collect in-depth information about the issues of divorce after child marriage, including the causes and consequences of divorce after child marriage.

RESEARCH AREAS

The research was conducted in three areas of the YES I DO programme, namely the Sukabumi Regency (West Java), Rembang Regency (Central Java) and West Lombok Regency (West Nusa Tenggara). All locations have a high rate of child marriage. however they have different characteristics as described in Table 1.

Table 1 Research areas

Regency	District	Village	Reason/characteristic
Sukabumi	Cisolok	Cisolok	Semi-urban, coastal area, tourism area, high rate of child marriage
Rembang	Sedan	Menoro	Rural area, <i>pesantren</i> region, high rate of poverty, high rate of child marriage
West Lombok	Kediri	Kediri Induk	Urban area, <i>pesantren</i> region ⁸ , high rate of child marriage

This research areas and the study focus were decided upon together with Rutgers WPF Indonesia, Plan Indonesia, Aliansi Remaja Independen (ARI)) and KIT Royal Tropical Institute in a workshop held at FISIP Universitas Indonesia from May 26-28, 2017.

DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES

The main data were collected by using in-depth interviews (semi structured interviews and key informant interviews) and focus group discussion FGD techniques. FGD participants were grouped by age and gender. As a complement to both research techniques, this research used the photo voice technique as one of the techniques used by Rutgers since 2014.

In-depth interviews

In-depth interviews were conducted using interview guides with study participants to explore their perspectives, opinions, and experiences regarding the main factors affecting and the consequences of divorce after child marriage. The main participants of this study were females and males who were married under the age of 19 and divorced thereafter. Key informants included parents or family members of divorcees, former husbands and their families, stakeholders (regency level), the Office of Religious Affairs (district level), Child Protection Committee, Religious Court judges (regency level), teachers, religious leaders and community leaders, community health centers (*Puskesmas*), youth organizations and women's organizations. Overall, there were 46 participants from the three areas

⁸ *Pesantren* region means there are many Islamic boarding schools in one area. This occurs a lot in many area in Indonesia. In some cases, there is only one *pesantren* but a big one that it covers a large area.

involved in the study consisting of 30 main participants (26 females and 4 males) (Table 2) and 16 key informants.

Table 2 The number of main study participants based on marital status

Age	Marital status	Unregistered divorce	Registered divorce
15-18	Divorcees	3	-
	Remarried	3	1
19-24	Divorcees	10	6
	Remarried	5	2
Total		21	9

Focus group discussions

FGDs with six to eight participants each were conducted in each study area. In each area, four FGDs with community members were conducted, consisting of neighbours living around the main participants' house. FGDs were conducted with two age groups: 18-24 years (one FGD with males and one with females) and 25-50 years (also one FGD with males and one with females). The purpose of FGDs was to obtain information from community members about their views on cases of divorce after child marriage taking place in their villages.

Photo voice

The photo voice method was used to empower young people to share information, to visualize, and to voice their own opinions by photographing scenes relevant to their life situations. A camera was given to two study participants (one male and one female) in each study area to capture visual representations of their daily lives.

SAMPLING AND RECRUITMENT OF STUDY PARTICIPANTS

The snowball sampling technique was used to identify and recruit the main participants of the study. The process of recruitment of participants was conducted with the help of research assistants coming from the research areas. We worked together with the KPAD member in the village to identify both female and male divorcees who had a child marriage and get divorced before 19 years and other stakeholders to be included in the study. For the FGDs, we also collaborated with the local partner to gather the representative community members from different hamlets in the village.

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

The interviews and FGDs were digitally recorded using voice recorders, assisted by research assistants. In conducting FGDs, researchers were also assisted by two research assistants. One assistant helped recording the discussion and another helped translating the local language (Javanese in Rembang District, Sundanese in Sukabumi District and Sasaknese in West Lombok District) if needed. All voice data were transcribed and translated into English. Data entry, editing, and analysis were done using NVivo software.

VALIDATION AND DISSEMINATION OF RESEARCH

After the data were collected, dissemination and validation of preliminary findings was conducted twice, with the YES I DO Alliance partners at the national level (Rutgers WPF Indonesia, Plan Indonesia and ARI) and at the local level, with partners as well as relevant other stakeholders. During this process, researchers obtained various inputs and suggestions used in the process of data analysis and making recommendations.

QUALITY ASSURANCE

Participants were recruited after consultation with local partners and local research assistants. Daily meetings are also held with research assistants to identify difficulties that could have implications for the quality of data. All interviews, discussions, the training of the research assistants and the pre-test were moderated in Indonesian language, but some participants preferred to speak in the local language, for which the research assistants helped the researchers with translation.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The research proposal was submitted to the Research Ethics Committee of Faculty of Public Health, Universitas Indonesia before initiating the study. The ethical review assessment was conducted before field work started, and the study has obtained a certificate of ethics No. 493/UN.F10/PPM.00.02/2017. Informed consent from participants was taken verbally. The participant was entitled to agree or disagree to be interviewed and to stop the interview. The researchers also sought parental consent for interviews with minors. The researchers briefly described the purpose of research and information confidentiality to the potential interviewees. The interviews and FGDs were held in a safe and comfortable environment such as the participant's house. Because anonymity and confidentiality of participants are central to ethical research practice, names of all study participants in this report have been changed.

STUDY LIMITATIONS

In the conducting this research, we encountered some problems, which lead to various study limitations.

Availability of participants

We found some difficulties in the recruitment of study participants who were married as a child (under 19 years) and divorced before 24 years. The difficulties in finding participants who met the criteria, especially women in Cisolok village, were because they usually worked elsewhere or abroad as construction/migrant workers. In addition, the researchers found it difficult to find participants with the appropriate age criteria since many participants did not know their actual age with certainty.

Sensitivity of research issues

Researchers found it difficult to extract information on the sexual lives of participants and teen 'relationships', especially for participants who experienced domestic violence or premarital pregnancy, as found in Cisolok village. One of the participants experiencing premarital pregnancy in Kediri Induk village refused to be interviewed due to the trauma she experienced as a result of her problem.

Interference during interview from other parties

Interferences from other parties during interviews with were difficult to avoid, for example, there were parents/family members of participants asking to be involved in the interview process. The researchers asked for their permission to have a private interview with the participants.

LITERATURE REVIEW METHODS

In conducting the literature review, there were a number of keywords used: 'divorce', 'child marriage', 'early marriage', 'adolescent marriage', 'divorce after child marriage' and 'divorce after adolescent marriage'. The search was done using Indonesian and English languages. The wordings used were 'divorce' (English) as the equivalent of 'perceraian' (Indonesian), as well as 'child marriage' and 'early marriage' as the equivalent of 'perkawinan anak' (Indonesian). The literature search was performed on a number of web pages, namely: (1) academic web pages such as JSTOR, Google Scholar, and Springer; and (2) search engines such as Google, to find sources about divorce after child marriage from relevant non-academic sources such as policy briefs and statistical data.

The non-academic sources included information from international NGOs concerned with children's issues, such as UNICEF, Save the Children, and Girls Not Brides. Other sources came from a number of government institutions such as Statistics Indonesia and the Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection (KemenPPPA). However, these sources tend to focus more on child marriage and do not elaborate on divorce occurring after child marriage.

In addition to using online searches, the literature review also obtained information from offline sources, although books and articles about divorce after child marriage are very few and difficult to find.

Chapter 3. Literature review

Literature and other sources on divorce after child marriage are scarce, despite the issue being important, considering that divorce after child marriage can have a negative impact on the family's welfare and various other problems, such as poverty, family disharmony and neglect of children.

DIVORCE AFTER CHILD MARRIAGE AT THE GLOBAL LEVEL

There are still very few studies that comprehensively examine divorce after child marriage, especially regarding its consequences. The studies only address the issue of divorce after child marriage briefly and mainly causal focus related to disharmony, emotional and psychological instability in young couples.

The research of Macapundag et al. (2016) focuses on the experience of Meranao women in the Philippines who married at a young age (before reaching the age of 18 years) and divorced thereafter. In the study, there a number of negative consequences faced by women who marry at a young age were mentioned, such as difficulty in adjusting to the new identity, difficulty in dividing roles as student and wife, and breaking childhood habits. This study researched 22 cases of child marriage. The study identified the reasons for divorce, namely incompatibility between wife and husband (12 cases), husband having another wife (2 two cases), intervention from in-laws (five cases), family conflict (one case), financial problems (one case), and the failure of the wife in playing her role (one case).

Mann et al. (2015) in their study titled "Qualitative Study of Child Marriage in Six Districts of Zambia" state that child divorce in Zambia is one of the implications of child marriage. In some communities in the study sites, especially in Lusaka and Mufulira, child marriage generally lasted only a few months, and there were very few cases when married couples remained married for more than one or two years. Furthermore, this study also states that there was no safety net for children who have been divorced apart from their parents or family. In each of the case studies, divorced women were responsible for their children. The men, the former husbands, in general, did not provide financial assistance to their former wives and children.

THE SITUATION OF DIVORCE AND CHILD MARRIAGE PRACTICES IN INDONESIA

Based on statistical data on the divorce rate in Indonesia, it is known that the number of *talaqs* and divorces in the last three years continue to increase significantly. In 2013 there were 324,277 reported cases; in 2014 there were 344,237 and in 2015 there were 347,256 (BPS 2016). It is surmised that divorce after child marriage is responsible for the increased number of divorces, even though there are no statistical data or research findings that show the relationship between the two with certainty. Nevertheless, several qualitative studies on child marriage show that child marriage contributes to the vulnerability of relationships of young couples, leading to divorce (Marcoes and Simorok 2016; Kartikawati 2016; Sa'dan 2016). The study of Marcoes and Simorok (2016), conducted in five provinces, discusses that some cases of divorce after child marriage occurred due to imbalanced gender relationship, especially towards girls, as well as economic pressures. Meanwhile, Kartikawati (2016) illustrates that child marriage practices are vulnerable to divorce. It was evident from the four cases in the study, that three of them involved girls who experienced divorce at the age of 15 years. Finally, Sa'dan (2016) reports that some of her study participants experienced divorce, with various causes, ranging from the absence of 'love' before marriage (forced by parents to marry), to infidelity because

girls or young women did not love their husbands. Unpreparedness of the women was indicated as the cause of the breakdown of domestic relationships.

Watoni (2010) classified two factors causing divorce after child marriage in Central Lombok, namely (1) internal factors related to low level of education in the community, lack of religious knowledge, family economic factors, and family disharmony; and (2) external factors including affairs committed by married persons, community or traditional cultural customs (socio-cultural factors) and the mass media. Further, Lameo's study (2014) conducted at the Kantor Urusan Agama (KUA, Office of Religious Affairs) and Religious Courts of Gorontalo City found that the causes of divorce occurring after underage marriage (the term used by the author) are quarrels, domestic disputes, or commotions between husband and wife.

Kusumaningrum (2015) also found that underage marriage (the term used by the author) ultimately led to divorce, because it involved partners who are physically and psychologically unprepared to get married. The teenage years, characterized by emotional instability, may result in hasty decisions to get married without going through careful consideration. Marriage was found to be decided upon for the fulfilment of sexual needs, not being prepared to deal with more complex problems. This research focused on the issue of divorce after child marriage with regard to biological and psychological development (emotion, cognition and social). In contrast to the previous studies, the research findings from Betty (2013) showed that early marriage (the term used by the author) was not the main trigger for divorce cases registered in the Bengkulu Religious Court. However, several of the main factors causing divorce were the constant bickering between the two couples who marry early (502 cases) and irresponsible partner (145 cases).

Chapter 4. Child marriage and divorce: Sukabumi case

SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT OF CISOLOK VILLAGE, SUKABUMI

Cisolok village has an area of 330 hectare, consisting of 26 *Rukun Tetangga*⁹ (RTs), seven *Rukun Warga*¹⁰ (RWs) and four hamlets¹¹ (*dusun*) (BPS Statistics Indonesia, 2017). Cisolok village is one of three coastal villages in the area where the context of coastal tourism influences the livelihoods of the population. The population of Cisolok is 5,276 persons, consisting of 2,615 men and 2,661 women. The productive age (15-64) population in Cisolok is larger than the non-productive age population (Table 3).

Table 3 Population of Cisolok village in 2017 by age group

Age Group	Number of persons
0-14 years	1,157
15-64 years	3,923
above 65 years	196

Source :BPS Statistics Indonesia, 2017

Socio-economic and cultural environment

The majority of the people in Cisolok are Muslims, namely 5,242 persons, while the Christian population is only nine persons (BPS Statistics Indonesia, 2017). In religious terms, most of the children of elementary and middle school age go to the *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* (MT, Islamic school equivalent to junior high school) and are accustomed to participating in weekly Koran recitations (*pengajian*). The Koran recitations are generally held in *musholla*(a place to pray for Muslims) or in *langgar* (house of prayer in village level). Similarly, adult women also hold their own Koran recitation activities (*majlis ta'lim*). The Islamic character of the village is reflected in strong religious beliefs about marital matters, including the position of men and women within a household and with regard to earning a livelihood. The group discussion with male youth showed that they have a strict understanding of Islamic religion, in which men are required to earn a living and wives are prohibited from working outside the home as long as the husband is able to provide for the family. The educational level of the inhabitants of Cisolok village is low (Table 4).

Table 4 Level of education completed in Cisolok village

Level of education completed	Number of persons	Percentage
Elementary school/MI	2,403	45.54%
High school/vocational school	1,048	19.86%
Middle school	1,041	19.73%
Undergraduate	115	2.17%
Diploma	45	0.85%
Graduate	3	0.05%

Source : BPS Statistics Indonesia, 2017

⁹ Smallest neighbourhood unit consisting of 10-50 households.

¹⁰ Neighbourhood unit consisting of 3-10 RTs.

¹¹ An administrative-social unit under a village.

Education facilities in Cisolok village are as follows, there are three private kindergartens/early childhood education, two state elementary schools, three *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah* (MI, Islamic school equivalent to intermediate school), one state middle school; one state high school; and two vocational schools (SMK), namely SMK Bahari and SMK Samudera, both of which were founded within the last five years (BPS Statistics Indonesia, 2017). One of the obstacles encountered related to the educational infrastructure and facilities in the village is access to schools, especially high school and vocational schools for girls and boys, because the locations are rather far and not on the route of public transport¹². Regarding health facilities, there are eight *Posyandus* (primary health care service delivery units); and one *Puskesmas* (Community Health Center at sub-district level), clinic, pharmacy and drugstore (BPS Statistics Indonesia, 2017: 6-7). Cisolok village also has the following facilities: a sports arena, natural recreation areas (Karang Hawu Beach and Cisolok Geyser), and a traditional market that can support the livelihood of the population.

Based on Cisolok Village Profile 2017, the population is grouped into four categories: underprivileged ('pre-prosperous') families (434 households); stage 1 prosperous families (384 households); stage 2 prosperous families (332 households); and stage 3 prosperous families (302 households).

Economically, the main livelihoods of the inhabitants of Cisolok village are agriculture, fisheries (fishermen)¹³ and trade. In agriculture, there are fewer farm owners compared to farm labourers. The types of agriculture include wet rice fields, dry rice fields and horticulture of fruits and vegetables (bok choy, carrot and onion)¹⁴. Other livelihoods include livestock raising, market traders, beach traders, civil servants (PNS), and various services (motorcycle taxis, construction workers, workshops, etc.). There are small industries, such as wood, food/beverage, apparel, printing and furniture. There are also two home industries (BPS Statistics Indonesia, 2017). The income per capita of Cisolok village is Rp 800,000/month, while the minimum expense is Rp 1,500,000/month. Therefore there is a gap between the income and the expenses of the population of Cisolok village (BPS Statistics Indonesia, 2017).

The study found that access to employment for men in Cisolok village is more difficult than for women. Men tend to work as fishermen, farmers/farm labourers, market traders, and have odd jobs such as motorcycle taxi driving, construction and factory work. However, to become a factory worker, one has to pay a security deposit of ±3 million rupiah. Other employment options outside the village include migrant worker (Tenaga Kerja Indonesia, TKI), ship hand, hotel employee, and hotel/mall security in big cities. In contrast, women have greater access to employment options, especially as a labourer or factory worker. This is because the factories prefer to hire women as garment workers as they are more skilled at sewing and are considered more patient and thorough. Women's job choices in Cisolok village are also quite numerous, such as being hotel servants, market traders, or working in beachside cafes, the hot spring, and food-selling businesses in the village. Meanwhile, other employment options for women outside the village are becoming migrant workers in Malaysia, Saudi Arabia and Taiwan, and domestic workers in big cities.

The role of institutions

The social organizations in Cisolok village include the Family Welfare Development (PKK), Moslem teenage group, women's *majlis ta'lim* and KPAD (Village Child Protection Group), which was only formed about six months ago (in 2017). However, these organizations were not very active. The activities of PKK women in 2016-2017 were limited to activities in the *Posyandu*. The *majlis ta'lim* was only active in weekly Koran studies, as well as the mosque teenagers. The newly formed Cisolok village

¹² To that end, villagers have to use private vehicles such as motorcycles, which not all villagers have, especially the poor.

¹³ Fishing is only done in the season when the winds are not very strong.

¹⁴ The farming profession is no longer popular among the youth of Cisolok village.

KPAD was active in raising awareness about its existence and preventing child marriage, as well as economic empowerment programmes for youth, which was the impact group of the YES I DO programme¹⁵.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN YOUTH IN CISOLOK VILLAGE

Interactions between youth before marriage

In addition to at school, boys and girls in Cisolok Village were said to meet and know each other at recreational places, such as the Cileutuh Cipanas hot springs, cafés around the springs, the beach and night market. Often, they get acquainted after meeting in the streets. Some teenagers admitted getting acquainted through social media, especially Facebook.

Like in other coastal and tourism areas, the recreation areas in Cisolok village are the favourite locations for young people to meet and seek entertainment. Young men often seek entertainment in cafés by playing cards and drinking alcohol and get acquainted with the girls who work as waitresses at the cafés. They also meet on the beach, while hanging out or keeping their shop. Participants indicated that relationships often start with exchanging mobile phone numbers, a young man then offers to visit the house of the girl by bringing food or gifts as a way to steal the girl's heart. When dating, young men were said to usually choose to meet outside the house, such as on the beach. There are also couples dating at the inns around Cipanas hot springs.

"I met my future husband when keeping shop on the beach." (Rosa, female, 22 years, 30 August 2017)

"The kids now even date at the inns. Once I (a KPAD member) found them dating at the inn. There are also those who dated on the beach on Saturday nights, where it is dark." (Ella, Cisolok village KPAD, 4 September 2017)

The young people of Cisolok village said that they have Internet access via their cell phones. They therefore also use social media to get acquainted, especially Facebook. Usually they decided to date after getting acquainted on Facebook, for seven months to two years before finally deciding to meet each other face to face. When they found each other nice, the young man would make a formal visit to the residence of the girl, leading to marriage. It was said that it is not impossible that young people dating via social media are deceived by the identity and background of their partner. Several cases found during the study indicated the vulnerability of the bargaining position of girls seeking mates through the social media, because they do not know exactly the real background, character, personality and social environment of their future spouses.

"Many find their soul mates on Facebook." (25-50 years female FGD, 5 September 2017)

"Yes, there are many who were tricked, he claimed to be an entrepreneur, but turned out a motorcycle taxi driver or becak driver, another claimed to be a driver, but turned out to be unemployed." (25-50 years female FGD, 5 September 2017)

These were the most common ways for young people to meet and interact with their future partners. Besides, some girls were introduced to soon-to-be-husband by their parents.

Case example 1 – Interactions between young people

¹⁵ At present there is no funding from the village budget. Cisolok village KPAD is still waiting for the enactment of Regent Regulation on Child Protection so that KPAD will be included in the village budget.

When interacting with the community in Cisolok village, the researchers came across stories about the interactions between young people in the social media. In one story, after Indi got acquainted with a young man through social media, she decided to meet her acquaintance in person. Soon after, they married, and their marriage lasted for five months. They divorced because her husband (not from Sukabumi) left her (who lived in Cisolok village). The husband divorced the wife via text message without any good reason.

