



The Deviation of Law in the Practice of *Merariq Kodeq* Tradition (Underage Runaway Marriage/Elopement) of the Sasak Community in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara

Sumerah¹, Rodliyah², Jamin Ginting^{1*}

¹ Fakultas Hukum, Universitas Pelita Harapan, Indonesia

² Fakultas Hukum, Universitas Mataram, Nusa Tenggara Barat

* jamin.ginting@uph.edu

Abstract

There are complex problems of underage runaway marriage/elopement practices in the *Sasak* community in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. *Merariq* is running off with a girl to make her a wife. The practice of *merariq* in the *Sasak* community in Lombok is rife with underage children or what is known as *merariq kodeq*. The focus of this research is the deviation of law in the practice of *merariq kodeq* tradition (underage runaway marriage/elopement) of the Sasak Community in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. The type of this research is descriptive qualitative with data collection from conducting observations, interviews, documentation and literature studies. The findings of this research show that some of law deviations, including the legalization of child marriage (*merariq kodeq/merariq kocet*), have brought about the high rate of *sirri* marriage practice and early divorce, giving effect to the counterproductive dispensation of marriage in the *Sasak* community in Lombok, high rate of early divorce, and finally has an impact on the increasing numbers of schools' dropouts. Further investigation of this traditional *merariq* practice has violated the rights of a minor, and this is within the category of deviation of law, namely the law on child protection and can also be classified as a criminal act. Among the legal issues in the practice of *merariq kodeq* among the people of Lombok, namely, legal issues of the criminal act of taking away a minor, the criminal act of violence, the criminal act of sexual violence, and the criminal act of neglecting a child. Efforts to prevent the practice of *merariq kodeq* are urgently needed as in the cases raised in this research, such as reviving local culture/local wisdom with full responsibility. On the other hand, efforts are needed to optimize socialization about marriage; real government intervention is needed in persuasive and educational efforts (a marriage school is needed as a media center); and the importance of carrying out non-litigation efforts on legal issues that arise in the practice of *merariq kodeq*, namely, maximizing peace efforts between parties, and increasing legal awareness in society in order to prevent people from being entangled in criminal acts and legal processes or legal punishment.

Keywords: Merariq Kodeq (Underage Marriage); Law Deviation; Criminal Law

A. Introduction

The practice or event of marriage (*merariq*) is an important event in the life of the

Sasak people in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. A person is only considered a full citizen of a society if he has a family or is married. According to the Sasak people, marriage not only unites a man with a woman, but also contains the meaning of uniting the relationship between two large families, namely the man's relatives and the woman's relatives.¹ Thus, it becomes increasingly clear that the purpose of marriage according to Sasak custom is to continue the lineage, strengthen kinship ties, and expand family relationships.² The practice of *merariq* in the Sasak community should not involve things that are contrary to law and culture, or what the author calls a form of legal deviation. The practice of *merariq kodeq* in quantity continues to increase on the island of Lombok and its impact is also a deviation from division, disharmony, and even legal problems in social life. As explained, a deviant act or behavior in principle is based on the occurrence of deviant behavior as well as non-deviant (conforming) behavior, which is guaranteed to always exist in every social life. Moreover, in societies that are open or perhaps permissive (everything is permissive or where social control is very loose), behavior that is not in line with the values and norms of the majority of society is said to be deviant.³

In the Sasak community, runaway marriage/elopement (*merariq*) is implicitly or explicitly considered as clear evidence of the man's seriousness in marrying the girl. The *merariq* tradition itself raises pros and cons within the Sasak community itself, there are those who still want to preserve it from generation to generations, but there are also those who question it because *merariq* is considered a symbol of affirming men's superiority over women.

In the *merariq* tradition, the term *memaling* (absconding) is known. The process of absconding or running away is sometimes considered to be the essence of Sasak custom, this custom is a respected practice in certain areas which emphasizes the prohibition of directly asking someone for their daughter's hand in marriage because this would be considered an insult to him, his daughter, and his family, even compared to asking for a chicken.⁴

Even though *merariq* is a custom that is permitted in society, *merariq* can have a negative impact on a marriage, for example, with the *merariq* custom, many cases of

¹ M. Fachrir Rahman, *Pernikahan di Nusa Tenggara Barat antara Islam dan Tradisi* (Mataram: LEPPIM IAIN Mataram, 2013), 115.

² Muhammad Harfin Zuhdi, *Praktik Merariq: Wajah Sosial Masyarakat Sasak* (Mataram: LEPPIM IAIN Mataram, 2012), 58.

³ Elly M. Setiadi, *Pengantar Ringkas Sosiologi: Pemahaman Fakta dan Gejala Permasalahan Sosial (Teori, Aplikasi, dan Pemecahannya)* (Pranada Media, Jakarta: 2020), 194.

⁴ Djalaludin Arzaky, "Kearifan Budaya Suku Bangsa Sasak", in *Nilai-Nilai Agama dan Kearifan Lokal Suku Bangsa Sasak dan Pluralisme Kehidupan Bermasyarakat (Sebuah Kajian Atropologis-Sosiologis-Agama)*, ed. Munzirin (Mataram: CV Bima Mandiri, 2001), 8.

underage marriages occur. Moreover, according to custom, it is not possible to easily annul a marriage, especially since the girl has been taken away by her future husband. If they are pulled from their hiding place because of age, the family will be embarrassed and the young man and girl who fail to get married are called bird brides, meaning cancelled brides. The title of a failed bride will cause the family and the person concerned to be very shameful in front of society. Usually the solution taken to ensure that the marriage still takes place is to falsify the girl's year of birth. The impact of underage marriage can be repeated divorces between them. Because they get married at an immature age, their emotional level is still not stable and they can also run away together before they really know each other, so divorce often occurs.

According to the provision of Article 7 paragraph (1) of Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage and Article 15 (paragraph 1) of Compilation of Islamic Law, marriage is only if the man has reached the age of 19 (nineteen) years and the woman has reached the age of 16 (sixteen) years. This provision is then amended so that the required age for woman is equal to the required age of man, namely 19 years.⁵ The regulation of the age of 19 years for women to be permitted to marry means that it is considered an adult requirement for a woman. With reference to this requirement, if the prospective bride is under 19 years of age, then the sanctioned person is still a minor and is not competent to act within the law, including carrying out a marriage. However, the provisions in the Marriage Law regarding the age requirement of 19 years for women are actually in accordance with Law Number 23 of 2002 concerning Child Protection, which is most recently amended by Law Number 17 of 2016. In this law, the definition of a person who is categorized as "a child is someone who is not yet 18 (eighteen) years old, including children who are still in the womb",⁶ so that the adult requirement according to this law is 18 years.

The Child Protection Law stipulates that "parents are obliged and responsible to prevent marriage at the age of a child".⁷ However the law does not include strict sanctions in the event of a violation because marriage is a civil matter so that if a minor's marriage

⁵ Article 15 paragraph (1) Compilation of Islamic Law (*Kompilasi Hukum Islam/KHI*) states "For the benefit of the family and household, marriage may only be carried out by the prospective bride and groom at the age stipulated by Article 7 of Law Number 1 of 1974, namely, the prospective husband must be at least 19 years old and the prospective wife must be at least 16 years old. This has been changed to both 19 years old as stated in the Law Number 16 of 2019, amendment to Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage."

⁶ *Law Number 17 of 2016 concerning the Second Amendment of Law Number 23 of 2002 concerning Child Protection.*

⁷ Article 26 Paragraph (1) of Law Number 23 of 2002 concerning Child Protection as amended by Law Number 17 of 2016 concerning Stipulation of Government Regulations in Lieu of Law Number 1 of 2016 concerning Second Amendment to the Law Number 23 of 2002 concerning Child Protection Becomes Law.

occurred then the marriage would be declared ineligible and could be cancelled. This provision actually does not solve the problem and is unfair to women.

The maturing age of marriage is the first step in achieving sustainable development targets. The Marriage Age Maturation (*Pendewasaan Usia Perkawinan*/PUP) has become a priority issue in the Regional Medium Term Development Plan of the West Nusa Tenggara Province (*Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Daerah Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Barat*/RPJMD NTB) up to this year.⁸ Apart from that, PUP is also an indicator of the success of the RPJMD NTB. The issue of early marriage in Indonesia's regions, especially Lombok, is one of the homework assignments for the Province of West Nusa Tenggara (NTB). This problem often makes NTB a topic of conversation because of the high rate of early marriage. When talking about early marriage, people would mention NTB, especially Lombok.⁹ The NTB Provincial Government has raised the marriage age from 16 years for women and 19 years for men to 21 years for both women and men.¹⁰ Supported by the decision of the Constitutional Court, that marriages can be carried out according to the standard/adult age and marriages cannot be carried out with children who are underage, in fact this decision ordered the House of Representatives to revise the Marriage Law as soon as possible.¹¹

Merariq's practices and events are complicated and the author calls this a legal deviation. The legal deviation that the author means is because the practice of *merariq kodeq* has a negative impact on the growth and development of a child, whether for the prospective bride or groom. The practice of *merariq kodeq* continues to increase annually among the Sasak community in Lombok. The author actually believes that this practice is very dangerous for the generations in the future. If a habit became customary law, violations of the cultural constitution would result in sanctions applicable to that concerned community. And in the case of this customary violation (the practice of *merariq kodeq*), the dispute resolution has been regulated by the Regional Regulation of West Nusa Tenggara Province Number 5 of 2021 concerning the Prevention of Child Marriage, and is supported by various

⁸ Lusia Kus Ana, "Dorong Kenaikan Usia Perkawinan," *Kompas*, accessed December 23, 2023, <https://lifestyle.kompas.com/read/2016/05/21/191900123/Dorong.Kenaikan.Usia.Perkawinan>.

