
ROLE OF LOCAL INSTITUTION IN EARLY MARRIAGE ISSUE: A CASE STUDY IN SOME PROVINCES IN INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

The impact of early marriage is closely related to the economic condition of the family and affects the poverty of women who experience it. This study aims to comprehensively examine the extent to which local socio-economic condition affects early marriage and the extent of policy-makers' role in preventing it. In addition, this study also aims to obtain inaccurate overview of current policies and policy recommendations related to government's effort in controlling marriage age in Indonesia. Data were obtained using cross-sectional method in four provinces with high marriage rates based on Riskesdas 2010 data (South Kalimantan, Bangka Belitung, Central Sulawesi and West Java). The research is qualitative using explorative approach. Based on the research result, the root of early marriage problem in four provinces is related to several dimensions such as: modernization, education, economic and socio-cultural pressure. Another result of the analysis is that the role of customary and religious institutions are very strategic as a tool of social control in controlling early marriage. In addition, it was concluded that weak inter-sectoral coordination and government policy planning in early marriage control are among the issues to be addressed.

INTRODUCTION

In 2011, Indonesia is one of the world's most married percentages, ranked 37th in the world (UNDESA, 2011). This position is the second highest in ASEAN after Cambodia. Logically according to Riskesdas data, young women in Indonesia with intervals aged 10-14 years. In 2011, Indonesia is a country with a high percentage of young marriages in the world, ranked 37th in the world (UNDESA, 2011). This position is the second highest in ASEAN after Cambodia. In fact, according to Riskesdas data, young women in Indonesia with married age interval 10-14 years are 0.2 percent or more than 22,000 young women aged 10-14 years in Indonesia are married before the age of 15 years (Badan Penelitian dan Pengembangan Kesehatan, 2011). At higher age intervals, married women aged 15-

19 have a much greater 11.7% rate when compared with young men aged 15-19 years of 1.6%. Statistically, the concentration of young marriage rate is high especially in Kalimantan (Kalteng, Kaltim, and Kalsel) Java (Banten, West Java, and East Java) and Bangka Belitung and Central Sulawesi. Based on data from Riskesdas 2010, provinces with the highest percentage of early marriage (<15 years) are South Kalimantan (9 percent), West Java (7.5 percent), East Kalimantan and Central Kalimantan 7 percent and Banten 6.5 Percent. The provinces with the highest percentage of early marriage for the highest 15-19 years interval were Central Kalimantan Province (52.1%), West Java (50.2%), and South Kalimantan (48.4%), Bangka Belitung (47.9%) and Central Sulawesi (46.3%).

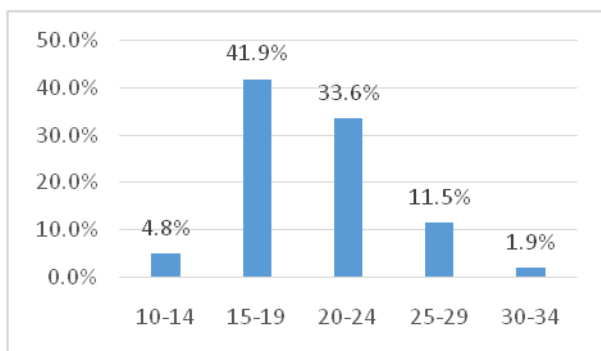


Figure 1 Percentage of Women 10-59 Years Old by Age of First Marriage, Riskesdas 2010

Nationally, controlling the level of early marriage becomes crucial because the overall causes and consequences are highly related to the achievement of the MDGs, among others; *Goal 1. Eradicating poverty and hunger, Goal 2. Achieving universal primary education, Goal 3. Promoting gender equality, Goal 4. Protecting children's lives and Goal 5&6. Improving Health.* Basically the legal basis for eradicating marriage at the global level has been set in various international conventions, among others; *Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery, Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), and Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC).*

Similarly, at the national level the legal basis is already regulated in the Marriage Act no. 1/1974, Child Protection Law no. 23/2002, and Domestic Violence Law. 23/2004 and the Human Rights Law. In fact, Indonesia still cannot protect it. Until now Indonesia has not set the legal minimum age of marriage is 18 years and over, but until 2010 there have been 158 countries with legal minimum married age is 18 years and over. On the basis of the above, then the early marriage in Indonesia still has a chance to keep happening considering the factors of legality that have not been fully formulated and cultural factors of different institutional and characteristics in each region so as to encourage the creation of early marriage. The consequence of this early marriage is very closely related to the

impoverishment of women who experience it. Those after marriage tend to drop out of school and gain low levels of education, decreased social status or subordination in the family, loss of reproductive health rights, high maternal mortality from childbearing to domestic violence (Field & Ambrus, 2008). Field & Ambrus also said:

