



UNDERAGE MARRIAGE CASES AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS ON ECONOMIC STABILITY HOUSEHOLDS IN THE DISTRICT OF KANDANGAN, HULU SUNGAI SELATAN, INDONESIA

Rakhmad Rizali,
Mukhtar Sarman¹,
Taufik Hidayat

Master of Science in Development Administration,
Lambung Mangkurat University,
Indonesia

Abstract:

Underage marriage is a common phenomenon in rural areas, including in Hulu Sungai Selatan which occurred in Kandangan which as the district capital. This study aims to describe the economic stability of households of underage couples in the District of Kandangan. The study design used is a case study. Data were collected through interviews managed to get four pairs minors. The results showed that underage couples did not experience domestic economic instability. Parents did not necessarily get out of hand when her son already had families, they still played a role in the process of his life. This suggests that, underage marriage is not always experience economic vulnerability of households during the intervention of parents to address these vulnerabilities.

Keywords: underage marriage, the stability of the domestic economy, intervention of parents

1. Introduction

Underage marriage does not only occur in rural areas but also in big cities in Indonesia. In 2016 the data obtained from the 2016 Indonesian Child Profile shows the percentage of married girls aged 10-17 years in urban areas, namely 1.02% while in rural areas 2.23%. Underage marriage is only a part of the social reality faced by society today. Determination of the minimum age in marriage is important, because it indirectly affects the quality of the family. A planned and quality family will give birth to a better generation. Households are the first and foremost fortress in tackling the problems of life in society. Starting from the family, the problems that exist in the community can be

¹ Correspondence: email mkipaunlam@gmail.com

resolved properly, and effectively. The family is the smallest part of the community environment which both influence each other and are related to each other. Marriage is the answer to life problems that are being faced and must be planned and prepared carefully, marriage is not only a contract that occurs between a man and woman who becomes lawful to have sex, but the legal consequences of marriage bring rights and obligations the responsibility between the two. Marriage is the beginning of the creation of the family as the first stage in its formation with the aim of realizing a happy, peaceful, prosperous and inner family, a household full of grace and affection. Besides that, marriage is a very sacred agreement, so that to achieve its goals requires a rule, but it does not mean that there are rules to curb the people, but more to benefit (Budiman, 2015).

During the period of 2012 to 2015 the percentage of underage marriages in South Kalimantan increased significantly from 0.63% to 1.41% of the total marriages that year. Underage marriage generally occurs in those of the same age (76%) between the bridegroom and bride (Hidayat et al., 2017). Based on data from the 2015 National Social and Economic Survey, Hulu Sungai Selatan District was ranked the third highest in marriage at the age of 15-19 years. Kandangan Subdistrict is the capital of the South Hulu Sungai Regency and as a district capital of course complete education facilities from basic education to senior secondary education. Likewise, access to these facilities is easier and more convenient, so getting education is not a difficult thing. But in reality in this sub-district the number of couples who do underage marriage is higher than other sub-districts. Underage marriage partners do not have adequate education and skills to earn income. This can cause a risk of household economic instability because the husband does not have a job or has an irregular job.

In some of the cases studied, there were indeed a number of married couples at a young age who still depend on their household's economy to their parents both in whole and in part. The general condition is that the economic stability of a young couple is relatively slow, especially for couples who live in rural areas with poor economic conditions. The habit of parents who still help support the lives of their children's households is considered a good and accepted thing by society as a noble value of strong kinship. Values like this then institutionalize and become a culture in society (Hidayat et al., 2017). Based on this phenomenon the research centered on the economic stability of underage couples in Kandangan District.

2. Methods

2.1 Literature Review

a. Concept of marriage

In Article 1 of Law No. 1 of 1974 more about marriage, defines marriage is inner and outer bond between a man and a woman as husband and wife with the aim of forming a family (household) who are happy and everlasting based on God.

b. Underage marriage

Underage marriage is a marriage performed by someone who is underage. In accordance with the provisions of Law Number 1 Year 1974, the origin of 7 paragraph 1 concerning marriage states that marriage is only permitted if the male reaches the age of 19 years old and the woman has reached 16 years old.

c. Factors that determine the socioeconomic household

Usman (2004) states that a socio-economic status is reflected in the thinking or mastery of wealth, prestige and economic power. Social status is a set of rights and obligations that a person has in his community. According to Sugihartono (2007) socioeconomic status include levels of education, employment, and income. The socio-economic status does indeed have many criteria, but most of them include the level of education, the type of work and income of parents, occupation, goods that are not available at home such as motorized vehicles, televisions, washing machines, refrigerators, and so on.

