The Meaning of the Philosophy of *Bhuppha', Bhabhu', Ghuru, Ratoh* in the Context of Decision Making Regarding Child Marriage in Bangkalan

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Abstract

Child marriage is still prevalent in Indonesia. According to the NTCR data of Galis District 2019, Kelbung Village, Galis District, Bangkalan Regency still holds the highest percentage for child marriage in Galis District of 65.8 %, The Madurese people still firmly hold their philosophyregarding decision makers and figures to be respected in everyday life, namely bhuppha', bhabhu', ghuru, ratoh, which depict the hierarchy of figures whom shall be respected and whose decision shall be obeyed. Based on the philosophy, Madurese girls have the obligation to not to oppose any decisions that have been made by their parents, especially their fathers. This study aims to describe the meaning of the philosophy of bhuppha', bhabhu', ghuru, ratoh in the process of decision-making regarding child marriage in Kelbung Village, Galis District, Bangkalan Regency. This study used qualitative approached which took place inKelbung Village, Galis District, Bangkalan Regency, Madura. The study used purposive method to obtain informants. The study used a participatory observation techniqueand in-depth interviews to obtain the data. The author analyzed the data using Milles and Huberman interactive technique (reduction, presentation, and conclusion drawing). The philosophy of bhuppha', bhabhu', ghuru, ratoh in the context of decision making regarding child marriage inKelbung Village, Galis District, Bangkalan Regency have a meaning that the decision makers regarding child marriage in Kelbung Village are based on these philosophical values.Decision making regarding child marriage in Kelbung Village adheres to the hierarchy within the philosophy of bhuppha', bhabhu', ghuru, ratoh where the bhuppha' figure or the father becomes the first figure who make decisions and his decisions must be obeyed by the daughter to be married. The approach based on the philosophy of bhuppha', bhabhu', ghuru, ratoh can be implemented to reduce the number of child marriage by approaching the bhuppha' figure or the father to provide knowledge and understanding about child marriage.

Keywords: Child Marriage; Decision; Philosophy

1. INTRODUCTION

Child marriage is still prevalent in Indonesia. According to Law no. 35 of 2014 concerning amendments to Law no. 32 of 2002 concerning Child Protection, where a child is someone who is still under 18 years of age. Based on a UNICEF report, Indonesia is ranked seventh in the world in terms of the number of child marriages of which 457.6 thousand married women aged 20-24 years stated that they were married

before the age of fifteen (KPPA & BPS, 2018). Ministry of Empowerment Women and Child Protection (KPPPA) Indonesia released that one in six girls in Indonesia was married before the age of 18 years and it is also known that as many as 340,000 girls married before the age of 18 years each year (Saputri, 2019).

In 2017, the percentage of child marriage in East Java was 18.44%, while based on data from the East Java BPS in 2018, women who were married at the age of teen (10-17 years) were 20.73%, of which 26.04% of child marriage occured in rural areas. This is in line with the Indonesian Child Protection Commission (KPAI) which stated that child marriage is more common in rural areas than in urban areas. Culture and customs related to child marriage in rural areas still prevailin the communityhence child marriage is still prevalent in rural areas (Umasugi, 2019).

Bangkalan is one of the regencies in Madura, East Java. Based on data from the KB, PP and PA Offices of Bangkalan Regency, the percentage of marriages aged <20 years in Bangkalan Regency in 2019 was 18.43%. Galis Sub-district of Bangkalan Regency has 21 villages. 7 of them are still in remote and difficult to reach locations. Data on Marriage, Separation, Divorce, Reconciliation (NTCR) based on the age of the wife in 2019 obtained from Family Planning Extension Officers in Galis District shows that marriages aged <20 years in Galis District are still high, namely 367 out of 982 total marriages in Galis District (37.4%) . Based on this number, child marriages (<18 years) consisted of 294 marriages. The highest percentage of child marriage is located in Kelbung Village (65.8%).

