

How do Indonesians Perceive Marriage? Semantics Analysis of Marriage as a Concept and Its Relation with the Well-being

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Keywords: Marriage, Concept, Semantics, Well-being, Relationship Satisfaction.

Abstract: In Indonesia, being married is considered a desirable social status and associated with well-being. However, there is a lack of research on marriage as a concept in Indonesia's context. This study aims to explain how Indonesians perceive marriage and how it differs from Western cultures. A total of 388 Indonesian adults generated the meaning of marriage using a feature generation task (i.e., What is marriage according to you?). Their well-being levels (happiness, satisfaction with life and with relationship) and demographics were also collected to see whether a marriage was perceived differently based on these data. Descriptive analysis was employed. The generated features were coded, counted, and classified based on participants' well-being levels in the three scales (happiness, life satisfaction, and relationship satisfaction). In general, marriage was perceived uniformly and primarily as 'the union of two parties, along with 'involves commitment', 'is a state and religion legal bond', and 'involves love', regardless of their well-being levels. In other words, the marriage concept has no association with the level of well-being. The generated features also shown a significant overlapping with the marriage definition by Indonesian law. Theoretical implications and comparable results from the previous (Western) studies of relationships are described in detail.

1 INTRODUCTION

In Indonesia, the construction of marriage is quite distinctive because nuptial behavior (i.e., age at the first marriage, post marriage residence) is highly associated with cultural norms, also known as '*adat*' (Buttenheim & Nobles, 2009). Moreover, amidst modernization and shifting gender norms, the neo-traditional idea of men as the breadwinner and women as secondary earners (i.e., women can work and do maternal roles) is wildly prevalent (Utomo, 2012). Traditional gender roles are also encouraged by the 1974 Marriage Law that states that husbands are the heads of families and that wives are housewives (Indonesia, 1974). The idea of women as housewives is related to '*kodrat*' that is reinforced by religious interpretation (Utomo, 2012). Related to traditions, marriage for Indonesian (i.e., Bugis-

Makassar) involves joining individuals and two families (Aisyah & Parker, 2014).

Marriage in Indonesia is also unique because marriage seems to be considered a norm and higher social status. Marital status is one of the information stated on every Indonesians' identity card (*Kartu Tanda Penduduk / KTP*). If one has a legal partner, then the status is displayed as 'married'. However, the word chosen to describe single people is 'not yet married' (*Belum menikah*) instead of 'single'. This status suggests that people *have to* get married at some point in their life (Kusmanto, 2016).

Moreover, "being married" is considered a higher social status compared to "unmarried", as implied in the linguistic metaphor "rotten bachelor" (*bujang lapuk*) and "unsold" (*tidak laku*) used to describe unmarried individuals. Thus, marriage in Indonesia's culture is considered a momentous event that is

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compulsory (Himawan et al., 2018). Despite the importance of marriage, there is a scarce resource of scientific findings in the psycho-linguistic field that explains the concept of marriage as perceived by Indonesians.

Western culture perceived marriage somewhat differently. As opposed to an essential and socially desirable status, marriage in Western culture is considered a personal choice and not a societal expectation or demand. Moreover, the goal of marriage in Western culture (i.e., USA) has evolved from the fulfillment of basic needs, security, status, and love to the realization of self-actualization (Finkel et al., 2015). Culture is not the only determinant of the variation in the concept of marriage. As suggested in many concept studies, different word use depends on the spoken language and the speaker's age (White et al., 2018). Semantically, marriage can be interpreted as a status, an institution, or a social object (Roversi et al., 2013). Moreover, marriage can also be perceived differently based on different religions (Zarean & Barzegar, 2016).

Despite the different meanings of marriage, research related to marriage is commonly conducted in Western culture. Studies conducted in Western culture (i.e., Europe and Northern America) found that although marriage is not considered a requirement for social acceptance and advancement, most people get married and wish their marriages to be satisfying and long-lasting (Karney & Bradbury, 2020). Therefore, the focus of research about marriage in Western culture for the past ten years revolves around satisfaction and stability in marriage.