The young woman said that from the day that she acquainted until she was married, she was never introduced to her husband's family and social environment, so there was little that she knew about her husband's personality and background. Even from his social media friends, Indi could not deduce about the personality of her husband. The groom's parents did not even come to the wedding. These made that Indi, the wife, could only remain silent when she was divorced unilaterally by her husband. (Team field notes, 5 September 2017)

Communication between adults and youth

In general, the association between young men and women or girls who were considered too familiar with each other could make their parents worry, so that they decide to marry off their children, especially daughters. This was influenced by one of the religious views in Cisolok that getting married earlier is still better than 'falling into adultery' (sexual intercourse outside marriage).

"Sometimes children play all day and the couple does not come home, or they go out for a prolonged period, causing parents to worry, and then they marry off the child. The role of the parents is lacking, and they also lack understanding of sexual education." (25-50 years male FGD, 4 September 2017)

"The parents fear the way of teenagers dating and teenage pregnancy, due to the free teenage associations." (25-50 years male FGD, 4 September 2017)

Parents were also not open to their children to talk about problems related to puberty. Like most parents in Indonesia, parents in Cisolok also considered it as a taboo to talk about sexuality and relationships with their children.

In some cases of child marriage in Cisolok, young couples were susceptible to parental influence to divorce. In those cases, the young married women or men were not given the opportunity to determine their own decision, because they still did not 'escape' from the power relation with their parents.

CHILD MARRIAGE IN CISOLOK VILLAGE

Child marriage trends

According to data from UPT DPPKB (Technical Implementation Unit of Population Control and Family Planning Service Office) of Cisolok District, there were 18 weddings of women aged 16-20 in Cisolok village recorded from 2015 to 2017. Data from the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) of Cisolok District showed that the number of females between 16 and 20 that got married in 2016 was 312. In 2017, the number of weddings of girls 16-20 years was 79, while the number of weddings of boys under 19 years was three. There were not enough data about marriages under the legal marriage age according to the Marriage Law (16 years for women).

Based on FGDs with adolescents and adults in Cisolok village, the opinions about the ideal age of marriage for men were around 25 years and for women 20 years. This was based on the consideration that at that age both men and women are old enough to make choices, emotionally mature, and have worked to support their families (especially men). Furthermore, the public stigmatized unmarried

women at the age of 20 years or above. There was a statement stating that, “it’s better to be a young divorcee than to be an ‘old maid’.”

Sirri marriage and falsification of age as a backdoor for child marriage

The research findings show two types of child marriage occurring in Cisolok village: first, *sirri* marriage (religious marriage) and second, official marriage registered in the KUA by falsifying the age of the bride and groom.

Sirri marriage concerns religious marriage, where the couples do not register their marriage officially in the KUA, but the marriage is considered official and valid according to Islamic law. In Cisolok village, participants stated that this is usually done as a backdoor to allow marriage, when the prospective partner (usually the bride, but sometimes both the bride and groom) is still under the age allowed by the Marriage Law. In some cases, when couples have reached the legal age under the Marriage Act, they officially register their marriage.

The other way, as reported by study participants, is to register the wedding formally in the KUA by falsifying the age of the bride (and sometimes groom) to be in accordance with the provisions of the Marriage Law.

“Most of those who marry underage and in the KUA have their ages raised by changing the birth certificate to raise the age of the bride or the groom, but mostly the bride. In Gunung Geulis¹⁶, usually *sirri* marriage is preferred in the case of underage bride or groom. Usually it is the parents who decide whether to marry in the KUA or have a *sirri* marriage.” (18-24 years male youth FGD, 5 September 2017)

In child marriages in Cisolok village, the parents seemed to have an instrumental role in deciding the type of marriage, whether *sirri* marriage or official marriage in the KUA.

Main reasons for child marriage

Cisolok village is known as one of the coastal villages close to tourism hot-spots: a beach and a hot water spring (Cisolok Geyser). During the field work it was observed that some teenagers spend their spare time at these touristic spots with friends or lovers. They gather in stalls and cafes along the Cipanas coast, often until late at night.

Case example 2 – Reason for child marriage

In the interaction with various parties in Cisolok village, researchers found anxiety among the parents who were worried about the romantic relations of their children. Young people often spend their time outdoors late into the night, with both male and female friends. Some parents felt the need to marry their children as soon as possible, because they knew that their children have the potential to become pregnant before marriage. In the area, there were several cases of child marriage as a result of premarital pregnancy. According to the research findings, five of the nine primary participants had their marriages motivated by pre-marital pregnancies. (Team field notes, 31 August 2017)

In addition to pregnancy, economy was one of the most mentioned reasons for child marriage (mostly in girls) in Cisolok village. Girls from middle to lower class families were generally matched and married, and they were forced to drop out of school.

“In Gunung Geulis, child marriage is usually due to the negligence of the parents, as the child associated freely and became pregnant. There are cases where they dropped out of school due to lack of funds; eventually the parents married their daughters off. In another hamlet,

¹⁶ A tourism area in Bogor, West Java

someone was married off because of economic factors or debts.” (18-24 years male youth FGD, 5 September 2017)

There were other conditions where girls who dropped out for financial reasons were eventually forced to marry. The study found two cases in which girls were married off to reduce the economic burden of the family, because parents had a lot of debt. All of the female participants who got married without consent were came from poor families.

Impact of child marriage

The study found several interrelated consequences of child marriage in Cisolok village. In terms of education and economy, married children dropped out of school, not being able to develop their potentials to the maximum. As a result, they only had the opportunity to access jobs in the informal sector with low wage rates. For example, women usually became stall watchers on the beach, domestic workers, merchant and storekeepers. Meanwhile, for men, the available employment opportunities were motorcycle taxi driver, construction worker and repair shop mechanic. In other cases, when young couples were still living with the family (parents), some of the living expenses were still borne by parents, especially when the boys did not work to provide for the families.

From a social and psychological point of view, the social interactions of married children became more limited. For example, married women usually had to ask for permission from their husbands when they go out or go to work. In addition, child marriage also made young couples vulnerable to divorce due to economic problems and unpreparedness of facing domestic conflicts. For example, girls found it difficult to balance their role as a mother and wife at a very young age. This problem also occurred for boys. Both boys and girls were said to still desire the freedom of youth to hang out and play with their friends.

Views on child marriage

Some people in Cisolok village viewed child marriage as normal. In some cases, parents and family members did not examine the background of their future daughter or son-in-law. The researchers found several cases of multiple divorces in the villlage.

“I first met my partner on Facebook, and had a real life meeting in Mangga Dua area, Jakarta. After that we decided to get married and were approved by our parents. After marriage I was never taken to my husband’s family home for various reasons. After five months of marriage my husband ran away and divorced me via text message, saying that he would no longer be responsible and support me again.” (Nike, female, 24 years, August 31, 2017)

Although child marriage was considered normal by some, there was often suspicion from some parties to girls marrying early, that the reason for marriage was premarital pregnancy.

“Yes, sometimes this happens, even my daughter married early. Other people were surprised, is she pregnant? Sometimes it is not a problem though. That was because she had her holidays now, so she had the time for the wedding. Others don’t know about it, oh that would be because she was pregnant already; the fact is she’s not pregnant.” (25-50 years female FGD, 5 September 2017)

The suspicion was addressed to girls, whereas boys did not get the same judgement.

Gender relations in child marriage

In the relationship between husband and wife, the position of the wife was found to be more vulnerable to coercion or limitations in social life by the husband. This included the coercion to have sexual intercourse, the prohibition of visiting the home of parents and the prohibition of getting out of the house without the permission. In some cases, girls experienced domestic violence.

“I am not in love with my husband, I was matched by my parents. He’s 40 years old, I just graduated from intermediate school. On the first night I cried, I did not want to have sex, I was afraid. But my husband forced. He said, do you want me to talk to your parents? I do not feel at home in my husband’s house. I was beaten and kicked. Because I often lock myself in my room. I am not allowed to go home to my parents.” (Winda, female, 21 years, 31 August 2017)

“Even before I had children I was not comfortable living in Sukabumi City (where I live with my husband), but every time wanted to go back here (Cisolok, my parents’ house), but I was not allowed by my husband. I also want to wait for my baby to be a bit bigger, until she’s eight months old, before I return to Sukabumi, so she’s a bit bigger and I can clean up the house, but I was not allowed by my husband.” (Irma, female, 18 years, 30 August 2017)

After becoming wives, some women were forbidden to work and were limited in their social interactions. The disobedience of a wife to the rules imposed by her husband may result in divorce/*talaq*.

“I have been *talaq*-ed twice, but reconciled again. We fought. One of the reasons was because I went shopping to the market but did not tell my husband. My husband was furious.” (Diana, female, 21 years, 3 September 2017)

Boys or young men generally had more freedom in their social life, there were no prohibitions and time limits in activities outside the home.

“After the marriage I still go to the nightlife locations, at the inn at Cipanas (hot water springs), until late at night. My wife was angry. But who cares. My wife also often prohibits me going out of the house at night, not allowed to go outside, not allowed to work at night, had to go home. Fortunately, now I’ve divorced the wife.” (Ari, male, 21 years, 1 September 2017)

The examples of gender inequality in child marriages encountered during the field work in Cisolok village are presented in Table 5.

Table 5 Variations of gender inequality in child marriages in Cisolok village

	Case Variation	Source
1	The wife is forbidden to visit the parents’ house, whereas she is in need of help during the process of birth and caring for the newborn baby. The husband does not provide an alternative solution.	Rosa, 22 years 30 August 2017
2	The wife is not allowed to socialize with friends, must focus on taking care of the husband’s daily needs. Yet the husband often spends time with friends, and the wife is rarely invited to spend time with her husband. The wife feels marginalized and limited in social interactions.	Irma, 14 years 30 August 2017
3	The wife must get permission from her husband to continue education or to look for work after marriage. The husband considers it is not an urgent need for his wife. The wife’s primary duty is to do domestic work.	Diana, 21 years 3 September 2017

ILLEGAL BUT LICIT: THE PRACTICE OF DIVORCE AFTER CHILD MARRIAGE IN CISOLOK VILLAGE

Based on the case reports received by the Sukabumi Religious Court, the number of divorce and *talaq* cases seemed to have increased from year to year (Table 6). However, the data do not specifically describe the condition of divorce after child marriage, because the age when couples marry is not registered. In addition, most people in Cisolok village did not register their divorce to the Religious Courts.

Table 6 Recapitulation of case reports received by the Cibadak Religious Court, Sukabumi Regency

Year	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
<i>Talaqs</i>	151	148	172	182	180
Divorce Lawsuits	614	647	763	793	981
Total	765	795	935	975	1161

There were three types of divorces in Cisolok village: (1) registered divorce; (2) unregistered divorce; (3) divorce registered informally through the illegal but licit Divorce Certificate.

Almost all divorces in Cisolok village were conducted without going through the Religious Courts, except for a handful of people with good educational and economic backgrounds. During the study, few of the primary participants were found to have registered their divorces. The researchers found two people whose divorces were officially registered in the Religious Courts and who had proper divorce certificates.

In the case of *sirri* (unregistered) marriages, the divorces that follow are also unregistered. Unregistered divorces also occurred verbally by husband to wife, either directly or via text message (SMS). Participants stated that in Islamic law, the husband has power over divorce where only through verbal speech the husband can bring divorce to the wife and the divorce is considered valid.

Such a verbal divorce was experienced by Irma (18 years) who was divorced by phone. Irma, who got married for the first time at the age of 14, felt uncomfortable with her jealous husband, who tended to behave roughly to Irma's family. Irma's first husband was always suspicious when she went to work as a hawker on the beach and did not allow Irma to go home and stay at her parents' house. Irma's ex-husband often threw harsh words to the family and behaved violently, causing arguments.

"Rather than becoming a burden, especially since there is a problem with my parents, it is not good to have such a household, it is better to end it. So I called him on the phone and said I wanted a divorce, but he was unwilling. Within a month I persuaded him to *talaq* me, with the possibility of reconciliation, and he finally relented. He divorced me, via cell phone, he called my father, my uncle and the RT head. He made the phone call before the Friday prayers, when my father was about to go to the mosque." (Irma, female, 18 years, 30 August 2017)

Rosa's experience was similar to Irma's, and outlined in Case example 3.

Case example 3 – Way of divorce after child marriage

Rosa, who married at the age of 18, gave birth to her first child in the home of her own parents. After the birth, Rosa's husband asked her to go home to him, while Rosa wanted to stay with her mother until the child was eight months old, because she did not feel healthy enough and needed help to take care of the newborn. Her (ex)husband, angry, said the *talaq* through a text message.

"One week after the birth my husband *talaq*-ed me through text message. The text message was sent to me, but it was directed to my father. It was valid because it was sent to my father 'Asep *talaq* 1 Rosa'." (Rosa, female, 22 years, 30 August 2017)

Unregistered divorce could also occur when a husband left his wife without news. Husbands who came from other regions could not return home for months, or totally disappeared. Study participants explained that in the case of unregistered divorce, the wife and child have no clarity of status. On the one hand, there is no divorce certificate indicating that the marriage has ended, and on the other hand the husband has left his wife and children and is no longer responsible for the needs of the household. Under these circumstances, women may submit a certificate of divorcee hood to the village office. The 'divorcee hood certificate' issued by the village office states that the husband had divorced or abandoned his wife from a certain date, so the wife's status becomes a divorcee. This certificate may be used by the wife for administrative purposes related to her marital status, and she can be legally remarried in KUA.

Illegal but licit divorce certificate: common way of divorce

Most of the divorces in Cisolok village were reported to the village officials, i.e. the RT or RW heads. As indicated before, most of the lower middle class people in Cisolok did not conduct divorce proceedings in the Religious Courts for economic reasons.

The Religious Courts are one hour away from Cisolok village, and cannot be reached by public transport only. The divorce process cannot be done in one sitting; the applicant must be present in the Religious Court at least three times until the divorce decision is issued by the Religious Court. First, the applicant files the divorce suit, and then the court will call the two sides for the first hearing. At the first divorce hearing, the judge will order mediation to both parties. If mediation is unsuccessful, a subsequent trial will be made to decide the dispute cases in the divorce proceedings. In the end, the divorce decision will be issued and announced by the judge at the last hearing. Due to the length of this divorce process, a lot of money is required. People need to pay for the transportation to the Religious Court and the fee to register the divorce suit. The cost is determined by the distance of the applicant's residence to the Religious Court: Ring 1 Rp 381,000, Ring 2 Rp 481,000, Ring 3 Rp 541,000, and Ring 4 Rp 591,000.

"It's a long process, especially in the religious court. Indeed, most divorces today do not go through the religious court. A statement on a stamp duty, with a witness is enough. A stamped statement is enough, what is important is that both parties make their statement and witnessed by their parents. Usually the divorcing parties bring witnesses or relatives, we gather them to talk. Talk, talk, talk, and then we bring to Mr. Naip. All apply their signatures, use a stamp, finished." (Dodi, Community leader, 26 August 2017)

Even though there is a legal process to get divorced, the villagers of Cisolok had financial limitations to access legal divorce proceedings. Therefore, it was found that village officials provide another mechanism to accommodate divorce.

Every RT and RW head have a letter of statement of *talaq*, which can be typed or in the form of handwriting. When there are couples who wanted to divorce, they convey their intentions to the RT/RW head. They then call the representatives of both parties to attend as witnesses to the divorce. The divorce or *talaq* process is usually done at the RT/RW head's house, where the couple and witnesses from both parties are present. The husband then pronounces the *talaq* in front of the RT/RW head and witnesses. The former husband and wife then sign a statement of divorce with stamp duty. The RT/RW head and witnesses from both parties also sign the statement. This certificate of divorce is made in two copies, so that the ex-husband and ex-wife have one each. The statement, often referred to as stamped divorce letter (Figure 1), is considered a valid statement that the divorce has been done.

SURAT PERNYATAAN THALAQ

Yang bertanda tangan dibawah ini kami masing-masing :

Nama ASAP. SUMARDI

Tempat / Tgl lahir SUKABUMI - 14.02.1983

Pekerjaan KARYAWAN

Alamat Kp. ELUS RT. 31 RW 09

Desa/ Kel. 777ISAN .. Kecamatan SUKALANG .. Kab/Kota SUKABUMI ..

Menyatakan dengan sebenarnya bahwa pada hari ini, KABU .. Tanggal 18 .. Bulan NOPEMBER ..

Tahun 2015 .. Jam 18.09 .. wib. saya telah menjatuhkan Thalaq

(CATU) kepada istri saya :

Nama RESTI SAPUTRIYANA

Tempat/Tgl lahir SUKABUMI 05-11-1986

Binti UPAK SUPARDI

Pekerjaan A.R.T

Alamat Kp. CIKUKULI RT 004 RW 004


Desa/ Kel. CUKULU .. Kecamatan CICOLAK .. Kab/Kota SUKABUMI ..


Penjatuhan Thalaq ini dilaksanakan atas kehendak kedua belah pihak (suami/istri) sehingga tidak akan saling menggangu gugat, Dan disaksikan oleh saksi - saksi yang bisa dipertanggung jawabkan dikemudian hari.

Demikian pernyataan thalaq ini kami buat dengan sesungguhnya dalam keadaan sehat jasmani dan rohani serta tidak ada unsur paksaan dan tekanan dari pihak manapun agar kepada pihak yang berkepentingan mengetahui adanya.

Cicokolak 18 November 2015

Pihak Istri Yang Menyatakan (Suami)





RESTI SAPUTRIYANA

Saksi - saksi :

1. DAWI ANTONI SUBARYO

2. DWI BAW

3. LIYANOTI

Source: Team Documentation, 30 August 2017

Economic issues

30

Upon child marriage, the education of boys and girls was cut off so that both parties did not have adequate skills. For girls, there were still opportunities to work as waitresses at seaside stalls, domestic or factory worker in other cities, and migrant worker abroad. For boys, these choices and opportunities were less available.

Divorce tended to occur when the married children were getting bigger and cost increased, while the husband did not have a job or the income from his job was not enough to finance the needs of the household. Therefore, the wife must go to work.

“Not enough money, divorces occur when the children are growing but the income does not grow, eventually the mother, desperate, goes abroad, resulting in divorce, so the divorce did not happen soon after the wedding, but when the child was about to enter a school, the father was unable to provide so eventually the wife rebelled, especially as there are two children about to enter a school.” (25-50 years male FGD, 4 September 2017)

When a wife had a job with a higher income than her husband, there was no longer any reason to keep her marriage. For example, in Irma’s second marriage at the age of 17 years, Irma’s ex-husband fell ill so Irma had to provide for the household and bear the medical expenses of her husband. Finally Irma asked for divorce at the age of 18 years. This example is in line with the statements made by the young women in the FGD:

“Her husband was not working. She had to work instead. So it was the wife who was working. She was exhausted, it was better to quit the marriage. They had a child, she was given to the wife’s parents. In the end they divorced, because the wife was working while her husband lazed.” (18-24 years old female FGD, 5 September 2017)

The same thing can also be seen from the case of Hasan who was sued for divorce by his wife because of lack of support (Case example 4).

Case example 4 – Economic issues as cause of divorce

Hasan (23 years) who first married an 18-year-old woman initially had a fine home life when both worked. But when Hasan decided to go to college so that he could not have as much income as he used to, his ex-wife felt restless and unhappy that her husband could no longer meet the needs of the household. Hasan’s reduced income was the main reason for his ex-wife to ask for divorce.

Premarital pregnancy

Another reason for divorce was related to cases of child marriage with a background of premarital pregnancy. In cases of child marriage with premarital pregnancy, the main purpose of the marriage was that the pregnancy and birth occurred within the marriage bond. Several study participants explained that after the child is born, the purpose of the marriage has been achieved. In this situation, the child marriage will be very vulnerable to divorce. Five of the nine main participants married because of premarital pregnancy, and all five had a divorce soon after the child was born.