⁹ Muhammad Nursyamsy, "Resep Jitu NTB Cegah Pernikahan Usia Anak," *Republika*, accessed on Desember 23, 2023, <http://nasional.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/daerah/17/12/08/p0mrfr368-resep-jitu-ntb-cegahlm-pernikahan-usia-anak>.

¹⁰ The legal umbrella is issued in the Regional Regulation of West Nusa Tenggara Province Number 5 of 2021 concerning the Prevention of Child Marriage. Previously, West Nusa Tenggara Province Regional Regulation Number 4 of 2018 concerning the Implementation of Family Resilience and Welfare, and in the Circular Letter of the Governor of West Nusa Tenggara, with Letter Number, SE/Number 180/1153/KUM of 2014 concerning Marriage Age Maturation, had also been issued and ratified.

¹¹ Constitutional Court Decision Number 22/PUU-XV/2017 dated December 18, 2019 and Law Number 16 of 2019 concerning Amendment of Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage.

mechanisms, tools and implementation regulations in each region or district in Lombok. The starting point is that in essence cases of *merariq kodeq* (underage marriage) must be resolved through non-penal mechanisms (non-litigation) in the sense of avoiding other legal channels, whether through the Police or the Court (litigation). In this case, with various social, cultural dynamics and problematic practices, the practice of *merariq kodeq* (underage runaway marriage/elopement) of the Sasak community in Lombok-NTB with all settlement mechanisms and equipped with regulations has not run optimally, non-litigation efforts (non-penal media) have not fully minimized the resolution of similar cases criminally (law enforcement) or through legal channels and the imposition of criminal penalties.

Seeing the contradictions and other problems, the practice of *merariq kodeq* in the Lombok West Nusa Tenggara community is considered to be necessary to be studied comprehensively, because in practice there is no conflict between the law and reality. This clearly shows the problem of the concept of *ius constitutum* (the law that is formed and applies in a state society at a certain time or positive law), and *ius constituendum* (law that is aspired to be in the social life of the country, but has not yet been formed into law or other provisions).¹² Furthermore, the complexity of the problem of the practice of *merariq kodeq* is also in line with the concept of *das sollen*, which is referred to as a legal rule that explains the expected conditions. Meanwhile *das sein* is considered a real situation. Thus this research can at least discuss what the law should be as a legal fact (*das sollen*) expressed by legal experts at a theoretical level (law in the books) on the issue of *merariq kodeq* in Lombok, that is, law that lives and develops and processes in society (law in action).¹³

The form or type of research in this journal is qualitative (empirical) research or empirical legal research, namely a research method that uses empirical facts taken from behavior, both verbal behavior obtained from interviews and real behavior carried out through direct observation, as well as facts and behavior which in social sciences become the primary data, positioned as secondary research sources.¹⁴ To answer legal problems in this journal research, the author uses the following problem approaches: normative-empirical approach, philosophical approach, statutory approach, conceptual approach, case approach. Legal materials used in the journal are the sources of data and legal materials used in this research, namely primary, secondary and tertiary data.

The collection technique or method of collecting data in this research is interviews,

¹² Sudikno Mertokusumo, *Mengenal Hukum: Suatu Pengantar* (Yogyakarta: Liberty, 2002), 25.

¹³ Sabian Utsman, *Metodologi Penelitian Hukum Progresif* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2014), 17.

¹⁴ Soejono and Abdurrahman, *Metode Penelitian Hukum* (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 2003), 149.

literature study, searching for legal materials, and increasing the field research efforts to obtain valid and accountable data. The data collection technique in this research is that secondary data in this research was obtained by document study, while primary data was obtained by interviews.¹⁵ To obtain valid, accurate and convincing data, researchers organize data, group data, and sort data obtained from observations, interviews and other documents.

B. Discussion

B. 1. Regulations on *Merariq Kodeq* (Underage Runaway Marriage/Elopement) from the Perspective of Local Culture in the Sasak Community in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara

Merariq regulation in the Sasak community can be seen from the concept and purpose of implementing the marriage/*merariq*. Marriage is an important event in the life of the Sasak tribe in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. A person is only considered a full citizen of the society if he has a family. In this way, he will obtain rights and obligations both as a member of a kin group and as a member of society. As marriage according to Islam is conceptualized as a way to have a life as a couple, serene and peaceful (*mawaddah wa Rahmat*) as well as a means of continuing generations (getting offspring), then marriage for the Sasak people also has a very broad meaning, even according to the Sasak people, marriage is not only unites a man with a woman, but at the same time it has the meaning of uniting the relationship between two large families, namely the male's relatives and the female's relative. In Sasak terms it is known that *merariq berembe entan kadin loek kadang jari kance kadang waris* (getting married is to increase the family and offsprings). In an internal expression of the Sasak community, the measure for someone to be able to enter into a marriage is *uah tao burdene* (can carry/carry things on the head, for the prospective bride) - *kance uah tao belembah* (can carry/carry things on the shoulders, for the prospective bridegroom). In principle, the measure or barometer given by the community provides an important message and note that those who can enter into marriage should be those who are able to be independent and have matured physically and mentally, and in fact according to local regulations in the community the practice of *merariq kodeq* (underage marriage) is not permitted.

Standards can even be called a barometer of the rules for implementing

¹⁵ S. Nasution, *Metode Research: Penelitian Ilmiah* (Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 2003), 98–99.

marriage/*merariq* in Sasak society, namely that they are reflected in every marriage process (pre- and post-marriage). In principle, Sasak community marriages, apart from the ideal standard as mentioned above, also have marriage principles/regulations with the concept *jamak-jamak kance dendeq pesulit* (normal/ordinary and not complicated). The concept *jamak-jamak kance dendeq persulit* can actually be practiced at all stages of *merariq*/every stage of marriage so that there is no impression or image of *merariq* as if it were the transaction of buying and selling goods or, in unethical language, buying and selling children, for example, during the bargaining process in runaway marriage/elopement, the concept seems strengthened and is required to always be implemented if both the prospective husband and wife who are getting married come from the Sasak tribe. If one of the prospective husband and wife comes from outside the Sasak tribe, there is a tendency that the demand for bargaining will be somewhat weakened.¹⁶ The ideal regulations for carrying out *merariq* are basically that in marriage, the principle of no party being harmed is put forward and in accordance with applicable customs and laws, for example, problems often arise in marriage/*merariq* in the Sasak community, namely related to matters of *pisuke* and *nyongkolan*.¹⁷

Merariq regulations in the Sasak community in Lombok also have the principle of *pade maik* (everyone is convenient) and in the case of *pisuke*,¹⁸ as the name suggests, there must be no element of coercion, but there must be the consent of the families of both parties. Giving *pisuke* in Sasak culture does not mean buying and selling girls. However, giving *pisuke* money/goods is more interpreted as appreciation for the hard work put in by the girl's family in raising and educating her for decades, until she is an adult and ready to be married. Apart from that, it is hoped that the tradition of giving *pisuke* will reduce men's habit of divorced marriages, the negative impacts of which are mostly suffered by women. With this tradition, it can later become a thought and consideration if one day the man wants to divorce his wife.¹⁹

A meaning can be drawn that in general the *merariq* regulations are based on the concept of the Sasak community, namely marriage with the basic values of not complicating things, prioritizing the positive values of community culture and with the principle of

¹⁶ Muhammad Harfin Zuhdi, *Op. Cit.*, 57.

¹⁷ M. Nur Yasin, "Kontekstualisasi Doktrin Tradisional Di Tengah Modernisasi Hukum Nasional: Studi tentang Kawin Lari (Merari') di Pulau Lombok," *Jurnal Istimbath* 4, no. 1 (December 2006): 73–75.

¹⁸ *Pisuke* is an transaction or negotiation activity related to dowry for the bride. This activity is sometimes carried out over a relatively long and also very short period of time. It depends on the agreement between both parties' families.

¹⁹ M. Nur Yasin, *Loc. Cit.*, 82–83.

upholding noble religious values in every marriage process (pre- and post-marriage in Sasak expressions are referred to as *belo-belo entan pacu*). In another expression, it is explained that the concept of *merariq lamun uah pacu, solah, dait pacu ndk arak cerite merariq ndk kenak jarin pasti kenak pendaitn* (if you marry on the basis of good values, right values, and not being naughty, then the marriage will not be miserable but goodness will be obtained).

B. 2. Implementation of *Merariq Kodeq* (Underage Runaway Marriage/Elopement) in the Sasak Community in Lombok, NTB

In this section the author will describe several forms of implementation of the practice of *merariq kodeq*, especially in relation to the influence of the implementation of this practice on the Sasak community in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. That the implementation in the form of influence in question is a portrait of the impact of this practice that occurs in the midst of society's social life.

