



Child Marriage: Taboo, Religion, and Women in Symbolic Violence

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Abstract

Child marriage is a phenomenon that still occurs in Indonesia. The occurrence of child marriage is inseparable from the role of parents and the weak position of girls in the family. The phenomenon of child marriage indirectly affects women's subordination. In this regard, religion and taboos have a role in perpetuating child marriage, reproducing subordination, and symbolic violence against women. This research is qualitative research with an anthropological sociology approach. The focus of the research is to analyze the influence of taboo and religion on the role and negotiation of women in the process of child marriage. The results of the study state that a disproportionate understanding of Islamic teachings reinforces taboos and supports the practice of child marriage, thereby reproducing symbolic violence and subordination against women.

Keywords: Child Marriage, Taboo, Religion, Women, Symbolic Violence

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Abstrak

Perkawinan anak merupakan fenomena yang masih terjadi di Indonesia. Terjadinya perkawinan anak tidak terlepas dari peran orang tua dan lemahnya posisi anak perempuan dalam keluarga. Fenomena perkawinan anak secara tidak langsung berdampak pada subordinasi perempuan. Dalam kaitan ini, agama dan tabu memiliki peran dalam melanggengkan perkawinan anak dan mereproduksi subordinasi dan kekerasan simbolik terhadap perempuan. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif dengan pendekatan sosiologi antropologi. Fokus penelitian ini adalah menganalisis pengaruh tabu dan agama terhadap peran dan negosiasi perempuan dalam proses perkawinan anak. Hasil kajian menyatakan bahwa pemahaman yang tidak proporsional terhadap ajaran Islam justru memperkuat tabu dan mendukung praktik perkawinan anak, sehingga mereproduksi kekerasan simbolik dan subordinasi terhadap perempuan.

Kata Kunci: *Perkawinan Anak, Tabu, Agama, Perempuan, Kekerasan Simbolik*



A. INTRODUCTION

Child marriage is a phenomenon that still occurs in many developing countries (Ahmed et al., 2013; Kyari & Ayodele, 2014; Pandey, 2017; Walker, 2012), including in Indonesia. A marriage can be called child marriage if one or both parties are still below the standard of adult age based on the provisions of the law in a country. In Indonesia, Law no. 4 of 1979 concerning Child Welfare Article 1 number 2 states that a child is someone who has not reached the age of 21 years and has never been married. Based on the statement of the law, every marriage carried out by an Indonesian citizen under the age of 21 years can be referred to as child marriage.

The practice of child marriage needs special attention because many social problems are directly related to child marriage, for example, poverty, low levels of education among girls, reproductive health problems to the occurrence of physical, mental and sexual violence in the household (Iustitiani & Ajisuksmo, 2018; Mubasyaroh, 2016; Santhya, 2011). The problems surrounding child marriage have yet to find a solution that works optimally (Judiasih et al., 2020; Muntamah et al., 2019; Wibowo et al., 2021). The meaning of marriage as something that is traditionally functional in society is one of the main causes (Sulaiman, 2012). The closest family, especially parents, are often the parties who take a significant part in accommodating child marriages (Puspitasari & Muktiyo, 2018). Parents believe that child marriage is the best solution to avoid worries about their daughter's behavior (Chotim, 2019). Some other parents think that marrying off their children early will help reduce the family's economic burden (Aditya & Waddington, 2021; Kasjim, 2016). The practice of child marriage is also influenced by the fear of being called a spinster for women who do not get married immediately (Pakasi, 2019). The significant role of parents in determining a mate for their daughters at an early age is fundamentally influenced by the values of the belief that this is a duty, responsibility and right for parents, which is almost absolute, which means that it must be followed by their children (Faridatul Jannah, 2012).

One of the views of parents regarding their authority over their children is influenced by religious understanding. Islam, through its teachings, explains that parents are the first and foremost parties who should care for, guide and raise their children (Ahmad, 2014). One of the basic obligations of parents towards their daughters, according to Islamic teachings, is to find a mate for their daughters. The teachings of Islam are used as the basis by parents as legitimacy that they have the right and responsibility to choose a mate for their child according to their wishes (Asmawi & Bakry, 2020).