Married couples with premarital pregnancy backgrounds were usually still at school age. Once married, they automatically quitted their education. The couple often lacked adequate skills, resulting in not being able to finance their household independently. After the child was born, Narsih’s (18 years, first married at the age of 14) and Diana’s parents (21 years, first married at the age of 18) saw that their sons-in-law did not have jobs that could support the families, so they encouraged their daughters to divorce. Narsih and Diana, who became mothers as minors, were dependent on their families, in the

economic, physical and psychological sense in relation to raising children. Both Narsih and Diana had no ability and were powerless to make decisions for themselves.

Dewi had a similar story because she got divorced one week after marriage. As told by her mother, Dewi married at the age of 16 years due to premarital pregnancy. Dewi's mother, who saw her daughter not given adequate food at the home of the in-laws, told her daughter to divorce after one week of marriage. For Dewi's parents, it was enough that the wedding was carried out to make up for Dewi's premarital pregnancy.

In the exceptional case of Tanto (21 years old) who first married at the age of 18 years with his partner aged 16, Tanto's in-laws asked their daughter to divorce because of Tanto's tattooed appearance. This divorce was done after the child was born at five months of marriage. The child was then raised by Tanto and his family, while his ex-wife returned to her family and continued her education.

Violence

In the child marriages arranged through matchmaking, girls were particularly vulnerable to violence. Girls did not have the opportunity to express their desires, needs, and experiences. Girls did not have the education and skills and therefore bargaining power in domestic life. Matchmaking was usually initiated by parents and prospective husbands who were older, in the hope that the prospective husband would be able to ease the burden of the family's economy and upgrade the family for the better. Girls ended up being economically dependent on their husbands.

Winda (21 years) was one example of girls experiencing violence within their marriages. Winda's parents set her up with a 40-year-old man when Winda was 16 years old. Poverty prevented Winda from continuing education after graduating from intermediate school. Winda's family also had a lot of debt, so when the man came with the promise of helping the family's economy, Winda's parents accepted the proposal without Winda's approval. In her marriage life, Winda experienced physical violence when her ex-husband felt Winda made mistakes. Winda, who did not love and even feared her husband, often refused sexual advances, so in the end the husband returned Winda to her parents after three months of marriage.

"I do not know what my mistakes were, suddenly he said that I like to return to the house of my parents, he said I cannot do that, I do not have any relations with my parents anymore. Then he was furious, he hit me, he hit me with a broom, he poured hot noodles on me." (Winda, female, 22 years, 31 August 2017)

Violence also happened not only to wives, but also to their families, as Irma's first marriage (18 years). Domestic violence was not only limited to physical violence, but also verbal and psychological violence. Not allowing a wife to go home to meet parents and family, or not to stay in a parent's home was a form of violence that was often encountered in the case of child marriage in the village of Cisolok. Both in the case of Winda and Irma, violence in child marriage was one of the strongest reasons for them to file for divorce.

Too young and unready to marry

Many study participants said that being married at a young age, boys and girls are not psychologically ready. In their teens, they still want to play and hang out with their peers. From the study, it was found that husbands often play with peers or coworkers outdoors, while the wives are more limited at home. The wife, who is still a child at heart, also wants the freedom to play with peers and neighbors. In some cases, as presented above, the wife is not even allowed to go home and stay at her parents' home.

“Yes, it is different, unlike normal teenagers, you must be an adult to be a housewife. Well, in a marriage the wife has to take care of the husband, enough with the playing, enough with the school, if one is married one no longer cares about that but has to take care of the husband.”
(Irma, female, 18 years, 30 August 2017)

Men and women who enter into marriage as children were also said not to not have life skills such as managing household finances and communication in relationships.

Case example 5 – Readiness to get married

Ari (21 years old) first married at the age of 19 with his 17-year-old partner. Ari was still very young, and at the time he did not have a steady job. His minimal income was used to hang out with his friends. Ari’s immaturity and his economic condition caused Ari’s wife to ask for a divorce.

Communication problems between husband and wife in child marriage were mentioned by almost all study participants. They claimed that after marriage they did not communicate well between each other. One participant, Rosa (22 years) complained that their relationship and communication before and after marriage were much different. Rosa, who married her boyfriend at the age of 18, said that after marriage, she and her husband rarely talked, because her husband more often hang out with his co-workers. “It was better after the *talaq*, I can be free again. I am glad, because when I had a husband he did not give attention.” (Rosa, female, 22 years, 30 August 2017). Rosa did not mind the divorce because she thought she and her ex-husband lived separate lives.

Girls who had close relationships with mothers or other family members shared, recounted, and sought feedback from them when there was a problem in her household. While girls who from the beginning did not have special affinity with their family members tended to keep their own problems, eventually they expressed their desire to divorce when they felt no longer able to overcome the problems of the household. As indicated before, some families even suggested their children to get divorced.

Janda Herang versus Perawan Tua (pretty divorcee versus old spinster)

For Cisolok villagers, marriages and divorces seemed to be regarded as normal in life. When there was a problem in the household that could no longer be resolved, the parents and the surrounding community often supported and encouraged divorce.

Case example 6 – Marry, divorce and remarry

Nike (24 years) first married at the age of 17 years with a stranger from outside the village. Nike, who excelled at school, could not pursue her dream of becoming a midwife because her parents matched Nike with a man five years older than her. At first Nike hated her husband, but after a year of marriage and the birth of her first child, Nike began to love her husband. When Nike was becoming comfortable with her home life, it became known that her husband had an older wife and three children elsewhere. Nike’s husband also had a lot of debt. After learning about this, Nike’s family was very regretful to have set up their daughter without first checking the background of the husband. Nike divorced after two years of marriage, but returned to reconciliation, and divorced again at the age of 22 years. They again reconciled and divorced for the third time at the age of 23 years. From her marriage, Nike has two children and suffered one miscarriage that almost took her life. To support her two children, Nike currently works as a singer performing in various places, both in Cisolok and elsewhere.

Although marriages and divorces were common, there was a stigma attached to divorced young women. The people of Cisolok had a term *janda herang*, a beautiful young divorcee.

“Yes there’s a term for that. It is embarrassing, made fun by people. *Jahe, janda herang*, beautiful divorcee. That’s the term. Second, if she goes out in the evenings, even if she does nothing, she’s seen in a negative light. Third, she’s considered as disruptor of other families. That’s the problem she has to face. If she’s a divorcee, then she goes out or visits her siblings, or works, she can return home at 10 in the evening. The community can suspect her. Second, she’s made fun by the friends or by men, as *jahe*. I pity them, they are not free to hang out. Probably they enjoy living one month with their parents, but if they do so for longer, they begin to get tired of it. Now she goes out to play, even if there’s nothing, let alone a man visits her on a motorbike, the community goes on an uproar. That’s the social sanction, a risk that has to be faced. Even if she does nothing negative.” (Dodi, Community leader, 26 August 2017)

Women who became divorcees at a young age were the subject of public discussion and closely monitored because of public concerns about the stigma attached to them. This stigma was only related to women, and did not apply to divorced men.

“Being talked about, gossiped about. A divorcee is always talked about by people. Suspected by this and that. A divorcee, where she wants to go, is always talked about because she does not have a husband. A divorced man, even a handsome one, even if he does not return home for days, nobody talks about him, because a man is free to go home at any time. If a woman returns home later than eight in the evening she will be gossiped about.” (25-50 years female FGD, 5 September 2017)

Despite the negative stigma attached to divorced young women, there was found to be an even worse stigma to girls who have reached the age of 20 and above but have not married. After 20 years old, girls who were not yet married were considered as not attractive. It would be harder for them to find future husband and this pressure was also addressed to their family. According to many study participants, it was better to be a *janda herang* than a spinster.

Relations with former partners after divorce

The custody of children was not often contested by divorced couples. Children resulting from dissolved marriages were mostly raised by the family of the mother’s side after divorce. It was rare for children to be cared for by their fathers. When the child was cared by the mother after the divorce, most of the needs of the child were borne by the mother and her family. In general, the father only sent money or goods at times. If the divorce occurred because of encouragement from the parents, then the divorced couple rarely if ever communicated again, including discussing the needs of children.

“After the *talaq*, my husband no longer gives me money. Even for the child he does not give anything. So if I need money for the child, I photograph my child who is ill, and I send the photo to my ex-husband, probably he will then send me money.” (Nike, female, 24 years, 30 August 2017)

“After the divorce, I have never communicated again with my ex-wife; I also never talk about the children.” (Tanto, male, 21 years, 3 September 2017)

In Cisolok village, there was no case of divorce after child marriage found that included quarrels of alimony, as there was no wealth to share.

After the divorce: sense of freedom, work, and child care

The various problems experienced by participants while in a marriage caused them to feel more comfortable after divorce. Girls who married by matchmaking felt shackled, uncomfortable, and fearful in their marriages. After divorce, they claimed to feel happier and freer. While they had to focus on making money for the sake of providing for their children, they still felt happier than when they were

married. Similarly, participants who married on the grounds of premarital pregnancy; girls who did not have plans to get married, felt burdened when entering a domestic life. Divorce reduced their burden of husbands, even though the burden of children could not be reduced.

“It is good, so much better. No more burden. Not any thoughts about it, feels relieving.”
(Narsih, female, 18 years, 29 August 2017)

“Relieved. It’s better to divorce, there’s no burden. I used to hope he returns but no longer.”
(Rani, female, 21 years, 29 August 2017)

For other participants, they did not expect that marriage life was not easy. Staying with parents-in-law and away from parents, and the psychological absence of a husband made them feel alienated and lonely.

All divorced female participants with children confessed that the main focus for them was to earn a living for the needs of their child(ren). After divorce, they had the freedom to seek employment and the earnings were used for the benefit of their child. However child marriage, resulting in quitting school, caused few employment options available for divorcees. If they wanted to stay with their children and parents, their income was very small. In order to earn a greater income, they had to go to foreign and risky places with minimal skills, such as becoming factory workers in other cities or migrant workers abroad. As told by the father of Rida, after her divorce, Rida alternated jobs for a better income.

“After the divorce she worked again, in a garment factory in Sukabumi. Not for long, only six months, then in Bandung for three months. In PT also three months, PT Wahana in Jakarta to practice before leaving for Taiwan. The contract in Taiwan was for three years, later in the new year she can return, rest for a month and then go again. She did not have to pay, but when she’s successful she’ll give three million to Mr. Jemi, the agent from PT Wahana. Her salary is cut by nine months.” (Mansyur, parent, 5 September 2017)

After the divorce occurred, parenting mostly became the responsibility of the female’s family. However in this study, two men took over the care of their own children. Women’s families were not only responsible for care, but also for the economic needs of children. In some cases, the ex-husband occasionally gave a gift, clothing or toys before Eid. In the case of marriage done with the aim to relieve the economic burden of the family, child marriage failed to fulfill this purpose, and instead added to the economic burden of the family with the children and grandchildren to be cared for by the extended family.

Coping mechanisms in facing the impact of divorce

Life options and dealing with problems after divorce

Female participants reported to have their own way to calm themselves in the face of stressful situations, anger and disappointment after divorce, for example by crying, spending more time with children and families, isolating themselves from the neighbours for some time (up to 3 months in some cases), worshiping (praying and reciting), preoccupying the mind in the needs and future plans of children and attending activities such as social gatherings.

A few of the female participants interviewed, after going through divorce, they chose to temporarily isolate themselves from their social environment. In addition to being embarrassed to have divorced at such a young age, they were fearful of being gossiped by neighbors, and also felt disappointed of having failed in marriage.

Several female participants, after divorce, chose to remarry with persons they actually loved (unlike in their first marriages). There was also the possibility of reconciling with former husbands after *talaq* (such as in Nike's case).

As said, male participants tended to be not responsible to their ex-wife and children's needs. They felt freer and able to go out with their friends. For male participants, it seemed to be easier to decide to get married again. It was explained that there is no *iddah* period (a waiting period during which women are not allowed to remarry in Islam) for men, also because they are not burdened by childcare.

Post-divorce barriers to returning to school

Girls who had been married and divorced in general felt ashamed to return to school. Despite declaring their wish to return to school, in fact, they did not do so. First, they felt embarrassed because they would be the subject of gossiping by their friends at school. School-age children who have been married (and divorced) tended to be shunned by peers.

"Well, there is no girl who has returned to school, because... if she has been divorced or married, she is embarrassed." (Narnia, Cisolok District PKBM, 28 August 2017)

"If initially she was not known to be married or divorced, it may be possible for her to continue her education, it would be a different case if she were known to be married and later divorced, that would be difficult because of the social status." (25-50 years male FGD, 4 September 2017)

Second, they could often not afford the cost of going back to school. Neither girls nor boys who had divorced (after child marriage) from Cisolok village decided to participate in the *Paket C*¹⁷ programme. One of the reasons was that they did not have enough funds to join. Even if they had the funds, *Paket C* was not a priority of the family, as any money was allocated to meet the needs of their own children. This was reported by female and male participants, who had mostly a low to middle economic status. From the middle to upper economic status families, there were some cases reported of girls who had divorced and returned to school, but they moved out of the district/city.

Social engagement and support in the community

Beside the initial stigma felt by young females, the behaviour of the community (neighbours) was not seen as disturbing or isolating to the young women and men who had been married and divorced. Divorcees were still involved in recitation activities, village meetings, marriage celebrations, volleyball matches, etc. This could happen because almost everyone in the village gets married at a young age (though not all end up in divorce), so they understand the situation of the women and men who have just divorced.

In general, young divorcees rarely participated activities initiated by PKK, because they were more focused on working, both in and outside their village, even abroad. This was said to be different from divorcees over the age of 24, who were more often involved in social activities in their neighbourhoods.

"Many divorcees participate in PKK social activities, but the majority are divorcees aged 24 years and over. While young divorcees aged less than 24 years go elsewhere looking for work or remarry with people from other villages." (Tina, Cisolok Village PKK, 30 August 2017)

¹⁷ *Kejar Paket* is a program for those who did not finish certain stage of school but have passed the age limit to continue the school. *Paket A* is Elementary School Equivalency; *Paket B* is Junior High School Equivalency; and *Paket C* is Senior High School Equivalency. The study time is shorter, the participants will get certificate equal to the regular school certificate after they graduate.

Development of life skills, economic empowerment and education

In Cisolok village, prior to the YES I DO programme, there were no activities that focused on empowering women and children, as well as for women who had divorced after child marriage. At the time of this study, there were hardly any youth organization. There was only a mosque youth group founded six months prior to the study, and the activities were limited to regular weekly recitation activities. Results of FGDs and interviews with a number of youth in Cisolok village indicated that young people have potential to develop, but no one has facilitated empowerment/skill development for young people. Likewise with adult groups, there was no empowerment programme, other than a government started savings and loan programme for business groups (several years previously implemented in the PKK), but the activity was considered a failure because the cash lent was never returned.

The KPAD in Cisolok village was formed about six to eight months before the study was conducted. The activities that KPAD had undertaken so far included: raising awareness about the existence of KPAD in village meetings and school committees and about prevention of child marriage; and initiation of economic empowerment activities for children aged 10-15 years as the intervention group. The activities are generally held after school time. The KPAD also launched activities for youth in Cisolok village, especially for those with premarital pregnancy or dropping out of school. They initiated the establishment of a gathering center for young people and initiated cooperation with *Puskesmas* to reactivate the Teenage Friendly Health Service.

There were some entrepreneurs who provided capital for car rental businesses and who recruited young workers (18-25 years). Although not specifically aimed at empowering youths, these efforts had a positive impact on the youths they recruited. Such car rental businesses are examples of economic activities that require relatively large investments. Other businesses require cooperation (business capital assistance) from the Village Government to open other potential business activities.

In Cisolok village, the offer of skills training programmes or activities from BLK (Vocational Training Center) seem to be not taken seriously. The village government might not yet have adopted a sensitive approach to the aspirations of youth. Based on information from the FGDs, when the BLK programme was launched in Cisolok village, nobody facilitated the process of exploring the interests and potentials of the youth, and it was hastily concluded that the youth in Cisolok village did not have the skills that could be developed through BLK activities.

In the field of education, since 2007 there has been the GSC (*Generasi Sehat dan Cerdas*, Healthy and Smart Generation) programme in place in formal schools. This programme aims to provide opportunities for children who have been married or divorced to return to school. Formally, there should be no obstacle for married or divorced youth to return to school. However, none of the young divorcees have taken the opportunity, because of the fear for stigma in the community and school.

Chapter 5. Child marriage and divorce after child marriage: Rembang case

SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT OF MENORO VILLAGE, REMBANG

Administratively, Menoro village shares borders with Kendal Agung village in the north, Kedung Ringin village in the south, Jambeyan village in the west, and Mojokerto village in the east. Menoro village consists of three *dukuhs* (hamlets) occupying an area of 526.19 hectares, namely: (1) Dukuh Damaian, (2) Dukuh Gagaan, and (3) Dukuh Banaran. With a lowland topography, an average rainfall of 980 mm in five months of rain and an average air temperature of 30° C, most inhabitants of Menoro village are farmers (1,576) and farm labourers (1,378) (Figure 2). There are a number of agricultural products produced in Menoro, namely rice, corn, fruits and vegetables (including watermelon, cantaloupe, tomato, chili pepper and mango). Menoro village has 395 hectares of wet rice fields, 70 hectares of dry farms, 57.2 hectares of land reserved for settlements, and 3.99 hectares of land for other purposes.



Figure 2 One of the economic activities of female farm labourers in Menoro village
Source: Team Documentation, 15 September 2017

Based on the Menoro Village Profile 2017, some Menoro villagers work as civil servants (8 persons), self-employed or traders (58), carpentry (279), fishermen (89), scavengers (45), services (16), and pensioner (1).

In general, fewer women work compared to men. Most married women do not work outside the household, they are housewives. If women work after marriage, they generally work by helping their husbands to look after rice fields and livestock in a variety of ways, among which are *ngarit*¹⁸. Another occupation of the women in Menoro is domestic work.

Menoro: a religious village

In general, Menoro village is a religious village with the entire population being Muslim. The village has three mosques and 29 *mushollas* and there are a number of educational facilities based on Islam. Most villagers have completed elementary school (Table 7).

¹⁸ Collecting grass for fodder and feeding livestock

Table 7 Level of education completed in Menoro village

Level of Education Completed	Number of persons
Elementary school	2,087
Middle school or equivalent	33
High school or equivalent	242
Vocational	4
Undergraduate	33
Graduate	3

Source : BPS Statistics Indonesia, 2017

In Menoro village, there are a number of educational institutions, namely a state elementary school and a number of Islamic-based schools consisting of RAs, MIs, MTs, and MAs. In addition to continuing to MA after having graduated from MT, the youth of Menoro also has a preference of *mondok* or boarding in *pesantren*. This is generally done by girls who have just graduated from MT. Study participants indicated that when women are attending religious education in the *pesantren*, their parents or families generally find prospective husbands for them.



Figure 3 Some girls in Menoro village walking to a *musholla* to read the Koran

Source: Team Documentation, 12 September 2017

In addition to formal education from kindergarten to Islamic high school (MA) levels, there is also a *Madrasah Diniyah* located in Gagaan dukuh. A *Madrasah diniyah* is different from other *madrasahs*, because it is a non-formal education institution, held in the afternoon after the students return from formal schools such as MIs, MTs, or MAs. The *Madrasah Diniyah* is managed by Kyai Haji Zuhri, a local religious leader, and the school is not subsidized by the government. Children and youth in Menoro village obtain religious education from Koran readings and studying at the *Madrasah Diniyah*.

Social organizations

There are a number of organizations in Menoro village, including: (1) the Family Welfare Development (PKK), with programmes consisting of regular gatherings, twice weekly gymnastics, and Koran recitation; (2) Karang Taruna, a youth organization with programmes consisting of a marching band and sports, and *hadhrah* (Islamic musical art); (3) FAD (Forum Anak Desa), a youth organization focused on religious, educational and sporting activities intended for young villagers; and (4) the Village Child Protection Group (KPAD). As told by Kumiati, chairwoman of the KPAD, it is a village-level organization

that focuses on the issues of children at the village. Further, Kumiati stated that the KPAD was formed in 2015. Legally, the existence of KPAD is supported by the Regional Regulation of Rembang Regency No. 6 of 2014, particularly Article 6 point (b), which states that the Village Government is obliged and responsible for facilitating the realization of community participation in the provision of child protection through the KPAD. In 2017, the KPAD received funds from the Village Budget (APBDes) with an amount of Rp 25,824,000 (1.549 euros) for its programmes in one year.