The practice of *merariq kodeq* in this context can be called the practice of early marriage in society, especially in the Sasak community in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. Normatively, early marriage can be defined as an inner and outer bond between a man and a woman as husband and wife at a young or teenage age. Article 1 of Law No. 1 of 1974 jo. Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 16 of 2019 concerning Amendments to Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage defines that marriage is an inner and outer bond between a man and a woman as husband and wife with the aim of forming a happy and eternal family (household) based on the Almighty Godhead. Avoiding early marriage/*merariq kodeq* is very appropriate for the integrity of the household, this is in accordance with the message in Sasak society "*merariq nuk dendeq sampe jari raje sejelo, lagu sengsare sebalit* " (being married is not only about being king for a day, but being miserable for years). Furthermore, the author will describe data related to child marriage (*merariq kodeq*) on the island of Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. Based on the research findings, the trend of child marriage cases (*merariq kodeq*) in Lombok in 2021–2023 is 6,476 cases.²⁰

Based on the data above and based on the author's observations during research regarding the high number/trend of the practice of *merariq kodeq* on the island of Lombok, there is an impression from the perpetrators that *merariq kodeq* has long been considered a tradition and even considered a game by the perpetrators. However, recently *merariq kodeq*

²⁰ This table data was processed based on data and information obtained from agencies (Regional Heads/Regents/Mayors, Regional Secretary, Department of Women's Empowerment, Child Protection and Family Planning Service, Religious Affairs Office, Village Heads on Lombok Island) and related respondents in this research.

has always been considered something normal based on tradition, so it seems as if the actions of young people lacking maturity and consideration so that it is in line with the Sasak expression *merariq nuk endeq bau tepinaq jari kedemenan* (marriage cannot only be based on mere liking or enjoyment). If viewed from a normative perspective, the author can analyze that the practice of *merariq kodeq*, apart from being prohibited by law, is actually a distortion of the true values of Sasak marriage. Child (underage) marriage is a marriage that occurs or is carried out by parties who are not yet adults or have reached the age referred to in Law Number 16 of 2019 which states that when carrying out a marriage, both men and women must be 19 years old minimum.

The practice of *merariq kodeq* is actually not only a matter of custom or tradition, but furthermore this practice is also a threat to the younger generation in the future. If the practice of *merariq kodeq* does not receive serious attention or it seems as if this is just being ignored, then in the author's opinion it will slowly become a massive violation. It is very important that all efforts to prevent the practice of *merariq kodeq* occur, this is in line with the provisions in the legal regulations that the issue of restoration of preventing marriages of minors refers to Law Number 16 of 2019. This law is quite relevant for studying the issue of marriage of minors where Law Number 16 of 2019 explains that marriage is only permitted if the man and woman have reached the age of 19 (nineteen) years.²¹ This provision is actually a warning so that the Sasak people in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara are not trapped by preserving the practice of *merariq kodeq*, on the other hand, the mandate of this law, if examined more deeply, is actually also in the Sasak's saying " *dendeq bae pade merariq kanaq lamun endekman tao kosot eros*" (never marry, young man, if you cannot wipe your own nose), and boys can marry in categories through an expression, namely "*merariq lamun uah pade tao lalao belembah, kance tao pade boyakan impan kaken mesak*" (getting married is when you can carry, and after being able to independently look for work to meet your own needs and food).

The issuance of Article 7 Law Number 16 of 2019, where the marriage age's lower limit for men and women of 19 (nineteen) years, is expected to bridge minor marriages. This provision was made to protect the health of the wife and offspring, and therefore it is deemed necessary to clarify the age limit for marriage under the marriage law.²² One of the principles or principles of marriage stipulated in the Marriage Law is that the prospective husband and wife must have already been mature in their souls in order to be able to enter into marriage,

²¹ Article 7 Law Number 16 of 2019 concerning Amendments of Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage.

²² Kansil, *Pengertian Ilmu Hukum dan Tata Hukum Indonesia* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 2013), 230.

so that they can realize the goals of marriage well without ending in divorce and have good and healthy offspring.

The marriage of children (underage) also has a big impact on the perpetrator or the child himself, especially for girls who marry at an early age, namely causing pregnancies and early births which are associated with high mortality rates and the condition of the mother is not normal because the child's body has only just entered adulthood.²³ Apart from that, school dropouts are experienced – children who marry at an early age must drop out of school. The reason is because they usually don't have time to pay attention to their education, especially if they get married and immediately have children, they will focus more on paying attention to their children and taking care of their families, but this can be reduced by getting full help and support from their families along with help to care for their children, so that they can continue his schooling. Based on narratives from several regions/districts in Lombok (respondents in this study), at least the author draws a conclusion about the dangers of the practice of merariq kodeq, namely “*kanak lamun endeq sekolah jari bodon, ape lagi kanak sak engkah sekolah gare-gare lalo merariq, jari marak unin dengan toaq laeq dengan bode tejual sik bawang*” (if children do not go to school they will become stupid, especially children who drop out of school for the reason of getting married, as was previously said by parents that stupid people can be sold for onions).

Thus, the marriage of underage children becomes interesting to study and examine carefully, where the reality and real facts show that the marriage of underage children is a scourge and a serious problem for women. Because the marriage of minors, apart from violating the law, also often causes violence in the household as a result of a lack of knowledge and immature thinking as well as mental burdens that are not strong enough to face the complexities of life both in the family, community and wider environment.

B. 3. The Impact of Merariq Kodeq Practices on Counterproductive Marriage Dispensation Issues in the Sasak Community in Lombok

That underage marriage without marriage dispensation can be an invalid marriage. The age limit for marriage in Indonesia in Article 7 paragraph 1 Law Number 16 of 2019

²³ Badan Pusat Statistik, *Kemajuan yang Tertunda: Analisis Data Perkawinan Anak di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Badan Pusat Statistik, 2016), 11, <https://www.bps.go.id/id/publication/2016/01/04/aa6bb91f9368be69e00d036d/kemajuan-yang-tertunda--analisis-data-perkawinan-usia-anak-di-indonesia.html>.

states that "marriage is only permitted if the man has reached the age of 19 (nineteen) years old and the woman has reached the age of 19 (nineteen) years old". And in paragraph 2 it states "in the event of deviation from paragraph 1 in this article, you can ask for dispensation from the court and other officials, appointed by both parents of the male or female party". This article is one of the bases for implementing marriage dispensations in underage marriages. This article can request dispensation from the court and other officials, appointed by the parents of both the man and the woman. The author also describes data on dispensations or the practice of *merariq kodeq* for which dispensation is requested at the Religious Courts on the island of Lombok. Based on case data for requests for *merariq kodeq* dispensation at the Religious Courts (*Pengadilan Agama/PA*) in 2021–2023, there were 3,967 cases.²⁴

The practice of marrying minors (*merariq kodeq*) in every district/city in Lombok still occurs frequently under the age of 19 and some are even still in junior high school and high school. Based on the results of interviews with the Head of the Religious Court, Community Figures, and related agencies in the research area of the author, most gave answers that the practice of marrying underage children still often occurs, such as those aged 14 years, 15 years, some even got married at 13 years old. This is because parents and the perpetrators themselves have a low level of understanding of the impacts of marriage at a too young age, such as what happened in the following marriage cases.²⁵

In the researcher's opinion, underage marriage is quite worrying, because how can a household be happy if in the household a husband and wife are still in the process of learning about marriage, without knowledge and without proper educational provisions, considering life in this day and age. Education is prioritized to get a job and a decent living. This underage marriage has sacrificed the youth, their education and their future, so it is quite worrying that it will cause disharmony in the family. In the author's opinion, apart from this, this needs to be the focus of collective attention, so that the Sasak people do not violate their own expressions about reasonable limits or general rules according to the community in carrying out marriages, one of which is the expression "*dendeq merariq malu teparan mosot*" (do not marry just because you are embarrassed to be said as unwanted).

In Law Number 16 of 2019, it is stated that marriage is only permitted if the man is at least 19 years old and the woman is at least 19 years old. The Supreme Court of the Republic

²⁴ This table data was processed based on data and information obtained from agencies (Religious Courts, Religious Affairs Office, Village Heads on Lombok Island) and related respondents in this research.

²⁵ Poerdawarminta, *Kamus Umum Bahasa Indonesia* (Balai Pustaka, Jakarta, 2011), 88.

of Indonesia stipulates Regulation of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Indonesia Number 5 of 2019 concerning Guidelines for Adjudicating Marriage Dispensation Applications. This Supreme Court Regulation was stipulated on November 20th, 2019 and promulgated on November 21st, 2019 to be known and enforced for all levels of society. *Pantes merariq lamun uah pade tao jauq kance rumuq dirik* (it is appropriate to marry when you are able to look after yourself), so it is very appropriate that all efforts to prevent the practice of *merariq kodeq*/early marriage must be maximized, including the issue of marriage dispensation through Religious Courts, must be really enforced. Based on data that the author received from various Religious Courts in each regency/city in Lombok, there are more decisions or court decisions that grant marriage dispensation requests than applications that are rejected, however the author welcomes the decision of the Selong Religious Court in Court Ruling Number 144/Pdt.P/2019/PA.Sel dated July 4th, 2019 with a decision rejecting the applicant's application (dispensation). The rejection was based on the judge's considerations, namely; Considering that in order to provide protection and ensure that marriages can run well, be healthy and maintain their longevity, Law Number 1 of 1974 determines the age limit for a person to marry, so that an ideal marriage can be achieved at a mature age. The age limit set is 19 years for men and 16 years for women. And also with legal considerations, the panel of judges properly considered Article 7 Paragraph 1 of Law Number 1 of 1974, he continued, contains the principle of maturity and maturity of the prospective bride and groom, both physically and mentally, to guarantee the noble ideals of marriage, so that they are implemented with an equal relationship pattern and consider the couple as partners and communication in the household runs according to what is hoped.

