

## MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE IN MOJOLAMA\*

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Very few studies have been made of marriage and divorce in Javanese communities, and there is a paucity especially of quantitative information on various aspects of this subject. Little is known in detail about such important aspects as parental arrangement of marriage, frequency of and reasons for divorce, and differences in behavior amongst various socio-economic groups with regard to marriage and divorce. Government statistics present very little information on the subject. Annual statistics only give data on registration of marriage and divorce amongst the Islamic community, and there is little additional information on marriage and divorce covering all of Java.<sup>1</sup> Hildred Geertz's study of the Javanese family is a major source of information but its observations are based on field work in only one East Javanese town, and the study includes little quantitative data.<sup>2</sup> Other anthropological works have given much more attention to the ceremonial aspects of marriage and most of these studies only summarily draw attention to the social and economic aspects of marriage and divorce.<sup>3</sup>

This article attempts to fill some of these gaps through a detailed examination of various aspects of marriage and divorce in one rural community near Yogyakarta. The field work on which the paper is based was carried out as part of a larger family planning and fertility survey in the village of Mojolama in the kabupaten of Bantul about 17

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\* The authors wish to especially thank Nancy Kuskie for her help in the computer analysis of our quantitative data, and Budi Sumarsih and Supardjan for their assistance in helping us develop many of the points made in this paper. We are also grateful to several research assistants from Gadjah Mada University who helped us at various stages of data collection and analysis, and to Terry and Valery Hull, Peter and Lexi McCawley, Peter McDonald, Niels Mulder and David Penny for their comments on an earlier draft of the paper.

1. See Biro Pusat Statistik (BPS), Statistical Pocketbook of Indonesia 1968-69 (Jakarta: BPS, 1971), p. 42. Also The National Social Economic Survey includes data on age at first marriage, see "Kelahiran/Kematian Penduduk dan Kesuburan - Ibu," in Survey Sosial Ekonomi Nasional (Jakarta: BPS, 1968).
2. Hildred Geertz, The Javanese Family (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961).
3. See, for example, Koentjaraningrat, "Tjelapar: A Village in South Central Java," in his Villages in Indonesia (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), pp. 256-58; Andrea Wilcox Palmer, "Situradja: A Village in Highlands Priangan," in ibid., p. 314. One exception is Pandam Guritno's "Beberapa Data mengenai Perkawinan di Desa Marangan, Djawa Tengan," Sosiografi Indonesia, 1 (1959), pp. 59-75, which describes the background to and reasons for divorce in one small community. The same data is presented and written up slightly differently in his thesis entitled "A Cross Cultural Study of Divorce: With Special Reference to a Javanese Village in Jogjakarta, Indonesia" (Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University, 1964).

miles south of Yogyakarta.<sup>4</sup> The data is of interest since it covers a wider sample (772 women and 554 men) than is generally investigated in anthropological studies. Since the survey was a census of all ever-married women in the village it provides a relatively comprehensive picture of certain aspects of marriage in Mojolama. Moreover, an attempt has been made to cover a much wider range of issues than is generally dealt with in most quantitative family planning and fertility studies.<sup>5</sup>

The study indicates some interesting differences with results obtained in both anthropological and other quantitative works. Thus we find in Mojolama that a high proportion of women still marry prior to their first menstruation, that there is little evidence of a trend towards later age at first marriage, and that conflicts over place of residence and "religious" beliefs play an important role in divorce. We also discover some new aspects of marriage that have not been mentioned in other studies--especially the high proportion of unconsummated marriages and the existence of de facto marriage or "consensus unions." It is hoped that these findings will help provide direction to other quantitative studies, and also encourage more anthropological and sociological research into the causes and consequences of some of these very important aspects of family life in Java.

#### Arrangement of Marriage and Age at First Marriage

As in other areas of Java a large proportion of marriages in Mojolama are formed at the wish of parents.<sup>6</sup> Almost 80 percent of first marriages were arranged by parents and, despite the greater independence which females generally acquire after their first marriage, the share of arranged marriages remains high for subsequent second, third and fourth marriages (see Table 1). The dominant role that parents play in the formation of marriage is a major factor contributing to the early age at which girls marry and the instability of marriage. Despite the ornate wedding ceremonies, both daughter and parent are well aware that the marriage may well end in divorce. Low expectations concerning the possible outcome of marriage are well illustrated by a grandfather's response to his granddaughter's refusal to marry the