Cangkruk: a portrait of the activities of Menoro young men

In the village of Menoro, there is an activity often done by adolescents, in addition to joining Karang Taruna and engaging in institutional activities, is *cangkruk* or spending time in the coffee shops located in the village and surrounding areas. Those who generally come to the coffee shop are young men. The coffee shops are used to gather with friends and play cards. Some coffee shops have karaoke, a pool table, and lady companions escorts known as *kimcil*. The lady companions come from various places, such as Lasem, Sale, Jatirogo, Purwodadi, Tuban, Pati, Kudus and even Bandung. Young men who come to the coffee shop generally *nyawer* for Rp 200,000/hour (information from the 18-24 years male FGD, 13 September 2017).

FROM FACEBOOK TO BECOMING 'AN ITEM' : DATING AMONG MENORO VILLAGE YOUTH

In Menoro village, boys and girls were familiar with the concept of dating or courtship. The experience of courtship varied among youth: some teenagers had been dating and others had never dated. Reasons for not having dated were related to feeling too young and none of the friends being dating (the case of Kai, female, 20 years), or because of being in a boarding school/*pesantren* (the case of Sita, female, 22 years). Furthermore, it appeared that when young people don't have a girlfriend or a boyfriend, they could still establish (romantic relationships), as in the case of Kai who was introduced to a man and often sent short messages (SMS), though said she was not dating. There was also Sita, who was close to a man, even though they were not dating and had met each other while on vacation.

The age when a young person starts dating also varied. In the FGD of young men, it was revealed that generally teenagers in Menoro village have girlfriends at the age of 18, 19, or 20 years. However, there were cases of adolescents who were dating at a younger age. This happened for example in the case of Kadir, who first liked girls at the age of 17 years, and began dating at the age of 17 years as well. According to a teacher in Menoro village, dating was taking place between teenagers of the same age and between those of different ages. The duration of dating also varied, between five months (Ema) and three years (Kadir).

Most youth in Menoro seemed to date people from other villages. For example, Ama dated a man from Pati Regency, and Ema dated a man from the village of Mantingan in Rembang regency. When dating at long distance, Ema's boyfriend had visited her in Menoro village. Ama dated when she was 20 years old. Ama's introduction with her boyfriend took place at Ama's friend's house in Pati. The man was working in Surabaya.

Meeting future girl- or boyfriends happened at school, *dangdut* performances, meatball stalls, on the street, and at a friend's house. Introduction could also be established through the use of mobile phones and social media. A number of teenagers in Menoro village found their partners from Facebook. There were also cases when a young female received a call from an unknown number, then became acquainted and started dating.

“Yes, usually on Facebook, then meet the person because of curiosity, what the other person is like. Also others have responded to calls from wrong numbers.” (18-24 years female FGD, 12 September 2017)

Some teenagers dated people introduced by their friends. This, for example, occurred in the cases of Kai, Ama, Ema, and in the narratives of female youth FGDs as well as male youth FGDs.

Participants generally described that the activity of dating included eating meatballs or chicken noodles, watching a *dangdut* show, or communicating via phone or Facebook. However, in an interview with an MTs teacher in Menoro, it was revealed that the dating style of Menoro youth is now more blunt, as she stated:

“Well, yes, nowadays it’s becoming blunter. I mean, they upload their activities on Facebook, where they’re going, writing ‘farewell my love,’ my, my!” (Niken, teacher, 6 September 2017)

In addition to the above activities, the youth of Menoro also often visited tourist attractions when dating, such as Mbongko Beach, located in Kragan District, Jatisari Beach, located in Sluke District, and Lodan Dam, located in Sarang District.

In general, the youth in Menoro village more often dated outside their homes, because of the assumption that if the girlfriend is taken to the house, then the couple is expected to become husband and wife. Furthermore, dating was perceived as an immoral activity. For example, a teacher in Menoro village said:

“... Indeed I saw their posts. So they are an item, but as suggested by YES I DO programme, they should not be dating, maybe allowed if they do positive activities, but I am assuming they have no idea of positive dating. I can see what they post or upload, I often take screenshots and send to the group of teachers, oh, what are our children going to be?” (Niken, teacher, 6 September 2017)

In addition, the head of Menoro KPAD argued that the associations between youth in the village of Menoro is basically good, and there are only a few who have bad associations.

“Actually the youth here are good, yes, only some of them have bad associations, maybe because of their own attitude, or probably influenced by family factor, such as..., whose mother has died and also they come from a poor family.” (Kusuma, Head of Menoro KPAD, 6 September 2017)

With reference to the narrative above, the family and economy were brought up as factors influencing the activity of dating by some of the youth of Menoro village.

CHILD MARRIAGE AND MATCHMAKING IN MENORO

Child marriage was considered as a common practice in Menoro Village. Based on data from the Religious Court of Rembang Regency, there were 67 cases of marriage dispensation for girls under the age of 16 and 31 cases between January and August 2017. Data from the KUA of Sedan District in 2016 show that there were four cases of marriage of girls under 16 years registered, and 170 cases of marriage of women aged 16-19 years. There were also two cases of marriage of boys under 19 years in 2016 in Sedan District. Although child marriages were still very common in Menoro village, the opinions about the best marriage age seemed to slowly begin to change. Young women in the village assumed that the ideal age for marriage is 18-22 years, on the grounds that women at that age are physically and mentally ready.

“When the woman is 20 years old and above, her sexual organs are ready, if for example she wants to get pregnant, they are ready, also she would be mentally ready, she thinks like an adult, she’s not just playing games.” (18-24 years female FGD, 12 September 2017)

According to some members of the community in Menoro village, awareness of the importance of physical and mental readiness for women to marry was decreasing the rate of child marriage. Based on FGD data, women were generally married to older males, between two to ten years older.

Ngemblog, the tradition of proposing by the female's family

Study participants said that in Menoro village, the marriage proposal is given by the family of the bride-to-be, called *ngemblog*. The family members visit the home of the groom's family in order to 'bind' the bridegroom with foodstuffs such as sugar (about 50 kg), coffee, cakes, and fruits. After the first meeting, the groom's family will come to the house of the women's family carrying gold jewelry such as a necklace or bracelet, worth the equivalent of the total foodstuffs brought on during *ngemblog*. This visit is responded to again when the women's family returns to the house of the groom carrying more materials for the preparation of marriage such as sugar, rice and cakes. If the value of the foodstuffs does not equal the value of the jewelry given to the female's family, this can end up in quarrels and failure to marry. Most of the community members in Menoro village still practiced *ngemblog* although some were not doing it anymore. This was done based on agreement between the two families.

Participant clarified that although the family of the bride proposes to the groom's family, it does not mean that women have a higher position in the family. Men remain the head and main breadwinner of the family. Women in families in Menoro village, just as in Javanese families in general, are directed to work in the domestic sphere, or if working outdoors, in support of their husbands' work, such as *ngarit* (foraging for livestock) or working as seasonal farm labourers.

Sirri marriage legitimizes child marriage?

Although the majority of marriages in Menoro village were done officially, there was also the practice of *sirri* marriage. *Sirri* marriage was an alternative taken so that girls under 16 years old could marry without the need to request a marriage dispensation in the Religious Court. After the girl reached 16 years, she was then officially re-married in KUA.

Case example 7 – *Sirri* marriage

Murni, at the time of her first marriage was 15 years and seven months old. She had a *sirri* marriage, because she was not yet 16 years at the time. Murni's parents matched her up with her neighbour and registered her marriage to the village head. She was married before a *kyai* in her village. After she reached 16, there was another, official wedding ceremony at the KUA.

Matched or forced to marry?

There were several reasons for child marriage in Menoro village. The economic factor was mentioned as one of the biggest driving factors. Due to poverty and financial problems, some parents chose to match their children with relatives, distant relatives, neighbours as well as strangers in the hope of reducing the economic burden of the family and the child to get a better life.

"Because what can one do? A woman sooner or later ends up grinding spices in the kitchen, so when she's out of school someone should be supporting her." (18-24 years female FGD, 12 September 2017)

"Cannot continue school, rather than dropping out one's better off getting married. But there are also girls who finished intermediate school and then get married." (25-50 years female FGD, 12 September 2017)

Girls who are out of school or working were said to not have much choice in their lives. In the end, the parents ask the child to marry because a woman in Menoro village will be a wife attached to life in the domestic realm, according to social norms. In some matches in Menoro village, the girl refused if the match sought by the parent was considered inappropriate. After the matchmaking process was approved by the girl, the introductions were made with a varying time range, generally between two to seven months.

In the practice of matchmaking in Menoro village, a party that played an important informal role was the *dandan* or a person with extensive networks and good reputation, who is able to find matches for others. These *dandans* could be women or men, ordinary persons or elderly *kyai*. Some parents and families came to the *dandan* to ask for the right match for their child/family members. But some *dandans* actually took the initiative to find a match for children who were considered 'marriage material'. If a girl had graduated from MTs or MA and was not working, she was considered to be ready to get married. In addition to the *dandan*, another party also involved in the search for a partner was a *dukun* (shaman). Some community members in Menoro village believed in shamanic practices. The *dukun* was believed to have the power to pray/cast a spell to captivate someone for a certain period of time.

In Menoro village, the matchmaking by the parents was not always done at the wish of their daughters for various reasons. Some parents forced their child to marry, even if the child did not want to get married. The child, feeling reluctant to reject the wishes of the parents, eventually unwillingly married someone chosen by her parents. Some participants said that some of the girls were still studying at boarding schools, and were picked up when their parents had made proposals without their knowledge. Matchmaking was also possible at the request of the groom-to-be or his family. It was said to be difficult for the family of the young women who had been 'asked' to refuse the request of the male family, and they often did not have a choice other than marrying off their daughter to the man.

Other reasons for child marriage were to avoid 'adultery' and premarital pregnancy. Pre-marital pregnancy cases that occurred in Menoro village generally ended with marriage, regardless of age. Marrying off a pregnant child was considered a way to keep the family's good reputation. Although the practice of matchmaking was still happening in Menoro village, some other marriages were made at the wishes of the child. Children who already felt ready to marry stated the desire to marry to their parents, who then started the *ngemblog* ritual.

Impact of child marriage

Female and male school-aged children who married, whether due to arrangement or premarital pregnancy, accepted the consequence of having to drop out of school, but the majority were girls. They could no longer continue their education, because they were expected to take care of their household. Some married girls did not work outside the house, because there were not much work options for women around the village, as well as were not allowed by their husbands.

"I have fulfilled your needs, why do you still work? Do I not give you enough money? That's what my husband said." (Murni, female, 18 years, 8 September 2017)

In addition to prohibition of working, some married girls said that their interactions were limited after marriage, because they had to ask for their husband's permission to meet their friends and families. They were no longer as free as before marriage, in the context of interaction with their friends.

Rondo Enom versus Prawan Tuo (young divorcee versus old spinster)

Becoming an old spinster was a rather scary prospect for a young woman in Menoro village. Usually, a woman aged 23 years or over, if not working, unemployed at home and not yet married, was considered a spinster (18-24 years female FGD, 12 September 2017). Young women feared to become a spinster, because of the stigma attached to it in the community. The community would question why she is not married to a man when she is considered to be the right age to marry.

“According to the people here, it is better to be a young divorcee rather than an old spinster. It means that at least someone has desired you. It is quite easy to find divorcees compared to spinsters, it raises questions why someone is not married until she becomes a spinster.” (18-24 years female FGD, 12 September 2017)

“If the divorcee is beautiful, because she is still *mak nyes* (sexually attractive), maybe in our considerations as males, she’s more touching, she’s more extraordinary.” (18-24 years male FGD, 13 September 2017)

Being a young divorcee was considered better than being an ‘old’ spinster, because a divorcee had been married and was considered young, pretty and more experienced than a virgin who had never married.

DIVORCE AFTER CHILD MARRIAGE IN MENORO VILLAGE

Rapak as a women’s choice

Divorce discussed can be done legally (registered in the Religious Court) or can be unregistered, either due to separation¹⁹ or divorces in *sirri* marriages. Based on data of the Rembang Regency Religious Court in 2016, there were 1,193 cases of divorce approved. 396 cases were *talaq* divorces where the men (husbands) pronounced the divorce, while 797 cases were divorce lawsuits filed by the woman (wife). Data from 2017 (January-August) also show a linear trend in which the women were more likely to file divorce than men (463:254). In the local language, the divorce lawsuit demanded by women is called *rapak*. The Rembang Religious Court data of 2016 and 2017 show that the number of divorce cases, both lawsuits and *talaq*, in the District of Sedan, holds the fifth position out of the total of 14 districts in Rembang Regency.

The record of the Religious Courts only include divorce cases that are registered, whereas there are also unregistered divorces where only verbal *talaqs* were pronounced, because the marriages were performed unregistered (*sirri*).

Livelihood, the main reason for divorce after child marriage

Divorces in Menoro village were done for several reasons. One of the main reasons underlying divorce was an economic reason.

“Yes, for example when a husband is not responsible, meaning unable to provide a livelihood to the wife. If it is the husband who filed the divorce, the reason is because the wife does not accept what the husband gives her. Let’s say the husband gives Rp 500,000 as a month’s income, but she wants Rp 1,000,000. That’s the case, usually the reason is economic.” (Muliadi, deputy head of Rembang Religious Court, 8 September 2017)

In some cases, in the case of requests for marriage dispensation for girls under 16 years to the Rembang Religious Court, the court asked about the financial readiness of the groom, one of which is

¹⁹ In Indonesian context, someone can live apart from their spouse, but they're still legally married until they get a judgement of divorce from a court.

employment. The party who submitted the marriage dispensation usually indicated that the prospective husband has a job with income. However, poverty was still the main reason in divorce cases.

“Yes, it is still the economic reason, when they asked for a marriage dispensation they say that the husband already has a job with so and so income, but when deciding to divorce, the wife says that her husband does not have a job and does not provide a living, that’s it.” (Muliadi, deputy head of Rembang Religious Court, 8 September 2017)

In the relationship between women and men in the Javanese culture, as happening in Menoro village, men have the burden to become the backbone of the family economy. It was found that limited employment options leave women in Menoro Village unable to work to earn a living for the family. The inability to earn a livelihood of the man was sometimes inconsistent with the expectation of the wife, thus leading to family disputes.

“At that time I was sick so I could not work to earn a living, but my wife was angry, demanding me to work to get a lot of money, at that time I was sick but my wife did not want to accept my condition. I gave her 50 thousand, 100 thousand but still she was not satisfied.” (Ronald, male, 24 years, 7 September 2017)

“Yes, I felt uncomfortable with him, because he was childish, just wandering around, and he also did not want to work. I was only given money to buy meatballs, if I want to buy others there’s no money because he does not work, even if I were given money it was only Rp 2,000.” (Kai, female, 20 years, 9 September 2017)

The majority of men in Menoro village worked as farmers and construction workers with non-permanent incomes. They only worked during the harvest season or when there was a building project, so there were times where they had no income for their family, especially if they did not have savings. In this case, the majority of married children remained living with their parents after marriage, so that when the husband was not working, the parents were responsible for meeting the financial needs of the extended family.

In addition to economic factors, some female participants said that their husbands left them for no reason and did not return, which caused divorce.

“Yes, that was the reason because Amal’s father never returned and there was no news, and I asked his parents, they did not know either, so I decided to file for divorce.” (Sita, female, 22 years, 7 September 2017)

“He was continuously angry, he said I would just leave rather than be embarrassed, I have a wife but I want to be taken care of by my parents because you do not want to take care of me. Right after he said that, he went straight away.” (Ema, female, 20 years, 7 September 2017)

Sita, after being left behind and not given support for about eight months by her husband, finally decided to file for divorce. Assisted by her aunt, she took care of the registration of the divorce to the Religious Courts of Rembang. Ema said that her husband had left her for one year and until now had not officially divorced her in the Religious Court. Both Sita and Ema had one child under five. The increased costs after the birth of the child made the financial demand, which is the responsibility of the husband, increase as well, eventually triggering fights and separation.

Infidelity and divorce

Although not a major reason for divorce after child marriage, infidelity also accorded in the lives of married couples. Two participants said that they caught their partners having an affair with another woman, triggering an argument.

“I once found text messages from another women; he said he was a quiet type and not misbehaving, but why were there many text messages from the other women? I asked, he said they were his friends, I said it’s okay if they’re friends, but why the continuous messaging? Of course I felt something.” (Marni, female, 19 years, 9 September 2017)

“When I was still married, I was not allowed to have a cell phone, only he could have a phone, I saw his text messages with many other women.” (Yuli, female, 18 years, 10 September 2017)

In Yuli’s case, domestic fights sparked violence. Yuli told that she was beaten by her husband several times when they quarreled. In the case of Marni (19 years), she had no chance to reject her parents’ choice to marry Toni (28 years). She was introduced by her parents three months before the wedding and only had met twice with the prospective husband. At the age of 18 years she married and her marriage ended in divorce. After the wedding, she found out about the nature and character of her partner, including her husband’s relationship with several other women. Finally after three months of marriage, she decided to separate from her husband and filed for divorce.

Infidelity also occurred when men went out of the village to work and decided to marry another woman. A community member in Menoro said that there were cases where the wife was *talaq*-ed by her husband on the phone, because he was getting married again.

Another cause of quarrel in the household was related to refusal to have sexual intercourse. In the male FGD, it was stated that refusal to the invitation to have sex is often a cause of fighting (18-24 years male FGD, 13 September 2017). One of the main participants, Kai, said that for about two months she lived with her husband at her home and at her mother-in-law’s house, and refused when her husband asked for sex, because she did not like the husband whose marriage to her was arranged by her parents.

Parental involvement in the married children’s household

The understanding of Javanese families in general is that it is important to protect the honour of the husband. This was stated by Ema: “Yes I am afraid to tell about my husband’s bad habits, I still cover his evils” (Ema, female, 20 years, 7 September 2017). Even though she lived with her parents, she did not tell about her problems in her household. When the husband left her, her parents asked her and suggested her to get a divorce.

“Usually it’s like, it’s my own husband, what if I open his secrets, so I kept to myself. That’s my own experience. It is an embarrassment to tell about our own problems. Only when it cannot be negotiated and cannot be resolved the child tells her parents. Usually when she’s angry and went home to her parents. Here it is called ‘protang-protong’”. (25-50 years female FGD, 12 September 2017)

“If there is a problem with my husband I keep to myself, I am afraid if I tell my parents it will burden their mind.” (Kai, female, 20 years, 9 September 2017)

Couples who did not live with their parents also kept their problems in their household. They would only ask for help when the problem cannot be solved by both. Not infrequently, the option chosen was to return home, to the parents. At that time, generally parents tried to help their children to solve the problems.

Married young women were more open to discuss their problems with their parents when they were forced to seek financial help because of not being supported by their husbands. This can be seen in the following narrative by Ema, “During my marriage I was never given money, if there is anything I need I ask my parents.” (Ema, women, 20 years, 7 September 2017). Another participant, Kai, finally opened

up and decided to go home to her parents because she felt uncomfortable living in her mother-in-law's house and was annoyed that her husband was not working.

For a married young women who lives in her in-laws' house, the relationship with the in-laws could raise conflict. Ara was asked by her husband to stay at his parents' home, and told to perform various jobs by her in-laws, from domestic work at home to farming. Ara, tired of domestic work, refused to farm in the fields. Marni also had problems with her husband's family. After the wedding reception, all gifts she received were taken by the family of her husband.

Interventions by parents and in-laws were said to be often the cause of major problems between couples, leading to divorce. That was what happened in Murni's marriage. She explained that her husband was asked by his parents to divorce her. "Because my mother-in-law accused me of never giving money to her. So his son was told to divorce me." (Murni, female, 18 years, 8 September 2017)

Interventions made by parents (in law) could be because of personal reasons, or because they feel that the child is too young. These conflicts could lead to divorce, as revealed by Asma and Niken.