In the researcher's opinion, the occurrences of contradictions and problems in society, especially related to the implementation of marriage, which continues to develop, is seen by the researcher as a result of the weakness of written law. The weakness of written law is due to an imbalance with the laws that exist in societies.²⁶

B. 4. The Practice of *Merariq Kodeq* Impacts the High Rate of Early Divorce

As the researcher has explained in the section above regarding the practice of *merariq kodeq*, in this section the researcher will explain the influence or impact that occurs on society. According to the results of observations, interviews and data during research, there is a second impact on the practice of *merariq kodeq*, namely as part of a social problem that

²⁶ Lili Rasjidi, *Hukum Sebagai Suatu Sistem* (Bandung: Mandar Maju, 2003), 194.

causes a significant rate of early divorce. The following is data on early divorce on the island of Lombok based on data obtained that there were 11,298 cases of early divorce in Lombok in the Religious Courts (PA) in 2021–2023, namely 11,298 cases.²⁷

The researcher can analyze that the high rate of early divorce as a result or impact of the practice of *merariq kodeq* must be addressed or appropriate steps and solutions must be taken. In the opinion of researchers, attention is needed in the form of strategic and practical steps or efforts to prevent early divorce by all parties in the government and society (those carrying out marriages). Minimizing unregistered marriages can be an alternative to preventing *tahlil* marriages. *Sirri* marriage means a marriage without the involvement of the state to register it as part of the orderly administration of marriage. Thus, *sirri* marriages do not receive legality from the state. In Article 2 of Law Number 1 of 1974, it is stated about the registration of marriages with various procedures. This is made clear in Article 5 (1) of Compilation of Islamic Law (Kompilasi Hukum Islam/KHI), which states "In order to ensure marital order for Islamic communities, every marriage must be recorded." Likewise, Article 6 (2) of KHI states that "marriages conducted outside the supervision of marriage registrar employees have no legal force." Reducing the negative risks resulting from early marriage or *merariq kodeq*, in the author's opinion, serious efforts are needed to prevent it.

The researcher can explain that solution efforts to prevent widespread marriages really require collective awareness and collective actions, namely all elements starting from the laws that are implemented, the institutions that implement them, and the role of society. In a concept, collective actions are needed in implementing the law, with legal components, institutions and personnel from the implementing institution.²⁸

In the author's opinion, it is also important to implement religious values in marriage, including in the case of *merariq kodeq*. With adequate education, especially in preparation for entering marriage, the bridal couple (male and female) will be better prepared to form a household. Marriage can also be said to be human nature, because humans cannot live alone in the sense that they are dependent and need each other. Likewise, between men and women, so that the relationship takes the form of a marriage institution which aims to form a *sakinah* and prosperous family in accordance with the objectives of Islamic teachings, they are required to carry out marriage.²⁹

²⁷ This table data was processed based on data and information obtained from agencies (Religious Courts, Religious Affairs Office, Village Heads on Lombok Island) and related respondents in this research.

²⁸ Lili Rasyidi, *Hukum Sebagai Suatu Sistem* (Bandung: Rosdakarya, 2010), 114.

²⁹ Lukman Hakim Saifuddin, *Tanya Jawab Moderasi Beragama* (Jakarta: Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI, 2019), 47.

B. 5. Merariq Kodeq Practices as a Contributor to School Dropout Rates

Based on data on school children who dropped out of education as a result of the practice of *merariq kodeq* (underage marriage), this had an impact on the number of cases of dropping out of school/drop outs from the practice of *merariq kodeq* in Lombok NTB in 2021–2023, namely 5,065 cases.³⁰

The data above is data on school dropout rates due to the practice of *merariq kodeq* in Lombok, which consists of junior high school (*Sekolah Menengah Pertama/SMP*) and senior high school (*Sekolah Menengah Atas/SMA*) students. This figure is data provided or obtained by researchers from various sources or respondents, not to mention cases that were not recorded or exposed, so in the researchers' opinion the practice of *merariq kodeq* is very dangerous for the child's future. One of the disadvantages or negative impacts resulting from *merariq kodeq* is that children's educational rights are not fulfilled and this is even a violation of the law. As is known, education is very important as the basic capital for human development. Adequate education is an effort so that humans can develop their potential through the learning process and/or other methods known and recognized by society. Article 31 paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia states that every citizen has the right to receive education, and it is emphasized that the government seeks and implements a national education system that increases faith and piety as well as noble morals in order to make the life of the nation intelligent as regulated by Constitution. For this reason, all components of the nation are obliged to make the nation's life intelligent, which is one of the goals of the State of Indonesia.

So, it is not an exaggeration in the author's opinion that in the case of the practice of *merariq kodeq* there is the potential for human rights violations. One of the potential violations the author is referring to is the issue of children's rights/women's rights. Women's human rights are simply defined as an understanding that is built entirely on the basis of common sense and logic. In this sense, women's human rights are understood as simply a logical consequence of the recognition that women are human beings too. If women are also humans, then they should also have human rights. But strangely, the reality so far shows that this does not necessarily have an impact on protecting their basic rights as human beings. Therefore, a second concept and understanding of women's human rights emerged, where women's human rights are viewed with a more revolutionary connotation containing the vision and intention of transforming social relations through changes in gender-based power

³⁰ This table data was processed based on data and information obtained from agencies (Religious Courts, Religious Affairs Office, Village Heads on Lombok Island) and related respondents in this research.

relations.³¹ Child protection for children is not limited to the government as an agent of the State, but must also be carried out by parents, families and society to be responsible for safeguarding and preserving children's human rights. In this case, the government is responsible for providing facilities and accessibility for children, especially to ensure optimal growth and development.³²

Based on the author's observations from each respondent or this research's area of observation, the practice of *merariq kodeq* is not rare to be perceived that, acquired from data and information, the real risk or impact of the practice of *merariq kodeq* is, in Sasak terms, known as "*lue'an kesie/sengsare, penyusah lamunte merariq kodeq*" (more miseries and troubles if you marry at an early age). Seeing this impact, in the author's opinion, it is urgent and highly prioritized and hoped that society can increase awareness and vigilance regarding backwardness and poverty, because children who have a level of intelligence that is not optimal are more vulnerable to disease, and in the future could be at risk of decreasing levels of productivity. Ultimately, more broadly, stunting can hamper economic growth and increase poverty. So it is necessary to carry out stages and efforts to optimally sensitize the community to improve community welfare.

The local government has attempted to prevent the practice of *merariq kodeq* in various districts/cities in Lombok, with the aim of reducing the number of early marriages and slowly building public awareness of the bad impacts of this practice. There is a Sasak expression, namely "*dendeq lupak dirik*" (don't forget yourself) which is very appropriate as a principle in preventing the practice of *merariq kodeq* in society. Awareness can also be said to be an individual's ability to relate to his environment and himself (through his five senses) and to place restrictions on his environment and himself (through attention).³³

The Regency/City Government in Lombok, in realizing policies to prevent the negative impacts of the practice of *merariq kodeq*, including reducing school dropout rates, has implemented various programs, one of which is the program run by the West Lombok Regency Government, namely "YES I DO".³⁴ This program is a non-government program that continues to encourage activities to prevent child marriage, teenage pregnancy and

³¹ Mansour Fakih, *Hak Asasi Perempuan* (Yogyakarta: Insist Press, 2001), 169.

³² Angger Sigit Pramukti and Fuady Primaharsya, *Sistem Peradilan Pidana Anak* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Yustisia, 2018), 5.

³³ Yusi Zikriyah, *Pengaruh Tingkat Kesadaran Masyarakat Kelurahan Lenteng Agung Terhadap Implementasi Zakat Profesi* (UIN Syarif Hidayatullah: Jakarta, 2017), 9, <https://repository.uinjkt.ac.id/dspace/handle/123456789/37119>.

³⁴ Ahmad Zulhadenan, "Program "YES I DO" mampu menurunkan angka Pernikahan Usia Dini di Lombok Barat," *lombokbaratkab.go.id*, October 1, 2020, <https://lombokbaratkab.go.id/program-yes-i-do-mampu-menurunkan-angka-pernikah-usia-dini-di-lombok-barat/>.

practices that are not good for women's reproductive health and is fully committed to increasing the age of marriage. This program has been running since 2016 in line with the West Lombok Regional Government Program with the *Anti-Merarik Kodek* Movement (*Gerakan Anti Merariq Kodeq/GAMAK*) Program which has succeeded in reducing the rate of early marriage in West Lombok. The West Lombok Regional Government's commitment to reducing the number of early marriages has issued several regulations as a legal basis to support the Gamak program. The "YES I DO" program encourages the Regional Government to issue Regent's Regulations. There are 3 Regional Regulations related to Early Age Marriage. In fact, since 2019 there are already a Regional Regulation regarding the Marriage Age Maturation.

Meanwhile, the Central Lombok Regency government program is to prevent *merariq kodeq* numbers through the "power to you" program.³⁵ This program is for adolescent girls and young women aged 12–24 years. The main activities that will be carried out in Central Lombok in 2022 are to prevent *merariq kodeq*.

