

The Dysfunction Of Tigo Tungku Sajarangan Local Institutions In Handling Cases Of Early Marriage

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Abstract. *This research is motivated by the large number of data found on early marriage actors in Nagari Pasie Laweh which is caused by the dysfunction of Tigo Tungku Sajarangan which runs less than optimally. This study aims to analyze the dysfunction of the local institution of Tigo Tungku Sajarangan which is less than optimal in dealing with cases of early marriage and the revitalization of the local institution of Tigo Tungku Sajarangan dealing cases early marriage. This research uses structuration theory by Anthony Giddens and social change theory by Wilbert Moore. The approach used is qualitative with the type of case study research. Research informants were determined by purposive sampling technique with the following criteria: Density of Nagari as Ninik Mamak, Syarak Nagari Customary Council as Alim Ulama, Smart Clever, early marriage actors, parents, and society. Data was collected using observation, interviews, and documentation studies. The data validity test includes credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability tests. Analysis of the data using the interactive analysis model of Miles and Huberman. The results showed that the dysfunction of the local institution Tigo Tungku Sajarangan in handling cases of early marriage did not run optimally due to the absence of strict sanctions, giving consent to marriage, lack of social control, propaganda rewards, lack of cooperation, lack of deliberation, and not optimal inculcation of values and norms. . There is a revitalization of the function of the Tigo Tungku Sajarangan local institution that is running less than optimally, namely by being a role model, giving attention, appeals, reorientation, maintaining social unity, and motivating the younger generation.*

Keywords: *Local Institution, Early Marriage, Tigo Tungku Sajarangan*

INTRODUCTION

A local institution is an institution that is contained in the structure and life of local communities (Fadli, 2018:180). Local institutions consist of values and institutions that work together, such as all jorong (village) apparatus, Nagari Adat Density (KAN), and villages or Nagari (Indraddin, 2021:223). In Nagari Pasie Laweh, Lubuk Alung District, Padang Pariaman Regency, there are several local institutions located in Nagari Pasie Laweh, including the Nagari Adat Density (KAN), the Nagari Indigenous Consultative Body (BMA SN), and Cerdik Pandai Nagari.

The local institution of Nagari Adat Density (KAN) in Nagari Pasie Laweh consists of Ninik Mamak. According to Muzzami (Amri, 2021:34), The qualities that Ninik Mamak must possess are Siddiq (true), Tabligh (deliver), Amanah (trustworthy), Fathonah (knowledgeable and intelligent), and finally wise. Matters that are closely related to customs, whether regarding inheritance, the affairs of nephew's children, buying and selling, pawning, marriage, and so on, are taken care of and resolved by the Ninik Mamak who are in an institution of the Nagari Adat Density (KAN).

Furthermore, the Syarak Nagari Customary Deliberation Body in Nagari Pasie Laweh consists of Alim Ulama. The function of the BMASN (Busyro, 2015:84-85) as Alim Ulama, namely providing advice and advice to the community to prevent deviations in the community, instill religious values in society, and play an active role in solving marriage problems that violate religious rules.

Next, Cerdik Pandai Nagari is considered a person who has extensive knowledge, and local wisdom. In essence, scholars do not belong to one clan alone, but belong to the whole community, even though by custom they include the nephew of a prince from a certain tribe. Smart has a function to be able to prevent or anticipate problems that will arise in the Nagari community, be able to solve problems that exist in the community, and can provide solutions according to their knowledge (Amri, 2021:35).

In essence, the function of Tigo Tungku Sajarangan in society is to provide guidance and development of customary values to family members, nephews, and the community. The guidance aims to maintain and preserve customary culture in Minangkabau, provide legal advice to family and community members who are in dispute, provide a legal force on something and prove according to customary law, and be able to resolve cases that occur in the community that involves about customs in Minangkabau (Primary, 2017:3).

However, at this time the function of Tigo Tungku Sajarangan has shifted. Based on research results (Andeska, 2017:173) the shift in the function of Tigo Tungku Sajarangan that occurred, namely Ninik Mamak, who was supposed to guide, no longer cared about his niece. Alim Ulama now only give da'wah if they are paid for, and Cerdik Pandai is already reluctant to give instructions and speak out in issuing their opinions for the benefit of the community.

Meanwhile, based on the findings of researchers in the field, Ninik Mamak function was not optimal in handling cases of early marriage due to several factors, including Ninik Mamak being less assertive in educating perpetrators of early marriage as her niece, still giving marriage approval to underage nephews and lack of social control in handling nephew association.

Meanwhile, the function of the Syarak Nagari Indigenous Consultative Body (BMASN) as Alim Ulama in handling cases of early marriage was less than optimal due to the benefits of da'wah, and lack of cooperation in handling cases of early marriage. Furthermore, the function of Cerdik Pandai Nagari runs less than optimally due to the lack of deliberation in solving problems, and the cultivation of values and norms is less than optimal.

