

## ***Lolo Bangko: Child Marriage & Family Resilience in Island Communities in South Sulawesi***

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*Abd. Kadir Ahmad*<sup>1\*</sup>, *Sabara*<sup>2</sup>, *Sitti Arafah*<sup>3</sup>, *Mustolehudin*<sup>4</sup>, *Joko Tri Haryanto*<sup>5</sup>, and *Nur Fadhilah Mappaselleng*<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1,3,4</sup> National Research and Innovation Agency Jakarta, UAE, <sup>2</sup> Universitas Muslim Indonesia, Makassar

<sup>6</sup> [abdk003@brin.go.id](mailto:abdk003@brin.go.id)

### **Abstract**

The minimum age limit for marriage is regulated by the state to control the mental readiness of prospective bride and groom. In this context, child marriage based on local traditions is widespread in island communities. Therefore, this research aims to describe the practice of child marriage and the consequent impact on family resilience in the communities of Kodingareng and Badi in Spermonde Islands, South Sulawesi. A qualitative method is applied through critical ethnography, while data collection is carried out through interviews, observation, and document review. The results show that there is prevalence of child marriage as a common practice in island communities. In this context, the society understands the minimum age limit but maintains the tradition of child marriage due to cultural, customary, religious, and economic factors. The traditional view in the form of *Lolo Bangko* is the fear of not finding a suitable partner in the future. Consequently, children are forced to enter into early marriage which are often conducted illegally. This has an impact on harmony, independence, and household continuity, increasing the level of divorce in young families.

### **Abstrak**

Negara mengatur batas usia minimal untuk melangsungkan perkawinan agar calon pengantin memiliki kesiapan mental untuk membangun keluarga. Namun, perkawinan anak-anak yang didasari oleh tradisi lokal masih marak di masyarakat kepulauan. Artikel ini mendeskripsikan praktik perkawinan anak dan dampak konsekuensinya terhadap ketahanan keluarga pada masyarakat kepulauan di Pulau Kodingareng dan Pulau Badi di Kepulauan Spermonde, Sulawesi Selatan. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif melalui metode etnografi kritis, dan pengumpulan data melalui wawancara, observasi, dan kajian dokumen. Hasil studi menunjukkan prevalensi perkawinan anak sebagai praktik umum di masyarakat kepulauan. Masyarakat telah mengetahui peraturan batas usia minimum untuk menikah, tetapi mereka mempertahankan tradisi perkawinan anak karena faktor budaya, tradisi, kepercayaan agama, dan ekonomi. Pandangan tradisional berupa *Lolo Bangko*, yaitu ketakutan tidak mendapatkan pasangan yang cocok di kemudian hari sehingga anak dipaksa untuk melakukan perkawinan dini yang tak jarang dilakukan secara illegal. Hal ini berdampak pada keharmonisan, kemandirian, dan bahkan keberlangsungan unit keluarga, yaitu maraknya perceraian keluarga muda.

### **Keywords:**

*Lolo Bangko*; Child Marriage; Marital Culture; Family Resilience; Island Communities

### **How to Cite:**

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## Introduction

Indonesia is among the top 10 countries with the highest number of child marriage (Asadullah et al., 2020; Latifiani, 2019; Musawwamah et al., 2023). According to a report released by the University of Indonesia in 2020, 1 in 9 girls is married before the age of 18. Data from BPS (Central Statistics Agency) in 2020 states that there are approximately 1,220,900 women aged 20-24 married before the age of 18 (Handayani et al. 2021). In addition, child marriage has increased following the COVID-19 pandemic (Hasudungan, 2022; Rahiem, 2021; Subchi et al., 2021) and this trend is projected to continue until 2035 (Yukich et al., 2021). The economic difficulties caused by the pandemic have heightened vulnerability, specifically among girls, to the practice of child marriage (Putri et al., 2022). By marrying off children, families hope to secure financial stability and social status (Barkah et al., 2022). Furthermore, there are other complex factors involved, including social, cultural, and religious beliefs (Darmawan et al., 2022; Kasjim, 2016).