In order to reduce the number of child marriages, the West Nusa Tenggara Provincial Government issued Regional Regulation Number 5 of 2021 concerning the Prevention of Child Marriage. The West Nusa Tenggara Regional Government and each district and city are also carrying out a number of programs to reduce the number of early marriages. In the author's opinion, if the West Nusa Tenggara Regional Regulation is implemented optimally then it will at least be in line with the legal mandate in the new law, namely Law Number 12 of 2022 concerning Crime of Sexual Violence. Of the descriptions and elaborations that the author has explained above regarding the impact of the practice of *merariq kodeq*, the most important thing in the author's opinion is the extent to which the effectiveness of the implementation of regulations and concepts governing marriage/early marriage issues can be implemented by the community. Apart from that, the main factor for success also really depends on the mindset and awareness of each Sasak community in Lombok. It is also good to remember the Sasak *lelakaq* "*sejari-jari beras bekerem*" (no matter how difficult the problem is, you have to keep fighting).

³⁵ Febrian Putra and Ahmad Sakurniawan, "Ini Program Mencegah Merarik Kodeq di Kabupaten Loteng," GenPi.co, April 21, 2022, <https://ntb.genpi.co/ntb-terkini/4010/ini-program-mencegah-merarik-kodeq-di-kabupaten-loteng>.

B. 6. Ideal Arrangements for Legal Settlement of the Practice of *Merariq Kodeq* (Underage Runaway Marriage/Elopement) in the Sasak Community in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara

Based on data and information the author obtained based on interviews with Heads of District Courts, Judges of District Courts and Religious Courts, the Police, and Regional Governments on Lombok Island regarding the practice of *merariq kodeq*, quite a lot of which is resolved through the Courts (litigation). Apart from legal settlement through litigation, it is also based on quite a lot of data obtained during research, and most of it is resolved through non-litigation mechanisms (consensus deliberation and restorative justice at the police level). In the litigation settlement of the *merariq kodeq* practice case, it was included in the category of Children in Conflict with the Law (*Anak Berhadapan dengan Hukum/ABH*) cases in the court system and administration.

The first case, namely in Court Ruling Number 232/Pid.Sus/2015/PN.Pya dated February 16th, 2016. With the decision: 1) Declaring that the Defendant has been legally and convincingly proven guilty of committing the crime of "running off with an underage girl" as regulated and criminally punishable in the second indictment of the Public Prosecutor; 2) Imposing a sentence to the Defendant, therefore, with a prison sentence of 5 (five) months"; 3) Determining that the period of arrest and detention that the Defendant has served shall be deducted entirely from the sentence imposed; 4) Determine that the Defendant will remain in detention.

The second Case, namely in Court Ruling Number PDM-03/MTR/2022 dated January 25th, 2023. With the verdict: 1) Declaring that the Defendant has been legally and convincingly proven guilty of committing the crime of " running off with an underage girl" as regulated and criminally punishable in the second indictment of the Public Prosecutor; 2) Sentencing the Defendant to a prison sentence of 7 (five) months"; 3) Determining the period of arrest and detention that the Defendant has served to be deducted entirely from the sentence imposed; 4) Deciding that the Defendant remains in custody.

The third case, namely in Court Ruling Number 139Pid.Sus/2017/PN.Sel. dated August 24th, 2017. With the verdict: Declaring the Defendant legally and convincingly proven guilty of committing the crime of Deliberately Inducing a Child to Have Sexual Intercourse with Him; Therefore, the Defendant was sentenced to imprisonment for 5 (five) years; Sentence the defendant to a fine of Rp100,000,000,- (one hundred million rupiah) with the provision that if the fine is not paid it must be replaced by imprisonment for: 3 (three)

months. For this case, the panel of judges decided according to the provisions of the child protection law, namely Law Number 35 of 2014 concerning Amendments to Law Number 23 of 2002 concerning Child Protection. And based on the indictment of the two defendants' actions.

Based on the data that the author obtained, there are actually still other cases regarding a few cases of the practice of early marriage/*merariq kodeq* in Lombok in administration and trials in court. These cases fall into the category of cases of children in conflict with the law (ABH), however in quantitative manner, the author is of the opinion that it can be sufficient, then the author will analyze the legal issues above more broadly. The practice of *merariq kodeq* is the same as the term runaway marriage/elopement.

Based on the opinion above, it can be interpreted that runaway marriage/elopement is a form of marriage that is carried out without being preceded by an official or formal proposal or engagement. Hilman Hadikusuma further explained that:³⁶ "Runaway marriages/elopements are not only carried out by young boys against girls, but there are also those who are currently married or have already been married." The purpose of taking away/running off with someone, is to invite, request or persuade other people to leave their residence. This action must be an active action, it is not enough to simply invite it. The woman who will be taken away also carries out active actions, so that the act of running away must be a joint act, where the perpetrator and the victim together carry out active acts. So there is no need to use force, there is even help from the woman herself in the act of running away. The act of running away starts from the place, where the woman went to make the act possible. So every action is to make it easier for the women to run away.³⁷

The crime of running off with underage girls is a complaint offense. The person who runs off with an underage girls who is not yet of legal age can only be held responsible if they have fulfilled the following elements: 1) Subject: Article 332 paragraph (1) uses the subject "whoever". The formulation of the subject of this article uses the word "whoever", namely a man as the perpetrator; 2) Object: The man is the subject. It can be concluded that the object is a girl/woman and there is an intention to have sexual intercourse. There is also the possibility of a woman being the perpetrator only if there is a man as the participant (could be the intellectual actor, or the one who drives it, or the one who orders it); 3) Take away: The act of "taking away" as mentioned in article 332 paragraph (1) means that it

³⁶ Hilman Hadikusuma, *Hukum Perkawinan Adat* (Bandung: Alumni, 2010), 34.

³⁷ H.A.K. Moch. Anwar, *Hukum Pidana Bagian Khusus (KUHP BUKU II) Jilid I* (Bandung: PT Citra Aditya Bakti, 2006), 124–126.

requires the man's active action. There is no need for the man to travel alone and go with the woman. However, this article cannot be applied if the woman is very active, while the man is passive.

As regulated in the national criminal law, elopement is defined as one of the criminal acts as regulated in Article 332 of the Criminal Code (*Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana/KUHP*), and finally in the New Criminal Code it is regulated more rigidly, namely in Law Number 1 of 2023 concerning Criminal Code, Chapter XIX Criminal Acts Against People's Freedom Part Three Deprivation of Freedom of Children and Women Article 454 paragraph 1 to paragraph 5 (even though this provision is not yet in force) is quite good in regulating the practice of *merariq kodeq* which occurs in the Sasak community in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. However, if you refer to the old regulations, namely in the old Criminal Code, you can find related regulations, namely the contents of Article 332 paragraph (1) 2 of the Criminal Code.

This reason can also be justified if it is seen that the withdrawal of the complaint is basically a reason for eliminating special criminal prosecution (for the crime of the complaint). By withdrawing the complaint, the right to prosecution is extinguished. With the elimination of the right to criminal prosecution, ongoing prosecutions will be terminated. This situation is no different from the death of the defendant which eliminates the right to prosecute criminally.³⁸ The decision is taken by majority vote, meaning that after the examination is closed, the judge holds a final deliberation to make a decision after the defendant, or the verdict, which is chosen is the judge's opinion or the decision that is most favorable to the defendant.³⁹ Based on data, information and the author's observations regarding the point of changing the criminal form of the *merariq kodeq* practice which is resolved through court proceedings (litigation) is the final step in resolving the problem, one of the reasons according to Sasak custom is that the parties (the male party) in the marriage/case cannot be taught or has violated the prevailing customs. This is in accordance with the term that exists in the Sasak community in Lombok "*lamu pade uah endeq tao teperintah ajah*" (if you can no longer be ordered or taught), continued in the Sasak "*lelakak kadal nongak lek kesambiq-benang kataq setakilan-tajah onyaq endeq tao matiq payu salaq kejaria, adoo dende*" (taught well if you don't follow/don't obey, then you will have bad luck). In the author's opinion, there is no regional government program that is more appropriate for saving a generation of children, except maximizing all efforts, facilities,

³⁸ Adamin Ghazawi, *Pelajaran Hukum Pidana Bagian 2* (Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 2002), 209–211.

³⁹ Andi Hamzah, *Hukum Acara Pidana Indonesia* (Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, 2014), 285.

mechanisms, and resources to prioritize the prevention of marriage/child marriage in each region. One of the purposes of law is utility. Utilities are attached to the law as a means to direct society, which of course must not violate justice.⁴⁰ Based on research data, the trend of *merariq kodeq* cases in 2021–2023 is 6,474 cases.⁴¹ Based on the data above, the author believes that the practice of *merariq kodeq* is a very serious social problem on the island of Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, which must be a priority for the regional government, requiring steps, strategies and policies that are right on target.

Based on the results of interviews with respondents, the practice of *merariq kodeq* mostly occurs in every region/district-city, more often than not it is officially recorded and is even carried out secretly with the intention that the authorities/authorities do not know about the marriage event. The practice of *merariq kodeq*, if there is no agreement between the prospective bride's family, often leads to legal proceedings with various reports including reports of taking away underage children, sexual harassment and so on. Reports and complaints regarding the practice of *merariq kodeq* often go to court and end in punishment as a result of the implementation of court decisions.