In addition to religious understanding, the taboos adhered to by the community have a vital role in the continuation of the practice of child marriage. Taboos often arise from myths that have existed and been believed by the community for years and serve as an alibi so that child marriage can occur (Program et al., 2021; Rosyidah dan Ikhlilah Muzayyanah Dini Fajriyah, n.d.). These taboo myths have a strong position, especially in traditional societies. The strength of the marriage myth makes people afraid of breaking taboos and prefers to follow myths rather than obeying the law (Grijns & Horii, 2018).

This study examines the relationship between taboo and religious understanding and its influence on symbolic violence and subordination against women in relation to the practice of child marriage. In contrast to various studies related to child marriage

which usually discuss the causes and consequences of child marriage, this study focuses on the analysis of women's domination and negotiation in child marriages, which in fact, play a role in perpetuating symbolic violence and subordination against women themselves. This paper is qualitative research using an anthropological sociology approach. The study was conducted for two years involving 30 respondents, namely 15 mothers and 15 daughters who underwent child marriage. The research location is Timbrangan village, a small village in the Rembang district, Central Java province, Indonesia. Sources of information were collected through observation, interviews and documentation. The information collected is then analyzed to describe how taboo plays a role in the reproduction of child marriage practices, as well as how taboos and religious understandings relate to the dominance of roles and negotiations between mothers and daughters in the process of child marriage, which in turn perpetuates symbolic violence against them.

B. DISCUSSIONS

Habitus of Women in Society and Family

To understand the symbolic violence that occurs against women, it can be started from the habitus that surrounds it. Habitus is a kind of knowledge that unconsciously refers to something that is routinely done. (Jones et al, 2016). Habitus is created through practice or action, but habitus is also the result of actions created by social life (Ritzer & Goodman, 2003; Bourdieu, 1977). It can be said that the existence of habitus is formed and forms a structure in an arena (Krisdinanto, 2016). Habitus contributes to creating a person's practices in the present and future (Komunikasi, 2014). Habitus and the arena have a two-way relationship that influences each other, whereas habitus embodies the structures of the arena. In contrast, the arena is an intermediary between habitus and practice (Arismunandar, 2009). In the arena, agents will continue to maintain or increase capital so that their position becomes stronger or dominant (Adib, 2012).

In the social world, the difference in the division of roles between men and women also contributes to how women are treated. Since being born into the world, girls have been socialized to be able to become ideal female figures based on the definition of society (Rokhimah, 2014). The ideal figure of women defined by society becomes the standard rules that bind women to follow these standards if they want to be accepted and recognized as part of society.

This condition is in accordance with how Bourdieu conceptualizes habitus, namely, first, as empirical tendencies to act in specific ways (lifestyle). Second, as motivation, preference, taste and feeling (emotion). Third, as ingrained behavior. Fourth, as a view of the world. Fifth, as practical social skills and abilities. Sixth, as aspirations and hopes related to changes in life and career paths (Sutrisno & Putranto, 2005).

Habitus will form social standards in society so that they will conceptualize women as being gentle, obedient, submissive, full of feelings and so on, as opposed to the characters that are considered to be possessed by men, namely firm, brave, logical and so on (Susanto, 2015). It becomes a natural thing to see when girls play with cooking and housework to practice the development of their affective abilities. In contrast, boys play war or toy cars to train their physical and psychomotor abilities (Green, 2004).



This partial ability development occurs because of the stereotyped assumption that women are creatures who prioritize feelings while men are more active and logical creatures (Purnomo, 2012). The patriarchal culture that shapes differences in behavior, status and authority of men considered more than women ultimately forms a gender hierarchy and places men as dominating, operating and exploiting women (Sultana, 2012).

Pierre Bourdieu explained that three places significantly influence the inculcation of values and habits in women, namely the family, religious institutions and educational institutions. All three are played together objectively and work on unconscious structures (Bourdieu, 2010). In this context, it means that family, religious understanding and education have a major contribution and play an integral role in the reproduction of domination and masculine vision for women.