According to the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), child marriage occurs when one of the spouses is below the age of 18 (Aditya & Waddington, 2021). The age of 18 is established as the threshold for categorizing someone as a child according to Law Number 23 of 2002 on Child Protection. The minimum age for marriage defined by Law Number 16 of 2019 is 19 years old, previously set at a minimum of 16 for females. The change in age is based on considerations of psychological maturity and administrative factors/school age (Dakhoir & Lumatus, 2023).

Child marriage triggers psychological, biological, and sociological vulnerabilities due to the unpreparedness to enter married life (Gunawan & Bahri, 2023; Maina, 2020). It is considered as a violation of human rights, (Lami et al., 2023) since it disregards the child's right to development, including the need for education and the pursuit of a future (Setiadi, 2021). Child marriage is associated with low levels of education and income attainment (Cameron et al., 2022). as well as mental instability and health risks (Fan & Koski, 2022). The immediate impact is the vulnerability of family resilience, leading to divorce (Garcia-Hombrados & Özcan, 2023). This contradicts the essence of marriage as a sacred covenant based on sincerity and responsibility, aimed at building a happy family (Fauzan et al., 2023).

The phenomenon of child marriage is not only a global and national issue but also a local problem in South Sulawesi. The high prevalence has led to South Sulawesi being designated as a "red zone" and the practice of child marriage is among the highest at 12.1% (Wibowo et al., 2021). Economic factors supported by social, cultural, and religious perspectives contribute to this phenomenon. Religious beliefs also justify the concept since religion only sets the age of maturity as a limit, without specifying a minimum age as regulated by laws (Kasjim, 2016). There is a gap between the categorization of minimum age limits and the interpretation of the community in marriage practices (Idrus, 2022). In terms of family honor, child marriage is accepted due to the size of the dowry (Ratnaningsih et al., 2022). The tradition of arranged marriages, aimed at fostering familial connections, is often cited as a contributing factor leading parents to arrange early marriages for their children (Zulfadli et al., 2016).

The practice of child marriage is rampant in island areas. According to records from the South Sulawesi Office of Women and Child Empowerment, Pangkajene Kepulauan (Pangkep) Regency has the highest percentage of child marriage at 26.8%, and it is more prevalent in the

island regions. Economic factors, low levels of education, religious understanding, traditions, and efforts to uphold family honor contribute to the prevalence of "bunting lolo" (early marriage) in island communities in Liukang Tupabbiring Subdistrict, Pangkep Regency (Rizal, 2017).

Child marriage occurs in other areas such as Central Aceh, Gayo Lues, Southwest Aceh, Aceh Singkil, and Bener Meriah Districts, reaching 25% of 100 couples (Darmawan et al., 2022). A similar result was also reported in Banten region due to marriage dispensation. According to Ishom (2023), data on cases of requests for marriage-age dispensation at Banten Province Religious Court has increased. A total of 89%, 37%, 10%, 18%, 17%, 15%, and 3% of requests were granted at Tigaraksa, Tangerang, Serang, Pandeglang, Lebak, and Cilegon Religious Courts, respectively.

Other studies also show that in various communities with strong local traditions, there is a phenomenon of child marriage that is legitimized by local culture and traditional leaders. This can be seen in the Nias islands in the west of Sumatra Island (Gusnita, 2022), in the Madurese community (Suyono, 2018), and in the South Kalimantan community (Munirah, 2022). The phenomenon of child marriage greatly affects family resilience. Family resilience relates to the physical and spiritual ability to live independently and harmoniously (Djawas et al., 2022). Island communities were selected as the locus for this research due to their unique social characteristics, which significantly differ from mainland communities. The maritime economic pattern influences the low level of education awareness among the community. These social, cultural, and economic situations directly relate to the tradition of child marriage.