Although the concept of marriage has a different meaning than the concept of relationship (i.e., not all people who have a relationship are married), these two words are often used interchangeably in Western scientific articles. One example of a frequently used marital satisfaction measure is using the Couple Satisfaction Index (CSI; Funk & Rogge, 2007). Moreover, relationship satisfaction serves as a foundation to understand how a relationship and marriage works, based on the degree of happiness of the relationship, sense of connection with a partner, needs fulfillment by partner, and feelings about the relationship (Funk & Rogge, 2007). Thus, it is implied that the prominent aspect of marriage in the Western perspective is the relationship of two individuals (i.e., husband and wife).

Previous studies used relationship satisfaction as an indicator of marital satisfaction and found that married individuals are happier and more satisfied with their life compare to those unmarried people

(Gove et al., 1990; Mastekaasa, 1994; Stack & Eshleman, 1998; Verbakel, 2012, in Mikucka, 2016). In contrast, lower marital satisfaction leads to cheating and divorce (Fincham & May 2017; Hirschberger et al., 2009; Karney & Bradbury, 1995). In Western culture, happiness is considered the ultimate goal, both at the individual and societal levels (Veenhoven, 1994, in Lyubomirsky & Lepper, 1999). Moreover, marital satisfaction can significantly increase life satisfaction (Grover & Helliwell, 2019), a cognitive-judgmental process that depends on comparing one's condition and their desired standard (Diener et al., 1985). It can be implied that in Western culture, a satisfying relationship between husband and wife (i.e., needs are met by partner, the relationship is perceived as happy and rewarding, more positive feelings toward the relationship) is associated with individual's happiness, life satisfaction, and marital stability.

In Indonesia, marriage also expected to be happy and eternal, as described in Marital Law no. 1, 1947: "Marriage is a physical and spiritual union of a man and woman as husband and wife whose goal is to form a happy and eternal family (household), based on The One and only God" (Indonesia, 1974). However, the definition of marriage derived from Marital Law (legal definition) also implied that marriage revolves around two individuals and is related to spirituality and religion. Moreover, in reality, some individuals choose to be in a marital union despite feeling miserable and experiencing violence from the partner (Segaf et al., 2009). Experiencing violence contradicts the goal of marriage in Marital Law and findings in Western Culture that low marital satisfaction will lead to divorce. It is possible that Indonesia's unique culture laid a foundation for a different meaning of marriage.

Marital satisfaction leads to happiness and life satisfaction. However, these conclusions are drawn from research conducted in Western culture. On the other hand, Indonesian perceived marriage differently. Therefore, this study aims to describe how Indonesian people perceived marriage as a concept. Moreover, this research also explores the concept of marriage based on levels of well-being (i.e., happiness, life satisfaction, and relationship satisfaction) and congruence with the formal definition of marriage based on the law (Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia 1974). In other words: How do Indonesian perceive the concept of marriage? Do people with different levels of well-being and demographics perceive the concept of marriage differently? Does Indonesian's perception of

marriage as a concept congruent with the legal definition of marriage?

2 METHODS

2.1 Ethics Statement

This study was conducted with the approval of the Research Ethics Committee of the Department of Psychology, University of Bina Nusantara. Written informed consent was obtained from all participants before starting the task. This study was also pre-registered before the data collection on September 15th, 2020 (see <https://osf.io/fhyq2>).

2.2 Participants

A total of 393 (311 females, 76 males, and 1 indicated the gender as 'others', $M_{age}=25.61$, $SD_{age}=9.27$) adult participants participated in this study. Five of the participants were domiciled abroad and were excluded from the analysis to control the cultural biases. Thus, 388 participants were included in the analysis. They were all Indonesians who were at least 18 years old. Based on Erikson and Levinson's developmental theory model, when a person reaches an early adulthood stage (18 years old onwards), they develop personal identity feelings and a need to be close to other people. Therefore, finding and developing an intimate relationship with a partner becomes a priority for people in this age group (Hewstone et al., 2005). All participants did the study voluntarily and received no compensation for their participation.