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4. Mojolama is an abbreviation for Mojohuro Lama, one of the three old kelurahan which have been combined into the kelurahan of Sriharjo. Some earlier publications based on the same sample have referred to Mojohuro Lama as Sriharjo, but as further research is at present being undertaken in other areas of Sriharjo, we have been more specific here in naming the survey area.
  5. The most detailed is that of H. Gille and R. H. Pardoko, "A Family Life Study in East Java: Preliminary Findings," in B. Berelson, et al. (eds.), Family Planning and Population Programs (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1966), pp. 503-21. Other quantitative studies include: Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association (IPPA), Draft Report of the KAP Survey (Jakarta: IPPA, 1968); Social Research Center (Department of Social Affairs), Fertility Levels of Women from a Variety of Personal, Social, Economic and Educational Conditions (Yogyakarta: Social Research Center, 1971); Fakultas Ekonomi dan Fakultas Sosial Politik, Universitas Diponegoro, Penelitian Fertilitas 1971 Kotamadya Semarang (Semarang: Universitas Diponegoro, 1971); and J. E. Ismael, "Keadaan Penduduk di Duapuluhtiga Desa di Djawa," Ekonomi, II, No. 3 (September, 1960), pp. 197-223.
  6. See, for example, Hildred Geertz, The Javanese Family, pp. 54-57, and Koentjaraningrat, "Tjelapar," p. 256.

Table 1  
Arrangement of Marriage in Mojolama (Women)

	Marriage Due to the Wish of			Total
	Parents	Self	Other*	
1st marriage (n = 772)	78.5%	17.2%	4.3%	100%
2nd marriage (n = 255)	57.5	36.6	5.9	100
3rd marriage (n = 118)	46.2	48.7	5.1	100
4th-6th marriage (n = 33)	36.4	63.6	-	100
All marriages	68.6%	26.8%	4.6%	100%

\* Most of these arranged by other family members--almost half by brothers or sisters and 20 percent by uncles and aunts. A small proportion (approximately 15 percent) were arranged by non-relatives.

man chosen by her family: "If you don't like him you can always get divorced." The stability of their daughter's marriage is much less important to parents than the execution of social obligations and expression of social status.<sup>7</sup>

Younger women in Mojolama show a greater tendency to choose their own husbands, but even amongst the youngest age group over 60 percent of marriages were arranged (see Table 2).<sup>8</sup>

Table 2  
Arrangement of First Marriage and Current Age

Current Age	Marriage Due to the Wish of		
	Parents	Self	Total
15-24	60.5%	39.5%	100%
25-34	76.7	23.3	100
35-44	84.8	15.2	100
45 and over	90.1	9.9	100
All women	82.0%	18.0%	100%

Moreover Hildred Geertz's general observation that "young couples more and more meet at school, and marry on the basis of considerably longer acquaintance," is not strongly supported by our findings in Mojolama.<sup>9</sup>

7. In this respect the attitudes of parents in Mojolama are similar to Hildred Geertz's findings in Modjokuto. See Hildred Geertz, The Javanese Family, p. 59.
8. Thus the situation in Mojolama differs from Marangan where a majority of women under the age of thirty choose their own husbands. See Pandam Guritno, "Beberapa Data," p. 61.
9. Hildred Geertz, The Javanese Family, p. 57.

Except amongst the very small number of women entering senior high school, the large majority of more educated women accepted their family's choice of a husband (see Table 3).<sup>10</sup>

Table 3  
Arrangement of First Marriage and Education of Wife

Number of Years of Education	Marriage Due to the Wish of			
	Parents	Self	Other	Total
0 (n = 574)	80.7%	14.6%	4.7%	100%
1-3 (n = 83)	79.5	16.7	3.8	100
4-6 (n = 90)	74.4	23.3	2.3	100
7-9 (n = 16)	75.0	25.0	-	100
10 and over (n = 9)	33.3	66.7	-	100
All women (n = 772)	78.5%	17.2%	4.3%	100%

Many women in Mojolama married at very young ages, and marriage appears to be closely related to the dominant parental role in the choice of a marriage partner. As Hildred Geertz found in Modjokuto parents are ashamed (*isin*) at having not found a match for their fully-grown daughters, and fearful lest they be humiliated by their daughters' promiscuity.<sup>11</sup> Thus in Mojolama 140 women (18 percent) married before the age of fifteen and 176 (23 percent) reported that they had married before their first menstruation.<sup>12</sup> Ninety-one percent of these early marriages were arranged by parents (see Table 4).