## Method

The research focuses on the community understanding of the minimum age for marriage; facts and factors on child marriage practices; and the impact on family resilience. The objective of this research is to gain insights into the community's comprehension of the regulations on the minimum age for marriage. This research also aims to uncover the pertinent facts and factors associated with child marriage and exploring its impact on family resilience.

This research is an in-depth examination of child marriage as the primary focus of analysis, with particular attention given to island communities as the socio-cultural context (Creswell & Vicki L. Piano Clark, 2018; Mishra, 2011; Silverman & Patterson, 2022). The data collection involved the implementation of a qualitative ethnographic approach through field research (Spradley, 1997). The ethnographic analysis focuses on the social behavior of island communities as a socio-cultural location (Okely, 2020; Ouroussoff, 2001). Furthermore, the approach implies a reflection on the complexity of a social fact, in this case, the phenomenon of child marriage (Poza, 2020). Data collection was also conducted in Spermonde Islands, South Sulawesi Province. The selection of locations was based on information about the prevalence of child marriage practices in those areas. The data collection was primarily conducted on Kodingareng Island (Makassar) and Badi Island (Pangkep) in May 2023.

As an ethnographic research method, observation serves as one of the primary techniques for data collection (Nunes et al., 2019; Dost & Mazzoli Smith, 2023). Observation is conducted by directly observing the social, cultural, economic, and religious aspects of island communities related to the practice of child marriage. Furthermore, in-depth interviews were

carried out with purposively selected informants (Lune & Berg, 2017; Silverman & Patterson, 2022). Key informants include individuals involved in child marriage and their parents, religious leaders, community figures, and government officials. Data collection was also supplemented by learning relevant literature and documents obtained from village offices, the *Religious Affairs Office* (KUA), and the *Religious Court* (PA).

Data analysis follows an ethnographic approach that comprehensively describes the research object and its social context. The understanding of the community, factors influencing child marriage, and its impact on family resilience are mapped in detail. Data analysis is employed to gain a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics and phenomena surrounding child marriage within its contextual framework (Silva, 2009). The steps involve interpreting the meanings, functions, and consequences of the actions observed in child marriage. To ensure the confidentiality of the informants, all names of individuals involved in child marriage and their parents in this writing are given pseudonyms.

### **Community Understanding of the Minimum Age for Marriage**

Communities in Spermonde Islands, particularly on Kodingareng Island and Badi Island, are ethnically Makassar and Bugis, all of whom are Muslim. The prevailing social pattern within this community is characterized by its maritime nature, where the primary source of livelihood stems from fishing activities. As fishermen, the community is divided into two categories, namely the *punggawa* as the owner of the capital and *sawi* as the crew members who go down to find fish. The relationship between the *punggawa* and *sawi* tends to be patron-client, where *sawi* is very dependent on the *punggawa* (Nurdin & Grydehøj, 2014). The income cycle operates daily, primarily relying on the extraction and utilization of marine products. From an early age, boys are accustomed to actively contributing to the family income. They engage in various tasks such as lifting baskets of catches and assisting in fishing activities, gradually assuming roles of responsibility. However, this socio-economic context has a profound impact on their awareness and prioritization of education. The availability of daily income opportunities often leads many boys to abandon their schooling and opt for early marriage instead.

The widespread practice of child marriage has been a tradition for a long time supported by the social situation, cultural patterns, and religious views. Even though there are regulations that limit the minimum age for marriage, both in Law Number 1 1974 and Law Number 16 of 2019, the practice is still rife. The community possesses knowledge of the legally mandated minimum age for marriage, which is set at 19 years. This information is disseminated by the government, community leaders, and dedicated activists who advocate for the well-being of women and children. Despite being aware of these regulations, child marriage remains prevalent within the community due to a multitude of complex reasons.

