

PROCESS DIMENSION ANALYSIS ON THE SUCCESS OF CHILD MARRIAGE PREVENTION POLICY

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ABSTRAK Children are the foundation of a nation's human resources, an important issue affecting child welfare is child marriage. The East Java Provincial Government issued a policy in the form of a Governor's Circular Letter (SE) on the prevention of child marriage, Malang Regency as an area with a high marriage rate in East Java followed up on the SE. After three years, the efforts made have succeeded in reducing the number of child marriages in Malang District each year. This article analyzes the follow-up process of the child marriage prevention policy in Malang District using a descriptive qualitative research method, case study research type with Allan McConnell's Policy Success theory as the analytical knife. This article explores the success of the child marriage prevention policy from the process dimension, as well as the level of success using the degree of policy success/failure. The results showed the success of the policy in the process dimension, firstly maintaining policy objectives / instruments, all SE Child Marriage Prevention objectives were maintained with several derivative policies, although there was one policy instrument related to the budget that was not fully maintained. The level of success is included in Resilient Success. Second, ensuring policy legitimacy, where the entire SE follow-up process is legitimized by all parties, so the success level is included in Success. Third, building a sustainable coalition, the Malang District Government built a sustainable coalition to overcome the problem of child marriage through the policies made. The success rate is also included in Success.

Key words: Policy Success, Process Dimension, Policy Success Degree, Child Marriage Prevention

ANALISIS DIMENSI PROSES TERHADAP KEBERHASILAN KEBIJAKAN PENCEGAHAN PERKAWINAN ANAK

ABSTRACT. Anak merupakan fondasi Source daya manusia suatu bangsa, isu penting yang mempengaruhi kesejahteraan anak adalah perkawinan anak. Pemerintah Provinsi Jawa Timur mengeluarkan kebijakan berupa Surat Edaran (SE) Gubernur tentang pencegahan perkawinan anak, Kabupaten Malang sebagai wilayah dengan angka perkawinannya tinggi di Jawa Timur menindaklanjuti SE tersebut. Setelah tiga tahun, upaya yang dilakukan berhasil menurunkan angka perkawinan anak di Kabupaten Malang pada tiap tahunnya. Artikel ini menganalisis proses tindak lanjut kebijakan pencegahan perkawinan anak di Kabupaten Malang menggunakan metode penelitian deskriptif kualitatif, jenis penelitian studi kasus dengan teori Policy Success dari Allan McConnell sebagai pisau analisisnya. Artikel ini mengupas keberhasilan kebijakan pencegahan perkawinan anak dari dimensi proses, serta tingkat keberhasilan menggunakan degree of policy success/failure. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan keberhasilan kebijakan pada dimensi proses, pertama mempertahankan tujuan/instrumen kebijakan, seluruh tujuan SE Pencegahan Perkawinan Anak dipertahankan dengan beberapa kebijakan turunan, meski ada satu instrumen kebijakan terkait anggaran yang tidak sepenuhnya dipertahankan. Tingkat keberhasilannya masuk pada Resilient Success. Kedua, memastikan legitimasi kebijakan, dimana seluruh proses tindak lanjut SE dilegitimasi oleh semua pihak, sehingga tingkat keberhasilannya masuk pada Success. Ketiga, membangun koalisi yang berkelanjutan, Pemerintah Kabupaten Malang membangun koalisi berkelanjutan untuk mengatasi masalah perkawinan anak melalui kebijakan yang dibuat. Tingkat keberhasilannya juga masuk pada Success.

Kata Kunci: Keberhasilan Kebijakan, Dimensi Proses, Derajat Keberhasilan Kebijakan, Pencegahan Perkawinan Anak

INTRODUCTION

Children are the foundation of a nation's human capital. Investing in children's health, education and overall well-being is an investment in the future prosperity of a nation. It is important to realize that the role of children in achieving sustainable development goals cannot be underestimated. Investing in education, health and human rights is not only a moral imperative, but also a strategic imperative. Nurturing children's well-being, potential and empowerment is fundamental in creating a prosperous and sustainable future for the country and the world at large. (UNICEF, 2020).

An important issue affecting child protection and welfare is child marriage. According to UNICEF in 2022, the level of child marriage in Indonesia ranks 8th among countries in the world and 2nd in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) (UNICEF, 2022). In line with this, according to data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) 2022 shows that the proportion of women aged 20-24 years who are married or living together before the age of 18 is still high, namely 8.06 percent. This fact is of course very worrying, because child marriage will hamper the growth and development of children and even eliminate the basic rights that children should get such as education rights, health rights, civil rights, rights to be free from discrimination and violence and other rights. (BAPPENAS, 2023).