Early marriage is associated with a number of poor social and physical outcomes for young women and their offspring. They attain lower schooling, lower social status in their husbands' families, have less reproductive control, and suffer higher rates of maternal mortality and domestic violence. They are often forced out of school without an education; their health is affected because their bodies are too immature to give birth.

In the research of Choe, Thapa, and Achmad (2001) revealed that marriage before the age of 18 years generally occurs in Indonesian women, especially in rural areas. This can be attributed to low education, so that with a higher education women are closely tied to the slower age of adolescent marriage.

Gap access opportunities both in terms of well-being and equality affect the position of women in decision making in early marriage. Based on Jones and Gubhaju's research (2008), in the last few decades, changes in the trend of marriage age are more prevalent in urban areas in some provinces that further widen the gap between rural and urban areas in Indonesia.

In addition, early marriage can also be caused by culture that is still very permissive arranging marriage early on especially for women. Early marriage in Indonesia frequently reflects a marriage that has been arranged or because of pregnancy outside marriage (Jones & Gubhaju, 2008). In this arranged marriage women have always been married to young people. This suggests that asymmetric gender relations are most prevalent in younger women in the issue of early marriage. Based on several variations of the study, it is illustrated that asymmetrical gender relations are strongly influenced by social, economic and cultural factors (Moeljarto, 1997).

The issue of low economic and educational needs has also always been one of the causes of gender discrimination in women, including in the issue of early marriage. Research by Klasen and Wink (2002) show where areas with increased education and welfare experience a decline in gender bias and areas with poor education and well-being cause gender bias to remain unchanged and deteriorate.

On the basis of the background of the above problems it is necessary to conduct field studies on the causes and impacts of early marriage, especially in terms of socio-economic population in Indonesia, especially in provinces with the highest prevalence of early marriage. Thus, the research questions that need to be answered are 1) the extent of the current population impacts in the region associated with early marriage; and 2) how the institutional role and policy interventions that exist so far and what needs to be done so that the marriage control policy can be done precisely and accurately.

This study aims to obtain a comprehensive picture of the extent to which the socio-economic impact of population occurring in the region associated with early marriage phenomena and the extent to which the decision-making role in preventing it. In addition, the study also aims to obtain an overview of current policies and accurate policy recommendation recommendations related to marriage control efforts in Indonesia.

METHOD

The research was conducted qualitatively with explorative approach by collecting primary data in the form of In-depth interview and Focus Group Discussion and using some approaches in interpretive case study methodology (understanding the phenomenon through the meaning of the people involved) and grounded theory methodology (building the conclusion inductively based on the data obtained to explain a social phenomenon). Besides, desk study is done to obtain secondary data compiled in the form of statistical descriptions and analysis of literature data to be analyzed qualitatively by using field data.

Data were obtained by cross sectional in 4 provinces that experienced high marriage based on Riskesdas 2010 data, among others, South Kalimantan, Bangka Belitung, Central Sulawesi and West Java. Study done on Family and Local Policy Makers. In addition, site selection was chosen because the four selected provinces had overpopulated tendency above the national population growth rate (1.49%) in which the four provinces were South Kalimantan (1.98%), Bangka Belitung (3.14) Central Sulawesi (1,94%) and West Java (1.89%). In addition, a more in-depth study will be conducted in one local district in each province that tends to be overpopulated, among others Kab. Banjar (Kalsel), Kab. South Bangka (Bangka Belitung), Donggala (Central Sulawesi) and Kab. Cianjur (Jabar).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A. The Cause of Early Marriage

The adolescent period is a preparatory period toward adulthood, one of which is the psychic preparation associated with marriage and family formation (Hurlock, 1990). This adolescent period then becomes an important period in human growth given the many processes, both physical and psychic, that occur within it. This growth process can be disrupted by several things, one of which is early marriage. Early marriage is then considered an important issue that must have clear boundaries, not only on a national scale but also internationally. This is because early marriage often culminates in both health and developmental disadvantages for women, and it is one of the most widely overlooked issues of human rights abuses (UNFPA, 2006).