The family is the main place that provides women with early experiences regarding the division of sexual roles (Aisyah, 2013). Since a woman is born, she will begin to be socialized as a woman based on the definition of society. Women will be forbidden by their families to do things contrary to the feminine nature attached to them (Musarrofa, 2015). In addition to socialization through the family, the theological path is the party that significantly socializes and has an effect on legitimizing the domination of women. Various discriminatory views about women in religious interpretation have placed women the-cosmologically in the position of second-class beings (S Nurani, 2016). Such views also limit women's movement and imprison them in the domestic space (Shinta Nurani, 2017). Textualist groups, in particular, claim that the teachings of this kind of religion have never changed throughout history. According to their perspective, meanings that are considered original remain valid and valid in all places and at all times. This kind of textual approach produces conservative teachings and emphasizes dogma that demands absolute obedience to what is considered a religious obligation (Qibtiyah, 2019).

Schools as educational institutions also play an important role in women's subordinate habitus. The education provided in schools, both in terms of materials and methods, is influenced by the arena in which the school is located, as well as the values and beliefs that underlie the educators' knowledge. Educators who hold patriarchal values will include them in learning activities and student interactions. The values in the learning process will become an ideology that strengthens the subordinating treatment of women. Through this process, the ideology implanted becomes a legitimate tool to maintain asymmetrical relations between women and men (Rokhimah, 2014).

Here, families, educational institutions and religious institutions hold symbolic power that can control symbols and make individuals, groups and communities obey the symbolic mobilization (Bourdieu, 1991). In hiding its dominance, symbolic power uses very subtle means so that the victim does not realize that it is a practice of power. As a result, instead of refusing, the victim accepts the practice of domination. At such times, victims experience what Pierre Bourdieu terms symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 2001). In other words, symbolic violence is the imposition of a system of symbolism and meaning on a group or class in a way that they experience as legitimate (Bourdieu, 1990).

Legitimacy obscures the power relations that allow the imposition of the domination of power to be successful. All of this is achieved through misrecognition, which is a process in which power relations are perceived not for what they are

objectively, but in a form that makes the power relation legitimate in the eyes of those who see it (Jenkins & Bourdieu, 1992).

Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence was developed in the context of gift giving, especially that the recipient cannot return to the giver in a balanced quality. In this case, giving is also a way to possess or bind another person (Vol et al., 2015). This concept is implemented in understanding parents and daughters, where parents, as someone who raises children, feel they have the authority to determine partners for their daughters. On the other hand, the same religious understanding makes girls externalize their acceptance in the form of an attitude of submission and obedience, which keeps them in a subordinate position in the family and society.

Myth: Beliefs that Lead to Taboos

Myth is a communication tool to convey messages. According to (Barthes, 1972), the working system of myth is to appear naturally or look natural in accordance with the existing reality because it has a historical basis. Three elements always exist in myth, namely form (signifier), concept (signifier) and meaning (sign). Every myth has a purpose that is summarized in the meaning/sign. Concerning the development of community culture, myth is divided into three typologies and functions. First, narrative myths serve to entertain. Second, operative myths, repetitive and validation, are intended for magical, ritualistic things that function to produce the desired continuity. Third, explanatory myths, which are speculative, function to explain a story (Roibin, 2010; Kirk, 1983).

The residents of Timbrangan village have several myths that are closely related to matchmaking and the occurrence of child marriage (Triningsih, 2020). In the context of the beliefs of the villagers of Timbrangan, myths related to matchmaking and marriage act as taboos or things that should not be violated. The villagers of Timbrangan believe in several myths that directly or indirectly affect child marriage habits. The myths are:

1. Rejecting the first matchmaking offer will bring bad luck.

The strongest myth related to matchmaking in Timbrangan village is that a woman should not refuse the first proposal offered to her family if she does not want to be unlucky, which is far from her soul mate. The first proposal received by a girl occupies a very important position because it is considered to have a major influence on the woman's life in the future. The myth is so strong that it is believed that almost no female family in Timbrangan village dares to refuse the first proposal from a man's family (Triningsih, 2020).