d. The concept of empowerment

Empowerment aims to increase the empowerment of those disadvantaged. This statement contains two important concepts, empowerment and harm, and each of them needs to be considered in every discussion about empowerment as part of a social justice and human rights perspective (Ife, 2008). The concept of empowerment is related to giving power to individuals or groups so that they can use it to take action and redistribute it to those who do not have it.

e. The concept of responsibility

Widagdho (Rahmawati, 2015) said that responsibility is awareness human beings on behavior or intentional or unintentional actions. Responsibility also means action as a manifestation of awareness of its obligations. Responsibility is closely related to obligations. Obligation is something that is imposed on someone. Obligations are comparable to rights, and can also not refer to rights. Then the responsibility in this case is responsibility for their obligations.

f. The concept of informal sector work

The concept of informal sector work, judging from its origin is actually a new type of dualism theory that was once popular which was developed in Boeke's classic explanation. The concept of the informal sector was first put forward by Keith Hart, a British anthropologist in 1973. Hart, based on his observations distinguishing the activities of urban residents in obtaining employment opportunities into two sectors namely formal and informal. Hart distinguished the two sectors based solely on income sources, namely income derived from salary or income from his own business. The differentiation of the informal and formal sectors that are at the core of Hart's ideas then inspired several studies that applied the concept of the informal sector in third world cities (Rolis, 2013).

According to De Soto, the main characteristics of entrepreneurs and informal sector actors, among others: main capital business activities in people's independence, utilizing simple technology, workers mainly come from unpaid family labor, business raw materials mostly utilize local resources, most serve the needs of the lower middle

class people, education and the quality of the actors' resources are low. They have never demanded various kinds of government, except for issues of legality, security, protection, and simple bureaucracy at low cost (Wauran, 2012).

2.1 Conceptual Framework

Law No. 1 of 1974 states that marriage is only permitted if the male reaches the age of 19 years old and the woman has reached 16 years old. In line with this, if the marriage takes place before the intended age limit, the marriage is underage marriage. Economic factors become important, because it will guarantee the stability of the household economy. A working husband is assumed to be able to carry out the responsibility to provide for his family. However, due to limited skills and education levels, generally the husband cannot access formal employment as a source of income. The alternative choice is to use the informal sector as a solution to the problem. The low quality of their resources, vulnerability to economic instability, requires an empowerment to maintain the stability of the household economy.

2.2 Research Methods

The research design in this study began with formulating the problem based on Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage. Furthermore, the methodology is formulated, namely the descriptive method. In this methodology design the data analysis technique uses the triangulation method based on three data sources: observation, interviews with resource persons, and verification. This method is generally understood as a process for clarifying the meaning of information obtained, verifying observations, and finally interpreting them. All data obtained, not converted to numerical, and not statistically analyzed. The data collected in this study are primary data. While the technique of data collection is through interviews, namely conducting question and answer directly to the informant. The speakers in this study were underage couples who married in 2012-2013. In this study there were four underage couples. The unit of analysis of this study is the economic stability of households of underage couples. Vulnerability analysis is carried out to identify factors that influence household vulnerability. The vulnerability of households in this study is the opportunity for households to become poor or below the poverty line. In this study, the concept of Vulnerability as Expected Poverty (VEP) will be applied with the modification of qualitative data. In this study, data collection instruments used interview guidelines that were used to explore data from resource persons, observation guidelines to find out the surrounding environmental conditions, and stayed as resource persons, and verification guidelines were used to determine the truth of the data obtained.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 Results of the study

Underage marriage occurs in every sub-district in the South Hulu Sungai Regency. The marriage, carried out with the age of an underage wife, underage husband, or underage partner. In this study, the informants were couples who had underage marriages, and obtained 4 couples in the Kandangan Subdistrict area. The couple has been married between 2012-2013 for different reasons. The four couples were: AR (husband) and ES (wife) couples who were married in 2013, RD (husband) and MR (wife) married in 2012, MA (husband) and HMD (wife) married in 2013, KHR (husband) and LT (wife) who married in 2013. The work that is pursued to earn income is work in the informal sector. This is because the education they have is not sufficient to get jobs in the formal sector. Two people namely AR and RD work in agriculture, while MA works as a hair barber, and KHR works in the field of transportation, namely truck drivers.