In Banjar Regency, South Kalimantan, the background of early marriage issues is closely related to sociocultural factors, especially the Islamic religion which is very attached to one side and the role of modernization that grew rapidly in recent times on the other. Kabag Kesra Kab. Banjar reveals that:

Factors affecting that reality (early marriage) are social and cultural factors of society, level of education, economy, geography or region and family psychological factors. Another factor that is quite influential is the nature of Banjar society classified as

religious and the majority follow the mazhab of Imam Syafi'i, mostly classical educational background or deep yellow book.

The nature of the members of the community makes them hold the principle of better prevent damage than already experiencing the things that are not desirable behind the day. Although it is actually acknowledged according to some sources, the public simply takes the religious grounds curtailed without seeing the impact that followed. On the other hand, the rapidly growing modernization factor in South Kalimantan over the past decade has been the entrance to new and free social and cultural values. The fact that makes parents more frightened, and in the end makes the parents precisely arranged for the marriage done more quickly to avoid the things that are not desirable. This shows that the rapid economic growth as demonstrated by modernization actually encourages the occurrence of marriage at an early age.

Early marriage in the province of Bangka Belitung has been an issue that lasts for a long time and continues to this day, especially in Kab. South Bangka. South Bangka Regency is one of the least developed districts in the Bangka Islands with the most significant early marriage rate. In South Bangka District, there is one phenomenon of change of causes of early marriage that occurred in the last decade. Recognized by stakeholders in the field, if the first culture is the cause of early marriage, today it is the factor of modernity that became the main root, but nevertheless early marriage is still ongoing for a different reason. Based on informant information, almost all who ask for marriage dispensation (<16 years) to the Religious court for marriage permit is the reason for the promiscuity. Cases of unmarried pregnancy are common, although they cannot be generalized. But the emerging case is admittedly significant. Usually when a pregnancy outside of marriage then the couple will remain married even massively celebrated. Things like this become commonplace without strong social control.

Related to Southeast Sulawesi, the number in 2011 was 17.5% of women with the first marriage age of ≤ 16 years and 24.94% with the first marriage age $\leq 17-18$ years (Agency

for Health Research and Development, 2011). Overall, the age of first marriage ≤ 19 years to reach 52.62%, In the last three years for women who were married between the ages of 15-19 years and even tend to stagnate, where in 2009 reached 48.51% and then decreased slightly to 48.23 % in 2011, and increased again to 48.44%. This shows that marriage is still and continues to occur in Central Sulawesi, especially in rural areas (56.46%).

Reality in the field also shows the same thing as stated by the source of Health Department of Kab. Donggala who revealed that the fact is seen in Posyandu (maternity centers) activities conducted in rural areas, where the majority of Posyandu visitors are young mothers with teenage age. In general, these teenage mothers have a low knowledge of the risks of pregnancy at an early age and have health problems. In addition, economic reasons and cultural reasons are very obvious. Releasing the burden of parental responsibility is one of the reasons for early marriage in the community most often raised both in interviews and FGDs in Kab. Donggala.

Child marriage in Central Sulawesi also quite often practiced because of promiscuity and culture. During this time there is a customary elopement (*nosikempalaisaka*) that hereditary has been done. In the event of elopement, the *adat* leader will impose a custom fine on the offender even though it is often used by young couples to force their parents to marry them off. But often the result of imposing an early marriage through elopement causes female partners to get pregnant out of wedlock and ultimately parents also inevitably have to marry off their children.

The issue of early marriage in West Java has been the concern of many parties, especially in the area of Pantura. In addition to the Pantura region, the area that has a high early marriage is Cianjur. Recognized by some speakers, the cause of the high age of young marriage in Cianjur one of them is education, where the average length of school is still 6.3 years or equivalent first grade junior high. School dropouts tend to be more vulnerable to marriage by their parents through siri mating to reduce the family's economic burden.