2.3 Materials

The material was comprised of four different parts: feature generation task, Couple Satisfaction Index (CSI), Subjective Happiness Scale (SHS), and Satisfaction with Life Scale (SwLS).

A feature generation task was employed to look at the features people give towards five different abstract concepts (i.e., Happiness, Marriage, Family, Loyalty, and Love). Participants were asked to answer: "What is a marriage according to you?" and expected to list a maximum of 15 features that describes each concept. However, only the responses for the concept "Marriage" were discussed in this present study.

A Subjective Happiness Scale (SHS), taken from Lyubomirsky and Lepper (1997), was used to measure the level of happiness. This questionnaire

consists of four items in which participants were asked to rate their answers on a 6-point rating scale. Each item had a different endpoint, ranging from a negative response such as 'very unhappy' or 'not at all to a positive response, such as 'very happy' or 'a great deal'. The Cronbach alpha coefficient of the translated version of SHS was 0.64.

The Satisfaction with Life Scale (SwLS; Diener et al., 1985) was employed to measure how to satisfy a person with their life. This scale comprised five items in which participants should specify their level of agreement to disagreement from a scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). The reliability was measured using Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient, and the results revealed 0.76.

The couple satisfaction index (CSI; Funk & Rogge, 2007) comprises 34 items in which participants were asked to rate each statement on a different scale, ranging from 1 to 6 or 7, depending on the question group. Using Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient, a score of 0.98 was obtained.

All the materials were translated into Indonesian. The higher the scores in the well-being measurements (CSI, SHS, SwLS) indicates the higher the level of happiness or satisfaction.

2.4 Procedures

All participants were given an online survey link. The survey was administered using the Google Form platform. Participants began by indicating their agreement to participate by filling in informed consent. They were then continued to the feature generation task. Before they fill in the well-being surveys (i.e., SHS, SwLS, and CSI), participants were asked to complete a set of demographic questions. Their answer on the relationship status determined whether they have to complete the CSI or not. If they were in a relationship, participants were asked to complete all three well-being surveys. Otherwise, they only needed to complete SHS and SwLS. All instructions and questions were written in Indonesian.

3 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Indonesian's Perception of the Concept of Marriage: Top 10 Features

A total of 2.116 generated features for the concept 'Marriage' were first processed using McRae, De Sa, and Seidenberg's (1997) procedure. First, features

that give the same meaning or synonym (i.e., the union of two hearts and the union of two families) were given an identical label (e.g., the union of two parties). Then, features that provide different information (i.e., the union of two parties and building a family) were split and treated as separate features (i.e., the union of two parties and to build a family). This procedure yielded 147 different features (i.e., the numbers of types and not tokens).

Each feature was then calculated for the frequency, how often participants generated them. The frequency for each feature was ranging from 1 to 168. Table 1 below shows the ten most generated features for the concept 'Marriage'.

Table 1: The ten most generated features.

No	Features	N	%
1	The union of two parties <i>Hubungan dua pihak yang menyatu</i>	168	7.94%
2	It involves commitment <i>Melibatkan komitmen</i>	153	7.23%
3	A legal bond according to law and religion <i>Suatu ikatan yang sah secara hukum dan agama</i>	138	6.52%
4	It involves love <i>Melibatkan cinta</i>	119	5.62%
5	It involves agreements <i>Ada perjanjian</i>	98	4.63%
6	Is sacred <i>Bersifat sakral</i>	89	4.21%
7	To build a family <i>Untuk membentuk keluarga</i>	80	3.78%
8	To live as a couple <i>Hidup bersama pasangan</i>	79	3.73%
9	Is an observance <i>Suatu ibadah</i>	65	3.07%
10	To procreate <i>Untuk memiliki keturunan</i>	59	2.79%

Based on the top 3 most generated features, participants in this study seems to portray the definition of marriage derived from Marital Law no 1, 1947 (legal definition). Marriage is perceived as a union of two parties (individuals as well as families), involves commitment and a legal bond according to law and religion. Interestingly, in a collective culture like Indonesia, marriage is a personal decision and a family matter (Aisyah & Parker, 2014). Moreover, marriage is perceived as both a union and also institution. This finding complements Kusmanto's (2016) observation that marriage is considered necessary because it is a normative union supported by nation (law) and sanctified by religion.