In the last 2 years, socialization regarding the minimum age for marriage has been carried out quite intensively. Socialization was conveyed formally at the village government and KUA (Kamaruddin, 2023). Through community meetings, to door-to-door socialization. Furthermore, the Makassar City Government formed a Residents' Shelter group at the village level and in Pangkep a *Community Protection Group* (KPM) at the village level. The group's duties include preventing the practice of child marriage and it is intense in providing

information to the public regarding the minimum age limit for marriage. The NGO group quite active in socializing is LBH APIK which has partners in the island area. A film was shown at Citra Bangsa Kodingareng High School entitled “Mutiara Pulau” as a form of child marriage prevention campaign when the team collected data on Kodingareng Island.

Abdul Gaffar (2023), LBH APIK partner on Kodingareng Island, stated that at every opportunity he always reminds the public about the legal age for marriage and the consequences of child marriage. Muhammad Idris (2023), Head of Mattiro Deceng Village (Badi Island), also stated:

*Since being inaugurated as the village head at the end of 2022, I have repeatedly conveyed to the community, both at the mosque, the village office, and during community events, about the rule that the minimum age for marriage should not be below 19 years. I remind the community about the risks involved, such as marriages not being officially registered or only recognized as unregistered marriages (kawin siri), where certificates cannot be issued. Generally, the residents of my village are already aware of these regulations, but it is necessary to continue reminding them because child marriage has become a tradition (Idris, 2023).*

Even though information about the prohibition is known, the practice of child marriage remains prevalent. Ambo Lili (2023), a cultural figure, states the crucial role of the government in maintaining societal compliance. *Anjo riolo pammarentaya nikamallakkangi, jari mallaki tawwa anggaukang anu sala.* (In the past, the government had authority, hence, the communities were afraid to violate rules. Regardless of the efficacy of the established regulations, adherence remains elusive if governmental enforcement lacks stringency. Therefore, every violation is expected to incur appropriate consequences. *Anne undang-undang perkawinan tena najelas sanksina, jari masyarakatka barani panggaukang* (The marriage law lacks explicit sanctions, thereby emboldening individuals to defy its provisions).

The community is also aware of the concept of *ithbāt al-nikāḥ* and dispensation from the Religious Court as requirements to register a marriage. Some individuals who got married as minors went through the *ithbāt al-nikāḥ* process after reaching the age of 19. *Ithbāt al-nikāḥ* is used to obtain legal status for marriages that have not been officially registered, making the marriage legally recognized in the country (Wahidullah & Umam, 2019). The existence of regulations regarding *ithbāt al-nikāḥ* and dispensation poses a dilemma. Furthermore, it provides a space for the recognition of child marriage and dispensation policies contribute to the increase (Darmawan et al., 2022). Regarding the implementation of *ithbāt al-nikāḥ*, Muhamad Ridwan (2023) the Head of the Makassar Religious Court stated:

*We are passive and only receive information related to the community seeking an ithbāt al-nikāḥ or marriage dispensation trial. Therefore, the domain of socialization is the responsibility of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The process is reported to the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) by the Imam. Readiness to partake in an integrated validation trial is affirmed with coordinated and assembled individuals. Acknowledgment is extended towards these initiatives, considering the financial constraints (Ridwan, 2023).*

Despite the existence of regulations prohibiting child marriage, the practice persists due to conflicting interpretations regarding the minimum age limits in religious teachings and state

regulations. According to religious rules, marriage can take place once an individual has reached the age of maturity (*akil baligh*). The legitimacy of the concept based on Islamic law is widely found among the people of South Sulawesi (Kasjim, 2016)

Junaid (2023), a former imam of Rida Mosque, is often asked for help by the community when children engage in *anggaukang paccallang* (reprehensible behavior) before marriage, and stated:

*The important thing is that the family is willing to take responsibility, and this is accompanied by Babinsa (Village Military Commander). The historical practice of marriage has consistently included early unions, with an important criterion of attaining legal age and showing the capacity for matrimony. In this context, the unions often occurred in the extended family or cousins. However, contemporary challenges arise since children increasingly exercise autonomy in selecting life partners, influenced significantly by socialization processes (Junaid, 2023).*

Differences in the concept of the minimum age for marriage give rise to legal dualism in society (Mohammad, 2013). The perception of the state's leniency in enforcing restrictions has resulted in their reliance on the interpretation of Islamic law. A legal duality arises in the context of unregistered marriages, considered valid based on religious principles, despite lacking official recognition by the state (Musawwamah, 2014). These two models of legal dualism occur in child marriage because the concepts are carried out in series.