B. Early Marriage, Modernization And Poverty In The Family

Jones & Gubhaju (2008) in his research revealed that early marriage in Indonesia frequently reflect marriage that has been arranged. This shows the family's role is closely related to early marriage, especially in economic terms. Rahman and Rao (2004) reveal that the advantages of a biased economic growth against men have a negative impact on the role of women in family decision making. They also reveal that there is evidence that household wealth actually reduces the role of women in household decision making. Moeljarto (1997) reveals that the effect of asymmetric gender relations causes women's lack of access to such things as food, health, education and skills that can support them to be productive. The lack of access directly leads to poverty. He explained that when women are poor, children are the only controllable source to reduce their work burden. It has resulted in the escape of education and poverty increasingly becoming.

Boserup (1989) states that in third world country in general rural families are organized into an autocratic age-sex hierarchy. Younger families should demonstrate compliance with older parties, and the oldest party is the decision maker in the family. In everyday life, men and women can regulate the workforce of younger members of the same family in accordance with the habits of the division of labor in general, especially in couples of women who aged early. The above describes that the economy has a big influence in decision making in the family.

Higher family consumption needs encourage a desire to increase purchasing power while reducing the burden of economic pressure on families. This becomes a demand along with modernization and information flowing into the country. This also encourages the flow of consumption occurs faster in rural areas. Alvin Toffler (1971, p.355) calls this state of "decision stress," a state in which individuals trapped in slowly and suddenly changing environments must adapt in new environments demanding rapid and complex change so that they experience future shock . What to watch out for in the issue of early marriage is when the family is trapped into a victim of future shock. He adds that the most

public response to such social change is the revisionist strategy, in which victims are obsessed with repeating routines or habits that have been successfully adapted or successfully done before but are actually irrelevant and incompatible with current circumstances (Toffler , 1971, p.359). The need to improve the family welfare quickly include the desire to have a high purchasing power or reduce the burden of the economy, encouraging decision-making, the head of the family to immediately marry his son, but that is not necessarily the right solution.

Discussion

A. Main Problem

As an illustration, to provide a different picture, case studies were taken in three provinces in the geographical area outside Java, namely South Kalimantan, Bangka-Belitung and Central Sulawesi and as a comparison, there were also studies in West Java Province to represent the Java region which can generally be described as follows:

Table 1 Main Problem of Early Marriage

Problem	Kals el	Bangk a	Sulten g	Jaba r
Modernizati on	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Education	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Economic Pressure	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
SocioCultur e	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Based on these descriptions, the root cause of early marriage in several provinces in Indonesia in general is due to several dimensions, among others: modernization, education, economic and socio-cultural pressures.

1) *Modernization Symptom and Change of People's Behavior*

If compared basically the four provinces have the same background problems encountered in addressing the early marriage that is the issue of modernization. This modernization phenomenon has become more widespread and has an impact on changes in population behavior throughout the Province studied and encourages consumptive life habits especially in the last decade. The thrust

of globalization, information technology and regional autonomy so rapidly can be one cause of the phenomenon of modernization to the region. This leads to a culture shock to the community. Increasing prosperity due to economic growth is not accompanied by a long-term increase in the quality of life but a lifestyle that is more of a concern for the public. This is particularly evident throughout the province, especially in South Kalimantan and Bangka-Belitung which experienced the most rapid economic boom due to mining. The flow of modernization in society is indicated by the pattern of consumption and the pattern of high service usage of community members, one of them is by the utilization of information flow services that enter very rapidly. The phenomenon of modernization has been increasingly widespread and has an impact on changes in population behavior throughout the Province studied and encourages more consumptive living habits. The thrust of information globalization and regional autonomy so rapidly can be one of the causes of rapid modernization phenomenon. This is very clearly seen in the province of Bangka Belitung especially in South Bangka. The background of early marriage problems in the South Bangka region in general occurs mostly in rural areas and more due to the factor of modernization. If the first culture is the cause of early marriage, it is precisely the factor of modernity that became the main root and social control actually weakened because of the local culture that tends to be very liquidity of new values. In addition, increasing unconventional tin mining activities in South Bangka have further boosted the purchasing power of young people in the short term and have an impact on their consumptive attitude.

2) *Lack of interest to Education*

Basically, the four provinces have the same background of problems in dealing with early marriage that is low level of education and interest in school. Increased welfare due to economic growth and modernization flows in some observed provinces are not accompanied by the interest of the community to improve the quality of education, it appears in the early marriage actors who leave school is still in the age of junior high. Education is often linked to early marriage because out-of-school children tend to be more vulnerable to marriage

through siri marriage to reduce the family's economic burden.