Yet despite the early age of these marriages, women in Mojolama tended on average to marry later than in some other Javanese communities. The average age at first marriage was slightly over 17, almost two years older than for women in some villages studied by Gille and Pardoko in East Java in 1961.<sup>13</sup> Fewer women married before the age of fifteen in Mojolama than in Semarang or Surabaya, and a significantly

10. In part the substantial difference between those educated at senior high school and other women in the village might be explained by the location of the senior high schools at the provincial and kabupatèn capitals. Women entering junior high school must also leave the village to go to school at nearby Imogiri but this is a much smaller center and only 3 kilometers from Mojolama. In Bantul and Yogyakarta students come in contact with classmates from a much wider geographical area.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 56, 70.
12. Our findings that a significant proportion of women are married prior to their first menstruation do not concur with the general observations of either Mely Tan or Hildred Geertz. Thus Mely Tan suggests that a woman "becomes marriageable as soon as she starts menstruating," and Hildred Geertz implies that marriages in Java are generally arranged after a girl's first menstruation. See Mely Tan, "The Social and Cultural Context of Family Planning in Indonesia" (Paper prepared for the Vth Asian Congress of Obstetrics and Gynaecology, Jakarta, 1971), p. 11, and Hildred Geertz, *The Javanese Family*, p. 56.
13. Gille and Pardoko, "Family Life Study," p. 512.

Table 4  
Type of Marriage Arrangement and Age at First Marriage (Women)

Age at First Marriage	First Marriage Due to the Wish of			
	Parents	Self	Other	Total
Less than 15 years (n = 140)	90.7%	7.2%	2.1%	100%
15-17 (n = 295)	82.7	14.3	3.0	100
18-20 (n = 222)	71.6	22.1	6.3	100
21 and over (n = 115)	66.1	27.8	6.1	100
Total (n = 772)	78.5%	17.2%	4.3%	100%

Table 5  
Age at First Marriage in Mojolama and Some Other  
Javanese Communities (Women)

Age at First Marriage	Rural		Urban		
	Mojolama (n = 772)	East Java <sup>1</sup> (n = 1225)	Surabaya <sup>2</sup> (n = 444)	Surabaya <sup>2</sup> (n = 2664)	Semarang <sup>3</sup> (n = 1598)
10-14	18.1%	33.9%	29.3%	20.4%	19.3%
15-19	58.0	54.3	60.1	58.3	52.3
20-24	20.9	11.8	9.0	16.4	22.6
25 and over	3.0	-	1.6	4.9	5.8
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Sources: <sup>1</sup> Gille and Pardoko, "Family Life Study," p. 512.

<sup>2</sup> R. H. Pardoko and Soeroso Z, Fertility of Indonesian Women in Surabaya Municipality (Surabaya: Lembaga Kesehatan Nasional Surabaya, 1971), p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Fakultas Ekonomi dan Fakultas Sosial Politik, Universitas Diponegoro, Penelitian Fertilitas, p. 6.

higher proportion married at twenty or over compared with women in Surabaya (see Table 5).<sup>14</sup>

There is little evidence of a significant trend towards later marriages in Mojolama and this suggests that the age at first marriage is unlikely to increase much in the future. Thus Table 6 shows that although amongst women aged 25 years and over fewer of the younger women married earlier and more married at 21 or over (almost 20 percent of those aged 25-34), the mean age at marriage does not fall significantly

14. Men, too, tended to marry later in Mojolama than in villages in East Java or in Jakarta. Ibid., p. 512, and IPPA, Draft Report, p. 29. As might be expected women marry at much lower ages than men in Mojolama. Men on average married over six years later than women, and only nine percent of women were the same age or older than their husbands when they married.

Table 6  
Current Age of Female Respondents and Age at First Marriage

Age at First Marriage	Age of Respondent					Total (n = 772)
	15-24 (n = 80)	25-34 (n = 209)	35-44 (n = 208)	45-54 (n = 117)	55 and over (n = 158)	
Less than 15	11.3%	15.8%	19.7%	19.7%	21.5%	18.1%
15-17	52.4	27.4	41.8	36.7	41.8	38.2
18-20	31.3	37.2	22.1	32.5	22.1	28.8
21 and over	5.0	19.6	16.4	11.1	14.6	14.9
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Average (years)	17.1	17.8	17.1	17.1	17.3	17.4

amongst the older women.<sup>15</sup> Moreover women on average hoped that their daughters would marry at only eight months later than their own age at first marriage.<sup>16</sup> Even women who married late in Mojolama hoped that their daughters would marry at ages close to the average age at marriage of currently married women and considerably younger than they themselves had married. Thus Table 7 shows that 61 percent of women who married at 21 and over wished their daughters to marry between the ages of 15 and 20, and over a quarter of these hoped that their daughters would marry at 15.