The persistence of the myth about the taboo of refusing proposals does not occur without cause. A woman's family once refused the first proposal from a man; after the incident, the family no longer received an offer of matchmaking until their daughter became a spinster. This incident made other families with daughters in Timbrangan village afraid to experience the same incident (Triningsih, 2020).

The strength of this myth makes the families of women who receive the first offer of matchmaking tend to accept proposals intended for their daughters, regardless of certain criteria or standards for their prospective in-laws. The woman's family considers it more important to accept the first proposal to eliminate the taboo. They argue that if later the bride and groom are not compatible or are not compatible, they



can divorce. After the first marriage, the taboo stemming from the myth was considered to have been lost. A divorced daughter can freely determine whether she will accept or reject the second proposal that comes to her, and so on (Triningsih, 2020).

As a result of the belief in this myth, many arranged marriages are forced on girls even though the person concerned has explicitly stated his refusal. Usually, marriages that occur this way will only last a few days. In some cases, marriages only last one night because the bride immediately asks for a divorce a few hours after the marriage contract is carried out. The above incident ultimately has implications for young widows who have been divorced before even being touched by their husbands. Some of the women who became widows were still minors. However, not all are officially widowed because some only carry out unregistered marriages (Triningsih, 2020).

2. A woman who gets a mate from outside the village is a woman who is not beautiful and not good.

Another myth that the villagers of Timbrangan believe is that the beauty of a woman can be measured by the place where her soul mate lives, whether from one village or from outside the village. This opinion arises from a simple logic: when there is a beautiful girl, the first person who will see her is the closest person, namely the neighbor. The belief that getting a mate from one village is better than getting a mate from outside the Timbrangan village arises because of the opinion that a beautiful and good woman will not be difficult to find. A woman who receives an offer of matchmaking from outside the village may be because her face is not beautiful or because she is considered a bad woman (likes to wander) (Sinta, 2020).

Timbrangan villagers are very sensitive to the age of girls. Parents with daughters will feel embarrassed if their children have not proposed when they turn 16. In the past, the standard age for girls to be matched was 12 years. If no matchmaking offers have arrived at that age, parents will start to wonder what is wrong with their child. Some girls' parents even think their child is "fenced" or bewitched to prevent them from getting a mate. They do not hesitate to go to the shaman for incantations or amulets as an antidote to bad luck so that their daughters immediately get a proposal (Pujo, 2020).

The myth that a beautiful woman will be proposed by someone close encourages parents in Timbrangan village to immediately match their children. That is why they are very happy when they receive a proposal from a neighboring village. This feeling of joy and pride made parents expel their children from school a few months before the national exams. They consider school to be no more important than their child's matchmaking because after a woman gets married, they will, of course, become a housewife. A diploma is not important to fight for because it is considered not to influence the future of a married woman (Triningsih, 2020).

3. Matchmaking between women and men of the same age will not last.

Matchmaking and marriages in Timbrangan village were never carried out between men and women of the same age. The villagers of Timbrangan believe that marriage between a woman and a man of the same age will not result in a lasting marriage. That is why all of the research respondents had husbands of different ages.

They consider marriages between people of the same age to be "*ora ilok*" (not good/taboo), because usually, men of the same age are still emotional and childish, so they will not be able to guide their wives (Sekar, 2020). Timbrangan village women feel that it is better to marry a man with the status of a widower than to marry a man of the same age. They believe that older men can guide their wives better because they are more mature. The villagers of Timbrangan admit that this myth is still very strongly held by the community because several incidents have strengthened the myth, namely marriages carried out by brides of the same age that ended in divorce.

The myth above survived, so the researcher did not find matchmaking partners of the same age. Men are always several years older than their wives. Some have quite a large age range; for example, the female side is 13 years old, and the male side is 37 years old. However, this myth does not always apply at the practice level. This is evident from the arranged marriages of several respondents, which ended in divorce even though they were not the same age. However, the people of Timbrangan village still need to gain faith in the taboo of the third myth. Their belief survives because every married couple of the same age always ends in divorce, so they continue to perpetuate age-difference marriages where the woman is much younger than the man. This explains that the myth of matchmaking in the village of Timbrangan is a tool used by the community to legitimize matchmaking and child marriage.