The Madurese community is divided into modern people who live in urban areas and traditional people in rural areas who still adhere to strong culture and customs. One of the previous cultures and continues to this day is child marriage. Matchmaking since the child was young, and manipulating the child's age to meet the requirements for marriage has become a normal thing in Madurese society (Munawara et al, 2015). Daughters are in no position to oppose the child marriage. The socio-cultural dimension of the Madurese community stillconveys that women are entities that must be monitored, protected, and directed (Mulyadi, 2011). This is what diminishes the role of girls in determining their own decisions.

The fact shows that although Madurese women have economic power, the strong patriarchal culture that hegemons the Madurese community in general has implications for the low access to positions and roles of women in the family, especially in decision making (Rakhmawati, 2015).

The philosophy of the Madurese community regarding decision makers and figures who must be respected in everyday life which is still firmly held by the Madurese community, namely *bhuppha', bhabhu', ghuru, ratoh* describes the hierarchy of figures who shall be respected and whose decisions shall be obeyed. The first figures to be respected are the father and mother/parents (*bhuppha', bhabhu'*). The next figure is the teacher (*guru*), and the last is the leader/government (*ratoh*) (Hannan & Abdillah, 2019).

Based on this philosophy, girls in Madura have an obligation not to oppose any decisions that have been made by their parents, especially fathers. The powerlessness in making these decisions results in domestic violence and unwanted pregnancies and the transmission of sexual diseases, including HIV/AIDS if the child is married (Mathur et al., 2003).

Child marriage has been studied from various perspectives. Research by Widiatmoko et al (2019) stated that child marriage occurs because of some factors

namely education of the children and their friends.Inadequate education causes child marriage to occur and it is also stated that there is no relationship between child marriage or early age with the culture in the place (Wdiatmoko et al. al., 2019). The results of research in Surabaya showed that women who marry at a young age are women who have dropped out of school with poor economic conditions (Astuti, 2018). Another study in Bragang Village, Klampis District, Bangkalan Regency found empirical facts that education level, economy, and sociocultural conditions were the causes of early marriage in Klampis District (Imron et al., 2018).

Judging from previous research, there has been no study that focuses on child marriage decision making associated with the philosophy held by the Madurese community. Therefore, this study aims to describe the meaning of the philosophy of *bhuppha', bhabhu', ghuru, ratoh* in the decision-making process regarding child marriage in Kelbung Village, Galis District, Bangkalan Regency.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

This study used a qualitative method that aimed to explore information related to the phenomenon of child marriage with a qualitative descriptive approach. The locus of this research is located in Kelbung Village, Galis District, Bangkalan Regency. Informants were selected using a purposive technique with the following criteria:
1. Women who married at the age of<18 years old.
2. Both parents lived in Galis District since birth.
The identity of the informant in this study was disguised by using the initials to maintain the confidentiality of the informant's identity.

The author collected the data using participatory observation techniques in which the author observed the activities and the environment around the informants, and actively participated in assisting informants in terms of providing family planning counseling. The next step was to conduct detailed interviews with each informant to gain deeper information regarding the meaning of the philosophy of *Bhuppha', bhabhu', ghuru, ratoh* in the context of decision making regarding child marriage.

The validity of the data in this study used triangulation techniques. The triangulation technique used in this study used time triangulation, namely informants were interviewed twice at different times and method triangulation, which used participatory observation and in-depth interviews. The next step was the analysis of collected data using interactive techniques, consisting of data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

The data reduction stage consists of data selection, simplification, abstraction, and data transformation. After the data reduction stage, the next step is to present the data in the form of a narrative text that describes the information obtained from the informants. The last stage is drawing conclusions by considering the similarities in the patterns of answers from informants.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In essence, the view of human relations or human personality in living social life has broadly two interpretations. First, a view or personality that prioritizes the interests of others above personal interests (altruistic) and a view or personality that prioritizes personal interests over the interests of others (individualistic). Based on this, the Madurese community leads to an altruistic view that emphasizes the attitude of prioritizing the interests of others rather than personal interests (Jannah et al., 2019).