Table 7  
Age at First Marriage and Ages at Which Women  
Desire Their Daughters to Marry

Desired Age for Daughter to Marry	Age at First Marriage			Total
	Less than 15 (n = 140)	15-20 (n = 517)	21 and over (n = 115)	
Less than 15	6.4%	3.2%	3.5%	3.9%
15-20	73.6	68.7	60.9	68.4
15	23.6%	22.1%	15.7%	21.5%
16-19	24.3	23.6	21.7	23.4
20	25.7	23.0	23.5	23.5
21 and over	6.4	6.4	10.4	7.0
Subtotal	86.4	78.3	74.8	79.1
Other*	13.6	21.7	25.2	20.9
	100%	100%	100%	100%

\* Other includes "don't know" (62 respondents), those preferring their daughters to marry after first menstruation (18 respondents) and various other replies.

15. The relatively low age at marriage amongst the youngest age group (15-24) is in part explained by the fact that, particularly amongst women aged 15-19, many of those who had not yet married were not included in the sample.
16. The age at which women desire their daughters to marry is considered by demographers as an important indicator of future changes in age at marriage. Thus

Unlike women surveyed in Jakarta, better-educated women in Mojolama did not marry significantly later nor did they show a preference for their daughters to marry later than the less-educated women in the village.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, those women whose families owned more land and had a higher economic status showed only a very slight tendency to marry later.

### Divorce and Remarriage

Similar to findings in other areas of Java, Mojolama marriages are highly unstable. Over 50 percent of all marriages have been dissolved and 37 percent of these due to divorce (see Table 8). The incidence of divorce is highest for first marriages (42 percent) but it is above 25 percent even for second, third and fourth marriages.<sup>18</sup> The rate of divorce was highest amongst older women. Thus 49 percent of women aged 45 or over have been divorced at least once, while slightly under 25 percent of the youngest age group (15-24) had obtained a divorce.

Table 8  
Type of Dissolution of Marriage

	Divorce	Death of Husband	Other	Marriage Not Dissolved	Total	
					Frequency	Percentage
1st marriage	41.7%	15.2%	1.3%	41.8%	772	100%
2nd marriage	32.3	18.3	0.6	48.8	356	100
3rd marriage	25.2	22.7	1.7	50.4	119	100
4th marriage	33.3	14.6	-	51.9	27	100
5th marriage	20.0	-	-	80.0	5	100
All marriages	37.3%	16.7%	1.1%	44.9%	1279	100%

The rate of divorce is highest amongst arranged marriages, those who marry early and the less-educated women (see Table 9). But it is also high for other socio-economic groups in Mojolama. Thus 31 percent of women who chose their own first marriage partners, and 41 percent of women marrying after they had turned 21 were divorced from their first marriages. Since most women with little or no education were generally older it is understandable that divorce rates should be

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based on the findings of Gille and Pardoko and IPPA concerning desired age at first marriage Mely Tan concludes for Java generally that "there is indeed some indication that age at marriage will increase" ("The Social and Cultural Context," p. 11). Our data provides only weak support for Mely Tan's statement.

17. IPPA, Draft Report, pp. 28, 48. Differences with the findings of the Jakarta KAP Survey are partly explained by the higher level of schooling of the Jakarta sample: 16 percent of the Jakarta women had reached secondary school, including 7 percent entering senior high school. It was only amongst the group with secondary schooling that women married later in Mojolama: almost one-third of this group married at 21 or over.
18. The divorce rate referred to here is the percentage of divorces from marriages entered into by the sample population.

Table 9  
Divorce Amongst First Marriages Related to Type of Marriage  
Arrangement, Age at First Marriage and Educational Status

	Percentage of First Marriages Ending in Divorce*
1. Marriage due to the wish of	
Parents	44.6%
Self	30.8
Other	25.6
2. Age at first marriage	
15 years	55.7
15-20 years	38.5
over 20 years	39.1
3. Years of education	
0	45.6
1-3	41.5
4-6	23.1
7 and over	20.0

\* Percentages refer to the proportion of those divorced in each class and thus do not sum to a hundred. Thus for example 20 percent of divorces amongst those with 7 years schooling or more is the divorce rate within that particular category, not the percentage of all divorces coming from those with 7 or more years schooling.

higher amongst these groups. But even 20 percent of those women with 7 or more years education were divorced from 20 percent of first marriages.<sup>19</sup>