### **Lolo Bangko & Other Factors on Child Marriage Practices**

Child marriage is deeply rooted as a cultural tradition among the inhabitants of Spermonde Islands. Despite its widespread prevalence, there is a lack of definitive data concerning the exact number taking place in both the village of KUA and PA. This information gap stems from the fact that child marriage is conducted sequentially unless individuals receive dispensation from PA. To illustrate the extensive nature, a data search was conducted on this practice. Data collection relied on information provided by the public, showing that over 30 cases of child marriage have been reported on Kodingareng Island in the past five years.

This occurred in the last two years when the local government no longer processed marriage requests for underage individuals, as expressed by Rusyidin (2023):

*The Imam refuses to marry a child who has not reached the legal age. To enter into marriage, alternative avenues are used since the Imam refrains from overseeing the unions. This marks a departure from the past when indifference was shown regarding whether the potential bride or groom was underage. According to religious principles, marriage is permissible once an individual reaches maturity. Apprehension is expressed by parents over the possibility of children eloping or encountering accidents, prompting advocacy for expeditious marriages (Rusyidin, 2023).*

Concerns held by parents regarding early marriage include the apprehension that children might resort to expedient measures, such as eloping. Despite the local consensus, there is persistence in identifying specific methods to arrange unions for children. This was reported by Imam Kodingareng, Imam Nyambang:

*Reports are submitted after the family secures the necessary wedding funds. Approximately two or three days before the ceremony, the following are stated, "How, Mr. Imam, it is already done, do not embarrass us (nipakasirik). This statement implies that not officiating the marriage would bring embarrassment to the family. According to religious principles, the important factor is maturity (balerek). Refusing to solemnize the marriage would be considered a sin, contrasting with engaging in adultery. In this context, when parents perceive child as mature, the importance of marrying rather than facing shame becomes the focus (appakasirik), specifically when the individual is pregnant (tianang) (Nyambang, 2023).*

The high practice of child marriage has an impact on high dropout rates. Several cases were found even in Junior High School-aged children (14-15 years). According to Erika (2023), a teacher at Senior High School Citra Bangsa Kodingareng Island, every year there are fewer students due to being married off by their parents, and some even drop out before the final exams. Jumadi (2023), a teacher at Junior High School 12 Badi Island stated that boys who dropped out of school went to sea, while girls were usually married. This has contributed to the practice of child marriage on Badi Island, a phenomenon occurring on the surrounding islands.

Child marriage practices are due to the motive of mutual affection. Both parties are in a romantic relationship, and the male (who is usually also underage) feels capable of providing a living, leading them to decide to get married. Another occurrence is when parents become aware of their child's romantic relationship and select to marry them off immediately out of concern of falling into immoral behavior. Cedok (2023), for example, decided to marry off her nephew, Muf, because she observed that her relationship with the boyfriend, had become too close, even though the girl was only 17 years old and in the XI grade of Senior High School.

The principle is that parents are worried about their children's social interactions, thereby marrying them off immediately. For similar reasons, Saleh (2023), a father of two girls in Kodingareng, expressed a desire to arrange the marriage of the daughter while in 8th grade, at the age of 14. This man responded, "inai lanjagai" (who will take care of her) when questioned about the haste. Meanwhile, Saleh preferred to care for 100 buffalo than for one girl. Societal pressure asserts that when someone proposes to the daughter, the proposal should be accepted to avoid the fear of *Lolo Bangko* or being labeled as *tenamo nalaku* (an old virgin).