The three myths above have a simultaneous role in influencing the reproduction of child marriage practices in Timbrangan village. The first myth about the taboo of refusing an offer of matchmaking causes parents of girls to accept whoever comes first to propose to their child, even though their daughter is still under the age category according to state regulations. The second myth states that women who find partners from outside the village are not beautiful, resulting in a struggle for self-esteem for parents with daughters. Parents are no longer just afraid of breaking the taboo of the first myth but even have pride when their close neighbor proposes to their daughter. This becomes a kind of testimony that their daughter is a beautiful person.

Meanwhile, the third myth believed by the villagers of Timbrangan causes the parents of the prospective groom to tend to look for a younger wife for their son. Usually, a man in Timbrangan village will start looking for a mate when they turn 18 or 19 years old. Parents of the prospective groom are looking for a woman who is at least five years younger than their son. This means that proposals to girls in Timbrangan village will start when the girls are around 13 or 14 years old. Supported by the taboo of the first myth and the struggle for parental dignity represented by the second myth, this third myth plays a role in maintaining the reproduction of the practice of child marriage in Timbrangan village.

Mother's Roles and Negotiations: Dominance That Reproduces Symbolic Violence Against Women

Mothers of girls in Timbrangan village have an important role in their child's matchmaking. They are relatively more active in arranging the matchmaking agreement process, the meeting of two families to their child's marriage. At the same time, the daughter's father usually only contributes approval to the matchmaking proposal submitted to his daughter.



Timbrangan village girls who are matched rarely get matchmaking offers from outside the village. Those who receive offers from outside the village usually find partners with a relatively large age difference of more than ten years. One of the research subjects, Hani, even has a 24 years age difference from her husband (Hani, 2020). This means that the age of Hani's husband is slightly different from that of Hani's father. The arranged marriage was accepted only because Hani's father wanted to marry off his daughter immediately.

Matchmaking and marriage of underage girls have been going on for decades and have become part of the habits of the people of Timbrangan village. Parents, especially daughters' mothers, are more attached to community beliefs regarding the taboo of refusing matchmaking offers. This causes them to pay little attention to other aspects of their daughter-in-law, such as their temperament, wealth or age. Getting a mate for their daughter is the main thing, while other things accompanying it are considered fate (Juwati, 2020).

Such a belief is in stark contrast to Hildred Geertz's writings, which state that in Javanese family marriages, the most important factor influencing parents in choosing a mate for their daughters is the social level or class factor (Geertz, 1985). Geertz adds that it is to meet these standards that a matchmaker appears, whose main function is to get a son-in-law with social status according to the parents' criteria (Geertz, 1985). In contrast to the results of Hildred Geertz's explanation, parents in Timbrangan village should have included social status as the basis for their consideration in choosing their son-in-law.

Most of the matchmaking cases in Timbrangan village did not include the opinion of girls in the process. In some cases, mothers or fathers tell their daughters that she will be arranged. Others were even notified after the match was carried out. For example, the respondent's mother Neli just told Neli that she had an arranged marriage when Neli came home from school (Neli, 2020). Parental notices about matchmaking are not meant to solicit daughters' opinions because regardless agree or not, in the end, their daughters have to agree. They can still refuse in their hearts but still have to get married. This attitude is common in traditional Javanese families, where girls are taught to be reluctant to their parents and have an attitude of shame and want to be managed. Girls are also raised with the belief that they must be ready to sacrifice themselves for the sake of the family (Handayani & Novianto, 2011).

The inferiority of girls in voicing their opinions is called Bourdieu because matchmaking and women's subordination have become habitus. Girls are considered goods and symbolic assets exchanged through matchmaking and child marriage to obtain and maintain social capital. Although men's involvement in this phenomenon is not clear, the subordination of women is rooted in the strong patriarchal culture in Timbrangan village. The view that women do not need to go to high school and it is better to stay at home confirms the existence of this patriarchal culture.

In general, the roles and negotiations carried out by mothers in the matchmaking and marriage of their daughters include the following; First, accept the matchmaking proposal. Second, arrange for a daughter's meeting with her future husband. Third, persuading girls to accept arranged marriages. Fourth, prepare and organize the wedding.