Values and cultural patterns--the short courtship period, the relative ease of obtaining divorce and of remarrying, and the absence of social stigma surrounding divorce--all help to explain the high divorce rate in Mojolama.<sup>20</sup> The importance of some of these factors is illustrated in some of the reasons that the women themselves gave for divorce (see Table 10). It is instructive that "dislike" of husband (*ora seneng--tidak suka*) was the most frequently quoted reason for divorce.<sup>21</sup> In many cases *ora seneng* reflected the woman's unfamil-

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19. Although women with senior high school education had generally only been married for a short period of time, it is nevertheless revealing that none of these women had been divorced from their first marriages.
  20. Hildred Geertz develops some of these points in her *The Javanese Family*. See especially pp. 69-73 and pp. 137-44. Unlike Pandam Guritno who classified most of the reasons for divorce in Marangan as "economic" we found that economic factors did not play a major role in divorce in Mojolama. See his thesis, "A Cross Cultural Study," p. 80.
  21. Of the four most important reasons which Hildred Geertz gives for divorce within the Javanese family only two (dislike and husband's disloyalty) were important to Mojolama women. Whereas marital infidelity was the most common reason for



Table 10  
Reasons for Divorce of Marriage in Mojolama (Women)

Reason for Divorce	1st Marriage Freq.	2nd Marriage Freq.	3rd-5th Marriage Freq.	All Marriages	
				Freq.	%
Dislike	102	26	5	133	27.0%
Husband's infidelity	41	27	15	83	16.9
Conflict over place of residence	48	11	6	65	13.2
Religious beliefs	41	16	2	59	12.0
Economic neglect	21	7	4	32	6.5
Parental conflict	19	4	-	23	4.7
Gambling	14	5	1	20	4.1
Desertion	11*	6†	2‡	19	3.9
Quarreling	7	2	1	10	2.0
Other	28	14	6	48	9.7
Total	332	118	42	492§	100.0%

\* Includes 5 whose husbands have deserted them without divorce.

† Includes 2 whose husbands have deserted them without divorce.

‡ Includes 1 whose husband has deserted her without divorce.

§ Includes 5 women whose husbands were taken for forced labor by the Japanese and 8 whose husbands have deserted them without divorce.

ilarity with her husband prior to marriage and almost 70 percent of women that gave this answer never consummated their first marriage. In some cases ora seneng covered a wide range of feelings and was not easy to explain. But in others it was very specific. One outstanding example was a woman who discovered only on her wedding day that her husband was lame.

Male infidelity was given as the second most important reason for divorce, but infidelity alone was seldom the basis on which women pressed for divorce in Mojolama. Despite the existence of the principle that a woman has exclusive sexual access to her husband it is also commonly accepted that men "play around" with other women or *jajan* (literally, "to snack") from time to time.<sup>22</sup> Older women with larger families are more prepared to accept *jajan* or even the affairs of their husbands than to demand a divorce and thus jeopardize the upbringing of their children. Moreover, in Mojolama there is a strong belief that a woman should not have intercourse after she reaches menopause, and a majority of women believed that it did not matter whether their husband

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divorce in Modjokuto, infidelity was much less important than ora seneng in Mojolama. The two other reasons for divorce in Modjokuto, economic neglect and conflict with relatives, were of minor importance in Mojolama. Hildred Geertz, *The Javanese Family*, pp. 139-42.

22. Several of these points concerning infidelity are more fully explained by Hildred Geertz in her study of Modjokuto, *ibid.*, pp. 128-40. However, she places more emphasis on the principle of sexual exclusiveness in marriage, and overt manifestations of jealousy arising out of conflict between exclusiveness and a permissive social environment, than appeared to be the case in Mojolama.

had sexual intercourse with other women if their wife no longer desired more children.<sup>23</sup> A small proportion of women even agreed with their husband having an affair with another woman. Table 11 indicates these attitudes were prevalent amongst all groups of women, although younger women with more schooling--particularly those with high school education--were less inclined to accept their husbands' promiscuity.

Table 11  
Education Levels and Women's Attitudes  
Towards Their Husbands' Promiscuity\*

Wife's Attitude to Husband's Promiscuity	Years of Schooling				All Women (n = 772)
	0 (n = 574)	1-3 (n = 83)	4-6 (n = 90)	7 & over (n = 25)	
Doesn't matter	67.9%	61.9%	52.3%	42.3%	64.7%
Don't know	5.6	7.1	18.9	11.5	7.5
Agree	6.7	3.8	4.4	-	5.8
Other	5.8	1.0	4.4	7.7	5.1
Angry	14.0	26.2	20.0	38.5	16.9
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\* These attitudes were revealed in the respondents' answers to the question "Supposing you don't want any more children, how would you feel about your husband having sexual intercourse with another woman?"