Another interesting finding is that features related to religion and spirituality are mentioned three times in the top ten features: a legal bond according to law and religion, sacred, and observance. Participants of this study seem to associate marriage as an expression of conforming to society's rules and submitting to divine principles. This finding might be related to the first principle (or sila) on Indonesia's state foundation (Pancasila), which is a belief in one Supreme Being; thus, Indonesia is not a secular country, and this statement encompasses a wide variety of religions, including Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, and Buddhism (Morfit, 1981). Additionally, spirituality plays an essential role in people's lives living in Indonesia (Rooseno, 2015), and it affects Indonesian's perception of marriage as a concept.

Compared to other countries, most Indonesian (96%) agree that belief in God is necessary to be moral and have good values (Tamir, Connaughton, & Salazar, 2020). Thus, participants in Indonesia seem to be more 'religious' compare to other countries (median = 45% agree that it is necessary to believe in God to be moral and have good values). In comparison, only 9% of the participant in Sweden, 20% in the UK, and 44% in the USA who say belief in God is necessary to be moral and have good values (Tamir et al., 2020).

In addition to belief in God, Indonesia's culture can also explain the salient religious and normative sense in Indonesian's perception of the concept of marriage. Indonesia has a high score in collectivism, which means that transgression of norms leads to shame feelings (Hofstede, 2011). As most people in Indonesia are Muslims and they endorsed marriage as sacred and as an observance, the majority of people in Indonesia perceived marriage as such. Moreover, a high score in collectivism also explains why the most generated feature is "the union of two parties". Another indicator of high collectivism is that opinions and votes are predetermined by the in-group (Hofstede, 2011). Thus, marriage is not only about two individuals. An individual's decision to marry is highly affected by parents (Utomo, 2015).

This finding is in line with a previous study that found that marital behaviors are shaped not only by cultural norms but also by religious interpretation (Buttenheim & Nobles, 2009; Utomo, 2012). Marriage is perceived as a prerequisite to build a family and procreate, as implied in Muslim's spiritual belief. Consequently, sexual activity is regarded as a means to procreate and needs to be conducted within marital union. Therefore, premarital sex is prohibited by religion in Indonesia. Moreover, for some young adults, premarital sex is perceived as adultery or *zina*

(Bennett, 2007), and getting married can be a solution to prevent adultery. In contrast, in Western culture, premarital sex is considered normal.

Nevertheless, a more personal and affective characteristic of marriage comes later in the fourth and eighth most frequent features: 'it involves love' and 'to live as a couple'. These features are similar to the Western concept of marital satisfaction: focusing on feelings towards the relationship and one's partner (Funk & Rogge, 2007). Thus, Indonesian might have a shared meaning of marriage with their Western counterparts. However, this characteristic of marriage occurs less than normative and sacred features of marriage as perceived by Indonesian. It is expected because the way a concept is perceived (cognition) depends on the context in which a relationship is situated (McNulty, 2016).

3.2 The Top Features based on the Well-being Levels

To know whether participants who have different levels of well-being produced various kinds of features, their level of happiness, life satisfaction, and relationship satisfaction were calculated. The average scores for each participant were calculated for the three well-being scales and grouped based on each scale norm. Tables 2, 3, and 4 showed the level of classification of each scale and the number of participants in each level.

Table 2: The classification of subjective happiness.