Child marriage is a marriage entered into by men and women at a child's age. According to Law Number 35 of 2014 concerning Child Protection, article 1 paragraph (1) states that, a child is someone who is not yet 18 (eighteen) years old, including children who are still in the womb (Pemerintah Republik Indonesia, 2014). The age limit for marriage in Indonesia is regulated in Law number 16 of 2019 which is an amendment to Law number 1 of 1974 concerning marriage, in Article 7 paragraph (1) states that marriage is only permitted if the man and woman have reached the age of 19 (nineteen) years (Pemerintah Republik Indonesia, 2019). From these two regulations, it is clear that the practice of child marriage is illegal because it violates the provisions of the law.

In 2024, East Java Province remained one of the regions with the highest rates of child marriage in Indonesia. The number of child marriage cases in East Java was recorded at 11,211 cases in 2019, 9,453 cases in 2020, 17,585 cases in 2021, 15,253 cases in 2022, 12,334 cases in 2023, and 8,753 cases in 2024. This figure positioned East Java as the province with the highest prevalence of child marriage, accounting for 7.78 percent—significantly higher than the national average (Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2024). Furthermore, East Java also recorded the highest number of marriage dispensation applications in Indonesia, reaching 8,753 cases, or 29 percent of all cases nationwide. Based on the 2024 case summary of marriage dispensation requests under the jurisdiction of the Surabaya High Religious Court (Pengadilan Tinggi Agama/PTA Surabaya), the following are the five districts/cities in East Java with the highest number of marriage dispensation cases in 2024.

Table 1. Marriage dispensation data for the 5 highest districts/cities in East Java in 2024

No	District/City	Quantity
1	Pasuruan Regency	889
2	Malang Regency	838
3	Banyuwangi Regency	728
4	Lumajang Regency	664
5	Jember Regency	561

Source : Direktorat Jenderal Badan Peradilan Agama, 2024.

In addressing the problem of child marriage, the East Java Provincial Government issued a policy in the form of Circular Letter (SE) of the Governor of East Java No. 474.14/810/109.5/2021 concerning Prevention of Child Marriage addressed to all Regents / Mayors throughout East Java and copied to relevant stakeholders. The SE is an effort by the government to increase child protection, fulfill children's rights, control the quantity and improve the quality of population or human resources (HR), and to improve the quality of child health in the context of preventing child marriage. The issuance of the Circular is needed as a strategic step by considering time efficiency, the needs of East Java Province, and districts/cities in the region. The Governor's Circular contains 6 steps regarding various matters related to the prevention of child marriage, including the efforts of various government institutions and the community in handling the prevention of child marriage, both in terms of social, education, health and efforts to handle the prevention of marriage from the grassroots, namely RT / RW.

Malang Regency as an area that contributes the highest number of child marriages in East Java Province follows up on the SE, one of which is the Malang Regency government has coordinated and collaborated with relevant stakeholders which resulted in a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) to accelerate the handling of child marriage cases (Subekti & Ulfah, 2023). Not only that, through the Malang Regency Religious Court (PA), efforts are made to reduce the number of marriage dispensations by socializing or counseling the law directly to the community, especially regarding changes in the age limit for marriage which refers to Law Number 16 of 2019 that children who can enter into marriage are at least 19 years old. The Malang Regency Religious Court also collaborates with the District and

Sub-District Governments in making efforts to suppress the increase in marriage dispensation applications (Thalib, 2024).

The efforts made by the Malang Regency Government have produced results and are able to reduce the number of child marriages, this can be seen from the number of child marriages in Malang Regency decreasing every year.

The following is data on the number of child marriage cases in Malang District in the last 5 years.

Table 2. Number of Marriages aged - 19 in Malang District in 2020-2024

No	Year	Quantity
1	2020	1.768
2	2021	1.610
3	2022	1.499
4	2023	1.202
5	2024	788

Source : Kemenag Kabupaten Malang, 2024

Based on the table above, it can be observed that the number of child marriage cases in Malang Regency increased significantly in 2020, reaching 1,768 cases. However, from 2020 to 2024, a gradual decline occurred. In 2021, the cases decreased to 1,610, followed by 1,499 cases in 2022, and further dropped to 1,202 cases in 2023. By 2024, the number had fallen substantially to 788 cases. This trend illustrates a significant and positive reduction in child marriage cases. The decline reflects the effectiveness of the efforts undertaken by the local government in addressing the issue of child marriage. Preventive measures and targeted interventions have demonstrated tangible impacts and positive outcomes in reducing the prevalence of child marriage within Malang Regency.

Talking about policy success is taboo, because so far the media has always reported on the alleged failure of government policies in order to overcome problems in society, but not many discuss the success of government efforts that run effectively, provide benefits, and last for a long time. Many government policies and programs in many countries have worked well, even very well, often for decades or more, so the study and analysis of the factors that drive or lead to success is equally or even more important than drawing lessons from occasional failures (Checkland et al., 2023).