In cases where promiscuity involved social embarrassment or economic hardship, it became an important reason for divorce in Mojolama. The attitude of one woman indicates women's strong aversion to public knowledge of their husbands' unfaithfulness: "I don't mind if my husband has an affair as long as it is a woman from another village." Several women obtained divorces due to the overt nature of their husbands' promiscuity, and several others because their husbands' jajan or affairs caused economic hardship. In the latter cases the husband was often generally irresponsible or *royal* (indulgent) in economic affairs and in his relationships with other women.<sup>24</sup>

Conflict over place of residence was also a major reason for divorce in Mojolama. This illustrates well the casualness with which many Mojolama families approach crucial practical aspects of marriage. Unlike some other Indonesian communities, place of residence is frequently not decided before marriage in Mojolama. Few of the newly-weds were financially capable of setting up independent households, and thus had to decide between the opposing pulls of their parents in choosing a place of residence. A common solution in the early months of

23. Almost 60 percent of Mojolama women believed that a woman should not have intercourse after menopause and almost one-third of these for health reasons.
24. In Mojolama we found little support for Pandam Guritno's observations that the proximity of a sugar estate or disruption during the war and revolution were major factors behind the high level of promiscuity, "Beberapa Data," pp. 66-67.

marriage is for the wife and husband to live with their respective parents and to sleep together from time to time. *Ngalor-ngidul* (meaning literally "going north and south") is a well-known Javanese expression for a marital relationship under such conditions. If neither husband or wife are prepared to move to their in-laws' house this period of temporary separation frequently becomes permanent. In such cases of divorce over 50 percent of women never consummated their marriages.

Religious reasons for divorce refer to cases where on the advice of the *dukun* (priest, shaman) the couple divorce because they are not suited to one another (*jodo* or *cocog*).<sup>25</sup> Prior to marriage considerable effort is made--through the matching of names, birth dates, etc.--to ensure that the couple are *cocog*. But forces unseen at the time of marriage may rule otherwise.<sup>26</sup> Separation may only be temporary and the couple marry again, but it is frequently permanent. Fundamental incompatibility or the work of evil spirits are generally manifested in very practical ways: through frequent sickness, inability to have children and in one case a husband falling twice from a coconut tree.

The casual and temporary nature of many first marriages is especially indicated by the short duration of marriages that ended in divorce. Twenty percent of divorces from first marriages occurred within the first year of marriage, over 40 percent within two years and over two-thirds within four years. Seventy-five percent of these marriages produced no children and 131 (40.7 percent) were never consummated.

There is little stigma attached to divorce in Mojolama, and remarriage is relatively easy. A large majority of women remarried following divorce, and most remarried within a short time-span. Just under 80 percent of all divorcees had remarried at the time of the survey: 57 percent obtained husbands within two years of the breakup of their first marriage and over 80 percent within four years.<sup>27</sup> The frequency of marriage was considerably higher in Mojolama than amongst communities studied in Semarang, Yogyakarta, and Surabaya (see Table 12). In part these differences reflect the older age composition of the Mojolama sample, but the differences are considerable even for the 15-44 age group and indicate a probable higher incidence of divorce than in these other areas.

A small number of divorcees lived together outside marriage (*kumpul kebo*, "consensus unions" or literally "marriage between buffaloes").<sup>28</sup> Although there are strong social taboos discouraging

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25. Hildred Geertz explains at some length the concept of *cocog*, The Javanese Family, pp. 142-43, but makes no reference to the crucial role that the *dukun* plays in deciding divorces.
  26. In Mojolama divorce is often the solution provided by the belief-system. This differs from Karo, for example, where metaphysical prescriptions are always simpler and less socially disruptive. But the absolute concept of *cocog* is not important amongst the Karo.
  27. The time-lapse between divorce and remarriage was longer in Mojolama than Hildred Geertz found for Modjokuto; thus 31 percent of women remarried within one year of their first divorce in Mojolama as against 42 percent marrying within the same period after all divorces in Modjokuto. The Javanese Family, p. 73.
  28. These points on *kumpul kebo* are based on interviews with *kumpul kebo* couples in mid-1973.