The research findings are:

3.1.1 Factors Due to Underage Marriage

A. Because of the role of parents

Parents have a very vital role in underage marriage. There is a concern of parents about the behavior of children who have entered their teens. Parents are the driving force for underage marriage, where parents will soon marry off their children if they have stepped on a big one, this is a common thing. Parents will be afraid if their children will do unwanted things that will pollute their family's reputation.

In line with this, what was experienced by the AR and ES couples who got married in 2013. AR parents, who are widows and have six children, do not mind if their children marry at the age of 18 years. Underage marriage for this family is not only carried out by AR, but AR sisters also marry underage, that is at the age of 15 years. Families who do underage marriage are related to one another. ES is a family of sister AR's husband, and started from AR's sister's marriage, their introduction took place. The next problem faced by AR couples to get married is to arrange the marriage certificate. But apparently, in arranging the marriage certificate, they did not need to ask for compensation but were assisted by Uncle and Penghulu at the local KUA, by reaping the age of the couple. This seems very easy for them to do, as evidenced by AR's younger siblings who were married at the age of 15 years.

RD and MR couples who had previously been dating, and revealed the reasons for marriage to avoid things that are not desirable. That young age is indeed realized, the support of parents to carry out marriage is one of the drivers why they are married. The two couples mentioned earlier, indeed have the intention to get married as soon as possible. Different things are actually experienced by KHR and LT couples, as well as MA and HMD couples who previously did not intend to get married at a young age. The MA and HMD couples are married because they are too busy dating, and this is felt to be inappropriate for their age. The KHR couple also married for the same reason. Because of things, finally LT got violence from his father (punished in Banjar language)

and had time to make *tumbur* (commotion) in the village. MA parents have warned not to do this, but it is still being carried out. Seeing this event that continues, also feeling embarrassed when seen by people, so to avoid things that the MA does not want to be married. The decision was indeed hard, but there was no other choice.

B. Educational Factors

The low awareness of the importance of education is one of the factors driving the occurrence of underage marriage. Education of parents who only attend school until finishing elementary school feels happy if a child already likes it. Besides the economy less and education of parents who are low, will make a pattern think narrow. This will ultimately affect parents to immediately marry off their children.

It is this educational factor that makes AR and his ES wife graduating from elementary school get married at a young age, as does the RD and MR pairs. Another case with the MA before marriage had to go to school for three months in vocational school but had to stop because of marriage. The LT and KHR couples have different education. KHR graduated from junior high school, who did not continue his education because he joined his father to work. Whereas LT had attended school up to grade 1 of high school but stopped due to marriage. Less activities, and limited knowledge make them have the desire to get married.

C. Cultural Factors

For those underage marriage is not a taboo thing or shame the family. This marriage has often happened and is considered as normal. Lack of understanding causes underage marriage so that this is very difficult to prevent, because both parents and children want marriage.

As stipulated by the Marriage Law in relation to age, various ways they do to raise or age so that their children can get married. Assistance from other parties makes this process easier. Their children who do not have a National Identity Card can easily change their age and do not need to do a marriage dispensation process.

This condition is also supported by the general view of the community in Kandangan Subdistrict which is predominantly Muslim that marriage at a young age is not something that is prohibited by religion. Moreover, some of them think marriage is a sunna that must be done immediately. One of the obligations of parents is to marry off their children if they are physically and spiritually mature (*baligh*). Most of the parents want to fulfill their obligations as quickly as possible and if it is done then as if they have completed their duties as parents.

Thus, the factors that cause underage marriage are related to one another, and do not stand alone. The relationship between parents' factors, the level of education and culture triggers each other to occur underage marriage. This is the reason why this incident continues to recur and become a difficult thing to prevent.

3.1.2 Factors of Couple's Household Economic Stability

The economic conditions of each family are different. Not all families can fulfill various needs of life; because of income what they get is not enough to meet their needs a day

day. Among them there are those who have permanent jobs and non-permanent jobs. Therefore for the income they earn each the day is different or even erratic. For people who work not fixed, they will find it difficult to support their families. This will be different from a person who has a permanent job and a steady income, then all of his daily needs can be fulfilled.

A. Work factor

Various jobs are carried out by underage couples, the point is being able to make money. Because of the limitations of skills, knowledge, and education, they work according to their abilities or what their parents do. In this case, the work of parents also affects the work of their children.