The dominance of the mother's role in the matchmaking process for girls in the village of Timbrangan proves Lombard's opinion that mothers have an important role in the household (Lombard, 1990). However, this fact also contradicts Lombard's opinion, which states that the center of power of these mothers moves behind the scenes. In the case of matchmaking for children in Timbrangan village, mothers are active in front of the screen, and most of the father figures play behind the scenes.

The domination of the mother's role in the process of matchmaking and child marriage has a strong position because it is based on a textual Islamic understanding of the obligation of parents to find a mate for their daughter. The villagers of Timbrangan uniformly embrace this textual understanding. The implementation of Islamic teachings regarding the duty of parents to find a good mate for their daughter, in the context of the case in Timbrangan village, was used as an alibi for parents to carry out arranged marriages for underage girls. In this case, the understanding of Islam cannot be a filter for the phenomenon of child marriage but instead is used as an excuse to perpetuate the tradition of child marriage in Timbrangan village. In addition, taboos in the form of myths believed by the residents of Timbrangan village also play a role in strengthening the habitus of child marriage in Timbrangan village.

The arranged marriages decided by parents in Timbrangan village for their daughters are based on two reasons. First, it is to complete parental responsibilities according to their understanding of Islamic teachings, and second, to avoid taboos. The matchmaking act by the girls' parents appears as an accumulation of their socialization and learning process in the social space of Timbrangan village. This process is repeated to form a mental structure and is considered a natural thing, so it becomes the habitus of parents in Timbrangan village. This encourages parents, especially mothers, to act as agents according to their habitus perception (Bourdieu, 2016), and become actors who perpetuate the practice of child marriage in Timbrangan village.

Girls Negotiation: Their voices are not heard

Matchmaking and marriage are important steps for the Javanese community. In rural areas, there are still many marriages that occur based on the contribution of parents through matchmaking. According to Hildred Geertz, the choice of a mate made by parents is a form of social and psychological dependence of a child on his parents (Geertz, 1985). Meanwhile, if examined again through the eyes of Bourdieu's theory, matchmaking is a form of exchange and investment accumulation, which can produce alliances, namely social capital, and produce allies, namely symbolic capital. The price of alliances and symbolic gains are highly dependent on the symbolic value of women, namely through their reputation and purity. In order to maintain this "reputation and purity," parents try to find a mate for their daughter as soon as possible, before the daughter is an adult, so as not to have time to take actions that can damage their reputation. This kind of phenomenon is happening in Timbrangan village. In this context, the basic difference is that the girls' parents in Timbrangan village only need to accept the matchmaking offer made to them.

The matchmaking of the girls of Timbrangan village has resulted in domination and presents women as the dominant ones. However, the working mechanism of the patriarchal culture in Timbrangan village is very subtle and different from the Bourdieu concept, which describes the open effort of men to dominate. The smooth reproduction



of masculine domination in Timbrangan village occurs because, on the observation ground, the men of Timbrangan village do not seem to show an open desire or do not try hard to show their efforts to dominate women. In matchmaking that occurs to girls in Timbrangan village, the role is dominated by women, namely the daughter's mother.

Girls in the village of Timbrangan usually start an arranged marriage when they are 11 or 12 years old, while the boys who become their soul mates are usually arranged for when they are 18 or 19. For girls, the later they are matched up, the less their reputation value will be. In boys, this is not the case. Timbrangan village men are not bound by age to maintain their reputation by getting married. They can marry at any age, usually into their late 30s.

The men from Timbrangan village, in the observations of the researcher, seem to be unaware of the consequences of matchmaking and are just living the effects of patriarchal culture on women as something common and naturally reproduce this custom through the habitus of matchmaking and child marriage. Meanwhile, betrothed girls understand that many things will be taken away from them after undergoing arranged marriages and child marriages, but they consider it normal. Girls make weak negotiations to express their disapproval, but on the other hand, they defend their parents by expressing their belief that what the parents decide is the best. This belief indirectly contradicts the girls' negotiations and automatically weakens the negotiations.