Table 12  
Frequency of Marriage in Mojolama and Other Javanese Communities

Frequency of Marriage	Mojolama		Surabaya <sup>1</sup> (n = 3108)	Semarang <sup>2</sup> (n = 1598)	Yogyakarta <sup>3</sup> (n = 1500)
	Total Sample (n = 772)	Women Aged 15-44 (n = 497)			
Once	53.9%	60.1%	72.8%	74.0%	82.1%
Twice	30.7	28.0	18.3	19.6	16.7
3 times and over	15.4	11.9	8.9	6.4	1.2
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Sources: <sup>1</sup> Pardoko and Suroso, Fertility of Indonesian Women, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Fakultas Ekonomi dan Fakultas Sosial Politik, Universitas Diponegoro, Penelitian Fertilitas, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Social Research Center, Fertility Levels, p. 33.

previously unmarried partners from living together there is little a-priori ill feeling towards kumpul kebo matches. In part this is because most of those practicing kumpul kebo had obtained divorces on the advice of the dukun and either never physically separated or did so only for a short period of time: nine of the thirteen kumpul kebo matches were between previous husbands and wives and seven of these had obtained divorces on the advice of the dukun.<sup>29</sup> They thus felt they had never been separated in any real sense and thought it unnecessary and indeed improper to remarry. Only four women practicing kumpul kebo were not living with their former husbands, and three of these had not remarried because they had been left by their husbands (*pisah kebo*) without being granted a divorce.<sup>30</sup>

There is little perceptible difference in the divorce rate and frequency of marriage amongst different economic groups. However, there appears to be a strong tendency amongst the better-off families towards earlier marriage. Thus more women in families with a higher index of economic status, and owning more land, tended to marry at younger ages than other economic groups (see Table 13).<sup>31</sup>

But age at first marriage, type of marriage arrangement and amount of schooling help to explain the frequency of marriage, the number of children produced by broken marriages, and the failure to consummate

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29. In all cases the dukun advised divorce either because of frequent death of children in the family, or because of the husband's illness.
30. It is not known how widely kumpul kebo is practiced in other areas of Java. Terry and Valery Hull in their fertility and family planning study in 1972-73 found a number of cases of kumpul kebo in Maguwoharjo near Yogyakarta (personal communication, findings from this study have not yet been published). But kumpul kebo is not mentioned in other anthropological works.
31. In part the younger age composition amongst the poorer land-owning class was a contributory factor influencing earlier age at marriage but this was not true of those with a low index of economic status.

Table 13  
Age at First Marriage by Index of Economic Status, Area of Land Owned

Economic Status	Age at First Marriage				All Ages
	Less than 15	15-17	18-20	21 and over	
Index of economic status*					
0-5	11.8%	40.5%	30.0%	17.7%	100.0%
6-11	17.6	34.5	35.1	12.8	100.0
12-17	18.0	36.4	30.5	15.1	100.0
18 and over	32.3	48.4	19.3	-	100.0
Area of land owned (m <sup>2</sup> )					
0	11.5	40.6	29.5	18.4	100.0
1000	13.3	26.0	35.1	15.6	100.0
1000-4000	23.3	37.3	25.4	14.0	100.0
4000 and over	33.8	41.6	20.0	4.6	100.0

\* This index is compiled from the value of houses and other selected capital goods owned, and the number of months a year the family ate rice.

marriage. Thus those women that married more frequently were generally those with little or no education or women who married early (see Tables 14 and 15). In almost every age group women with more education married less frequently. And by far the highest proportion of unconsummated marriages were experienced amongst the early marriers (over 37 percent of all women marrying before they turned fifteen did not consummate their marriages), women with less education and those whose marriages were arranged (see Table 16).

### Conclusions

Our findings in Mojolama do not significantly contradict the other few writings on marriage and divorce in Java. But we have found some important differences with the findings of some of these other studies, and the survey also throws some light on some new aspects of marriage in Java. In general we conclude that although there are many cultural values and customs concerning marriage that are similar in Mojolama and other areas of Java, there are also important variations between

Table 14  
Percentages of Women Marrying More than Once in  
Different Educational and Age Groupings

Education of Wife (Years)	Age of Wife			
	Less than 25	25-34	35-44	45 and over
0	40.0%	40.0%	53.5%	57.6%
1-3	30.0	37.1	50.0	55.6
4-6	14.3	23.7	22.2	50.0*
7 and over	7.7	27.3	-	-
All women	20.0%	36.9%	51.4%	57.5%

\* Only one respondent.