AR works as a farmer while helping parents. The results of farming are used to fulfill daily needs. In 2013 or at the beginning of marriage AR worked as a Vegetable Trader who peddled his sales to the areas of South Daha and North Daha Subdistricts. The profit from selling vegetables is used to live together. The work was occupied for a year, but because it was not profitable, AR stopped selling vegetables. Since 2015 until now, AR has worked farming in the fields assisted by his wife. The cultivated rice fields are owned by parents with a profit sharing system and there are also working on other people's fields. In addition to working on the fields owned by parents, AR also works as a farm laborer with an income of Rp 50,000 per half day, from 7 in the morning until the zuhur time at around 12 noon, or in the afternoon after zuhur until 5 o'clock. It cannot be done throughout the year and it also affects AR income. At that time, AR was used to grow vegetables, fruits which were sold to collectors. All income is managed by ES, and if up to one month is collected, approximately Rp. 1,000,000.

The same thing happened to RD who worked odd jobs, whatever worked as long as it was lawful and could make money. Sometimes RD also sells vegetable crops from the garden that their parents gave them to manage. RD in the planting season also works farming in rice fields which are also owned by parents with profit sharing systems and there are also other people's fields. MR also works as a farm laborer with an income of IDR 50,000 for half a day. So, in this case in one month if the money collected from the work is collected, the average amount is IDR 1,000,000.

The presence of parents is very helpful in supporting the economic life of young couples. MA who after marriage still lives at home with parents while working to help his father as a barber hair in front of the house. There is no other skill that can be done. He admitted that the results of the effort were enough to support it even though it was not excessive. Adult haircuts are usually valued at Rp. 8,000 per person, and Rp. 5,000 for children. In one day the average person who comes for haircut is 10 people. The amount is erratic, sometimes many children cut their hair or vice versa. In one day income varies, between Rp 50,000 and Rp 60,000. One month yield if collected on average IDR 1,500,000. Because they are still with parents, sometimes the money from the business can be saved a little. His wife worked while helping mothers make cakes to be marketed in stalls.

The role of parents is also quite dominant in the life of KHR who is 17 years old at the time of marriage. His parents who worked as truck drivers, invited and taught to get income from the business. The result of working as a driver is what KHR uses for his family. The results of this business are uncertain and depend on transport orders. It will be more productive if departing and returning there is transportation. However, sometimes there are days without transportation. His income varies and is not fixed, averaging Rp. 1,500,000 per month. Daily needs are fulfilled and guaranteed by in-laws, that's why KHR's wife is not too concerned about looking for additional income.

B. The presence of parental intervention

In this study, all couples work in the informal sector in the economy, with uncertain and fluctuating income and depending on the season. The informal sector can be said very much susceptible to a possibility households become poor. Therefore, the intervention of parents to empower their children becomes an important thing.

Parents play an important role in the lives of underage couples. They do not necessarily leave their children without work after making a marriage. All informants at the beginning of their family life still live with their parents, which is why parents provide initial capital in the form of land to be managed or certain forms of skills.

The role of parents is not only from the beginning of marriage, but continues until now, both in work, household problems or when the child is sick. When AR does not have money, what is done is borrowing from Atung/Grandma's mother. Incidentally, Atung has several fields of gardens and rice fields. Living close to parents is a distinct advantage for the AR family, once there are difficulties or financial problems; help from parents is so close. For businesses, parents lend rice fields to be managed, the results of which do not need to be shared. Initial capital to start planting, sometimes also given parents and can be returned after the harvest season.

RD has also felt a shortage in meeting basic needs. When this happens, finding a loan is the solution or asking for help from parents. The role of parents here cannot be ruled out even though their children already have their own family. His parents were happy to help. Because of odd jobs, the results are uncertain, the possibility of financial difficulties is greater. RD was given a land loan for vegetable gardening, the results of which were used entirely for the RD family. If you experience crop failure, and there is no capital to plant crops, RD asks for help from parents.

Working with parents, and staying with parents, all the difficulties of living in a household are not too much felt. This is felt by MA and KHR who work and live with their parents. MA parents who work as barber, teach MA to earn income from shaving hair. Likewise with KHR's parents who are truck drivers and then make their children a truck driver too. Regarding vulnerability to poverty, the poverty line in Hulu Sungai Selatan District according to BPS standards in 2017 is IDR 431,296, - per capita/month. In conjunction with the standard Poverty Line AR family with an income of approximately Rp. 1,000,000 per month with one wife and two children, the per capita income is Rp.250,000, - as well as RD families with an income of Rp. 1,000,000, - with one child, the per capita income is Rp. 333,000. Unlike the MD family with an income of

Rp. 1,500,000 per month with one child, the per capita income is Rp. 500,000. Whereas the KHR family has no children, the per capita income is Rp. 750,000. Thus, the AR family and RD families are below the poverty line standard, in contrast to the MA family and the KHR family whose income is above that standard.