Education has in fact not been a priority for improving the welfare of the population. On the other hand an increasingly increasing need for consumption encourages even greater economic pressure on the family. This causes the families of both parents and children to prefer to work to earn income and meet their needs or marry soon the child to reduce the burden of the family rather than thinking long-term prosperity through the quality of good education.

The low public attention to education is evident throughout the province. In Central Sulawesi, this marriage often occurs in rural areas where many girls are not attending school because of low access and the mindset that education is not a priority in the family. Similarly, in South Kalimantan and Bangka-Belitung which experienced the most rapid economic boom in a decade due to mining. The rapid economic growth and educational facilities that have been provided not accompanied by the interest of the community, especially the younger generation in education. Self-actualization in the local young generation is still on the increase in income and purchasing power and the ability to get married soon instead of choosing education. This is often the cause of the students dropping out of school because they are already working in the Mine and doing the marriage at an early age.

3) *Economic Pressure And Poverty At Family Level*

In some Provinces, the dimensions of economic pressures, especially the effects of poverty, are particularly pronounced except in South Kalimantan. Increasingly higher consumption needs over the past decade have encouraged even higher economic pressure on families. This ultimately leads families to both parents and children to work to earn immediate income and to meet their needs or to marry sooner children to reduce family burdens (economic pressure) rather than thinking long-term prosperity through the creation of good quality education. This dimension of economic pressure greatly influences the decision of parents in marrying their children, this happens in all provinces

except in South Kalimantan. Things that are not much different also look in West Java which actually gets more attention center in welfare issues including economy. Based on the description of the problems in each Province generally can be seen that the root of early marriage problems in the region is an economic reason that aims to shift the burden of the family.

This economic pressure is also strongly associated with social changes due to rapid economic growth and consumption demands due to the flow of modernization. The need to improve the family welfare quickly include the desire to have a high purchasing power or reduce the burden of the economy, encouraging decision-making, the head of the family to immediately marry his son, but that is not necessarily the right solution. What attracts the roots of this economic problem often goes hand in hand with cultural factors. The reasons for early marriage culture in rural areas often go hand in hand with economic needs, as explained in the root of cultural issues as the basic reason for early marriage.

4) *Culture As Basic Reasons Early Marriage*

The socio-cultural dimension is still very strong in some provinces except Bangka. Cultural dimension is still strong from the first to the present. If viewed partially, the background of early marriage problems especially in Banjar region is closely related to the socio-cultural and religious dimension that is very inherent in the mindset of society (habits) and the role of modernization is growing rapidly recent time on the other hand that also affect the mindset of local communities . From cultures, it has been a long time since early marriage was done to girls at a young age to avoid the assumption of older maids and usually mated to older ones. Interestingly, however, the cultural dimension further eroded its influence on some provinces and even disappeared in the province of Bangka Belitung, especially in the last decade. Often the cultural dimension is only used as an excuse to cover the reasons for economic pressures.

What is more different and interesting is the roots of early marriage problems in Donggala, Central Sulawesi, especially the Kaili tribe is in the countryside for the

economic and cultural reasons of various local cultures that are still strongly *adat*. Releasing the burden of parental responsibility is one reason for the early marriage of the Kaili community. This is done to release the family's economic pressure and their fear of free association because they see their daughters have male friends due to modernization. In the Bugis tribe, cultural and economic reasons are also apparent. Marriage is often a traditionally arranged marriage by parents to maintain family ties. This culture is still very strong and still carried on for generations in order to maintain the regeneration, especially family inheritance.

B. Institutional Role

In terms of influential institutional roles in early marriage control, there are fundamental differences between provinces.

1) *The Role of Custom and Religion as a Social Control*

The role of traditional and religious leaders in some provinces is still very strong, especially in Central Sulawesi, South Kalimantan and West Java. While in Bangka Belitung, the role of traditional and religious leaders is no longer having much impact on the community. With the role of traditional and religious leaders can basically be the entrance for early marriage control efforts. But it will be a big challenge if done in Central Sulawesi is multicultural and tend to be recessive. This will be easily done through traditional and religious figures if conducted in South Kalimantan and West Kalimantan which tend to be more open, while in Ba-Bel, especially in South Bangka, the role of traditional and religious leaders have generally faded so as to need another breakthrough or attempt to change the mindset different customary leaders. It must be acknowledged that the role of traditional and religious leaders will be particularly important as a means of social control.