Average Score	SHS	N
6.1 – 7.0	Extremely happy	39
5.1 – 6.0	Happy	141
4.1 – 5.0	Slightly happy	129
4.0	Neutral	24
3.1 – 3.9	Slightly happy	40
2.1 – 2.9	Unhappy	14
1.0 – 2.0	Extremely unhappy	1

All the generated features were grouped based on participants' scores on each scale. For the sake of simplicity, we presented the top ten generated features based on two levels of classification (i.e., Happy-Unhappy and Satisfied-Dissatisfied) with the following rule: in SHS and SwLS, people scored above 4.0 or categorized as slightly happy/satisfied, happy/satisfied, and extremely happy/satisfied, were grouped into one category, 'Happy' in SHS scale and 'Satisfied' in SwLS.

Table 3: The classification of satisfaction with life.

Average Score	SwLS	N
6.1 – 7.0	Extremely satisfied	48
5.1 – 6.0	Satisfied	106
4.1 – 5.0	Slightly satisfied	114
4.0	Neutral	20
3.1 – 3.9	Slightly dissatisfied	74
2.1 – 2.9	Dissatisfied	19
1.0 – 2.0	Extremely dissatisfied	7

Table 4: The classification of relationship satisfaction.

Total Score	CSI	N
≥ 105	Satisfied	122
≤ 104	Dissatisfied	38

The top 10 generated features produced by the 'Happy' participants were listed in Table 5, and the top ten features generated by the 'Satisfied' people were shown in Table 6. Whereas those who scored lower than 4.0 (i.e., slightly unhappy/dissatisfied, unhappy/dissatisfied, and extremely unhappy/dissatisfied) on SHS and SwLS scales were grouped as 'Unhappy' and 'Dissatisfied'.

Table 5: The ten most generated features produced by the 'Happy' participants who scored above 4.0 on SHS.

No	Features	N	%
1	The union of two parties <i>Hubungan dua pihak yang menyatu</i>	138	8.23%
2	It involves commitment <i>Melibatkan komitmen</i>	129	7.69%
3	A legal bond according to law and religion <i>Suatu ikatan yang sah secara hukum dan agama</i>	102	6.08%
4	It involves love <i>Melibatkan cinta</i>	96	5.72%
5	It involves agreements <i>Ada perjanjian</i>	84	5.01%
6	Is sacred <i>Bersifat sakral</i>	70	4.17%
7	To build a family <i>Untuk membentuk keluarga</i>	64	3.82%
8	To live as a couple <i>Hidup bersama pasangan</i>	62	3.70%
9	Is an observance <i>Suatu ibadah</i>	53	3.16%
10	A reciprocal relationship <i>Ada hubungan timbal balik</i>	51	3.04%

Table 6: The ten most generated features produced by the 'Satisfied' participants who scored above 4.0 on SwLS.

No	Features	N	%
1	The union of two parties <i>Hubungan dua pihak yang menyatu</i>	121	8.10%
2	It involves commitment <i>Melibatkan komitmen</i>	107	7.17%
3	A legal bond according to law and religion <i>Suatu ikatan yang sah secara hukum dan agama</i>	92	6.16%
4	It involves love <i>Melibatkan cinta</i>	87	5.83%
5	It involves agreements <i>Ada perjanjian</i>	72	4.82%
6	Is sacred <i>Bersifat sakral</i>	61	4.09%
7	To live as a couple <i>Hidup bersama pasangan</i>	54	3.62%
8	To build a family <i>Untuk membentuk keluarga</i>	50	3.35%
9	A reciprocal relationship <i>Ada hubungan timbal balik</i>	47	3.15%
10	Is an observance <i>Suatu ibadah</i>	46	3.08%

In Table 7, the top 10 generated features from participants classified as satisfied in their CSI will be shown. Table 8 showed the most generated features by the Unhappy participants, and Table 9 showed the top ten features from the Dissatisfied.

As shown in Table 5, Table 6, and Table 7, the composition of the ten most generated features from all groups of participants who scored high on SHS, SwLS, and CSI was nearly identical, only the order of the feature was slightly different. Further, all groups seemed to agree that marriage *is* the union of two people. Moreover, the top five features in happy and satisfied participants echo the top five features in the overall sample. Interestingly, two new features emerged in the satisfied and happy group: 'a reciprocal relationship' (observed in participants who are happy and satisfied with life) and 'it involves responsibilities' (observed in participants who are satisfied with their current relationship).