The author can draw a conclusion that starting from the data above and based on the results of interviews and events that occurred at the research location during the research, the practice of *merariq kodeq* is actually not only a problem of a form of degradation of local culture (*merariq* in Lombok), but is a social legal problem that can have a broad impact on local communities. The next point departs from the issues and developments in the practice of *merariq kodeq*, so that legal solutions that are economical, for the researcher, must be based on local wisdom that is fair, resolving it through peace (non-litigation) is far more important than resolving it through the litigation process.

In addition to the ideal legal settlement process as the author has explained in the above paragraphs, the strategic steps of the central and regional governments must be consistent and sustainable, especially the West Nusa Tenggara's regional government must be able to fix the previous steps or policies that were not appropriate so that the human development index, especially caring for the smart and brilliant next generation, can be achieved in accordance with the medium term plans of the West Nusa Tenggara Provincial government in the future.

⁴⁰ Satjipto Rahardjo, *Lapisan-Lapisan Dalam Studi Hukum* (Malang: Bayu Media Publishing, 2009), 98–99.

⁴¹ This table data was processed based on data and information obtained from agencies (Religious Courts, Religious Affairs Office, Village Heads on Lombok Island) and related respondents in this research.

B. 7. Legal Settlement for *Merariq Kodeq*'s Violations of *Midang/Ngayo* (Visiting) Customs on Reports of Crimes of Physical Violence

Cases of violations of *midang* custom among the Sasak community in Lombok are quite significant. The violations referred to are in the form of fights and physical violence between teenagers or minors, even some adults (married) are involved. There are a number of related cases, but the author covers several similar cases and then the author examines/analyzes them more deeply in the next section. These cases include: Court Ruling Number 45/Pid.Sus-Anak/2017/PN.Mtr dated January 22nd, 2018; Court Ruling Number 20/Pid.Sus-Anak/2022/PN Mtr dated July 5th, 2022 with the verdict of fixed term of imprisonment (1 year 4 months) on the defendant; and Court Ruling Number 7/Pid.Sus-Anak/2021/PN Pya with the verdict sentencing the defendant to imprisonment of 2 (two) years. And also in the Court Ruling Number 147/Pid.Sus/2020/PN Sel with a prison sentence of 1 (one) year for the defendant.

Apart from this decision, based on the data that the author obtained, almost every year the Resort Police (Polres) in every Regency/City in Lombok received complaints and reports of criminal acts of violence against children/minors, even every integrated police complaint center (*Sentra Pelayanan Kepolisian Terpadu/SPKT*) received reports or more than 40 complaints every year.⁴² The resolution of criminal problems in this practice is almost entirely resolved through peace at the village level, the local sector police station (*Kepolisian Sektor/Polsek*) and at the local Polres (*Kepolisian Resor*) station.

To make this issue clearer, the author will explain the terms *midang-ngayo* (visiting/hanging out at a girl's house), and *beberayean* (dating) in Lombok society which is very popular among teenagers on the island of Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. Conceptually, society is a portrait of life which is full of disputes, quarrels, feuds, or various kinds of conflict between individuals, groups, families, ethnic groups, even between nations which result in various forms of criminal acts including criminal acts of abuse, both minor and serious as intended in Article 351 to Article 355 of the Criminal Code.

In the Sasak community in Lombok, a case that often occurs is known as *besiaq* or *begejoh* (fighting). In this case, criminal acts of physical violence often occur, such as abuse, beatings, stabbings, even beatings. This is caused by one of the values that has faded and even been forgotten by young people/adolescents, namely in the culture of society in

⁴² The data that the author received and processed came from the results of interviews with all Heads of Resort Police (Kapolres/Kapolresta), Heads of Criminal Investigation Unit (Kasat Reskrim/Kanit Reskrim), Heads of Women and Children Services Unit (Kanit PPA Polres/Polresta) in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara.

Lombok it is known as " *pade patoh-pade pacu*" (must get along - and must do good).

From observations, data and interviews during research, cases of physical violence, abuse, beatings and fights among young people or in general the Lombok island community, over the last 4 (four) years have been resolved as many as 1000 cases of abuse through a restorative justice approach. This abuse occurred due to various forms of individual conflict, rights, interests, and offense which culminated in acts of physical violence, fights between individuals, within the family environment, between students, and between ethnicities. A restorative justice approach was then carried out because there was a mutual will between the victim and the perpetrator and the families of both parties. Then it was strengthened by a joint agreement between both parties in the presence of the Heads of Neighborhood (*Rukun Tetangga/RT*), Heads of Hamlet (*Rukun Warga/RW*), and the Village Heads. Next, both parties went to the Pontianak Police, submitted a request, stated that they were withdrawing the complaint and/or expressed their desire for the case to be resolved peacefully, not to be taken to court.

In the author's opinion, apart from the various dynamics of legal issues that arise from the practice of *merariq*, based on the author's subjective assessments and observations, the main issue is that there is a lack of appreciation by teenagers or if the Sasak language term is called "*terune-bajang*" of the true meaning of the *merariq* tradition in general that applies in society. For example, in the knowledge of the Sasak community in Lombok there is a term called "*ilmu tao jauh diri, ilmu ra'i*" (the knowledge of how to carry oneself, and the knowledge of awareness to act), the purpose of this knowledge is actually very useful for young people/teens in social life and to interact with each other even though they are of different ethnicities, races, languages and regions. It teaches and conveys the moral message that how a person must be able to carry themselves, know themselves and must respect others wherever they are and when dealing with anyone, and everyone must uphold ethics, morals and good habits in life.

The author can describe the findings during journal research in order to illustrate what the ideal legal resolution should be for cases of *merariq kodeq* practice regarding reports of criminal acts. With the data that the author presents below, an analysis and conclusion can be drawn for resolving legal problems that develop in society, especially legal problems that arise in the practice of *merariq kodeq* according to the themes raised in this research. Based on research results, there were 1036 reported cases of *midang/ngayo* (visiting) violations in

merariq kodeq in 2021–2023.⁴³

Paying attention to the data above, the author can draw a conclusion that the practice of *merariq kodeq*, besides being contrary to the value of originality of *merariq* according to the local culture of the Sasak community in Lombok as a whole, also has negative implications for legal issues that arise as a result of violations of the *merariq kodeq* process which are not in accordance with applicable legal provisions. Discussing the ideal legal settlement steps is indeed the most appropriate way through resolution space or mechanisms through deliberation and consensus, that is, in a non-litigation manner. Non-litigation legal settlement, apart from being more precise, also avoids wider problems because according to researchers, punishment as a result of the execution of a court decision is the final step (*ultimum remedium*) after exhausting efforts that are more harmonious and provide far more benefits to society as a whole. generally and especially for perpetrators of violations of marriage practices (*merariq kodeq*) referred to in this research.

B. 8. Legal Settlement of Merariq Kodeq Practices on Reports of Criminal Sexual Violence Against Children or Partners

In practice, Merariq Kodeq has negative impacts as the author has explained in the section above, in addition to that it also has an impact on other legal issues, one of which is sexual violence against children or partners. Data from the Women's Empowerment, Child Protection, Family Planning Population Control Service (*Dinas Pemberdayaan Perempuan, Perlindungan Anak Pengendalian Penduduk Dan Keluarga Berencana/DP3AP2KB*) of NTB Province throughout 2022, shows that cases of violence against women and children reached 1,022 cases, especially in the case of sexual violence against children. Specifically for sexual violence, as of October 2022, there were 188 child victims.⁴⁴ Violence against children and women in West Nusa Tenggara is still quite high, one of the contributing factors is that the rate of child marriage/early marriage (*merariq kodeq*) is rampant.⁴⁵ In general, sexual violence criminal behavior has a fairly high level of quantity in Indonesia, and it is not

⁴³ This table data was processed based on data and information obtained from agencies (Regent, Regional Secretary, Court, Police (Polda/Polres/Polresta), Prosecutor's Office, Department of Women's Empowerment, Child Protection and Family Planning Service, Head of Religious Affairs Office, Mediation House, Village Heads on Lombok Island) and respondents related to this research.

⁴⁴ Dinas Pemberdayaan Perempuan Perlindungan Anak Pengendalian Penduduk dan KB, "Sepanjang 2022, Ada 188 Anak di NTB Jadi Korban Kekerasan Seksual," *dp3ap2kb.ntbprov.go.id*, December 8, 2022, <https://dp3ap2kb.ntbprov.go.id/2022/12/08/sepanjang-2022-ada-188-anak-di-ntb-jadi-korban-kekerasan-seksual/>.

⁴⁵ Radar Mandalika, "Kasus Kekerasan Anak di NTB Masih Tinggi, Paling Banyak di Lotim," *Radar Mandalika*, January 13, 2023, <https://radarmandalika.id/kasus-kekerasan-anak-di-ntb-masih-tinggi-paling-banyak-di-lotim/>.

uncommon for underage children to become victims in cases of this type of crime. In this context, the Government of West Nusa Tenggara (Deputy Governor of West Nusa Tenggara) appeals to all lower level governments in each village (namely the Heads of Hamlet) to work together to prevent the practice of *merariq kodeq*/child marriage. Furthermore, the Vice Governor of West Nusa Tenggara explained that child marriage interventions could be identified through Family Integrated Health Service Post (*Pos Pelayanan Terpadu/Posyandu*) which are in hamlets in 10 regencies/cities in West Nusa Tenggara Province.⁴⁶

Apart from the data above, the author also obtained several court decisions related to the above case. These decisions include: 1) Court Ruling Number 18/Pid.Sus-Anak/2022/PN Mtr dated July 25th, 2022 which imposed a 2-year imprisonment on the Defendant; 2) Court Ruling Number 7/Pid.Sus-Anak/2019/PN Sel which sentenced the Defendant to 2 years in prison; 3) Court Ruling Number 7/Pid.Sus-Anak/2021/PN Pya which sentenced the Defendant to prison for 3 years.