"The problem is the parents interfere in the household of their children, because they think they are still a child. Usually there is a possibility of intervention from the family, the parent included." (Asma, Dinsos PPKB, 4 September 2017)

"One of the reasons is egoism, while another reason is intervention from the parents. So this is the issue, from the parents, in fact they are still very young and thus their family's problems are intervened by the parents." (Niken, teacher, 6 September 2017)

Intervention from parents were said to make the problems in child marriage increasingly complex. Sometimes, the decision to divorce came from parents who were observing their child's household problems. The reason for the intervention was said to be inseparable from the parent's assumption that their child's mental state is not mature enough to maintain the household, although the parents are also the party who made the match and married them off. A representative from the Social Service, Women Empowerment and Family Planning Office (Dinsos PPKB) explained that their young age makes children to be unable to think far ahead, to make plans in the family. Various needs after marriage are not thought about. The couple's lack of ability to manage the household was mentioned as one of the reasons for the occurrence of divorce.

The process and cost of divorce

People in Menoro village could ask for help to the *mudin* (marriage registrar) for registering marriages or divorces. Parties intending to divorce must complete the documents needed to be taken care of by the *mudin* to the Rembang Religious Court. The cost required depended on the entire trial process. For a trial with two to three hearings, the cost required was about Rp 1.5 million, including the cost of transportation to the Religious Court and the *mudin*'s service. There may be one to three hearings, because both parties have agreed to a divorce without any significant problems, or sometimes one of the parties may be absent.

Case example 8 – Process of divorce after child marriage

Marni (19 years) filed for divorce twice. In the first lawsuit, she was assisted by the *mudin* for a total cost of 2.5 million rupiah. However, the divorce process failed because the husband asked for mediation. Three months later, Marni remained adamant on her decision to divorce and filed another lawsuit with the help of a lawyer at a cost of 4 million. In the divorce process, her husband demanded that the dowry should be returned. "Yes because he was thinking that if the jewelry worth eight million that he gave was not returned, he would not release me."

As shown by Case study 8, the cost of processing a divorce through a *mudin* is not cheap. With cost as a consideration, Sita went directly to the Religious Court in Rembang to ask about the process of divorce and the documents needed. Sita had only one hearing and her divorce was immediately decided upon by the Religious Court. She paid Rp 610,000 at the time of registration of the hearing and then awaited the trial date, underwent the trial and awaited the outcome of the verdict. Three months later, she was able to take the divorce certificate by paying Rp 9,000. Sita's family who helped her through the process indeed suggested her to process the divorce herself without help from the *mudin*, because it would be cheaper.

Families' support for divorce

Responding to the problems faced in child marriage, most parents, according to participants, initially asked them to maintain the family, especially if they already had children of their own. However, when the problems faced could not be resolved anymore, parents surrendered to the wish of their children to separate and supported their wishes.

"Oooh. If it can be... supported, maintained, but it's no longer possible. Just separate, then."
(Kadir, male, 24 years, 13 September 2017)

"At first yes they did not allow me, if it can be maintained, but maybe because they pitied me, and my child, what can they do? My family thinks that it's better to get a divorce rather than having a husband who hurts me and does not take care of me." (Sita, female, 22 years, 7 September 2017)

In the case of Kai's divorce, her parents asked her to postpone registering her divorce for a year as they wished her to reconcile and keep her marriage. In the end the decision to *rapak* was still taken by Kai.

"Yes, I tried to listen to them, I waited for one year, who knows if he were my soul mate, but in the end I decided to file for divorce." (Kai, female, 20 years, 9 September 2017)

Marni's (19 years) divorce made her and her mother change their minds about matchmaking. Initially, Marni was asked to marry a man she did not know, it was her mother who wanted her to marry. The mother came to one of the *kyais* in the village who acted as a *dandan* to ask him to find a husband for her daughter. Marni who was asked to marry by her mother did not reject her mother's choice. "Whether rich or poor, handsome or ugly, if my mother thinks he is good I am willing", Marni told her mother. After problems arose, including problems with the husband's family and infidelity, Marni chose to divorce. After the divorce, her mother no longer thought of matchmaking her child and allowed her to find her own partner if she wanted to marry again later. "Yes, I do not want to match her again, let her choose for herself." (Zum, parent, 12 September 2017).

Stigma

When the community members were asked about their perception of divorcees, various answers arose. This condition for female was different than for male divorcees, who are not stigmatized like the female divorcees. Some argued that one's judgment of others is not determined by marital status, but on the basis of personality. They said that if a divorcee has what is considered as 'good behaviour', she will be accepted by the community and viewed positively.

"If the divorcee has good behaviour the community thinks highly of her, but if the divorcee likes to wander around and her behaviour is bad, the society also thinks of her as bad. So it depends on the divorcee's behaviour. Not all divorcees are good and not all divorcees are bad."
(25-50 years female FGD, 12 September 2017)

Although there were people who thought that marital status does not affect the judgment of a person, some people still had their own views of divorcees. Divorcees, especially young divorcees known as *rondo enom*, were negatively stereotyped about their physical appearance because, they were considered to be dressed in more revealing clothing and wearing more make-up than unmarried girls.

“Virgins are less revealing, but divorcees tend to be more revealing, and wearing pretty make-up, the aura of a divorcee is different from that of a virgin, that’s what is said about them.” (18-24 years male FGD, 13 September 2017)

“For example, when they were married, they never wore make-up, but after divorcing, they like to dress up or wear make-up, also after divorcing they are more active on Facebook. Their lifestyle changed.” (18-24 years female FGD, 12 September 2017)

In the eyes of men in the community, in particular, young divorcees were found attractive and were even considered preferable as wives. The physical appearance of women was an important indicator in the selection of potential wives in Menoro village. It was found to be more important than one’s marital status. A beautiful and young divorcee looked more attractive to some men. “If they have a child it’s okay, as long as she’s pretty.” (18-24 years male FGD, 13 September 2017). In Menoro village, beautiful women were given a special place, one of the study participants stated the following, “If you cannot get the virgin, get the divorcee.” (Jan, male, public figure, 6 September 2017). Murni, a female divorcee, said that there is nothing wrong with being a divorcee because it does not violate the law of religion, “It is not a sin to be a divorcee.” (Murni, female, 18 years, 8 September 2017).

Divorce as an additional burden to family economy

Children, especially girls, who decided to divorce and return home to their parents were regarded as a burden to their family’s economy. When married, she left the status of being a child in the family and became a wife and mother. However, when divorced, she returned home and ‘regained’ the status of the child in the family. The woman’s parents who initially expected their child to be the full responsibility of her husband, both in financial and social aspects, regained a burden, which could be increased with the presence of a grandchild.

The status of children of divorced couples

When the divorced couple already had children, they could no longer live with both their parents. In general, they were brought by the mother to the grandparents’ house. If the mother worked and migrated out of the village, the children were usually be entrusted to maternal grandparents.

“Usually the child is taken by the maternal grandmother, never by the father, the father never takes the children, it is mostly the women who take the children.” (25-50 years male FGD, 13 September 2017)

The presence of children that had to be taken care of by the mother’s side was an extra economic burden. One female participant eventually chose to work as a shopkeeper in the market to help the family economy and meet the needs of her child. Sita, a participant with a child, said that her ex-husband never gave her anything for her child after the divorce. Her ex-husband only came to her home once during Eid and gave money for her child. Generally, it was found that in Menoro village, the father only comes to visit his child once a year during Eid.

“Maybe just once a year. Usually on Eid the child is given clothing and also some money, that’s how it’s usually like. Monthly alimony is unheard of. Some never even give anything.” (25-50 years female FGD, 12 September 2017)

Child custody which was generally won by women and determined by the Religious Court required men to provide for their children after the divorce, but the reality was often different. If the ex-husband was not able to provide child support, then the ex-wife and her family could only accept and not demand anything. For the *sirri* marriage cases, the child custody was determined based on an informal agreement between husband and wife, where also mostly the child would be raised by the wife and her family.

With regard to the status of the children from *sirri* marriage, Yuli explained that her child could not have a birth certificate, because her marriage was not officially registered. In the end the child was given a birth certificate declaring that he was the son of Yuli's older sister, who married officially. *"His birth certificate was made as if he were my older sister's second son."* (Yuli, female, 18 years, 10 September 2017). If the marriage was not registered, the children were less likely to have a birth certificate, even though the children can officially have a birth certificate with only the name of the mother on it.

Coping mechanisms in facing the impact of divorce

View of life after divorce

In general, participants narrated a change of feelings, especially those related to personal life, after the divorce was done. Ama (23 years), for example, became more relieved after her divorce from her husband. A similar feeling arose in the case of Kai (20 years) who was happier because she was no longer with her husband.

There was a similarity between the experiences of Ama and Kai. Both were married against their will, although they did so to obey their parents. Further, both Ama and Kai were the parties who sued for divorce in their proceedings. Thus, the feeling of relief felt by Ama and the happiness felt by Kai could be seen as a form of self-determination, because they did not want the marriage. Furthermore, the feeling of relief and happiness could also be seen as a form of agency from Ama and Kai, especially with regard to their autonomy.

Another case was Kadir, who was divorced but did not want to immediately marry again for "wanting to have fun first (...) freedom..." (Kadir, male, 24 years, 13 September 2017). Kadir was married at the age of 16 because his girlfriend was already pregnant. Three years later, they divorced because of his wife's affair when Kadir worked in Malaysia. In this case, Kadir's view of his desire not to immediately remarry and to have fun while he was young showed his determination: he chooses what he wants to do after divorce. In the case of Sita, who used to feel the enacted stigma because of her status as a divorcee, she did not longer feel the stigma because she felt she was not the guilty party in the divorce, as she stated:

"Well, at first I felt bad about it, but no longer. Anyway, why should I feel inferior, I was divorced not because I was wrong. If I were the wrong one, I would probably feel ashamed." (Sita, female, 22 years, 7 September 2017)

Changes in feelings after divorce were also experienced by Ronald (24 years) who was undergoing the divorce proceedings. Ronald was happy because he did not have any dependents after divorce. According to Ronald, his wife often asked for money when he was sick and could not work. Ronald's marriage lasted for two years.

Development of life skills after divorce

The study found that after divorce, young people went on with their education or (looked for) work. From the male youth FGD, there were cases brought forward where the divorcees returned to the

pesantren to continue their education. One of the cases was Ama. In addition to her home being too quiet, going to school was also as a way to avoid the neighbours. Ama's *pesantren* was located in another village in Sedan District, approximately five kilometres from Menoro.

Unlike Ama, in Yuli's case there was a real desire to continue education. However, Yuli faced the following obstacles: (1) her parents did not have the means to send her to school and (2) if she went to school, Yuli was worried about not being able to support her child.

Work was another post-divorce alternative. Marni, aged 18 years and divorced a few months previously, stated that she worked in a counter in Rembang to help her forget about her problems.

Strategies to face problems and relationships with others after divorce

Both young women and men faced sadness after divorce. Kadir (24 years), who experienced post-divorce sadness, turned to alcoholic beverages to overcome the sadness that he experienced. Ama stated that after she got divorced, she was often talked about and questioned by neighbours. When Ama experienced this, she chose to remain silent instead of responding to the neighbours who were talking about her divorce.

There were three things undertaken by divorcees regarding their social relationships with their communities: (1) participation in community activities; (2) association with friends after the divorce; and (3) getting support from the family after the divorce.

The results indicate that the most frequent social activity by divorcees, especially females, was to engage in Koran recitals (Table 8). Divorcees often gathered with married women, so that they prevented marginalization. They were no longer active in the recitals attended by adolescents, because after marriage they changed peer groups.

Table 8 Participation of divorcees in community activities

	Community activities	Source
1	Kai was active in the monthly recitals of married women and participated in the Prophet's mawlid celebrations of the group. She was not active in Karang Taruna.	Kai, female, 20 years, 9 September 2017
2	Murni was active in the married women recitals although she did not participate while working. She was not aware of the existence of Karang Taruna.	Murni, female, 19 years, 8 September 2017
3	Yuli was active in weekly recitals. She knew about the <i>arisan</i> of married women, but she did not participate. She was not active in Karang Taruna.	Yuli, female, 18 years, 10 September 2017
4	Ema was active in the married women recitals. She often attended recital events held in the village.	Ema, female, 19 years, 7 September 2017
5	Sita was involved in the married women recitals. However, she did not always participate.	Sita, female, 22 years, 7 September 2017

Another form of social relations after divorce was to hang out with friends. This, for example, appeared in the case of Ema who still enjoyed playing with her peers. All of Ema's friends, who were of the same age, had been married and still lived in Menoro Village. Also Sita stated that she was still hanging out with her friends, and her friends never said negative things about her because of her status as a divorcee:

"In fact my friends pity me, even someone said, 'Oh God, Sita, how could you come apart?'" (Sita, female, 22 years, 7 September 2017)

For some, divorce was followed by remarriage. For example, Kai married another man after 1.5 years. The desire to re-marry was also stated by several other participants such as Sita and Yuli. Sita stated that she would like to marry a man who was previously unmarried or a childless divorcee. This was because Sita had children from her previous marriage. Yuli also had the desire to get married but not in the near future, only when her child is two years or older.

In addition to relations within the community, support from the family was also important. As indicated before, this can be seen in how the parenting is done after the divorce, i.e. the children of divorcees will go to their grandparents from the maternal side. For example, when abandoned by her husband, Sita returned to her family home and received help from the family related to childcare, as she stated:

“Yes, there are many, my parents, my aunt, my brother, so I don’t have too much trouble.” (Sita, female, 22 years, 7 September 2017).

Family support was offered by her aunt and *mbah wedhok* (Sita’s mother), who accompanied Sita during delivery and took care of the child until now, and *mbah lanang* (Sita’s father), who was still working to meet the needs of the extended family (Sita’s photovoice, female, 22 years). In addition to family support, financial support from friends was also obtained by Sita, which was related to the needs of childcare.

“My friends even often come here giving money for Amal. In fact I am never short of money because my friends give a lot of money to Amal. Even if they live far away, they make time to come here.” (Sita, female, 22 years, 7 September 2017).

Further, Murni obtained access to resources, in the form of a job offer from her acquaintance after the divorce. Murni’s mother said:

“After the divorce, she was offered a job by a police friend, she was to keep a cellphone shop in Rembang for two months, and later she became a bridal makeup artist.” (Zum, parent, 12 September 2017).

Sita and Murni’s case showed that they could survive after divorce because they got support from family, relatives and friends.

The role of the Government

Dinsos PPKB Rembang stated that there was economic counselling given to divorcees in Rembang. However, the economic counseling was not talked about when the interviews were conducted with main participants and key informants at the village level. In essence, the Dinsos PPKB programme aimed at women who become heads of households in order to obtain economic empowerment, as stated:

“Oh, that refers to female heads of households, right? Of course various activities, economy, economic empowerment, various counseling, especially in the social aspect.” (Asma, Dinsos PPKB Rembang, 4 September 2017)

Yet, despite the statement from Dinsos PPKB Rembang about the existence of economic and social counseling aimed at divorcees, the research team did not find the existence of any economic counseling from the narration of the women who had divorced after child marriage. Further, the study found that the YES I DO activities conducted in the village were only focused on school-aged and unmarried children, there were no programmes aimed at married and/or divorced persons who are underage.

Chapter 6. Child marriage and divorce: West Lombok case

SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT OF KEDIRI INDUK VILLAGE, WEST LOMBOK

Kediri Induk as a Santri village

The Islamic tinge of the Kediri Induk village is immediately felt upon entering the village, due to its Islamic majority population, and also in line with the well-known nickname of Lombok Island as the “Thousand Mosques Island”. The village is full of activity: students go to and from the *pesantren* boarding schools, people trade in traditional markets, there are various kiosks and public service offices, and there is dense provincial traffic in the village, the administrative centre of Kediri District.



Figure 4 The identity of ‘Santri Village’ in public facilities

Source: Team Documentation, 23 August 2016

The village, with an area of 2.92 km², was expanded from Kediri village in 2011. It now has eight hamlets (*dusun*), namely: (1) Plowok Barat, (2) Karang Bedil Selatan, (3) Karang Bedil Timur, (4) Karang Bedil Utara, (5) Plowok Selatan, (6) Plowok Barat, (7) Karang Kuripan Timur, and (8) Karang Kuripan Barat. With 10,098 inhabitants, Kediri Induk village has a high population density of 3,458 people/km². The total population is 4,945 men and 5,153 women.

As the administrative center of the district and located on a main economic route, the infrastructure for public services is complete. Health facilities, for example, include one *Puskesmas*, one *Puskesmasdes*, two doctor’s practices and eight *Posyandu*. This village also has access to reproductive health services in *Puskesmas* for the general public and adolescents, pregnancy and delivery services, and hospitalization. In terms of education, the village has formal schools, namely three State Elementary Schools, one State Middle School; and schools under the auspices of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, namely a State *Madrasah Tsanawiyah*, four State *Madrasah Aliyahs*; and seven private *pesantrens*.

Trade and social organizations

Kediri Induk village, with a population of 10,098 people, has traders or labourers in the market, makers of snacks sold in the market, and the economic wheels of the district can be seen to turn in this village.

There are a number of social organizations in Kediri Induk village, among others: *Posyandu*, Karang Taruna and KPAD. The *Posyandu* in Kediri Induk was observed to be active in health facilitation, because they have a mobile service especially for infants, toddlers and mothers. Each hamlet has *Posyandu* cadres, and participants indicated that the wife of the head of hamlet is also automatically a cadre. *Posyandu* activities were conducted once a week in each hamlet, so each hamlet conducted different health facilitation schedules, so that health workers from the district *Puskesmas* could serve the different hamlets in the village. The Karang Taruna in Kediri Induk consisted of young men who were also involved in other organizations, such as the Moslem teenage group. The chairman of Karang Taruna described that they were not active in registering young men and women who are married or divorced.

The Village Child Protection Group (KPAD) in Kediri Induk was active in carrying out its activities, including mentoring since early 2017, established directly by the village and supported by the village budget. The Chairman of the KPAD was a very active youth. The main KPAD activity was organizing community-based dialogues with mentors, who were chosen based on gender and age similarity with the mentees. The purpose of this dialogue was to educate villagers about the conditions of child marriage. The residents, especially the village and hamlet officials, conducted monitoring by documenting the national ID and the date of marriage in case of marriages and divorces.

The youth of Kediri Induk: (must) 'mingle'

Kediri Induk, known as a *santri*²⁰ village, was said to have strict limitations on the associations between youth, especially the association between boys and girls, because of the value of the Islamic religion adopted by the people. In general, boys and girls could interact at school. From the results of the 18-24 years male FGD, it became clear that inter-sex association is "prohibited, not allowed to mingle with the opposite sex, they're not *muhrim*²¹." (18-24 years male FGD, 24 September 2017). Nevertheless, young people had a strategy to get acquainted with future mates, for example through cell phone, or when meeting on the street, or in certain occasions such as *nyongkolan*²².

"No, we just met all of a sudden, right at her home. I just met her on the street, talked for a while, and exchanged phone numbers. Then on the following day, I was told to come to her house. We dated for one month, and then we married." (Andi, male, 27 years, 21 September 2017)

"I was visiting a friend's house. My friend's house is close to his workplace. That's how I got acquainted with him (laughing), it went on. After a while... several months, we dated... that was not for long, only one month." (Put, female, 16 years, 26 September 2017)

Couples who dated usually spent time eating together, or sitting in public parks outside the village or under the bridge. They dated outside the village because if they traveled together in the village it would be viewed negatively. Observations by the researchers in Kediri Induk indicated that women who do not go *nyantri*²³, or those who go to the parks, were stigmatized as 'bad girls' (*cabe-cabean*). This negative stereotype did not only come from parents, but also from fellow youth.

²⁰ Someone receiving Islamic religious education in a *pesantren*, usually boarding there until the conclusion of their education.