'A reciprocal relationship' implies a process with a sense of 'we-ness' rather than characteristic of marriage. The perception that marriage is teamwork rather than individual work is similar to communal coping; a process entails appraising a stressor as "our" problem and taking steps as a couple to improve the issue (Borelli et al., 2013). Communal orientation promotes individual and relational well-being (Le et al., 2013). Whereas 'it involves responsibility' implies a realistic perception of marriage and

describes motivation to maintain the marriage, thus increase moral commitment (Johnson et al., 1999). This result implies that happy and satisfied participants have a combination of normative, affective, and realistic perceptions of marriage.

Table 7: The ten most generated features produced from the 'Satisfied' participants on CSI.

No	Features	N	%
1	The union of two parties <i>Hubungan dua pihak yang menyatu</i>	60	7,59%
2	It involves commitment <i>Melibatkan komitmen</i>	56	7,09%
3	A legal bond according to law and religion <i>Suatu ikatan yang sah secara hukum dan agama</i>	44	5,57%
4	It involves love <i>Melibatkan cinta</i>	43	5,44%
5	It involves agreements <i>Ada perjanjian</i>	38	4,81%
6	To live as a couple <i>Hidup bersama pasangan</i>	31	3,92%
7	To build a family <i>Untuk membentuk keluarga</i>	28	3,54%
8	Is sacred <i>Bersifat sakral</i>	28	3,54%
9	It involves responsibilities <i>Ada tanggung jawab</i>	24	3,04%
10	Is an observance <i>Suatu ibadah</i>	22	2,78%

As can be seen in Tables 8, 9, and 10, the compositions of the features generated by the unhappy and dissatisfied participants were quite similar. However, compared with the happy and satisfied participants, new features emerged as the most generated ones. Features such as 'there are consequences, it involves happiness, and it involves responsibilities' were rather popular among these groups.

Table 8: The ten most generated features produced by the 'Unhappy' participants scored lower than 4.0 on SHS.

No	Features	N	%
1	A legal bond according to law and religion <i>Suatu ikatan yang sah secara hukum dan agama</i>	25	7,96%
2	The union of two parties <i>Hubungan dua pihak yang menyatu</i>	22	7,01%
3	It involves commitment <i>Melibatkan komitmen</i>	20	6,37%
4	It involves love <i>Melibatkan cinta</i>	18	5,73%

Table 8: (cont.).

No	Features	N	%
5	There are consequences <i>Ada konsekuensi</i>	14	4,46%
6	Is sacred <i>Bersifat sakral</i>	13	4,14%
7	To build a family <i>Untuk membentuk keluarga</i>	12	3,82%
8	To live as a couple <i>Hidup bersama pasangan</i>	10	3,18%
9	It involves happiness <i>Ada kebahagiaan</i>	9	2,87%
10	It involves responsibilities <i>Ada tanggung jawab</i>	9	2,87%

Table 9: The ten most generated features produced by the 'Dissatisfied' participants scored lower than 4.0 on SwLS.

No	Features	N	%
1	The union of two parties <i>Hubungan dua pihak yang menyatu</i>	40	7,45%
2	It involves commitment <i>Melibatkan komitmen</i>	37	6,89%
3	A legal bond according to law and religion <i>Suatu ikatan yang sah secara hukum dan agama</i>	35	6,52%
4	It involves love <i>Melibatkan cinta</i>	27	5,03%
5	To build a family <i>Untuk membentuk keluarga</i>	26	4,84%
6	Is sacred <i>Bersifat sakral</i>	22	4,10%
7	It involves agreements <i>Ada perjanjian</i>	20	3,72%
8	Is an observance <i>Suatu ibadah</i>	18	3,35%
9	To live as a couple <i>Hidup bersama pasangan</i>	17	3,17%
10	It involves two individuals <i>Melibatkan dua individu</i>	15	2,79%

Table 10: The ten most generated features produced by participants who classified as dissatisfied in CSI.