Regarding policy success, McConnel (2010) has a comprehensive heuristic framework that allows analysts to approach and assess policy success. The framework identifies three dimensions of policy success, the first being the process dimension, which refers to the policy-making process stating that a successful policy process is one in which "the Government does what it sets out to do and opposition is almost non-existent and support is almost universal" (McConnell, 2021). The process dimension indicators include maintaining policy objectives and instruments, ensuring policy legitimacy and forming sustainable coalitions. Second, the program dimension includes implementation according to objectives, achieving expected results, and benefiting target groups. Third, the political dimension refers to improving electoral prospects, and simplifying government affairs. Under each dimension and indicator, McConnell (2010) identifies levels of success ranging from "success" where the criteria are fully met, to "failure" where none of the criteria are met. In between-"gray areas"-success may be partial, allowing for more sophisticated assessments of policy impact (McConnell, 2017).

Table 3. Degrees of success/failur on the process dimension

Success	Resilient Success	Conflicted Success	Failure
Maintaining policy objectives and policy instruments	Policy objectives and instruments are maintained, despite slight failures in achieving objectives	The chosen objectives and instruments proved controversial and difficult to defend. Several revisions were required.	The government is unable to produce the desired policy objectives and instruments.
Gaining policy legitimacy	Some challenges to legitimacy but few or none significant.	Difficult and contentious issues around the legitimacy of the policy, with some potential to	The policy process is not legitimateClick to apply

Success	Resilient Success	Conflicted Success	Failure
		influence/damage the policy in the long term.	
Building sustainable coalitions	The coalition remains intact, despite some signs of disagreement.	The coalition remains intact, despite strong signs of discord and some potential fragmentation	There is no sustainable coalition building.

Source : (McConnell, 2017).

Based on the explanation above, the child marriage prevention policy in Malang Regency has achieved the goal of reducing the number of child marriages in the last few years, although it does not rule out the possibility that there will be a small failure. Therefore, this article is to answer the research question: what are the process dimensions of the success of the child marriage prevention policy in Malang District? Malang District was chosen because in 2022 it became the highest child marriage area in East Java. The analysis was conducted using the Policy Success framework developed by McConnell (2010), focusing on the process dimension with three indicators of success, namely: maintaining policy objectives and instruments, ensuring policy legitimacy and sustainable coalition building.

This study aims to analyze the success of the child marriage prevention policy in Malang Regency in reducing the number of child marriage cases with a case study of preventing child marriage based on the East Java Governor's Circular Letter (SE) No. 474.14/810/109.5/2021, using the Policy Success analysis knife developed by McConnell (2010) which focuses on the process dimension with three indicators of success in maintaining policy objectives and instruments, ensuring policy legitimacy and forming sustainable coalitions. As well as assessing the category of policy success / failure based on the degree of policy success / failure from McConnell (2017). Several previous studies related to policy success have been conducted, such as research from Fellows & Dollery, (2021) on vocational education assistance programs in the Australian Government Checkland et al., (2023) on a pilot program in the UK National health service, namely the Vanguard program, and Mardiyanta & Ermawan, (2023) on salt business management policies in NTB Province. These studies fully analyzed the process dimension, using McConnell's theory. The novelty of this research is related to the object of research, namely child marriage prevention policies, which have not previously been carried out.