The altruistic view or personality of the Madurese community is implied in the philosophy of *bhuppha', bhabhu', ghuru, ratoh,* which shows a hierarchy that positions parents, teachers, and the government above personal interests. The results of the initial data conducted on informants in Kelbung Village show that girls chose to drop out of school to fulfill the wishes of parents who had already found potential husbands for them to get married at an early age.The philosophy of *bhuppha',bhabhu', ghuru, ratoh* reflects the hierarchical order of figures that deserve respect. First is the *bhuppha'* (father) figure, followed by the second, namely *bhabhu'* (mother). In this case, the third is *ghuru* (teacher), a non-formal teacher, such as *kyai,* and *ratoh* (government). This philosophy is something that is subconsciously carried out in social life. This means that socio-culturally the Madurese have a binding reference standard of obedience to the main figure in a hierarchical manner. Thus, violations in applying these unwritten rules will get social and cultural sanctions(Taufiqurrahman, 2014).Violators will receive social and cultural sanctions such as discrimination by family and community members, as well as being labeled as disobedient children, as stated by the informant as follows:

"Tak nyaman mon sampek kauleh alaben.deggi' tako'e kauleh ekocak anak durhaka."(KF, 17 tahun, IRT)

"It is not good if I defy. Later, I will be called as a rebellious child." (KF, 17 years old, housewife)

Parental decisions influence decision-making in child marriage. In the context of child marriage in Madura, the influence of parents in the decision-making process corresponds to the level of the philosophy of *bhuppha', bhabhu', ghuru, ratoh.* Important roles, according to the information obtained from informants as follows:

"*bhuppha', bhabhu', ghuru, ratoh nekah pokok'eh oreng se patot ehormati. Se utama reng seppo. Koca'en reng lambekna nekah bu, mon lok toro' oca' dek reng seppo deggik bisa kenning belet. Mon e compo' nekah bu, biasana sek paleng gerre nekah bapak. Sekabbinah urusan, bapak se bisa ngalak kepotosan bu.Lambek kuleh akabin omor lema' belles. Lakehna kuleh nekah gi ollena bapak. Se ngator sekabbinah nekah bapak kuleh bu. Gi kuleh keng bisa torok ocak bu epekabin omor seneka soalla gi gellek nekah bu, takok kenning bellet mon lok toro' ocak reng seppo. Mon kuleh keng torok oca' bein bu pokok reng seppo senneng.*" (SU, 19 tahun, IRT)

"*bhuppha', bhabhu', ghuru, ratoh* are people to be respected. The main thing is parents. The old parents said that if you do not obey the orders or wishes of your parents, you will be in trouble. At home, the one who is the most rigid in making decisions is the father. Father is the decision-maker for all affairs. I was married when I was 15 years old. My father also found a husband for me. It was my father who controlled everything. I can only obediently get married at that age. As I said earlier, I am afraid of harm if I do not obey what my parents say. I just followed my parents' orders. The important thing is that the parents are happy."(SU, 19years old, housewife)

In line with the opinion of the informant above, the statements of other informants who married at the age of <18 years stated the following:

"Se kuleh oneng nekah, bhuppha', bhabhu', ghuru, ratoh akadik oreng se patot ekedingagi ca'-oca'na bu. Reng seppo terros kyai sareng pejabat-pejabat. Ren searenna gi kuleh harus torok oca' dhabuna reng seppo terutama bapak bu akadhik esoro tak asakolah pole polana epekabinna. Gi kuleh torok oca' padahal kule gik terro asekolah gellun tapeh kuleh tak bisa alaben bu karna reng seppo ampon arabet kule dhari kene'. Tak nyaman mon sampek kauleh alaben.deggi' tako'e kauleh ekocak anak durhaka."(KF, 17 tahun, IRT)