Table 15  
Age at First Marriage and Frequency of Marriage in Mojolama

Frequency of Marriage	Age at First Marriage				Total (n = 772)
	Less than 15 (n = 140)	15-17 (n = 295)	18-20 (n = 222)	21 and over (n = 115)	
Once	37.9%	48.8%	64.4%	66.1%	53.9%
2 times	38.6	34.6	23.4	25.2	30.7
3 times	14.3	13.6	10.8	7.0	11.9
4 times and over	9.2	3.0	1.4	1.7	3.5
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 16  
Age at First Marriage, Marriage Arrangement and Delay in Consummation of Marriage (Women)

Marriage Due to the Will of/ Arrangement of Marriage	Delay in Consummation of Marriage				
	No Delay	0-2 Years	2 Years and Over	Not Consummated	
Arrangement of marriage					
Parents	62.7%	8.1%	7.5%	21.7%	100%
Self	92.5	5.3	1.5	0.7	100
Other	57.6	9.1	6.0	27.3	100
Age at first marriage					
Less than 15	26.6	13.6	22.3	37.5	100
15-17	67.8	9.8	5.8	16.6	100
18-20	84.0	5.0	0.5	10.5	100
21 and over	85.2	-	-	14.8	100
All women	67.6%	7.7%	6.4%	18.3%	100%

regions. Generalizations from specific micro-studies to Java as a whole are frequently incorrect.

A major part of our survey aimed at looking for differences between various socio-economic groups within Mojolama. There was little difference in educational and economic status amongst most women in Mojolama. Most belonged to families of poor Javanese peasants with no schooling and a low degree of economic and social mobility.<sup>32</sup> But even women in the relatively more prosperous families who owned more land and had a relatively high index of economic status differed little

32. Thus for example the majority of land owners had holdings of less than 0.1 hectares, and over 90 percent had less than 0.4 hectares. Over 90 percent of the women and 85 percent of the men had never been outside the village for a period of three months or more. For a more comprehensive analysis of economic conditions in Mojolama see D. H. Penny and Masri Singarimbun, Population and Poverty in Rural Java: Some Economic Arithmetic from Sriharjo (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, [in print]).

from the rest of the sample with regard to various aspects of marriage and divorce.<sup>33</sup> They in fact married earlier and showed a slight tendency to both marry and divorce more frequently than the less prosperous majority. Nor were those with primary or even junior secondary education significantly different from the majority of non-educated women. Only the small number of women who traveled some distance from Mojolama to go to senior high school deviated substantially from the common pattern of marriage and divorce in Mojolama.

Thus local traditional values concerning marriage and divorce exerted a powerful influence on almost all socio-economic groups in the village. In particular the dominant parental role in the arrangement of most marriages was a major force in deciding when and with whom especially younger women married. Fulfillment of parental social obligations and the validation of social status is the *raison d'etre* for many marriages, and little initiative is taken by the prospective husband and wife. But even amongst those who are left free to choose their own marriage partner, strong social pressures encourage early marriage, and there is little emphasis on finding a partner who is *jodo* in the sense of contributing to a stable and happy marriage.

Thus it is not surprising that a very high level of divorce--perhaps the most interesting and socially significant aspect of marriage in Java--was an important aspect of family life in Mojolama. Factors mentioned above with other facilitating forces and few opposing forces help explain the very high divorce rates.<sup>34</sup> In deciding the outcome of marriage, the belief-system plays a very important role with far-reaching social and economic consequences. Once a match has been declared *ora jodo* it has little chance of surviving. But most divorcees quickly find another partner. Marriages are easily made and easily broken in Mojolama.

But the central parental role in the formation of marriages and the high rate of divorce are not without considerable economic and psychological cost in Mojolama. It costs even the poorest families around Rp. 5000 (approximately two months' subsistence wages and six months' work tapping coconut trees) to marry their sons and much more to marry their daughters. It is not surprising, therefore, that marriage ceremonies are frequently only made possible by the sale or pawning of scarce capital goods and indebtedness. This cost is incurred despite the high probability that within a few months the marriage will have ended in divorce.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, the high proportion of unconsummated marriages and the large numbers of women who seek a divorce because from the day of their marriage they are not attracted

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33. The "index of economic status" was calculated from the value of houses and other capital goods owned, and from the number of months in which families eat rice a year.

34. See Hildred Geertz, The Javanese Family, p. 144.

35. Divorce, too, is not cheap by economic standards in Mojolama. Talak (divorce action initiated by the husband) is the most frequent means of divorce and costs over Rp. 900 in 1973. Rapak (divorce action initiated by the wife) is even more expensive. Officially, divorce by rapak costs Rp. 1050, though one respondent paid Rp. 2500 to obtain a divorce by rapak in Mojolama in 1971. Both complicated administration and the high cost of rapak were the major reasons discouraging women whose marital status was pisah kebo from obtaining a divorce.

to their husbands, produce considerable emotional conflict between husband and wife and tensions between their respective families. Frequent divorce and remarriage are important manifestations of conflict within Mojolama families and the village society at large.