No	Features	N	%
1	It involves commitment <i>Melibatkan komitmen</i>	19	9,90%
2	Is sacred <i>Bersifat sakral</i>	12	6,25%
3	It involves agreements <i>Ada perjanjian</i>	11	5,73%
4	To build a family <i>Untuk membentuk keluarga</i>	10	5,21%
5	The union of two people <i>Hubungan dua pihak yang menyatu</i>	10	5,21%
6	To procreate <i>Untuk memiliki keturunan</i>	10	5,21%

7	A legal bond according to law and religion <i>Suatu ikatan yang sah secara hukum dan agama</i>	9	4,69%
8	Is an observance <i>Suatu ibadah</i>	8	4,17%
9	There are consequences <i>Ada konsekuensi</i>	7	3,65%
10	It involves happiness <i>Ada kebahagiaan</i>	5	2,60%

3.3 Marriage According to the Indonesian Governmental Regulation

According to the Indonesian governmental regulations (*Undang-Undang Nomor 1 Tahun 1974, pasal 1*), marriage is defined as an eternal bond between a man and a woman as husband and wife with a purpose to build a happy family based on belief in the Almighty God (Indonesia, 1974). Some of the generated features in this study can be linked with this definition. At least six features were closely related to what the government defined as a marriage for Indonesian. Features such as 'A legal bond according to law and religion', 'The union of two parties', 'To build a family', 'Involves happiness', 'An eternal relationship', 'Involves God' represent each of the domains specified in the definition. Those first three features were endorsed as the top 10 generated features, and the rest was at least in the top 40. We also found that most participants generated at least one feature related to the regulation, suggesting that Indonesians perceive marriage as something normative and sacred.

This normative perception of marriage as a concept can be explained by the collective nature of Indonesia's culture. As discussed earlier, some indicators of high collectivism are that transgression of norms leads to shame feelings and that harmony should always be maintained (Hofstede, 2011). Thus, it is understandable that participants tend to give a normative answer about marriage to avoid shame or disturbing harmony.

4 CONCLUSIONS

This study describes the concept of marriage in Indonesia, a country in Eastern culture with a high score in collectivist culture (Hofstede, 2011; Mangundjaya, 2013). Participants of this study are Indonesia's citizens and reside in various cities in Indonesia. This study indicates that Indonesians

provide various features of marriage in explaining their understanding of marriage as a concept. Most of the features are normative and related to religious belief. However, some features imply affective (i.e., 'It involves love') and realistic function of marriage (i.e., 'To build a family', 'To procreate').

However, the result of this study indicated that the variety of features used to describe marriage is not associated with participant's level of well-being (happiness, life satisfaction, and relationship satisfaction). Additionally, Indonesians in various well-being levels and demographics groups agree that marriage is the union of two people. Moreover, each participant in this study provided at least one feature following the formal definition of marriage described in the law.

The limitation of this study is that several demographic data were also obtained in this study but were not included in the analysis, namely religion, area of domicile, ethnicity, average monthly income, and employment status. Therefore, we suggest that further research can replicate this research and analyze other demographic variables to determine whether the variations of the concept of marriage are associated with other demographic data. Moreover, this study only concerns the concept of marriage in Indonesia, with high collectivism cultural dimension. Thus, future research can be conducted cross-culturally. Despite the limitations, this study provides insights into the concept of marriage in Indonesia from a semantic perspective and its relation (or lack thereof) to individual and relational well-being.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

AZS, DNR, and MP are currently last year undergraduate students of Psychology at Bina Nusantara University. PCBR and FMD are lecturers at Bina Nusantara University. All five authors discussed the findings thoroughly, read and approved the final version of the manuscript. All data and materials are stored in and can be accessed on Open Science Framework: (https://osf.io/kvhpq/?view_only=0ca6abc17ec9419380a57e692c13a0b3).

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