²¹ Any person who is prohibited to be married due to descent, blood relations and marriage in Islamic rule (in Arabic also called *mahram*).

²² Sasak tradition of parading a newlywed couple to inform the public that they have just married.

²³ Studying and staying in a *pesantren*.

“... depending on the person, those who are not religious enough. Especially that new road, there’s no light and alter bridge, you should pass the location on Saturday night, you’ll definitely find people dating.” (18-24 years male FGD, 24 September 2017).

Young couples in Kediri Induk usually dated and got to know the partner in a very brief period before deciding to get married. ‘Courtship’ was considered to be having a relation with a person who is not a *muhrim*, and therefore prohibited and considered ‘adultery’.

“I got to know him five days before marriage, I was then taking a bath. Suddenly he came. I was already dating his uncle. Why did I get him?... But his uncle was already married, I did not know then. Suddenly he came and brought his nephew. I did not know what to say.” (Zan, female, 17 years, 20 September 2017).

“I know him, called him by phone in a three-month period... Three months of courtship. Only once visited my house, immediately agreed, hehehe.” (Nur, female, 25 years, 24 September 2017).

“ELOPEMENT” DUE TO “LOVING EACH OTHER”: CHILD MARRIAGE IN KEDIRI INDUK VILLAGE

The Muslim Sasak (ethnic group in Lombok) majority in West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) province is familiar with the phenomenon of child marriage: children getting married between 14-19 years and becoming a mother at about 20 years of age (Bennet 2014: 67). According to Bennet (2014: 74), *merariq* is one of the factors influencing child marriage. *Merariq* is the indigenous custom of eloping, in which women will be abducted by their male partner and taken to the home of the male or that of his close relatives. There are several cases in which the women do not know they will be abducted, and that they cannot refuse. The girl is considered abducted when midnight has passed and thus the day has changed. The male’s family will report the *merariq* to the village’s officials so they can bring the news of abduction and negotiate to marriage with the abducted women’s family.

The women’s families will mostly accept the *merariq* and give up their daughters to marry the men who abducted them. This decision is attributed to the need of “prestige” to keep up the good name of the extended family, in addition to avoiding an unfavourable public response (gossip), as well as upholding the value of Sasak customs and Islam. Bennett (2014) reveals that *merariq* is a cultural practice in which women seem to have no control over themselves in making decisions, especially in marriage.

Now, in 2017, child marriage is one of the concerns of the Provincial Government of NTB that involves other stakeholders, such as NGOs, activists, communities, and mobilizers in the community. This concern has been responded concretely to by reconsidering the essence of Sasak marriage cultural practices i.e. *merariq*. The governor issued a Circular Letter (SE) Number SE/150/1138/KUM on Raising the Age of Marriage to 20 years. The Regent of West Lombok was quick to respond to this Circular by creating the Anti-*Merariq Kodek* Movement (GAMAK). The attention of the Government helps KPAD’s work in reducing child marriage, especially in Kediri Induk village.

The study found that village officials, down to the hamlet level, work with KPAD in documenting child marriage cases so they can be monitored. In 2017, out of approximately 60 registered marriages in the village, there were only about 10 cases involving persons under the age of 20. The hamlet heads of Kediri Induk village were said to be active in supporting the KPAD, not only in documenting, but also utilizing their authority as a hamlet official (representing the community) in conducting *belas* (separating the eloping couple), while they had previously negotiated for marriage plans after *merariq*. Together with the KPAD, now the hamlet officials and the parents collected the abducted girls to return them to their parents’ homes, not to marry.

Types of marriage

There were found to be two types of child marriage conducted in Kediri Induk village, namely, those recorded at the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) and considered to be legal by the law, and *sirri* marriage. Furthermore, if the age of the bride or the groom was under 16 for women and 19 for men, a letter of dispensation from the Religious Court (PA) was required. In the last few years, citizen's awareness to register marriage was said to be increasing. However, marriages of couples of the appropriate age according to the Marriage Law were registered to the KUA, while those of couples under the legal age were *sirri* marriages. There was no difference in the view of the society between *sirri* and KUA-registered marriages, because in the community life in Kediri Induk village, religious norms were the primary consideration.

Reasons to marry

One of the causes of child marriage was the strong religious value that 'adultery' (sexual intercourse outside marriage) should be avoided. Young people were said to have unlimited access to information due to recent technological developments but at the same time, they receive poor sexual and reproductive health education. In such a context, marriage was seen as a "wise" decision to continue relationships with the opposite sex. There were two options for marriage, namely on the basis of agreement of both parties to *merariq* or being taken away without the knowledge of the women (*melaik*).

In West Lombok, including Kediri Induk, it was said that parents prefer to marry off their children rather than let them go out with the opposite sex. This choice was said to be dilemmatic: parents do have a reluctant feeling of marrying off their children, because they are aware that the young couples do not have enough mental preparation to enter marriage.

Based on FGD results, another reason for marriage was unprotected sexual intercourse. Lack of knowledge about the prevention of pregnancy led to premarital pregnancy, which in turn led to marriage.

"There is also case where they married due to an "accident" (pregnancy), and they divorced soon after. The man (who divorced the woman) left the village in shame." (24-50 years male FGD, 25 September 2017).

Impact of child marriage

As indicated above, the strong religious values of the people of Kediri Induk dictate that sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited. Thus, young couples tend to marry to 'get permission' to have sexual intercourse.

The research in Kediri Induk village showed that child marriage had an adverse effect on the young couple, because if they did not have enough income, they still had to ask for money from their parents for their daily needs. One female participant said that her husband was only a garden labourer. His income was not enough to meet the daily needs:

"... sometimes he gives money, sometimes he does not. But he gives only two thousand. What can I buy with two thousand? My father, he gives me 35 thousand, 30 thousand if I go home there." (Ina, female, 22 years, 25 September 2017).

In terms of health, pregnancy under 20 years is more likely to entail a risk as compared to pregnancy in women between the ages of 20-35 years, as mentioned by several study participants. One of the female teenage participants told about her miscarriage at eight months of gestation, "... *the baby drank too much amniotic fluid. The doctor also said that she was premature.*" (Ina, female, 22 years, 25

September 2017). If the child was born, it was reported to be an additional burden for her grandparents.

From a psychological point of view, couples who marry young also needed respond to the various conditions and problems in marriage. This was said to often result in depression, mostly for girls, which leads to divorce. The limited opportunity to share stories and problems with others, including people closest to them, forced them to bear their own burden. In addition, it were not only married people who experienced enacted stigma, the unmarried were also stigmatized as *mosot* (spinster). This posed a dilemma for the psychological development of young people, as a result of social and cultural constructions.

“MARRIAGE IS LIKE DATING, DIVORCE IS LIKE BREAKING UP”: THE PHENOMENON OF DIVORCE AFTER CHILD MARRIAGE IN KEDIRI INDUK VILLAGE

Possessive partner: gender relations in marriage

In the marriage of young couples in Kediri Induk, men as the head of the household were more dominant in making decisions and managing their families. One of the female participants, who was remarried, was not allowed to work by her husband, although she wanted to do so. From the statement of her husband in the quotation below, it became clear that men act as the main breadwinners, while women should stay at home.

“I don’t know. Well, if I as a man am still capable it is better that I work, because nowadays when a woman is outside the home, the culture partly allows it, but I still feel uneasy. Better, if possible, I work. Better if she takes care of the children, right?” (Tri, female, 17 years, 20 September 2017)

Married women’s activities in Kediri Induk were limited because they have to follow the orders of their husbands, including regarding the use of cell phones. The reason women could not use cell phones was because the husbands were jealous and suspicious.

“No, I never put credit in the cell phone. If I do so we will surely fight. So I never add credit on the phone, let it go into the grace period.” (Tri, female, 17 years, 20 September 2017)

Young couples furthermore seemed to always assume that marriage is similar to courting, so it always triggers jealousy when one partner interacts with the opposite sex. Many young couples just began to realize that marriage sets limits for both of them, in terms of expressing themselves or socializing. Not a few cases showed the possessive nature of one party in the marriage, especially the men. Mur (22 years) recalled that the possessive nature of her husband led to a long quarrel ending in divorce, “... my husband rarely came home. I was never allowed to take a cell phone. I could not talk to my friends. But he could.” (Mur, female, 22 years, 19 September 2017). Mur’s tale illustrated that jealousy based on possessiveness played a major role in quarrels that were not addressed in a good manner. In the end, the choice was to end the marriage, coming from an emotional spontaneous decision.

Married as children: ending in quarrels

In Kediri Induk, most married young couples stayed with the parents of the paternal side, or close to them. This pattern of living after marriage affected the utilization of space in and around the house. The narrow division of living space, especially when there were more married children, was a cause of friction leading to quarrels in the household, leading to divorce.

When young couples married from *merariq*, based on spontaneous decisions, there was no opportunity for future in-laws to know each other. The tradition forced women ‘abducted’ in *merariq*

to be accepted by the family as a daughter-in-law, rather than returning her to her parents. This limited introduction process sometimes led to the lack of mutual trust and understanding, so that if there is friction between the in-laws, this often led to contention. Parents-in-law who did not know their daughter-in-law tended to defend their son when a household quarrel occurred. Sometimes they even encouraged their sons to divorce their wives, as experienced by Yul. Yul's mother-in-law asked her son to divorce her," ... 'I am told by mother to divorce you' ... 'Oh well if you consider your parents more important than me.'" (Yul, female, 21 years, 20 September 2017).

Study participants' stories reinforced the claim that jealousy is a trigger to divorce. The limited movement for young women, due to marital status, was inversely proportional to the infinite boundaries offered by technology and information. Mur (22 years) told about how social media became the cause of arguments, despite bringing freedom. Mur said:

"Facebook is opening an opportunity for them to reunite with people who once existed in their life, in the past, Facebook opens, what's the term, a chance, an open space." (Mur, female, 22 years, 19 September 2017)

In the FGD, participants stated that young couples divorce because "they want to be free, to play around" (25-50 years male FGD, 25 September 2017). It was revealed that "there are often cases of divorce caused by infidelity through social media, such as Facebook." (25-50 years male FGD, 25 September 2017).

Jealousy due to cheating often triggered verbal violence, that led to divorce, "I am bored with your behaviour, we are divorced." (18-24 years male FGD, 24 September 2017). There were cases like Tri (female, 17 years, 20 September 2017), where in addition to verbal violence, she also suffered from physical violence from her husband, although at the end he regretted the incident.

Jealousy leading to divorce did not mean that it took place within a short time period. There were moments of apology and mutual introspection. Taja (25 years old) recalled:

"... we talked about it nicely, let's try it, it's our first divorce, not only once? It's the first divorce, we self-introspect, maybe because we don't know each other too closely, so I talked to her directly... also to the family. When I said to give it a try I returned her to her parents, afterwards we introspect ourselves, and then we reconciled." (Taja, male, 25 years, 20 September 2017)

As indicated before, the patriarchal Sasak society also caused problems within marriage leading to divorce. The following story about Nur (female, 25 years, 24 September 2017) is an example:

Case example 9 – Reason for divorce

At first, everything in Nur's marriage went well. There was no problem until they had a baby. One day, Nur thought that living on their own, even if renting a house, would be better than staying with the husband's siblings. She ventured to convey her opinion to the husband with the consideration that they both worked, so that the expenses for renting a house could be shared. However, Nur's husband insisted on staying at their present home and did not want to move.

Her husband wanted to stay with the siblings, whereas she wanted to live independently from the family in a rental home. A long debate ensued, where initially there were no problems at all, but in the end it led to a divorce lawsuit against her husband, who in a nine-month period did not provide for her and her child. Finally she registered her divorce lawsuit to the KUA and then to the Religious Court, on the advice of a religious teacher, and in the process she was helped by the Religious Court staff and only had to pay Rp 300,000 by providing a certificate of poverty. She went through six hearings (within 10 weeks) with the result of getting custody of the child, no need to refund the cost of *nyongkolan* (traditional Sasak wedding party) and *talak tebus* of Rp 15,000,000 upon negotiation (Team Field Note, 24 September 2017).

Registering divorce is not considered important

Ron (Religious Court Judge, 47 years, 21 September 2017) explained that the number of divorce cases (Figure 5) has never decreased, on the contrary, it has increased. It could be that there was a greater awareness of the need to register divorces in the Religious Court and KUA, however, this is not sure.

In Kediri Induk village, many cases of divorce were not registered because of the assumption that spoken divorce (*talaq*) is adequate. Mur (22 years) explained the type of divorce encountered in Kediri Induk village, namely:

“People tend to think traditionally, meaning that regarding divorce, they believe or they understand it in terms of Islamic law (*sharia*).” (Mur, female, 22 years, 19 September 2017)

Participants narrated that when a man says “I *talaq*,” “I divorce,” or “I send you home to your parents”, it ends the relationship as husband and wife. Despite this, people knew that the divorce should be filing. Syadi (Male, 48 years, 18 September 2017) described the divorce mechanism at the KUA and the Religious Court: both the ex-wife and ex-husband must have a divorce certificate from the Religious Court. Before there was a Religious Court, it was enough to obtain the divorce certificate from the village *penghulu*. Reconciliation was possible on the condition of presenting two witnesses from the husband and wife’s sides, and a reconciliation page would be written, and sent to the Religious Court to have the marriage book returned.

In Kediri Induk village, the occurrence of divorce lawsuits (women divorcing their husbands) seemed to be greater than *talaqs* (men divorcing their wives). If a man pronounced *talaq* this was usually upon the wish of their wife. At the same time, there was also a presumption of impropriety if women ask for divorce, because all the costs of the *nyongkolan* (wedding party) are borne by the men.

Ron (Religious Court Judge, 21 September 2017) explained that information is quickly spread by word of mouth in Kediri Induk village. The divorcing couple must report to the village head, who becomes a witness.

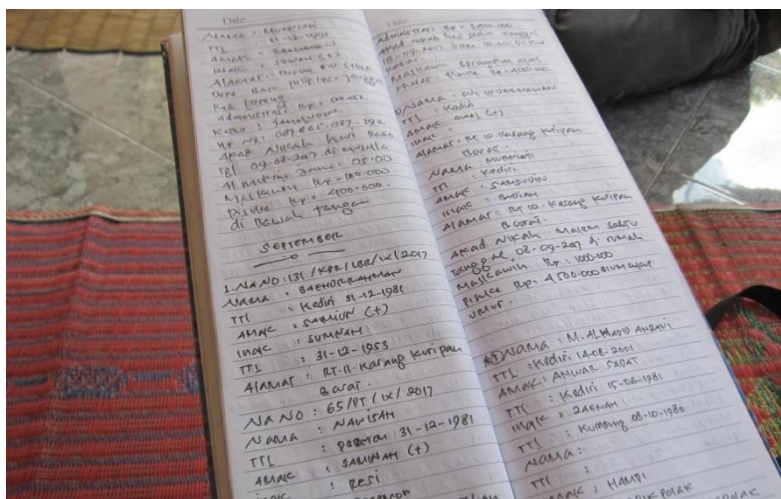


Figure 5 Head of Hamlet’s records of couples who have married and divorced
Source: Team Documentation 21 September 2017

In the village of Kediri Induk, there were also cases of divorce by phone or represented by a friend, such as in the case of Wan (female, 21 years, 20 September 2017) who was “*talaq*-ed by phone” by her (ex)husband. Some participants said that friends can have an important role in the lives of married young couples. In addition to listening to their stories, friends also helped couples to convey their desire to divorce. This was because friends were considered to know the chronology of the problems.

Friends also had an important position if parents did not agree with the couple, especially when the marriage was not approved:

“... when the marriage runs into problems while the parents already disapproved of the marriage, usually they, if not returning to the parents, would be looking for a friend first, then asking to stay for a while. They’re afraid of their parents.” (Male, 28 September 2017)

AFTER DIVORCE

Returning home after divorce

The closest relatives, especially the parents of the women, advised their children to return home and not to return to their husbands’ homes when divorce occurred. Parents, especially mothers, were supporting and ready accept their children back home. Mothers provided moral support, in addition to economic support, and helped to take care of her grandchildren, just as Rus did when her daughter was depressed after divorce:

“Stop thinking too much. Think of your mother and your child. How to become cheerful again? Find work. Now, who will feed you? Who will take care of the child?” (Rus, parent, 20 September 2017)

Some families suggested to remarry:

“Well, if you find a new soul mate and you are ready, you should remarry.” (Ros, female, 24 years, 24 September 2017).

“... not the least, next time if you want to marry again, think about finding your mate, so she’s not like your ex-wife. Your first wife, you have the memories, the entire hamlet knows about it, the behaviour was bad.” (Taja, male, 25 years, 20 September 2017)

Other parents did not want to interfere in the affairs of children in their household, including when these led to divorce, unless they were asked for their views and advice. A parent of a divorced couple said:

“That depends on the children. If they do not want to stay together again, we give advice, good advice. If now if we suggest, for example they want to divorce, but they fear us, so they are forced to remain, it will be difficult later.” (Udin, parent, 21 September 2017)

The above statements show the importance of the role of the family in the lives of divorcees, as in the photo voice. We asked two people to photograph their daily activities and then ask them to choose five photos that show what is considered important in their lives. In the photo voices of both persons, there are photos of their respective mothers, as in the following story of Taja.

Case example 10 – The importance of family for the divorcee

Taja (25 years old) solved problems after his divorce. We followed him when photographing places, objects, activities or important things in life. The photography took some time, in several different places distant to each other. First, he started from the campus, Taja photographed his lecturer and female friend, he put the two photos in number two and three positions. The reasons were that the lecturer gave input and direction and was most understanding, while the photo of the female friend, according to him, represented women, who became the inspiration for his songs, also other works, such as poetry. Then he photographed the guitar and plants in front of his house. The photo of the guitar was ranked four for always being “accompanying” when he was stressed, sad, upset, and losing direction. The plants held the fifth position, as it had added value according to Taja especially when he was tired after work, seeing the plant eliminated fatigue. The last but the main one, placed in the first position, was his mother, who was considered important as, “everything important will return to the mother.” (Photovoice results, 20 September 2017)

In some cases in-laws tended to be unconcerned, or not responsive regarding the divorce, as revealed by Tri (17 years). The study found one case where the parents-in-law did not know that their child was divorced. In the case, the stories about the (causes of) quarrels that led to divorce were kept secret by the married couple.

Although divorce was a common phenomenon in Kediri Induk village, married women returning home to their parents for long periods were the talk of family, neighbours and society. Therefore, it was better not to stay too long at the parents' place.

New relationships and remarriage after divorce

Divorced couples were said to be able to marry again soon after divorce, despite the public question of "why marry so soon if in the end they get divorced".

Divorced women were able to re-marry after the *iddah* (waiting period) was completed, a period of three months. The way they got new partners was not different from the way they got their initial partners, namely through the social media especially Facebook:

"Got acquainted on Facebook... Then meet, and he asked to marry me... I only knew him for three days" (Tri, female, 17 years, 20 September 2017)

"My current husband, he's my friend in intermediate school. I met him again through Facebook. I haven't been in contact with him for a long time, and then got married. If we were soul mates, we ended up marrying each other." (Mur, female, 22 years, 19 September 2017)

The massive use of social media among the youth in Kediri Induk village allowed them to find partners through the social media, as shown in both examples above.

The study found that many young couples got married quickly, then also made quick decisions to divorce, and remarry. The children could become the victim of their parents' divorce, as Ina said: "There are children who are abandoned because their parents remarry, so they must be taken care of by their grandparents." (female, 22 years, 25 September 2017)

In Kediri Induk village, there were said to be more divorced women than men, because divorced men tend to remarry soon, because the three months period does not apply to them.

"There are more divorced women, because a divorced man gets married again soon, but women are sometimes reluctant to get married again, because we are afraid to get hurt the second time." (25-50 years female FGD, 25 September 2017)

There were also divorced men who were nonchalant, leaving the village to work outside the island or abroad. Participants thought that a divorced man has more freedom; they could even marry a virgin. However, for divorced women, it was difficult to marry a person who has never been married. According to a judge of West Lombok Religious Court, "they have a negative label" (Ron, Religious Court Judge, 21 September 2017). Despite this, there were some cases of female divorcees who married single male.