The shift in the function of the Tigo Tungku Sajarangan local institution in society can cause various social problems. One of the problems that occur in today's society is the rise of early marriage. Early marriage is a marriage that is carried out under the age it should be and is not ready and mature to carry out marriage and live a household life (Cahyo, 2019:434).

Based on research data on early marriage that occurred in the community in Nagari Pasie Laweh in the last two years, there were 18 cases with an age range of 16, 17, and 18 years and a low level of education. According to Bimo Walgito (Syalis, 2020:36) At that age, a person has not grown and developed maturely both physically and psychologically or mentally. Therefore, getting married at an early age can cause various consequences that will be experienced by the perpetrators of early marriage.

METHOD

This research is qualitative. The choice of this method is because the phenomenon under study is a case that requires an in-depth descriptive study. Qualitative research is research whose results are not obtained through analysis of numerical or statistical data. Moleong, 2006 in (Prastowo, 2011) explained that qualitative research is research that prioritizes the quality of a study rather than the quantity of a study. One type of qualitative research with a case study approach is carried out by looking closely at individual interpretations of experiences and understanding their meaning from the participant's perspective (Ezmir, 2010). The data collection technique used in this research is to use observation, interviews, and documentation studies to obtain data in the form of primary and secondary data. Research informants were selected using a purposive sampling technique, where the informants were determined by the researchers themselves. In this study, I want to know the dysfunction of the Tigo Tungku Sajarangan Local Institution in handling cases of early marriage by focusing on the location of this research in Nagari Pasie Laweh, Lubuk Alung District, Padang Pariaman Regency.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The study of the Tigo Tungku Sajarangan institution, particularly in its efforts to address cases of early marriage in Nagari Pasie Laweh, Lubuk Alung District, offers valuable insights into the limitations faced by local institutions in maintaining social order within traditional societies. The Tigo Tungku Sajarangan institution, comprising the Nagari Customary Density (Kerapatan Adat Nagari), the Nagari Indigenous Consultative Body (Majelis Permusyawaratan Adat Nagari), and the Cerdik Pandai Nagari, functions as the three pillars of traditional leadership in Minangkabau society. These pillars serve not only as symbolic representations of power and governance but also as active agents in regulating and preserving cultural norms and values, including family and marriage customs.

1. Overview of the Tigo Tungku Sajarangan Institution

Tigo Tungku Sajarangan, literally meaning "three stove legs," is an indigenous leadership system that reflects the interdependence and mutual support of three traditional leaders: the Ninik Mamak (traditional elders), the Alim Ulama (religious scholars), and the Cerdik Pandai (wise individuals). These three elements are fundamental to governance in Minangkabau society, where customary law and lineage dictate leadership and decision-making processes. According to Pritama (2017), these leaders are chosen in accordance with traditional rules and hereditary principles, forming a cohesive unit of governance akin to the three legs of a stove that supports and stabilizes the Nagari, or village community.

Each of these leaders plays a critical role. The Ninik Mamak, representing the adat (customary law), provides cultural guidance and ensures the preservation of Minangkabau customs. The Alim Ulama, representing Islamic principles, ensures that decisions align with religious teachings. Meanwhile, the Cerdik Pandai, known for their wisdom, act as mediators and advisors in various social matters. Together, they are responsible for guiding and protecting the community by maintaining a balance between traditional values, religious teachings, and practical wisdom.

However, the study findings indicate that the Tigo Tungku Sajarangan institution's functions are not fully realized in handling early marriage cases in Nagari Pasie Laweh. Several factors contribute to the dysfunctionality of the institution, including weak sanctions from the Ninik Mamak, passive approval of early marriage practices, a lack of social control, and poor cooperation between the Indigenous Consultative Body and religious authorities.

2. Dysfunction of the Tigo Tungku Sajarangan Institution in Addressing Early Marriage

The first aspect of dysfunction lies in the Nagari Customary Density, led by the Ninik Mamak. While the Ninik Mamak traditionally holds the authority to impose social and customary sanctions on those who violate the norms, this function has not been effectively executed in cases of early marriage. The absence of strict sanctions against early marriage perpetrators reflects a weakening of the institution's authority. Instead of discouraging early marriages, Ninik Mamak often allows the marriages to proceed, even approving of such unions without sufficient consideration of their long-term impact on the individuals involved or the broader community. This lack of accountability weakens the social control mechanism that is vital for maintaining cultural integrity and protecting the welfare of younger generations.