In terms of customs and religion in South Kalimantan, local religious leaders are traditional leaders, and they have an important influence on family decision making. Local religious figures also have a very strong ability to influence the masses. Parents in the family were very follow the direction of the leaders of religious leaders. In addition, these religious

leaders are not difficult to approach but the approach taken so far is felt to be very lacking. From the institutional side of adat and religion, in South Bangka in general the local culture has been very liquid. The role of cultural institutions, religions or customs of local communities in South Bangka is almost invisible. The absence of the role of the institution has a major impact on the weakness of social control within the Bangka community. The role of cultural, religious and customary institutions in Bangka Belitung is stronger in the Chinese community and transmigrant communities. According to one local Buddhist acknowledged that there had been a significant level of early marriage in the community. But along with the increasing role of religious leaders this can be significantly suppressed. This shows that strong social control of society can actually control the early marriage in Bangka Belitung.

From the institutional side of Adat and Religion in the communities of Kaili and Bugis in Central Sulawesi, the role of adat leaders often doubles as religious leaders and in general is still very strong both in the various majorities that exist. These values are still strongly held by the local community including the Kaili tribe as well as Bugis tribe as immigrants. It is not unusual in the case of complicated family issues reported to customary leaders, especially in giving approval of the issues reported to them. Not all indigenous groups in Donggala and Central Sulawesi have been affected by religious values, especially in remote indigenous communities (KAT) that are still prevalent in Central Sulawesi. Many KAT tribes still adhere to animism. In this adat group, early marriage is difficult to avoid as marriages are made with local adat leaders.

5) *The Role of Parents and Families is Very Dominant*

In the institutional family, in general, parents are still in control of early marriage decision making. Regardless of economic pressures, the impact of modernization becomes fear in the minds of parents at least in the provinces of South Kalimantan, Central Sulawesi and West Java so they want to marry off their children. In the family institution in Banjar, the parent's factor is still very strong

in determining the choice for the child. The value of religion is the main thing used as the foundation of the parents in marrying their children at an early age. In addition to religious values, another reason for marrying parents is that they do not want to be embarrassed and bear the burden if their daughters are not married, both in terms of establishment (while they are capable) and will be involved free association.

In the institutional parents and families in South Bangka, the lack of social control in the community affects the role of parents and family. Parents tend to be permissive, they assume that marriage is a learning process, without realizing that often after marriage even cause new problems in the family. Parent's factor will determine the child will go to school or not. This reluctance to go to school is economical because teenage boys prefer to work and get married with teenage girls who also prefer to get married and this wish is also approved by parents. The role of institutional parents and families in Donggala while still tied to adat and religion is very strong in determining early marriage, especially due to economic pressures, often parents want to marry off their children at an early age because of the desire to shift the burden of economic pressure or keep family inheritance and these desires are often supported both customarily and religiously. The role of parents in the family in Cianjur is huge. Parents really manage the relationship of the child. Often there is a marriage on the grounds that parents are afraid to see the intercourse of their children, including when they see their children are dating. But as with other areas, there are many cases of parents who marry off their children for economic reasons, especially to reduce family burdens.

6) *The Role of Government: Weak of Coordination and Family Planning*

In terms of the role of the government, generally socialization or advocacy efforts to the community are still very limited and without adequate policy planning so that in the end socialization and advocacy efforts are often stopped and unsustainable. Advocacy to educational institutions such as junior high schools, high schools and pesantren by the government is still minimal whereas the role

of new educational institutions can work well if there is direct coordination from the government. It appears that almost all districts are still very weak in terms of policy coordination, especially across sectors, which makes synergy difficult to achieve due to high sectoral ego in each sector.

As the determinants and implementers of policies basically in the districts of Banjar, Donggala and Cianjur, officials in general already have a sufficient understanding of the issue of early marriage. However, this is not evident in policy planning where the issue of early marriage where this issue has not become a priority of attention both at the provincial and district levels.

Policy coordination efforts for early marriage issues, stakeholders at the provincial level have made cross-sectoral advocacy efforts particularly through the facilitation efforts of the Provincial BKKBN Representative Office. However similar things do not occur at the District level. Stakeholders at the district level acknowledge that cross-sectoral coordination has not been done specifically for this issue. The sense of sectoral ego is felt at the district level. The apparent impact of this weak institutionalization is the inaccessibility of socialization in society, including religious leaders.