Although most of the respondents responded to their matchmaking with silence or obedience, it does not mean that there is no rejection at all in them. The matched female respondents, with their weak position in the family structure, have shown that they are negotiating their parents' decisions. In general, respondents show three attitudes when they find out that their family has received an arranged marriage proposal. First, they were silent and resigned to an arranged marriage. Second, they are silent but refusal. Third, they refused openly, although they still had to get married

in the end.

Seven respondents accept the matchmaking and marriage with resignation. The seven respondents stated several different reasons underlying their silence. The first reason for the respondent's silence and resignation is that it is their obligation as a child to obey the wishes and decisions of their parents. The second reason is that matchmaking and marriage are the easiest solutions to ease the family's financial burden. The third reason is that the respondent thinks matchmaking and child marriage is common, so he is not surprised when he experiences it. The fourth reason, the respondent's silence, was based on his desire to get married immediately to escape the power of his stepmother.

The silence of the respondents did not all represent agreement. Resti was silent about accepting the matchmaking because she did not dare to express her opinion. She was betrothed when she was only 13 years old. Because she was still very young, Resti did not dare to argue with her mother's decision. She also does not want to be seen as a child of disobedience. Resti says that she wants to run away, but as a country girl who never knows the outside world, Resti does not know where to go and how to survive. Resti's silent rejection lasted eight years until she divorced her husband (Resti, 2020).

In addition to their silent refusal, seven respondents stated their refusal openly. They put forward several reasons for their attitude. The first reason, respondents still have the desire to continue their education to a higher level. The second reason respondents stated their rejection openly was because they did not understand the meaning of matchmaking and marriage, so they felt that they had been lied to by their parents. The third reason is that the respondent and her husband disagree with an arranged marriage.

Based on the three attitudes of girls in dealing with arranged marriages above, only the last attitude, namely openly refusing, shows that girls have tried to negotiate with their parents. The three attitudes shown by the respondents who did child marriages lead to the same final attitude: surrender. This resignation was motivated by feelings of helplessness because, as girls, their voices were not heard. The surrender attitude of girls is based on their weak position due to their lack of capital. Spivak describes this condition as a subaltern of women, where women who become subordinate groups are oppressed by dominant groups in the environment (Morton, 2008). Women in arranged marriages are not strong enough to keep their voices heard, not because their parents do not love their daughters, but because of pressure from the social system that strengthens the culture of child matchmaking, as well as religious dogma that acts as an alibi to legitimize the culture of child matchmaking in Timbrangan village. In this case, the mother and daughter both feel they have no choice but to accept the habitus of matchmaking and child marriage.

The culture of child matchmaking has become a symbolic violence that suppresses not only girls but also parents. Girls do not think they have experienced violence because they feel that what their parents decide is a habit that will make their family the object of ridicule if they are not obeyed. This makes girls feel that they must protect their family's good name. On the other hand, girls' parents also want to protect their daughter's good name, so they have no choice but to accept the matchmaking proposal so that their child's honor will be maintained and not be unlucky for violating the matchmaking taboo. Here, the real dominant party is not the parents, but the social system of the Timbrangan village community, which, in order to maintain norms and taboos, has preserved the practice of child matchmaking as part of the community culture. The social system prevailing in the village of Timbrangan has become a symbolic force, which animates actions and acknowledgments of the practice of child matchmaking so that these actions strengthen the domination experienced by women as the dominant party because the dominated accept the rules imposed on them.

This phenomenon has implications for Bourdieu's theory, where it is proven that women do not just accept their oppression of themselves but even subconsciously have actively reproduced their habitus, which causes them to remain dominated and oppressed for their existence in a patriarchal culture.

C. CONCLUSION

The phenomenon of child marriage in Timbrangan village is influenced by myths that function as taboos and is reinforced by the legitimacy of understanding Islamic teachings. On the one hand, taboos and religious understanding have encouraged mothers as parents to match and marry their daughters at the age of children. On the other hand, religious taboos and understandings also affect the weak negotiations for girls to be married. These two things have a significant role in the reproduction of the practice of



child marriage in the village of Timbrangan and ultimately perpetuate the subordinate position of women.

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