The community also regarded the status of a divorcee as normal due to the ease of getting married and divorced in Kediri Induk village. For example Ros told her neighbour easily, "I'll just get married, he has left me anyway." (Ros, female, 24 years, 24 September 2017). Also here there was the stereotype of the "pretty sexy divorcee considered as 'cool' and worthy of special attention." (25 - 50 years male FGD, 25 September 2017).

Remarrying was a logical choice for some divorcees, preferable to single life. According to the experience of the Ministry of Religious Affairs staff in West Lombok (Syadi, 48 years), previously,

divorcees did not immediately remarry. Nowadays, the young divorcees tend to remarry with the reason of overcoming sadness, after meeting new partners. This is similar to what Sad and Ros stated:

“Previously, before the digital age when transformation and information can be quickly accessed, the process was natural, when one divorced, for example ‘why are you sad?’ ‘Yes, I was divorced.’ But there is much difference... between the divorcees of yesterday and the divorcees of today, different, very different. In fact I see that they are nonchalant about their divorce, they even seem to enjoy it. Moreover, they are still young.” (Sad, religious figure, 28 September 2017)

“Yes I share with others. Or I play with my cell phone. Now there is also a new person, so I’m not sad anymore.” (Ros, female, 24 years, 24 September 2017)

The above quotes show that remarriage was one of the choices made by young divorcees. Usually their second marriage was not recorded in the KUA, as the majority of them did not have a divorce letter from the court.

More freedom, more responsibility: impact of divorce

Divorcees were considered to have much freedom, such as told by the head of the Kediri Induk KPAD:

“Now, when they are married... that I surveyed directly, their style when they were married, and when they are already divorced, their styles are different. Their lifestyles are different, they’re more extreme, for example, the way they dress, their lifestyle, more luxurious lifestyle they think that being a divorcee is free. Free like that, no one regulates them...” (Riadi, Head of Kediri Induk Village KPAD, 19 September 2017)

After divorce, women were judged to have a different lifestyle, especially in terms of appearance in order to be more sexually attractive and get a new husband.

‘More freedom’ was also the first expression of those who had divorced, although they realized that there were dependents, i.e. children, and sometimes had to take care of their own children now.

Case example 11 – Life of female divorcee

In the photo voice process, Ros became a photographer for one day, photographing activities and places that she considered important in life. As a snack maker, she relied heavily on this job after divorcing from her husband. Moreover, she had to care of and finance her only child. She was self-conscious of living in her parents’ home, sharing space with her other siblings who already had their own families. Ros sold cakes, she took pictures of the process of making the cakes, from preparing the ingredients, starting to make the cake, to finishing them. In between the cooking time, she would go out to meet a trader who sold her cakes in the market. Apparently around the neighbourhood, some mothers also made cakes that they give to the seller to sell in the market. She showed the types of cakes she made with great pleasure. Lastly she took a picture of her mother and when asked why she took the photo and chose it as important, Ros replied that “this business is a family business, done jointly with my mother.” (Photo voice result, 28 September 2017)

Stories like Ros’ show that divorce did not always dampen the divorcees, it provided lessons to learn from the experience. The freedom that Ros felt after divorce gave her space and an opportunity to better express herself and making a living to finance herself and her child’s needs. In fact, she was able to add to the family income with the joint enterprise.

However, divorce may bring negative impact on children, as stated before. In the adult female FGD, there were cases brought forward where children became miserable victims as their parents divorced, with impact on the children’s education. Mur (22 years) also stated that age affects the response of the divorcees in caring for the child. If married at a young age, divorcees tended to neglect their children in terms of economy and affection, and the children would be cared for by the grandparents.

However, if a divorced couple married as adults (in the ideal age of marriage), their children tended to get more attention and would be cared for by their mother.



Figure 6 Children playing outdoors in the crowded residential area

Source: Team Documentation, 20 September 2017

It was found that there was no difference in communication and interaction between former couples who have children and those who do not have. As Andi (27 years old) said, after the divorce, usually the former couple does not know anything about each other, because they live separate lives. Despite having children, sometimes the former husband did not provide for his children, and the entire responsibility became the burden of the wife. However, some former couples still communicated well due to children.

Schooling after divorce

Getting remarried seemed to be preferred by young people after divorce, compared to returning to school. As expressed by Tap (27 years):

“Because the status of a divorcee is a label, so while they are allowed to go to school, allowed to do so, but first, from the side of the woman, if she’s married and then divorced, she does not want to continue education, or if she wants, through something *paket* something, right?”
(Tap, male, 27 years, 20 September 2017)

This is supported by the results of the interview with the Ministry of Religious Affairs staff of West Lombok (Syadi, 48 years): “Actually there is [a possibility of continuing education] but they are embarrassed as they are divorced.” In contrast to the above statement, results of the 18-24 years female FGD showed that they did not go to school because they did not have access to a formal school. They could only continue their education in an open school (Kejar Paket Programme). This is the government’s programme for out-of-school children to obtain their academic certificate which equal to elementary, junior and senior high school.

Responses of the community after divorce

Divorced woman, also called *bebalu* in Sasak language, were often talked about when trying to socialize in the community. In addition to the term, divorced woman were often accused of tempting other people’s husbands. The following is a quote from the female FGD: “Yes, being a divorcee is not good,

we are accused of tempting the husband of other persons, whereas it is actually the husband who disturb us, old divorcees that are not desirable.” (25-50 years female FGD, 25 September 2017). Another negative view was about the duration of their marriage. Rus, a mother of a young divorcee, when her daughter divorced she heard people asking, “Why so soon?” “Aren’t they young, why so soon?” (Rus, parent, 20 September 2017).

They also become the talk of surrounding people, like the following story of Nur:

“Yes, a lot of people who talk bad things about me. Well, people tend to side with the men, sometimes the woman, that’s how it is. Sometimes they speak evil of us. They though I divorced from my husband because he was ugly, or what not.” (Nur, female, 25 years, 24 September 2017)

Although talked about, Nur remained firm to face her problems:

“Yes, I do not care, let them talk, it is I who had the experience, my domestic conflict is my own. So this is right in my opinion, my decision is right, so, *bismillah*²⁴.” (Nur, female, 25 years, 24 September 2017)

In addition to the negative comments from the community, they also received support to overcome divorce. Consolation was given primarily by peers, who knew about their marital problems, and tried to calm them down when they were sad. Furthermore, the role of the hamlet head was important in the life of the Kediri Induk community, to give an explanation to the woman’s parents that her child had been *talaq*-ed. Tan was *talaq*-ed three times by her husband, and in all three times the head of the hamlet came to her parents’ place and told them that Tan had been divorced by her husband. The hamlet head also explained the cause of Tan’s divorce to her parents.

Programmes for divorcees

There was almost no economic empowerment programme for divorced women found. In the field, we found some women who had been divorced and received aid programmes (in cash), but the programme was only a philanthropy of the Islamic Relief NGO.

Money was also obtained from the village, according a religious leader:

“There are several stages, sometimes it happens before Eid for example, or during Ramadan, and it’s done in stages. There is something special for the poor, some are for divorcees, for elders, collected. Besides being given compensation... when there are social assistance for example from the village government for them, given the business capital, and before it is distributed there is usually socialization first from the village government inviting religious leaders there, and then the aid is given.” (Sad, Religious Leader, 28 September 2017)

From our conversation with Riadi (30 years), divorcees who had a high school diploma got help to work in companies operating in Kediri Induk:

“... here, then there are some companies, I don’t remember the name, we gave them the links here, but not so big... That’s just those who have high school diplomas.” (Riadi, head of Kediri Induk Village KPAD, 19 September 2017)

Those who did not have a high school diploma worked as a maid, or migrant worker. However, this was not accommodated by the local government through its programmes.

²⁴ An invocation used by Muslims at the beginning of any undertaking. Literally translated to “in the name of Allah (God)”

Chapter 7. Discussion

SIMILARITIES BETWEEN THE THREE RESEARCH AREAS

The three villages studied showed several similarities. First, the **economic impact of child marriage**. Girls dropped out of school and for boys and young men, it was difficult to find a job to provide for their family. Young couples were hardly able to make ends meet without the support from their parents. These economic hurdles generated tensions that culminated in fights between the couples. The tension increased when it was the wife who worked, while the husband was unable to be a reliable provider for the family.

Gender inequality in the division of roles within the family triggered household problems that led to divorce. In West Lombok, although women could work, men were obliged to provide the livelihood, while in Sukabumi, although women had greater access to employment than men, the permission to work remained in the hands of husbands who were supposed to be in the main earning position in the family. In the case of Rembang, men also played a dominant role in the family, especially in economic terms, putting women in the position of taking care of domestic issues. There were cases where women were not allowed to work by the husbands, because they thought that they were able to meet the economic needs of the family, or they were not comfortable with a wife going out for work.

Study participants narrated that young couples also struggled with their **emotional immaturity** that at times was manifested in possessive attitudes towards the partners and infidelity. This contributed to the occurrence of divorce after child marriage. In Sukabumi and Rembang there were cases of infidelity, although not many, while in West Lombok, affairs were more frequently found. Some cases of infidelity found in West Lombok were with former lovers, while in Rembang, infidelity mostly occurred due to migration of partners. When the husband worked elsewhere, he could have met another woman, and have remarried. Emotional immaturity of young couples in the face of domestic problems often led to prolonged quarrels. Trivial matters could trigger discord, violence and divorce.

Emotional immaturity, in some cases, was also reflected in how young people developed their relationships from the beginning. **The ease of access to social media** was one of the starting points of child marriage. Social media have become one of the spaces used by teenagers to get friends or partners. In some cases encountered, marriages were the culmination of getting acquainted on the social media such as Facebook. One cause of divorce after child marriage in Sukabumi was due to the lack of awareness of the youth to further examine the family background of their partners. Some of the relationships beginning in the social media ended in divorce.

The fifth similarity was that a **family intervention does not always evoke resilience in the household**. Parents' intervention regarding marriage arrangement, but also young couples' problems within marriage, could lead to divorce. Generally, after divorce they returned to their parents. If the divorcing couple had children, then custody of children in general fell to the mother. With a young age and inadequate income, the child's needs would have to be met by the mother's family, especially by grandparents. In the three research areas, divorced women were seen as burden of their families, as parents do not only have to support their children, but also their grandchildren.

Lastly, there was a **stigma related to being spinsters and young female divorcees**. Some girls chose to marry at a young age to avoid becoming an 'old maid', despite the risk of divorce after child marriage. Divorce was considered normal in the research areas, and it was not considered a taboo. At the one hand, there was some stigma attached to young female divorcees, but at the other hand, they were seen as 'cool'.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE THREE RESEARCH AREAS

Economic, social and psychological factors

Employment opportunities contributed to problems within households, ending in divorce. In Cisolok village, there were not many job opportunities available to locals and available jobs were more available to young women than men. The difficult conditions for men to find work ultimately led to household quarrels leading to divorce. In Menoro village, although employment opportunities were more available to men than women, most jobs yielded inadequate income. This, in some cases, became the trigger for household fights. The situation was different in Kediri Induk village, where there was no significant inequality of employment opportunities, and thus causing less problems in the household.

Divorce after child marriage in all three areas was influenced by different social-psychological problems. In Cisolok village, among several divorced participants, the marriage was motivated by premarital pregnancy and began with unprotected sexual intercourse. Although social problems were highlighted by some parents, the roots of these problems were not discussed neither by the parents, youths, nor community leaders. All participants whose marriages were preceded by premarital pregnancies ended up in divorce shortly after the child was born, because 'the goal of marriage was achieved'. In Kediri Induk village, like in the other areas, young people were said to divorce due to emotional immaturity of couples in the face of domestic problems, such as 'adultery' and continuous quarrels. In Menoro village, some participants divorced due to infidelity of partners who lived far apart, because they were migrant workers.

Child marriage registration and divorce legalization

Among the three research areas, some Cisolok and Kediri Induk villagers tended not to register marriages legally, both in KUA and civil records, due to illegal (but valid according to religion) marriages. Likewise with divorce, people in these two villages tended not to register their divorce to the Religious Court even if they had been married legally. This was less the case with the people in Menoro Village.

Some of the participants interviewed in Cisolok village did not register their marriage to KUA, because child marriage was prohibited. The common practice was to conduct *sirri* marriage in front of the village *amil*, or falsify the age of the child to a legal marriage age. None of the main participants interviewed in Cisolok village registered their divorce to the Religious Court, for economic reasons. A stamped *Talaq* Certificate was signed by both parties and the head of RT/RW, because the community members could not afford the administrative cost of KUA marriage, the divorce fee and transportation costs to the Religious Court. This local practice, albeit illegal, was socially recognized.

In Kediri Induk village, the tendency of people not to register marriage and divorce was more influenced by the local Islamic culture. Although *sirri* marriage and *talaq* were not legal, they were socially and religiously recognized.

In Menoro Village, in general, people tended to register their marriages and also registered divorce legally, because of public awareness to formalize divorces. One of the reasons was the *mudin* who mediated the process of divorce for Menoro village community members.

Survival mechanisms after divorce

With the lack of job opportunities available in Cisolok village, young women who divorced after child marriage were often encouraged to migrate for work. The migration destinations of these young women were to the cities to become factory workers, and abroad to become migrant workers (to Hong Kong, Taiwan, Saudi Arabia). This posed a new vulnerability for young women in the village. In Kediri Induk village, one of the defense mechanisms of young men and women who divorced after child marriage was migrating to look for jobs outside the village, and some migrated abroad although this was not very common. In Menoro Village, one of the survival mechanisms of divorced men to forget the problem was alcoholic drinks, whereas girls usually were sent to *pesantren* by their parents or look for work in locations outside Menoro village.

Access to education after divorce

When a girl got married, she dropped out of school. Often, the divorce did not change the educational situation. In all three areas there were opportunities to access education after divorce. In Cisolok village, there was a choice of education in the form of the PKBM and GSC programme in formal school, whereas in Kediri Induk there was the choice of the open school. However, these opportunities were often not accessed by divorced parties. This was due to economic and social reasons, such as shame related to the status of divorce. Unlike the two other areas, in Menoro village, the *pesantren* could be an alternative choice of education that could be accessed by adolescents who experienced divorce. Some young divorcees continued their education in *pesantren*, whether requested by the parents or by their own desire.

CHANGE OF STATUS AND THE ROLE OF THE GIRLS DUE TO DIVORCE AFTER CHILD MARRIAGE

In all three research areas, most girls returned home to their parents after divorce from their husbands. The return of the child to the house of the parents resulted in a change of status: from an 'adult' (a wife or husband) to a child again in the household of the parents.

The logical consequence of returning to the child status was that the financing of the child's life became the responsibility of the parents again. In fact, not only the children, but sometimes also their grandchildren were brought home after divorce. While some children from divorcees ended up relying on their parent, others looked for jobs to support themselves, their children and even their parents.

In Yuli's case for example, after returning home to her parents, she eventually became the main breadwinner for the family. Because her father had passed, she must bear the economic burden for her mother, herself and her child. She worked as a shopkeeper in the market. Nike from Cisolok village also worked after divorcing from her husband: she became a singer. Changes of status and roles are summarized in Figure 7.

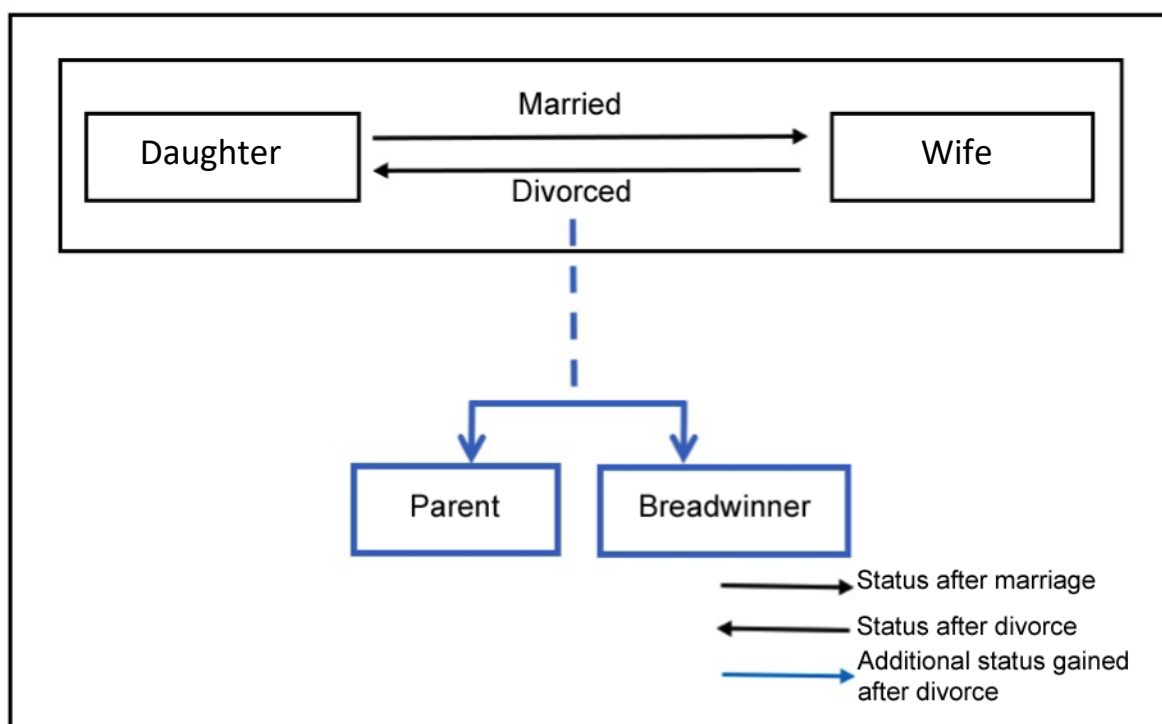


Figure 7 Change of status and role of the girls after divorce

STORIES ARE TOLD TO FRIENDS, BESIDES THE FAMILY

While this study found that parents were the most important actors after divorce, in some cases, young couples tended to be more comfortable to discuss their problems and options with close friends rather than their parents or family. Friends became important when parents and families were not receptive to divorcees' stories. Friends also helped young couples to tell parents and family that the couple divorced.

THE ROLE THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Unlike child marriage, the phenomenon of divorce after child marriage had not been the concern of local governments. In West Lombok, the local government had responded quickly to child marriage, which was a concern at the provincial level. The Government had responded by reviewing the Sasak cultural practices on marriage, namely *merariq*. The Governor of NTB issued Circular Letter (SE) Number SE/150/1138/KUM on Raising the Age of Marriage to above 20 years. The Regent of West Lombok was also quick to respond to this circular by launching the running *Anti-Merariq Kodek* Movement (GAMAK). At the lowest level of the government, the village and the hamlet also supported this response. This programme shows that the Local Government responded concretely to the phenomenon of child marriage, which is one of the causes of divorce.

In Rembang, Dinsos PPKB had a programme focusing on economic and social counselling for divorcees. In addition, the Government of Rembang Regency also had the PUP programme, which targeted teenagers and families.

In Sukabumi, BP3AKB of Sukabumi Regency had a Firstborn Postponement programme (postponing the birth of the firstborn by three years through family planning) in case of child marriage. In addition,

BP3AKB also had a PUP programme and a community and school-based PIK R programme. In schools, the *Sekolah Siaga Kependudukan* (SSK) programme had been implemented in SMPN 1 Cisolok and SMAN 1 Cisolok.

THE ROLE OF KPAD IN THE YES I DO PROGRAMME

The Village Child Protection Groups (KPADs) in the three locations were actively running their activities, including mentoring. The attention of the government also helped the purpose of KPAD in reducing the rate of child marriage. The main KPAD activities were to assist and educate the public about the condition of child marriage. In West Lombok, KPAD together with the government at the village and sub-village levels, played a role in documenting and accompanying the process of *belas* (separation) in the event of *merariq*. This role was significant, because it included in the negotiation process to allow the marriage or not.