Basically the issue of early marriage has not been a concern of the local government both provincial and district / city, there has been no planning and coordination efforts that involve cross-sector specifically for early marriage control. At the District level, several local Dinas have basically started activities but coordination has not been undertaken. The issue of budgeting and regulation becomes a major obstacle at the district level. This has an impact on extension function which is still done very limited. Synergistic coordination becomes very urgent to do considering the rapid shift in value through modernization where its influence has entered into the rural areas.

Stakeholder awareness in general is visible, just how to ensure the commitment of stakeholders in the issue of early marriage. The problem lies in how to prioritize this issue

in a sustainable and cross-cutting priority so that synergies can be coordinated.

CONCLUSION

The root of the main problem of early marriage in several provinces in Indonesia in general is due to several dimensions, among others: modernization, education, economic and socio-cultural pressures. Details can be summarized as follows:

A symptom of Modernization and Change Behavior of public consumption is a major issue faced in addressing early marriage. The flow of modernization in society is shown by consumption pattern and the pattern of usage of information flow service very rapidly and causes culture shock to society.

The low public interest in education where the improvement of welfare due to the economic growth that occurred was not accompanied by the real interest of the community towards the improvement of the quality of life in education. Many of the early marriage actors who leave school are still in the age of junior high.

Economic Pressure and Family Poverty. Increased consumption needs are increasingly high the last decade even encourage increasing economic pressure on the family. This ultimately causes the families of both parents and children to prefer to work to earn immediate income and meet their needs or marry soon the child to reduce the burden of the family (economic pressure).

Culture as the basic reason for early marriage. The cultural dimension is still strong from the first to the present, but interestingly, the cultural dimension has further dented its influence on some provinces and even disappeared in Bangka Belitung province, especially in the last decade. Often the cultural dimension is only used as an excuse to cover the reasons for economic pressures.

In terms of influential institutional roles in early marriage control, there are fundamental differences between provinces. In detail, in terms of institutional role can be summarized as follows:

The role of customs and religion is very important and should be upgraded as a Social Control. The role of traditional and religious leaders in some provinces is still very strong,

especially in Central Sulawesi, South Kalimantan and West Java. While in Bangka Belitung, the role of traditional and religious leaders is no longer having much impact on the community. With the role of traditional and religious leaders can basically be the entrance for early marriage control efforts. It should be acknowledged that the role of traditional and religious leaders will be particularly important as a means of social control especially for the younger generation.

The role of parents in the family in early marriage decision making is very dominant. In the family institution, the role of parents is still very dominant in decision making in early marriage. On the other hand in general, parents still hold the customs and traditions. The impact of modernization is also often a separate fear in the minds of parents and a reason to immediately marry his son. The important role of parents and families in the management of early marriage unfortunately not coupled with the understanding of early marriage well.

Weak Coordination and Policy Planning Government in the early marriage control. The role of local government in general is still very limited. In general these efforts are limited by the absence of policy and budget planning and weak coordination among agencies in the field so that socialization and advocacy efforts are often discontinued and unsustainable. One of the causes of synergy is difficult to achieve is a high sectoral ego in each agency in the region.

Recommendation

On the basis of the above conclusions it is recommended to approach the policy of early marriage control as follows:

Socialization and advocacy must be conducted directly and intensively in the field in anticipation of the rapidity of symptoms Modernization and changes in community behavior. Socialization is no longer limited to media promotion, but more explanation is needed in the community.

Strengthening the role of Indigenous and Religious figures as a Social Control. This is because culture and religion are often used as the basic reason for early marriage. The role of religious leaders is generally responsive to various issues, but the approach to traditional

and religious figures is still limited in the regions.

Increased capacity of parents especially in raising interest in education and reducing economic pressure at family level. Parents still have a very strong and dominant role in the family especially in early marriage decision making.

Strengthening the role of school institutions, especially at the junior high school level. Many married marriage couples have low education level drop-out junior high school so that prevention in educational institutions becomes important to do.

Strengthening the role of Local Government in terms of early marriage control through policy planning and cross sector coordination more intensively. The biggest disadvantage in the regions is the lack of coordination in early marriage control and weak policy planning resulting in the absence of required budget and regulation.

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