3.2 Discussion

3.2.1 Vulnerability of household economic stability

The basic foundation used to measure vulnerability in this study was adopted from the approach developed by Chaudhuri, namely Vulnerability as Expected Poverty (VEP). The dynamics of vulnerability indicate volatility in household income, which in this case is also reflected in household expenditure. The influencing factors are presented below:

A. Effect of demographic factors

The size of the household in poverty analysis is related to the size of the dependents that a household has. If household members increase by one person and other variables remain, then household per capita expenditure falls. The greater the number of household members, where each household member has a life necessity that must be met, the greater the dependency that the household has. In this study, AR was the third child of 6 siblings, while RD was the second of five children. Unlike the MA who is the only child and KHR is the first child of three siblings.

Based on studies on previous poverty vulnerabilities, vulnerable poor households tend to have more household members (Kumala, 2011). This indicates the high birth rate for vulnerable households. According to BPS (2008), the large number of household members can hinder the increase of future human resources. Thus, this is in line with the families AR and RD which are households with many family members and encourage the occurrence of underage marriage.

B. Effect of educational factors

In terms of aspects of education, a household that has a high level of education have a better level of welfare. Level of education and knowledge plays a role in decisions taken for the household. If a household with upper secondary education and other variables are constant, then per capita expenditure the household is relatively higher than the educated household in under junior high school.

Education is one of the means to develop intelligence, ability, knowledge and skills. With the advancement in the field of education, age of first marriage in the community has increased, meaning that more and more people are delaying marriage by reason of one of them to complete his education first. In other words, education affects the age of one's marriage. The level of education of parents will greatly influence the tendency of children to marry underage because the education of low parents is very vulnerable for children to do underage marriage. This is because parents lack knowledge and insight into the impact of underage marriage so parents also support children to do so.

In this study, AR was known to have elementary education, as well as two of his brothers. His younger brother, one person, was married at the age of 15 years and also had elementary school education, but his two other younger siblings were still in elementary school and Madrasah Aliyah. RD also like AR who finished elementary school but did not continue to a higher level. His parents, also have elementary school education. Unlike the two people, the MA's parents had finished high school and KHR's parents graduated from the Madrasah Tsanawiyah. Based on this, it can be concluded that the average family education in this case is not going to high school or equivalent. As previously stated, underage marriage in the community can be caused by several factors, namely the encouragement of the family (parents), the tradition of the community that is carried out continuously, economic limitations, and one of them is the low educational background of the community. According to BPS (2008), better educated people will have a lower chance of being poor. This implies that good education will reduce a person's vulnerability to poverty

C. Effect of economic factors

The strength of a household in terms of the economy can be shown through the number of household members who work relative to the number of household members. A member of the working household can work on it or do a strategy to improve the household economy if the household experiencing adverse shock-shock. Thus, the greater the proportion of household members working in a household, the household economy is relatively stronger.

In this study, AR parents worked as farmers in the rice fields and while growing vegetables in the garden as well as AR and his brother. Because after finishing elementary school AR did not continue school again, so he worked to help his parents. In this family, AR's mother worked alone since her husband died around the 2000s. Things that are not much different are also experienced by RD families who work as farmers, but none of their parents have died.

The economic burden on the family often encourages parents to quickly marry off their children in the hope that the family's economic burden will decrease, because married girls are the responsibility of their husbands. In this study, this assumption was not entirely correct because they stated that the provision of sustenance had already been regulated.

3.2.2 Context of community empowerment

In this study, the empowerment process was carried out by parents of underage couples. They empower their children through their abilities. So it is not surprising, their work is also the work that their children do. It really helps underage couples to earn income. Thus, the empowerment process takes place from parents to children. The goal of community empowerment is to form individuals and communities to become independent. Independence includes independence of thinking, acting, and controlling what they do. In line with this, couples who carry out underage marriages must be able to live independently.

To achieve independence, a process is needed. Through the learning process, the expected abilities will be gradually obtained. Thus it will accumulate sufficient capabilities to deliver them to independence.