In practice, underage *merariq kodeq* in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara is counterproductive for the millennial generation or generation Z. In this context, the author will explain what the ideal rules are in resolving cases or legal issues regarding the practice of *merariq kodeq* as explained in the previous sections. In order to further dissect legal issues and their resolution, in this discussion section the author will also present data on the results and findings obtained during the research. Based on the results of research into cases of sexual violence reports in Merariq Kodeq for 2021–2023, there were 3,543 cases.⁴⁷

The author can analyze that sadly, in the event of sexual violence against children or women, most of the perpetrators of sexual harassment are people known to their victims. In the context of *merariq kodeq*, it is certainly experienced by children/women who are still underage, so it is certain that women experience sexual violence in the household. *Merariq kodeq*, as explained in the previous section, is mostly not recorded either in villages or in authorized institutions/agencies and in principle, sexual crimes against minors are a violation of the law. There is even data and information that sexual violence occurs in campus areas/environments at universities in Lombok, and sadly it is carried out by individual

⁴⁶ Rury Anjas Andita, “Wagub NTB Minta Semua Kadus Ikut Serta Cegah Pernikahan Usia Anak,” *Lombok Post*, February 11, 2023, <https://lombokpost.jawapos.com/ntb/11/02/2023/wagub-ntb-minta-semua-kadus-ikut-serta-cegah-pernikahan-usia-anak/>.

⁴⁷ This table data was processed based on data and information obtained from agencies (Regent, Regional Secretary, Court, Police (Polda/Polres/Polresta), Prosecutor's Office, Department of Women's Empowerment, Child Protection and Family Planning Service, Head of Religious Affairs Office, Mediation House, Village Heads on Lombok Island) and respondents related to this research.

teachers (lecturers) at state universities and private universities.⁴⁸ It can be analyzed that *merariq kodeq* on reports of sexual harassment, apart from being a crime, is also a deviation of the law.

In this context, society, apart from having to comply with applicable laws, must also pay attention to the *awik-awik* (customary law) that lives in society. In the Sasak community in Lombok there is a term known as "*jagaq aran gubug*" which applies as customary law. In principle, the people in a village are obliged to maintain their behavior, culture, ethics, from things that are contrary to law and religion, including may not act impolitely towards women, this custom is applied in order to maintain the dignity of a village or area where one lives. According to the researcher, this is in line with the concept of legal modernization, namely without abandoning the original legal concept or the law can still be valid and relevant to the development of society.⁴⁹

B. 9. Legal Settlement of *Merariq Kodeq* Practice on Reports of Child Neglect Crimes

In the Sasak community in Lombok there is a term or expression *kare-are anak/anaq kesie kedarat* (abandoned child/child neglect). This problem or case still often occurs a lot according to the data, information and research results of this research, and most of them happened in early marriages (*merariq kodeq*). The consequences of the practices of early marriage are very close to the reality of violence against children such as child neglect. This kind of thing is included in the category of verbal violence, and sexual violence against children.⁵⁰ This number/case is still high in the research location of this research (Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara).⁵¹ In East Lombok Regency, for example, the rate of child neglect is still very high, and in the media it is even said to be an emergency area/district for violence against women and children.⁵²

Based on the data that the author obtained regarding the impact of the practice of *merariq kodeq* resulting in child neglect, there are several court decisions as a real demonstration of how dangerous it is because it is too easy and even seems to be made easy

⁴⁸ Ahmad Viki, "Terkuak Kasus Kekerasan Seksual di NTB, Pelakunya Mahasiswa-Dosen," *Detik Bali*, June 19, 2022, <https://www.detik.com/bali/nusra/d-6135853/terkuak-kasus-kekerasan-seksual-di-ntb-pelakunya-mahasiswa-dosen>.

⁴⁹ Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, *Konsep-Konsep Hukum Dalam Pembangunan Hukum* (Bandung: Alumni, 2002), 184.

⁵⁰ Abu Huraerah, *Kekerasan Terhadap Anak* (Bandung: Nuansa Cendekia, 2012), 33.

⁵¹ NTBSatu, "Ada 1.022 Kasus Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan Dewasa dan Anak di NTB selama 2022," *NTBSatu*, January 2, 2023, <https://ntbsatu.com/2023/01/02/ada-1-022-kasus-kekerasan-terhadap-perempuan-dewasa-dan-anak-di-ntb-selama-2022.html>.

⁵² Barbareto, "Lombok Timur Darurat Kekerasan Perempuan dan Anak," *Barbareto News*, April 8, 2022, <https://barbareto.com/lombok-timur-darurat-kekerasan-perempuan-dan-anak/>.

for underage marriages to happen among the people in Lombok. The Court decisions referred to are as follows: 1) Court Ruling Number 10/Pid.Sus-Anak/2019/PN Pya with the decision to impose a fixed term of imprisonment (3 years 6 months) on the defendant; 2) Court Ruling Number 200/Pid.Sus/2021/PNMtr which imposed a 2-year prison sentence on the defendant; 3) Court Ruling Number 89/Pid.Sus/2022/PN Sel which sentenced Defendant to 3 (three) years in prison. Next, the author will examine this issue further as well as provide a more comprehensive analysis.

The author can analyze that children are unique individuals, who cannot be compared to adults, both in terms of physical, emotional, thought patterns and behavior. Therefore, treatment of children requires specialization or special treatment and stable emotions. In this case, parents have an obligation to care for and train their children correctly and lovingly.⁵³ Child neglect is the attitude and treatment of parents who do not give proper attention to the child's growth and development process.⁵⁴

The incident of child neglect on Lombok Island, West Nusa Tenggara is no longer a taboo topic to discuss. In fact, every year this event always increased, especially during the Covid-19 pandemic. Where cases of neglect have even become rampant as if this incident were a common occurrence. According to data from the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (*Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak/PPPA*), there were 4,116 cases of violence against children, including 1,111 children who received physical violence, 979 psychological violence, 2,556 sexual violence, 68 exploitation, 73 criminal acts of human trafficking and 346 neglect. The government has made efforts to overcome children's problems, and it is very important to remember that violence can be physical and non-physical (threats of violence).⁵⁵

There is a saying among the people of Lombok that "*merariq harus tao boyak impan kaken senine dait anak jari, dendeq pade merariq milu-miluan, dendeq sampai kesie irup anaq jari*" (being married means you must be able to earn a living for your wife and children, don't marry just to join in, follow along, don't let your offspring live in misery). In the term also "*Ye bleq lalo dose baden pade kare-are anak jari, lamun uah pade toaq sai bae yak rumuk lamun endek anak jari*" (it is a big sin to make children suffer, when you are already old no one can look after and care for you apart from the children), *merariq harus tao*

⁵³ Abdul Aziz Dahlan, *Ensiklopedi Hukum Islam* (Jakarta: PT Ihtiar Baru VanHoeven, 2001), 415.

⁵⁴ Bagong Suyanto, *Tindak Kekerasan Terhadap Anak: Masalah dan Upaya Pemantauannya* (Surabaya: LPA Jatim & UNICEF, 2000), 5.

⁵⁵ Moerti Hadiati Soeroso, *Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga, Perspektif Viktimologis dan Kriminologis* (Surabaya: Sinar Grafika, 2004), 58.

tomotan senine anak (being married means one must be able to prosper the wife and children). The author can conclude that child neglect is an act of violation of the law and a deviation from the law, thus in the context of *merariq kodeq* this must be avoided by the Sasak community in Lombok by through none other than that the practice of *merariq kodeq* must be stopped with maximum efforts collectively in each region (district/city in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara).

C. Conclusion

It can be concluded that, principally, the regulations relating to the practice of *merariq* in the Sasak community apply the concept of *jamak-jamak kance dendek pesulit* (normal/ordinary things should not be complicated). The basic concept of *merariq* is also in the Sasak expression called *merariq lamun pade uah paut, pantes, taun jap diriq astawe saling runguq besenine-besemame, kance merariq nuk adeng-adeng sak penting kenaq* (marry when you are fit, appropriate, can look after yourself or look after each other, also get married slowly, yet the important thing is do it right). *Merariq* from the perspective of the Sasak community in Lombok has a barometer such as the expression *lamun uah tao bebande* (if you can carry water on your head, for the bride-to-be), *kance lamu uah tao belembah* (if you can carry things on your shoulders, for the bridegroom-to-be).

The implementation of the practice of *merariq kodeq* is reflected in the form of real legal deviations, in the opinion of the researcher, that early marriage/*merariq kodeq/merariq kocet* in Lombok is classified as a form of legal deviation practice because it is not optimal and not massive in relation to existing mechanisms and regulations and prevent traditional practices of *merariq kodeq*. Furthermore, the impact of the implementation of the practice of *merariq kodeq*, apart from being a form of legal deviation, is furthermore that the practice of *merariq kodeq* in the Sasak community in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara results in or provides legal implications for the legalization of child marriage (*merariq kodeq/merariq kocet*). There is a high number of *sirri* marriage practices and early divorces, counterproductive marriage dispensation in the Sasak community in Lombok, high rates of early divorce, and finally impacting the increasing school dropout rates.