"What I know is that *bhuppha', bhabhu', ghuru, ratoh* are like people whose words should be listened to parents, kyai, and officials. Every day I have to obey my parents' words, such as being told to stop going to school because they want me to get married. Yes, I just obeyed when I actually still wanted to continue school, but I could not oppose my mother because my parents had taken care of me since I was little. It is not good if I oppose it. Later, I will be called a rebellious child." (KF, 17 years old, housewife)

The two informants had the same answer even though the delivery was different. Informants know the philosophy of *bhuppha', bhabhu', ghuru, ratoh* is a figures they should obey in their daily lives. The meaning of the expression is the obedience and respect of the Madurese hierarchically to the main figures. Madurese must first obey their parents *bhuppha', bhabhu'* (father, mother), then *ghuru* (ulama), and finally *ratoh* (formal leaders and officials).This shows that in the socio-cultural life of the Madurese, there is a reference standard of obedience to the main figures in a hierarchical manner. This reference standard should be implemented as a normative rule that binds every Madurese even though it is not written. Violation of the figure's advice contained in the unwritten rules will get social and cultural sanctions for the violators(Taufiqurrahman, 2014).

The position of Madurese girls in child marriage is as the chosen party so that they indirectly lose the right to give opinions and refuse marriage.

The logic that is always played in the socio-cultural dimension of the Madurese community is that the existence of women is still an entity that must be monitored, protected, and directed(Mulyadi, 2011). Opportunities to express opinions for girls whom their parents betroth are very small. The community stigma of Kelbung Village says that if a girl is not married at the age of 17, she is said to be a spinster and is not selling well. This encourages parents to increasingly impose their will on their daughters. Moreover, the position of girls is not in a position to be able to negotiate and express their opinions.

The low education of girls further exacerbates the conditions related to their readiness for marriage. The information obtained from the informants is in line with the observations' results. The results explain that young marriage in the Madurese community occurs because of the coercion element from parents to daughters. Moreover, the child is forced to marry a man chosen by the parents whom the girl has not known before(Sa'dan, 2015). Another study conducted in Bulay Village, Galis District, Pamekasan Regency found that young marriages that occurred in the area were related to the role of parents in the form of arranged marriages (Fajarina & Utomo, 2011).

In line with the two studies above, the following study revealed that the dominant reason girls choose to marry at an early age is due to their parents' decision to match

them(Sakdiyah & Ningsih, 2013). Based on these studies, it can be seen that there is a role for parents to determine the occurrence of child marriage. This is in tune with the philosophical meaning of *bhuppha', bhabhu', ghuru, ratoh* in the context of child marriage decision-making which emphasizes the role of parents, in this case, the father (*bhuppha'*).

4. CONCLUSION

The philosophy of *bhuppha', bhabhu', ghuru, ratoh* in the context of child marriage decision making in Kelbung Village, Galis District, Bangkalan Regency means that child marriage decision-makers are based on these philosophical values. In making decisions about child marriage in Kelbung Village, the hierarchy is contained in the philosophy of *bhuppha', bhabhu', ghuru, ratoh.* In this philosophy, the *bhuppha'* or father figure, is the first decision-making figure, and his decision is a decision that must be obeyed by the daughter to be married.

An approach based on the philosophy of *bhuppha', bhabhu', ghuru, ratoh* can be applied to reduce the number of child marriages. The approach to the *bhuppha'* or father figure in providing knowledge and understanding to reduce the incidence of child marriage must be carried out considering the hierarchy reflected in the philosophy, that the *bhuppha'* or father's decision is first order to be obeyed.

Based on the results of this study, several recommendations can be made, namely conducting further research to examine the bhuppha's motivation behind the decision of child marriage so that it is expected to find points that can be used as gaps in carrying out an approach based on the philosophy of bhuppha', bhabhu', ghuru, ratoh to reduce the number child marriage in Kelbung Village, Galis District, Bangkalan Regency.For policymakers, this research can be used as initial data in designing programs to prevent child marriage by using an approach to the main figures in *bhuppha', bhabhu', ghuru, ratoh.*

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