The learning process in order to empower the community, especially underage couples, will take place gradually (Sulitiyani, 2017). The steps that must be passed are:

A. Awareness stage

At this stage underage couples experience the formation of behaviors towards awareness and care to live their lives so they feel the need to increase their capacity. They are not children anymore, but have become a husband who must be responsible for his family.

In the case of AR, he stated that he was advised by his mother to be more responsible to the family by working better to earn income. The MA, who previously did not have any expertise in terms of earning income, was motivated and taught skills by his father, as well as HMD, who was invited by his mother to help make cakes to be marketed in stalls. RD, who previously worked odd jobs, but now is more focused on earning income after marriage and borrowing land for gardening by his parents. KHR, which had only helped with his parents' work, was now able to earn his own income and become more independent in the sense that he could work delivering transport goods without having to be with parents.

Thus, among the 4 couples in this study, all have gone through the stage of awareness and are more concerned about living their lives. Although the income earned is not much, it can be useful to provide for each family.

B. Transformation phase

At this stage underage couples will experience a change in ability in the form of more open knowledge insights, have certain skills so that they can take a role in their lives. Husbands are required to have skills so that they can expand access to a job that can generate income. In this study, the transformation phase has been experienced by MA and KHR because those who previously did not have any skills, now have the skills as barber and transport driver. This is inseparable from the efforts made by their parents.

C. Stage of increasing ability

At this stage there is an increase in ability, so that initiative, innovation and the ability to deliver independence are formed. Because of the limited skills and level of education, they must be able to take the initiative and innovate to do something new and not just depend on a job. The four couples in this study did not reach the stage of capacity building. This is due to the lack of an increase in ability, independence, and innovation of each partner. They still work according to what their parents are doing. In this case the role of parents is still large in helping the process of their family life. Evidently, if there are financial problems, they are still asking for help from parents to solve the problem.

3.2.3 Context of responsibility

In general, a husband acts as the responsible head of the family and is tasked with earning a living to meet his family's clothing, food and shelter needs. Husbands also have a role as partners of wives, namely to be fun friends and always be there at times of joy and sorrow by always providing time to talk and spend free time with family. In addition to being a good partner for the wife, the husband can also help ease the task of the wife, as to take the children to play or recreation as well as providing spare time qualified for the wife and child of his in the busy schedules of the husband in making a living.

In addition to the role of the husband, the wife also has an equally important role, namely as a companion to the husband at all times and mothers who are ready to look after, nurture and guide their children. Just like husbands, wives also act as good and pleasant partners for spouses and families. The wife is the first person who can be invited to discuss various kinds of problems that occur and also talk about matters relating to family or other matters. Wife as a companion, driver, and encouragement to progress in the field of work husband.

AR becomes more responsible after having a family. After the birth of the first child, he works harder and does not only focus on working as a seasonal farmer. During the dry season, he cultivates vegetables to increase income. Before giving birth to a second child, AR's wife ES also worked in the fields to help AR. In this case, they become good and responsible partners according to their respective roles.

MA who do not complete vocational school because of marriage, and previously did not have skills in any field of work. After getting married and having a wife, he felt he had to have a business and this was supported and encouraged by his parents. MA is taught how to get money by shaving hair, while his wife is given the skills to make cakes. With a family they feel responsible for earning their own income in meeting their daily needs.

KHR and RD also feel they have responsibilities that must be fulfilled after marriage. They can no longer comfortably ask parents for money. There is shame if you have to always ask your parents for money because they already have their own family even though they cannot be fully independent. Thus, even though the four couples in this study did underage marriage, they felt they had a responsibility to earn income to provide for the family. Responsible husband is when he knows and does what he should do.

4. Conclusion

From the research findings and analysis of four underage couples it can be concluded that they did not experience household economic instability. This is caused by:

- a. Parental intervention in providing work inheritance as in the case of MA who worked as a Barber and KHR who worked as a truck driver.

- b. There is support from the family to guarantee their income in the case of AR and RD, namely providing land loans.

The vulnerability of the household economy of underage couples is also influenced by the number of children owned. The more children they have, the more vulnerable the family's economic stability will be. The household economic stability of underage couples is apparently influenced by the level of income from work. This was proven by one (KHR) who worked as a truck driver where his income was relatively greater than the others. Parents do not necessarily give up when their children have a family; they still take a role in the process of their child's life. Underage couples are helped to learn to support their own families, even though they cannot yet be fully independent.

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