The ideal arrangements for legal resolution of the practice of *merariq kodeq* in Lombok West Nusa Tenggara are very diverse. The ideal pattern for legal resolution of cases of the practice of *merariq kodeq* among the Sasak community in Lombok includes non-litigation resolution (non-penal mechanism/Sasak custom through *pengrakse*) and through

“mediation room” (*bale mediasi*). The second solution is, if the first non-penal solution not being optimal leading to unmet desired solution, through the penal solutions (law enforcement) or through legal channels as well as the imposition of punishment (sentence/imprisonment) through the Police and Courts. Settlement of disputes over the practices of *merariq kodeq* in the Sasak community in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, settlement through litigation/penal punishment as final resort or ultimun remedium, resolution of reports to the Police is often resolved peacefully or through restorative justice.

REFERENCES

Laws and Regulations

Compilation of Islamic Law.

Law Number 23 of 2002 concerning Child Protection.

Law Number 17 of 2016 concerning the Second Amendment of Law Number 23 of 2002 concerning Protection of Children.

Law Number 16 of 2019 concerning Amendment of Law No. 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage.

Regional Regulation of West Nusa Tenggara Province Number 5 of 2021 concerning the Prevention of Child Marriage.

Books

Anwar, H.A.K. *Hukum Pidana Bagian Khusus (KUHP BUKU II) Jilid I*. Bandung: PT Citra Aditya Bakti, 2006.

Arzaky, Djalaludin. “Kearifan Budaya Suku Bangsa Sasak.” In *Nilai-Nilai Agama dan Kearifan Lokal Suku Bangsa Sasak dan Pluralisme Kehidupan Bermasyarakat (Sebuah Kajian Atropologis-Sosiologis-Agama)*, edited by Munzirin. Mataram: CV Bima Mandiri, 2001.

Badan Pusat Statistik. *Kemajuan yang Tertunda: Analisis Data Perkawinan Anak di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Badan Pusat Statistik, 2016.
<https://www.bps.go.id/id/publication/2016/01/04/aa6bb91f9368be69e00d036d/kemajuan-yang-tertunda--analisis-data-perkawinan-usia-anak-di-indonesia.html>.

Fakih, Mansour. *Hak Asasi Perempuan*. Yogyakarta: Insist Press, 2001.

Ghazawi, Adamin. *Pelajaran Hukum Pidana Bagian 2*. Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 2002.

Hadikusuma, Hilman. *Hukum Perkawinan Adat*. Bandung: Alumni, 2010.

Hamzah, Andi. *Hukum Acara Pidana Indonesia*. Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, 2014.

Huraerah, Abu. *Kekerasan Terhadap Anak*. Bandung: Nuansa Cendekia, 2012.

Kansil, A. *Pengertian Ilmu Hukum dan Tata Hukum Indonesia*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 2013.

Kusumaatmadja, Mochtar. *Konsep-Konsep Hukum Dalam Pembangunan Hukum*. Bandung: Alumni, 2002.

Mertokusumo, Sudikno. *Mengenal Hukum: Suatu Pengantar*. Yogyakarta: Liberty, 2002.

Nasution, S. *Metode Research: Penelitian Ilmiah*. Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 2003.

Poerdawarminta, W. *Kamus Umum Bahasa Indonesia*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 2011.

Pramukti, Angger Sigit, and Fuady Primaharsya. *Sistem Peradilan Pidana Anak*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Yustisia, 2018.

Rahardjo, Satjipto. *Lapisan-Lapisan Dalam Studi Hukum*. Malang: Bayu Media Publishing,

2009.

- Rahman, M. Fachrir. *Pernikahan di Nusa Tenggara Barat antara Islam dan Tradisi*. Mataram: LEPPIM IAIN Mataram, 2013.
- Rasjidi, Lili. *Hukum Sebagai Suatu Sistem*. Bandung: Mandar Maju, 2003.
- Rasyidi, Lili. *Hukum Sebagai Suatu Sistem*. Bandung: Rosdakarya, 2010.
- Saifuddin, Lukman Hakim. *Tanya Jawab Moderasi Beragama*. Jakarta: Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI, 2019.
- Setiadi, Elly M. *Penghantar Ringkas Sosiologi: Pemahaman Fakta dan Gejala Permasalahan Sosial (Teori, Aplikasi, dan Pemecahannya)*. Jakarta: Pranada Media, 2020.
- Soejono, and Abdurrahman. *Metode Penelitian Hukum*. Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 2003.
- Utman, Sabian. *Metodologi Penelitian Hukum Progresif*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2014.
- Zikriyah, Yusi. *Pengaruh Tingkat Kesadaran Masyarakat Kelurahan Lenteng Agung Terhadap Implementasi Zakat Profesi*. UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2017. <https://repository.uinjkt.ac.id/dspace/handle/123456789/37119>.
- Zuhdi, Muhammad Harfin. *Praktik Merariq: Wajah Sosial Masyarakat Sasak*. Mataram: LEPPIM IAIN Mataram, 2012.
- Dahlan, Abdul Aziz. *Ensiklopedi Hukum Islam*. Jakarta: PT Ihtiar Baru Van Hoeven, 2001.
- Suyanto, Bagong. *Tindak Kekerasan Terhadap Anak: Masalah dan Upaya Pemantauannya*. Surabaya: LPA Jatim & UNICEF, 2000.
- Soeroso, Moerti Hadiati. *Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga, Perspektif Viktimologis dan Kriminologis*. Surabaya: Sinar Grafika, 2004.

Journal Articles

- Yasin, M. Nur. "Kontekstualisasi Doktrin Tradisional Di Tengah Modernisasi Hukum Nasional: Studi tentang Kawin Lari (Merari') di Pulau Lombok." *Jurnal Istimbath* 4, no. 1 (December 2006).

Court Rulings

Constitutional Court Decision No. 22/PUU-XV/2017.

Internet

- Ana, Lusia Kus. "Dorong Kenaikan Usia Perkawinan." *Kompas*, accessed December 23, 2023. <https://lifestyle.kompas.com/read/2016/05/21/191900123/Dorong.Kenaikan.Usia.Perkawinan>.
- Andita, Rury Anjas. "Wagub NTB Minta Semua Kadus Ikut Serta Cegah Pernikahan Usia Anak." *Lombok Post*, February 11, 2023. <https://lombokpost.jawapos.com/ntb/11/02/2023/wagub-ntb-minta-semua-kadus-ikut-serta-cegah-pernikahan-usia-anak/>.
- Barbareto. "Lombok Timur Darurat Kekerasan Perempuan dan Anak." *Barbareto News*, April 8, 2022. <https://barbareto.com/lombok-timur-darurat-kekerasan-perempuan-dan-anak/>.

- Dinas Pemberdayaan Perempuan Perlindungan Anak Pengendalian Penduduk dan KB. "Sepanjang 2022, Ada 188 Anak di NTB Jadi Korban Kekerasan Seksual." *dp3ap2kb.ntbprov.go.id*, December 8, 2022. <https://dp3ap2kb.ntbprov.go.id/2022/12/08/sepanjang-2022-ada-188-anak-di-ntb-jadi-korban-kekerasan-seksual/>.
- NTBSatu. "Ada 1.022 Kasus Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan Dewasa dan Anak di NTB Selama 2022." *NTBSatu*, January 2, 2023. <https://ntbsatu.com/2023/01/02/ada-1-022-kasus-kekerasan-terhadap-perempuan-dewasa-dan-anak-di-ntb-selama-2022.html>.
- Nursyamsy, Muhammad. "Resep Jitu NTB Cegah Pernikahan Usia Anak." *Republika*, accessed December 23, 2023. <http://nasional.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/daerah/17/12/08/p0mrfr368-resep-jitu-ntb-cegahlm-pernikahan-usia-anak>.
- Putra, Febrian, and Ahmad Sakurniawan. "Ini Program Mencegah Merarik Kodeq di Kabupaten Loteng." *GenPi.co*, April 21, 2022. <https://ntb.genpi.co/ntb-terkini/4010/ini-program-mencegah-merarik-kodeq-di-kabupaten-loteng>.
- Radar Mandalika. "Kasus Kekerasan Anak di NTB Masih Tinggi, Paling Banyak di Lotim." *Radar Mandalika*, January 13, 2023. <https://radarmandalika.id/kasus-kekerasan-anak-di-ntb-masih-tinggi-paling-banyak-di-lotim/>.
- Viqi, Ahmad. "Terkuak Kasus Kekerasan Seksual di NTB, Pelakunya Mahasiswa-Dosen." *Detik Bali*, June 19, 2022. <https://www.detik.com/bali/nusra/d-6135853/terkuak-kasus-kekerasan-seksual-di-ntb-pelakunya-mahasiswa-dosen>.
- Zulhadenan, Ahmad. "Program 'YES I DO' Mampu Menurunkan Angka Pernikahan Usia Dini di Lombok Barat." *lombokbaratkab.go.id*, October 1, 2020. <https://lombokbaratkab.go.id/program-yes-i-do-mampu-menurunkan-angka-pernikah-usia-dini-di-lombok-barat/>.