Another critical factor contributing to the institution's dysfunction is the Indigenous Consultative Body's inability to enforce religious rules consistently. This body, which includes religious leaders such as the Alim Ulama, often faces internal obstacles, including the issue of "da'wah rewards." Religious leaders may prioritize preaching or giving advice when rewarded for their services, leading to a disconnect between moral leadership and the practical handling of community issues. Moreover, the lack of collaboration between the Alim Ulama and other local leaders exacerbates the institution's inability to effectively address early marriage. As a result, these factors limit the ability of the Tigo Tungku Sajarangan to mediate early marriage disputes or to influence community behavior on this issue.

3. Early Marriage: Its Causes and Consequences

Early marriage, defined by Indonesian law as a marriage involving individuals under the age of 19 (Rahman, 2015), poses significant social challenges, particularly in rural and traditional communities like Nagari Pasie Laweh. The phenomenon of early marriage is driven by various factors, including economic hardship, lack of education, and social pressures related to out-of-wedlock pregnancies (Musfiroh, 2016). In communities where economic opportunities are limited and educational attainment is low, early marriage is often seen as a practical solution to social problems. Cultural and religious norms may also play a role, with community members accepting early marriages as a way to preserve family honor, particularly in cases of pregnancy.

The consequences of early marriage are far-reaching. Mentally and emotionally, individuals who

marry at a young age may lack the maturity and readiness needed to navigate the complexities of married life. This can lead to increased instances of marital conflict, domestic violence, and eventual divorce. Additionally, early marriage often results in a discontinuation of education, particularly for girls, thereby limiting their future economic prospects and reinforcing cycles of poverty. This outcome is particularly concerning in Nagari Pasié Laweh, where educational attainment is already low, and early marriage further exacerbates social and economic inequalities.

4. Theoretical Framework: Giddens' Structuration Theory

The dysfunction of the Tigo Tungku Sajarangan institution in handling early marriage cases can be analyzed through the lens of Anthony Giddens' structuration theory (Giddens, in Ritzer, 2003). According to Giddens, social structures and human agency are interrelated and cannot be understood in isolation. Structures provide the framework of rules and norms within which individuals operate, while agency refers to the capacity of individuals or groups to act within these structures. In this study, the structure represents the customary and religious rules of the Tigo Tungku Sajarangan institution, while the agency represents the actions of local leaders and community members in addressing early marriage.

The three dimensions of structuration—understanding, morality, and power—are critical to understanding the limitations of the Tigo Tungku Sajarangan institution. The first dimension, understanding, refers to how local leaders interpret and internalize the rules they are supposed to enforce. In this case, the Tigo Tungku Sajarangan leaders demonstrate a shallow understanding of their role in addressing early marriage, resulting in weak enforcement of social and customary sanctions. The leaders' lack of awareness of the broader social consequences of early marriage limits their ability to intervene effectively.

The second dimension, morality, involves the ethical direction that guides actions. The Tigo Tungku Sajarangan leaders have failed to enforce customary rules and sanctions in handling early marriage, often condoning or approving early marriages without considering their negative long-term effects. This moral lapse is evident in the actions of the Ninik Mamak, who continue to approve marriages despite knowing the potential social and psychological consequences.

The third dimension, power, highlights how local leaders utilize their authority to achieve desired outcomes. While the Tigo Tungku Sajarangan institution holds significant cultural and moral authority, its leaders have been unable to effectively wield this power to prevent early marriages. Their power is undermined by internal divisions and a lack of coordination between customary and religious authorities. Consequently, their influence is diminished, leading to the perpetuation of early marriage practices in the community.

5. Implications and Conclusion

The findings of this study have important implications for addressing early marriage in Nagari Pasié Laweh and similar communities. Local institutions like the Tigo Tungku Sajarangan play a pivotal role in maintaining social order and preserving cultural values, but their effectiveness depends on their ability to adapt to changing social conditions and to enforce rules in a way that benefits the community. The dysfunction of the Tigo Tungku Sajarangan institution in handling early marriage is a reflection of broader challenges facing traditional leadership structures in contemporary society, where customary norms and religious principles often clash with modern legal frameworks and social expectations.

To address these challenges, it is essential for local institutions to strengthen their understanding of the social and psychological impact of early marriage and to collaborate more effectively with government authorities, educational institutions, and civil society organizations. This will ensure that traditional leadership structures remain relevant and capable of addressing contemporary social issues. Additionally, empowering local leaders through education and training programs on the consequences of early marriage could improve their ability to intervene and provide meaningful guidance to the community.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, the Tigo Tungku Sajarangan institution's limited success in addressing early marriage in Nagari Pasié Laweh is rooted in weak enforcement of customary sanctions, inadequate cooperation between religious and customary leaders, and a shallow understanding of the social consequences of early marriage. By applying Giddens' structuration theory, we can see how these local institutions' structures and agents interact, often resulting in unintended consequences. To improve their effectiveness, local institutions must adapt to contemporary challenges, enhance their understanding of social issues, and work collaboratively to uphold their roles as custodians of

tradition and moral authority.

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