The fear of being labeled an old virgin compels families not to delay when the daughters are proposed to by a man. Another factor is arranged marriage to strengthen family ties, as well as the desire to be relieved from the burden of taking care of daughters. Approximately 25.6% of parents and 32.6% of teenagers in South Sulawesi agree that unmarried girls above the age of 18 are a burden to their families (Wibowo et al., 2021). Different research identified a prevailing viewpoint within the communities of Spermonde Islands, where "it is more challenging to care for a daughter than animal." Consequently, when a man proposes marriage, it is deemed preferable to promptly proceed with the union, even when it necessitates the child discontinuing their education. Religious convictions also play a role in the acceptance of marriage proposals by female parents since they adhere to the belief that "it is inappropriate to reject someone who brings forth benevolence (engagement)."

Rejecting a marriage proposal is perceived as turning away from blessings, and it is believed that such a decision may lead to adverse consequences for the young woman, such as

remaining unmarried and labeled as an "old maid." In the local culture, reaching the age of 20 is considered as an old maid for women, while men are viewed as old bachelors when they reach the age of 25. On average, girls become married before the age of 20 (Fajri, 2023). During a marriage proposal event, parents who have daughters express a strong desire for their daughters to receive similar proposals shortly. It becomes a matter of pride for parents when someone expresses interest in marrying their daughter, particularly when the suitor presents a substantial dowry (*doek panaik*) and valuable marriage gifts.

Ramlah (2023), graduated from high school at the age of 18. She is the only child, and the parents are economically stable. Initially, she agreed to continue her education at the university, but suddenly a family from her father came to propose. The proposal was accepted, and she was expected to be married in September 2023. The inquiry into why she had to get married at 18, rather than waiting until she turned 19, prompted her parents to respond that there is already a proposal, and rejecting a good deed is not proper.

The facts and factors of child marriage are shown by a cultural figure, Fatahuddin (2023). It is mentioned that 90% of the youth marry early and the reasons are:

*In this community, social factors play a significant role, including the tradition of tau toa passitalli (parental arrangement of marriages), parental concerns, and considerations related to accidents. The community is aware of legal regulations, and counseling has been offered since 2000. This awareness is from my 46-year tenure as the head of the neighborhood. Despite the community knowledge of the law, violations persist due to the absence of sanctions. Therefore, there is a sentiment that when the Imam refuses to officiate, individuals are willing to enlist the services of another officiant (Fatahuddin, 2023).*

Some underage prospective brides and grooms pursue the route of seeking dispensation from the Religious Court to make marriages legal. However, the dispensation requests are not granted due to insufficient reasons. In reality, without receiving dispensation from the PA, child marriage still proceed (Idrus, 2022). One case related to this was found on Badi Island, where pregnancy outside of marriage receive dispensation from judges to avoid harm (Rais, 2018). The granting of dispensation by judges also considers legal fairness and social justice (Prabowo, 2013).

### **Impact on Family Resilience**

The islands in Spermonde Islands have a relatively dense population, and the growth does not correspond to the size. Kodingareng Island, which has an area of about 14 hectares, has to accommodate over 5,000 residents. Meanwhile, Badi Island, with an area of only 7 hectares, is inhabited by approximately 2,500 people. There is hardly any space left to build new houses, hence, when children get married, they continue to live in their parents' house.