In Rembang, the existence of KPAD was supported by the Regional Regulation of Rembang Regency No. 6 of 2014 on the Implementation of Child Protection, namely in Article 6 point (b) which discusses the importance of the existence of KPAD at the village level. Furthermore, KPAD Menoro was involved in supporting parents related to the child marriage. In addition to providing assistance to parents of married children, Menoro KPAD conducted socialization focusing on the prevention of child marriage.

In Sukabumi, since the KPAD was newly established (less than one year), its role so far had been raising awareness on child marriage prevention in school committees, village meetings, and *Majlis Ta'lim*. In addition to the institutional role, the head of the KPAD had a significant role in facilitating the prevention of divorce after child marriage through consultations.

LESSONS LEARNED AND NOVELTY OF THE STUDY

This study focused on the causes and consequences of divorce after child marriage in three regencies, namely Sukabumi, Rembang and West Lombok. This study also comprehensively observed other factors besides the causes and effects of divorce after child marriage, from the stage before the child marriage, then the life as a couple, to the divorce after child marriage and life after the occurrence of divorce after child marriage.

In the pre-child marriage phase, this study looked at the relationships between young girls and boys before they decided to marry. Some of the findings of this study explain how young people met and became a couple, which media were used, and whether there was a relationship before they made the decision to marry. Several interviews with study participants also specifically showed the age difference between husband and wife, and young people's opinions about the ideal age of marriage.

In addition, this study looked at child marriage itself; ranging from marital type, reasons for and opinions on child marriage, the relationship of the married couple, as well as the advantages and negative consequences of child marriage. This study distinguished two types of marriage, namely marriages registered legally through the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) for those who are Muslims and the Office of Population and Civil Records (Disdukcapil) for those who have other religions; and unregistered marriage. For marriages that were not registered, this study considered it as a marriage according to religious laws or customs, known as *sirri* marriage.

The reasons for and opinions on child marriage, the relationship of the married couple, and the consequences of child marriage were explored and explained comprehensively, as compared to previous studies on child marriage, and divorce specifically. In all three study areas, when in a marriage bond, most women no longer worked. Men (husbands) were considered to be the main breadwinners in the family. In addition, to conduct activities outside the home or public sphere, a woman (wife) was

supposed to always ask permission to her husband. In this case, many adolescent girls who married as children felt that their activities outside the home became limited, which led to problems with their husbands.

This study also observed the diverse values and norms of local cultures related to marriage. Examples included the tradition of *ngemblog* in Rembang Regency, and *merariq* (elopement) in West Lombok Regency. The study also comprehensively examined the type and process of divorce that occurred, as well as the public's view of divorce after child marriage related to the status change after the divorce. The views were sometimes ambivalent, where young female divorcees were regarded as bad, while sometimes they were seen as free and attractive. Strategies of young divorcees to deal with the situation were explored as well, including getting work, remarrying and being involved in social activities, and sometimes school. While there were stakeholders that influenced the existence of policies on child marriage or that played a role in empowerment of young people to prevent the occurrence of child marriage, so as to prevent divorces, it was found that young people dealt with situations much on their own, often helped by parents or friends.

While there have been other studies conducted with a focus on the issues of divorce and child marriage, they mainly focus on the effects of child marriage and less on the specific impact of divorce after child marriage. This study was initiated because of the concern about the practice of child marriage that violates the rights of the child, and the specific problem of divorce after child marriage. This study can be seen a first exploration that can be the starting point for further research, and can provide input for comprehensive programming and related advocacy activities.

Chapter 8. Conclusions and recommendations

CONCLUSIONS

Fulfilment of the rights of a child cannot be made in child marriage. One of the effects of child marriage is divorce. Divorce after child marriage is an important issue to explore, because not much is known about it. Therefore, this study was conducted with the aim of identifying the types, causes, consequences and mechanisms of survival in the case of divorce after child marriage in Cisolok, Menoro and Kediri Induk villages.

There were two types of divorce that occurred after child marriage, namely registered and unregistered divorces. In Menoro village, the majority of divorces were registered. This was in contrast with the other two areas, where the majority of divorces were unregistered. In Kediri Induk village, most cases of divorce after child marriage were not officially registered. This made any remarriage occurring to be a *sirri* marriage. In Cisolok village, although the divorce was not registered in the Religious Court, there was a certificate of stamp duty issued by the head of RT/RW. By using this local “divorce certificate”, divorced parties could remarry formally in the local KUA.

Divorce occurring after child marriage, whether registered or unregistered, had multiple reasons. Some of these reasons included economic reasons, matchmaking, emotional instability, infidelity, parental intervention, premarital pregnancy, and domestic violence. The lack of livelihood and capacity to work due to young age were the main economic problems behind divorce after child marriage. In the case of matchmaking, initially, girls did not have the autonomy to determine their partners, but various problems experienced during marriage emboldened them to file for divorce. Emotional immaturity in some cases caused continuous arguing, resulting in divorce. Divorce also occurred because of the issue of infidelity, both with ex-lovers and when meeting with new people after migration. Interventions of parents in a child’s domestic life could also worsen the condition of the household, ending in divorce. When marriage occurred because of premarital pregnancy, most marriages ended shortly after the child was born, especially in Sukabumi District. Another problem that arose as a cause of divorce was domestic violence, both physically and sexually. The various layers of problems are manifestations of imbalanced gender relations in child marriages.

Divorce resulted in other problems, including the additional economic burden of the family (parents of the divorcees), inadequate care for the children of the divorcee, and the stigma experienced by the divorcee. After the divorce, the daughter mostly returned to her family to be financially supported by her parents, including if she already had children. Some women who divorced were stigmatized by the community, related to their appearance and associations. This caused some of them to be embarrassed and avoid social interaction and education. The stigma was not experienced by divorced men. In addition to the various problems experienced after divorce, some of the participants actually felt more comfortable, free, happy and having control over themselves.

After divorce, both men and women had their own ways of responding to the situation. Some mechanisms of ‘post-divorce survival’ included remarriage, working, isolation, or alcoholism (in the case of men). There were some divorcees who chose to marry again to find happiness with a new partner. In general, the first marriage was a child marriage but for second marriage was not a child marriage. We found very few cases in three areas where the second marriage was a child marriage. Some divorced women chose to work to meet the needs of themselves, their children and families. Some young women isolated themselves, by way of boarding in *pesantren* or working outside the village or abroad, to avoid gossip from those around them.

RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has revealed a myriad of problems related to child marriage and one of its effects, namely divorce after child marriage. These problems had similarities and differences across three different areas. In Table 9, the recommendations are presented based on the five pathways of the YES I DO theory of change based on a validation meeting with partners and stakeholders in local level. These are not only intended to inform programme implementers, but also other key stakeholders associated with the YES I DO programme.

Table 9 Research recommendations

	Sukabumi	Rembang	West Lombok
Pathway 1 The community, religious leaders and community leaders have altered their behaviour and taken action, including village-level policies to prevent child marriage, teenage pregnancy and female circumcision	<p>KPAD should be assisted by YES I DO to provide understanding to parents about the rights of the child (especially regarding sexual and reproductive health), the danger and disadvantages of child marriage, etc.</p> <p>This can be done through existing forums of dialogue in the village, e.g. <i>Majlis Taklim</i>, <i>Posyandu</i>, RT/RW/village meetings.</p>	<p>Strengthening KPAD's function can be done so that KPAD does not just focus on the issue of child marriage, but also focuses on divorce occurring after child marriage.</p>	<p>YES I DO should aim for an active role of religious leaders to give consideration to preparing for marriage and registering divorce, as a form of child protection.</p>
	<p>KPAD adopts existing BP3A child protection programmes (e.g. raising marriage age, firstborn postponement, PIK-R, etc.) and should be assisted by YES I DO to raise awareness at the village level.</p>	<p>The awareness of issues undertaken by KPAD can be expanded. Intergenerational discussions facilitated by KPAD can be conducted as a form of socialization between youth and parents, community leaders, <i>dandan</i> as well as village officials, to identify issues related to matchmaking, child marriage and divorce after child marriage.</p>	<p>The process of documenting married and divorced citizens can be carried out in all hamlets in the village by hamlet officials and the results are to be submitted to the village officials.</p>
	<p>The village government reinforces the KPAD's institution so that they can reach further to young people. Thus, KPAD can assist and monitor the implementation of</p>	<p>Religious leaders should be involved in cross-cutting discussions on issues of matchmaking, child marriage and divorce after child marriage.</p>	<p>Dissemination of the results of village-level and community-level dialogues to stakeholders to be considered in bottom-up policy making.</p>

	existing child protection programmes.		
	The village government should involve young people in an inclusive and participatory manner in the preparation and implementation of community empowerment programmes.		
Pathway 2 Young women and men actively claim their sexual and reproductive health rights and are perceived as equal partners	Provide vehicles for young people to channel their interests and talents. Example: reviving Karang Taruna, providing activities that young people can participate in (e.g. sports, art, music, martial arts, etc.).	FAD as a child organization can hold discussions with other groups such as PIK-R, Saka Bakti Husada, or youth groups from <i>pesantren</i> on child protection issues.	Strengthening of youth <i>Posyandu</i> so that village adolescents understand about sexual and reproductive health and rights and have access to youth friendly health services.
	Strengthen peer groups (PIK-R) that have been established in SMPN 1 Cislok and SMAN 1 Cislok and encourage the formation of community PIK-R.	KPAD needs to cooperate with other non-targeted youth groups to provide comprehensive information about sexual and reproductive health and rights.	
	Young people should be involved in an inclusive and participatory way in the preparation and implementation of community empowerment programmes.	Social media can be used to inform and raise awareness for youth issues related to child marriage, the impact of child marriage and reproductive health.	
Pathway 3 Young women and men take appropriate action for their sexual and reproductive health rights including child marriage, teenage pregnancy and female circumcision	Utilize Internet and social media for organizing youth and means of conveying information about sexual and reproductive health and rights.	Children and youth who have engaged in child marriage may be targeted by the programme, although they are not the main target group (because the focus is on prevention).	Improve the effectiveness of sexual and reproductive health and rights information dissemination by YES I DO and related offices, for example about the existence of teenage counselling rooms at youth <i>Posyandu</i> in Kediri District.

Pathway 4 Young women have alternatives beyond child marriage, teenage pregnancy and female circumcision through education and economic empowerment	<p>Building synergy between stakeholders, private sector/investors and the community to create / implement economic training programmes, provision of facilities to support village potentials, and empower local communities in accordance with village potentials.</p> <p>E.g.: the development of fish fries, processing of seafood into ready-to-eat products, making tourism souvenirs, etc.</p>	<p>Economic empowerment activities and training aimed at youth in the village could use existing resources from the village.</p> <p>This can be in the form of using fruits grown in the village such as mango, melon or watermelon for candied fruit/fruit chips.</p>	<p>Creating an economic empowerment program (MSME) through trainings on business management, packaging and marketing.</p> <p>For example, the business of making snacks.</p>
	<p>Create an economic empowerment programme (through skills development and business management) for youth through collaboration with the Manpower Office (Training Center).</p>	<p>Social media can be used to market goods produced by youths in economic empowerment activities.</p>	<p>Pesantren can accept divorcees to continue their education as one of the fulfilments of children's right to education.</p>
Pathway 5 Stakeholders & policy implementers develops & enforces laws & policies related to child marriage, teenage pregnancy and female circumcision	<p>The district government to immediately endorse and implement child protection programmes related to child marriage. With the legal umbrella at the regency level, the village government will be able to develop child protection programmes and budget funds for the implementation of the programme.</p>	<p>The awareness of Dinsos PPKB programmes related to PUP and economic counselling for divorcees can be intensified so that target groups at the village level can benefit from the programme organized by Dinsos PPKB.</p>	<p>The existence of multi-sectoral collaboration in West Lombok regency to follow up the phenomenon of divorce after child marriage in order to achieve the goal of 'West Lombok as a Child-Friendly City, including having child friendly school' should be intensified. Sexual and reproductive health and rights education in school needs to be provided.</p>
	<p>A socializing waiver for the divorce fee for people living in poverty should be considered, to increase access to divorce registration in the Religious Court.</p>	<p>A socializing waiver for the divorce fee for people living in poverty should be considered, to increase access to divorce registration in the Religious Court.</p>	<p>YES I DO should cooperate with BKBPP, KPAD and the district to raise awareness about the age of marriage and sexual and reproductive health and right with more intensity.</p>

	<p>The YES I DO programme should advocate for the Religious Courts to be proactive to meet the citizens' need for divorce hearings. This relates to the civil rights of the husband, wife and child in relation to marriage and divorce.</p>	<p>Opportunities for cooperation should be sought between YES I DO and KPAD with Dinsos PPKB, related to coaching for marriage dispensation applicants and the applicants' parents (spiritual, health and economic development). This activity is also conducted in cooperation with Rembang Regency Religious Court.</p>	<p>The YES I DO programme should actively raise awareness about successful implementation of reproductive health education in four intermediate schools in West Lombok regency, to be an example for other schools.</p>
	<p>YES I DO should provide advocacy to KUA and add materials on communication in the family, for prospective brides and grooms.</p>	<p>Cooperation with the Office of Education, Youth and Sports (Dikpora), especially for family education programmes in the community and parenting classes and school committees in Rembang schools should be established.</p>	<p>The family <i>Posyandu</i> and youth clinic at village level should be involved in the efforts to prevent child marriage.</p>
	<p>The YES I DO programme should continue to work with <i>Puskesmas</i> through the Healthy Family programme, to record and monitor the health of married (child) couples.</p>	<p>Opportunities for cooperation with the Regional Development Planning Agency of Rembang Regency should be sought, to underscore the importance of building a common commitment among community leaders, religious leaders, children and local government institutions.</p>	<p>The YES I DO programme to conduct cross-sectoral discussions on 'deviation of <i>merariq</i> practice' as an effort to prevent child marriage.</p>
	<p>Strengthen the capacity of <i>Puskesmas</i> and health workers to provide more inclusive sexual and reproductive health services for young people, including unmarried or divorced young people.</p>		
	<p>The YES I DO programme to build cooperation with KPAD and BP3A to implement existing child protection programmes, such as the child's growth work group and trafficking work groups under the coordination of DP3A.</p>		

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Annexes




PHOTO VOICE IN CISOLOK VILLAGE, SUKABUMI REGENCY

Photographer : Nike
Age : 24
Occupation : Singer

Ranking	Photo	Theme/criteria	Reason for ranking
1		My little princess and I	She is my most beautiful daughter. She is the light of my life.
2		My little prince	This is my eldest son, who always gives meaning to my life even though I have to work on my own.
3		My nephew	My nephew, who is a friend to my son at home. The house is always noisy when they are there.

4		Keyboard organ	This keyboard organ accompanies me when singing. With this I can sing perfectly; I don't scream on my own.
5		My two friends and I	They are my best friends, my singing friends. On location I always laugh with them.

Photographer : Agus
 Age : 22
 Occupation : Car rental employee in Cisolok village

Ranking	Photo	Theme/criteria	Reason for ranking
1		Ojeg (motorbike taxi driver)	My friend who always helps driving me around when I work as a car driver.
2		Friend	My friend in bad and good times.
3		Ambulance	I drive this when there are sick or dead people.






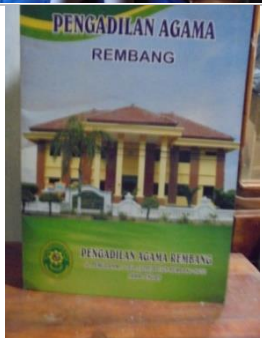

4		Releasing my emotions	<p>When I am upset, it always helps me release.</p>
5		Daily life at work	<p>I sleep at work 4 days in a week.</p>

PHOTO VOICE IN MENORO VILLAGE, REMBANG REGENCY






Photographer : Sita

Age : 22

Occupation : Housewife

Ranking	Photo	Theme/criteria	Reason for ranking
1		Amal's birth certificate	This is an important document that is needed for when the participant's son (Amal) is registering at a school, i.e. the birth certificate.
2		Mbah wedhok (grandmother)	The participant feels close to the <i>mbah wedhok</i> , who helps her starting from the birth process, and raising Amal to the present day.
3		Mbah lanang (grandfather) and Amal	The participant likes this photo, saying that Amal looked cute in the photo. He was photographed with <i>mbah lanang</i> who had just returned from the rice field or cut grass to meet the needs of the participant's family.
4		Divorce papers from the Religious Court	This is the proof of divorce from the former husband, and father of Amal, which makes the participant happier, calmer and more comfortable as she has separated/divorced from the ex-husband.
5		Selfie	The participant said that she loves to take selfies.





Photographer : Kadir
Age : 24
Occupation : Welder in a workshop

Ranking	Photo	Theme/criteria	Reason for ranking
1		Mbongko Beach in Kragan District	Mbongko Beach is located in Kragan region, Rembang. While still dating, Kadir often visited Mbongko Beach with his then-girlfriend. Usually, Kadir went to Mbongko Beach riding a motorbike from Menoro with his girlfriend after school. Usually, Kadir and his girlfriend visited this beach in the sunset until late at night. Kadir chose this photo as the one he liked best because the beach evoked his memories of his girlfriend before they got married and divorced.
2		Pak Ujang, owner of 'Ujang Jamila' coffee shop	'Ujang Jamila' is a coffee shop located on the Sedan-Kragan road, Menoro. Every night, Kadir spends time in this coffee shop. While still dating, Kadir often came to this coffee shop with his then-girlfriend.
3		Young coconuts	While at the 'Ujang Jamila' coffee shop, Kadir and his girlfriend often spent the night drinking ice coconut water together. He chose this photo because it reminded him of his memories with his girlfriend before they get married and divorced.
4		Cangkru' (hanging out) in 'Ujang Jamila'	Nowadays Kadir hangs out with his friends at the 'Ujang Jamila' coffee shop. One of the activities often done there is playing cards. However, Kadir usually only watches his friends play without playing himself, because he cannot play cards. In addition, Kadir stated that he was allowed to drink alcoholic beverages by his parents, but was asked not to play cards to gamble.
5		Palm wine (tuak aren)	Toddy, made from the sugar palm (<i>bogor</i>) tree, is an alcoholic beverage often consumed by Kadir. In addition to palm wine, Kadir often drinks <i>ciu</i> (arrack) and red wine. While still dating, his girlfriend often admonished him for drinking <i>tuak</i> , and forbade him from doing so. Further, when he was divorced by his wife, Kadir tried to calm his mind by drinking. However, Kadir

			<p>stated that when he worked in Malaysia as a welder, the alcoholic beverages he used to drink were 'quality' brands such as Chivas Regal and Jack Daniels. However, Kadir still often drinks <i>tuak</i> when he is in Rembang. A 1.5 liter Aqua bottle of palm wine is bought at Mbongko Beach, Kragan, for Rp. 10,000.</p>
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PHOTO VOICE IN KEDIRI INDUK VILLAGE, WEST LOMBOK REGENCY

Photographer : Ros
Age : 24
Occupation : Snacks seller

Ranking	Photo	Theme/criteria	Reason for Ranking
1		The process of cooking the snack	The most important thing is the process of making the snack.
2		Putting in the flour	So that you know the ingredients for the <i>molen</i> .
3		Making the snack	So that you know how to make the <i>molen</i> .
4		Finished making the snack	The end process of making the snack.







5		Family business	Making the snack with mother.
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Photo Voice

Photographer : Har
Age : 25
Occupation : Salesman

Ranking	Photo	Theme/criteria	Reason for Ranking
1		Mother	We return to the parent who has given birth to us. She is everything that matters. Who always accompanies me when I stress, am upset, sad, and lose direction.
2		Lecturer	When I go to the campus, this lecturer provides input and direction, he is most understanding (thesis supervisor).
3		Woman	Women inspire me to create songs and other works such as poetry.
4		Guitar	It always accompanies me when I am stressed, upset, sad, and lose direction.
5		Plants	The added value is when I return home tired, I can see the house (and plants), which heal my exhaustion and eliminate my fatigue.