Narrow economic margin and limited choices exacerbate the situation. The primary livelihood option for the residents is fishing. There are three types of fishermen on Kodingareng Island, namely *papekang*, *papattek*, and *pagae*. *Papekang* is an independent fisherman who catches fish for daily consumption (*kaddokang*) and sells the rest. Another independent fisherman is known as *papattek* (archer) who catches fish for sale. The largest group is *pagae*

or *sawi*, crew members participating in a *punggawa-sawi* relationship. These individuals are also bound to someone called *pabalolang*, a businessperson who collects and buys catch. In some instances, *pabalolang* is also the owner of the boat or the *punggawa*. Fishermen's income is uncertain and *papekang* is considered fortunate when fish is obtained for *kaddockang allo-allo* (daily consumption). Meanwhile, *papattek* can obtain a maximum of five mackerel at sea weighing 5-7 kg each with a price ranging from IDR 50,000 to IDR 70,000 per kilogram (Kifli, 2023). The catch from boat fishermen is distributed according to local rules. The boat owner, known as *punggawa*, receives half of the proceeds from the sale of the catch after all operational costs are deducted. The other half is divided between the *juragan* (middleman) and *sawi* (crew). Specifically, the *juragan* receives twice the share of *sawi*, plus a percentage, from the *punggawa* (Kifli, 2023). This distribution results in *pagae* receiving the smallest share in the relationship system. In normal situations, a *pagae* receives IDR 300,000 - IDR 500,000, or no *tawa* (share) in a week (Labbang, 2023).

Weather conditions, currents, waves, and seasonal variations, with decreasing potential catch, are natural problems that lead to minimal or no catch (Fudding, 2023). This uncertainty in economic life mirrors the unpredictable nature of ocean waves rising, falling, or disappearing entirely. Therefore, many fishermen switch professions or move to other areas, such as Banggai in Central Sulawesi. Women assist families by taking on roles as *papalilik* (mobile vendors), selling cakes, and vegetables. Buyers are not required to pay immediately since payment can be made in the afternoon or at another agreed time (Mardiana, 2023). These practices can potentially lead to issues, specifically when the debtor cannot repay debt as agreed at the outset, citing various reasons. Similarly, the debt accumulates when leniency in repayment is given, leading to the breakdown of social cohesion (Risma, 2022). Reciprocity, or the mutual exchange of gifts, is another traditional way to alleviate economic pressure. An individual is not expected to attend a wedding or other life cycle ceremony physically. A monetary gift (*passolok*) presented to the event host can be entrusted to an intermediary, who will receive a box of rice or cakes. The value of this exchange corresponds to the amount of *passolok* sent. The economic rationale for the practice is stated by Hj. Cawang (2023), an elder in the village. According to the provided explanation, an individual who attends an event becomes the sole beneficiary of the food. However, home-delivered food can be shared with other family members to partake and derive enjoyment, maximizing the benefits of the sustenance. In this context, teenage girls are not allowed to assume the role of *papalilik*. These girls (*tulolo*) tend to remain at home, focusing on self-care and avoiding exposure to the intense island sun. The prospect of education holds little interest since there is a perception that educated women on the island end up confined to domestic roles, particularly in the kitchen. This situation of staying at home, with the prevalence of social media intensifies the inclination to engage in *bunting lolo*, despite the associated risks (Ahmad et al., 2023).

This condition certainly affects the independence of children who have been married. Almost all child marriage participants who served as informants continue to live with their parents after marriage. This is due to economic factors and the availability of land for building new houses. Furthermore, this can be seen as a positive aspect since living with parents serves as a form of control for those who are not yet ready to start their families. Due to lack of readiness to assume parental responsibilities, the children of these individuals are frequently entrusted to the care of their grandparents, rather than their mothers, to a greater extent.

Family resilience is directly related to the individual resilience of each partner (Herdiana et al., 2018). Mental unpreparedness, economic vulnerability, and low education levels contribute to a "family resilience emergency." The high vulnerability of family resilience within island communities is also attributed to the lack of guidance before and after marriage, on building a harmonious family. Immature psychological factors and a lack of stability upon entering marriage affect the ability to solve problems. This often leads to disharmony among young couples and small issues can escalate into complicated problems, such as domestic violence. Harris (2023), an assistant in the Family Hope Program (PKH) on Badi Island, explained:

*Many problems arise due to marriages conducted at a young age. Some cases of domestic violence occur due to trivial issues. For example, it could be due to a husband's jealousy after seeing his wife with her friends, and sometimes economic factors play a role. Infidelity can also be a triggering factor within the relationship. Following episodes of violence, certain couples select to separate, while in other cases, ultimately reconcile. The involvement of parents can aid in the reconciliation of the couple or contribute to the dissolution of marital union. Even though a considerable number of marriages do succeed and cultivate harmony, it is undeniable that a percentage ultimately end in divorce. Over 10% of couples are unable to maintain their marriage, and those who manage to remain together often navigate through tumultuous storms within their relationship, which should not be encountered at such a young age (Harris, 2023).*

Despite the capacity to generate income, individuals often find themselves persistently dependent on their parents due to the unpredictable nature of earnings. For instance, Fajar (2023) works as a lettuce fisherman but had an unproductive week, resulting in a lack of funds to support his household. Consequently, he continues to reside with his in-laws, creating an economic entanglement with both his in-laws and parents, who themselves do not possess a strong financial standing.

Several research found that child marriage leads to weakened family resilience, with negative effects on women and children after divorce (Darmawan et al., 2022). The concept of divorce presents significant problems since the marriage was conducted without legal recognition. Therefore, women and children lack legal protection following the experience of Ana (from Kodingareng Island) (2023).

*I got married when I was 16 years old and only lived in a marital relationship for about a year. Since the marriage was not officially recorded, I faced difficulties in obtaining a birth certificate for my child. Meanwhile, my child was registered on the birth certificate as my parent's child. Due to the unregistered marriage, after the divorce, we simply went separate ways without going through a formal process. However, divorce was the best path rather than continuing the marriage. The trigger was my former husband's infidelity, thus for me, divorce was the best solution (Ana, 2023).*

Yani (from Kodingareng Island) (2023), who is currently only 19 years old, has been married three times, and all of these marriages took place when she was underage. Her first, second, and third marriages occurred at 14 years, 16 years, and a few months ago. Yani did not

provide many details since the divorce was due to a lack of compatibility. Sari, 15 years old (Badi Island) (2023), told of a friend who is currently only 16 years old but has been married twice. The first marriage at 15 years old due to pregnancy out of wedlock, only lasted a few months then separated. Mia (2023), who married at the end of 2020 at 18 years old, only lasted a month with the husband. She entered into matrimony due to the arrangement made by her parents. Furthermore, she does not currently desire to wed due to the desire to pursue the educational aspirations further. The spouse happens to be the second cousin, as per her account. After discovering the true nature of the spouse, which was less than favorable, she ultimately opted for divorce, and the family readily backed this decision.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, cases of child marriage occurred due to local cultural factors. Moreover, the influence on people's attitudes became stronger when local cultural norms gained legitimacy from the interpretation of religious law. Cases of child marriage were triggered by traditional views in the form of fear of becoming *Lolo Bangko*. This view became a cultural norm and gained legitimacy from religious views allowing the society to maintain the tradition of child marriage and ignore state law. In many cases, child marriage was not recorded in the country's population administration documentation. However, Ministry of Religion and Religious Courts had different methods of working, leaving legal loopholes that allowed the tradition of child marriage. Ministry of Religion did not facilitate the concept, while Religious Courts provided an alternative through dispensations and *ithbāt al-nikāh*. Therefore, marriage dispensations and *ithbāt al-nikāh* became loopholes exploited to continue carrying out child marriages without hesitation. This was due to limited integrated socialization regarding state regulations, resulting in low public legal awareness. Meanwhile, child marriage in society could be influenced by cultural, religious and legal factors. Regulatory socialization strategies also need to consider local factors, specifically the culture of island communities. In this context, culture was built by the harsh marine environment, where most time was spent at sea to earn a living. The persistence of the practices was also caused by isolation and limited access to the outside world

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