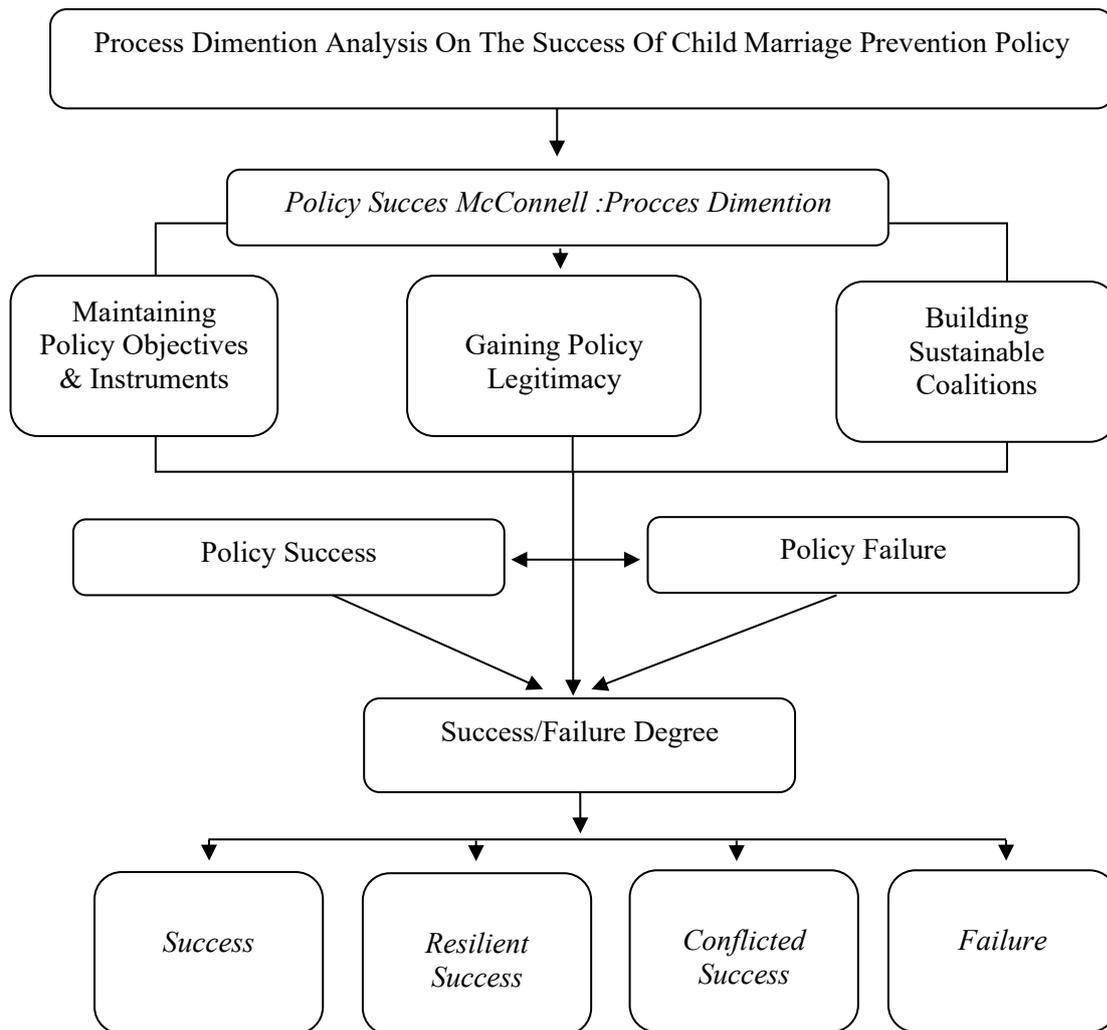
RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

This research stems from the critical issue of the high rate of child marriage in Malang Regency, which, despite showing a significant decline from 1,768 cases in 2020 to only 788 cases in 2024, remains an urgent issue requiring in-depth analysis. The policy context forming the foundation is the East Java Governor's Circular Letter (SE) Number 474.14/810/109.5/2021 on Child Marriage Prevention, which has been actively followed up in Malang Regency through various initiatives such as Memorandums of Understanding (MoUs), legal awareness campaigns, and collaboration among stakeholders. This framework illustrates how real-world problems are connected to regional policy interventions, providing a basis for exploring the effectiveness of these preventive efforts.

To unravel this complexity, the researcher adopts Allan McConnell's Policy Success theory (2010; 2017) as the primary analytical framework, emphasizing the process dimension with three key indicators: maintaining policy objectives and instruments, ensuring policy legitimacy, and building sustainable coalitions. This framework enables a systematic evaluation of how the policy is implemented and sustained amidst challenges. The culmination of this framework is the assessment of the degree of success using McConnell's degrees of success/failure, which include categories such as Success (full), Resilient Success (sustained despite challenges), Conflicted Success (controversial), and Failure (unsuccessful), based on the criteria outlined in Table 3 (McConnell, 2017). The research findings indicate success in the process dimension, with the first indicator achieving Resilient Success, while the second and third indicators achieve full Success. The implications are not only evident in the decline in child marriage rates but also in policy recommendations to strengthen long-term synergy, thus providing practical contributions to child protection efforts at the local level.

The framework used in this research is outlined as follows.

Figure 1. Research Framework



Source: Processed by Researchers, 2025

METHODS

This study analyzes the success of the child marriage prevention policy process in Malang Regency using a qualitative approach with a case study research type. Qualitative research with a case study approach aims to explain complex phenomena in a particular context (Baxter & Jack, 2021). This study uses a single case, namely the prevention of child marriage based on the East Java Governor's Circular Letter (SE) No. 474.14/810/109.5/2021. This research collects data through interviews, observations and documentation. The determination of research informants used purposive sampling technique. The research informants are stakeholders in efforts to prevent and reduce child marriage in Malang Regency, including the Regent, the Person in Charge (PJ) of the Regional Secretary, the Head of the Child Rights Fulfillment (PHA) Division of the Office of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (DP3A), the Head of the Family Resilience and Welfare (K3) Division of the Population Control and Family Planning Office (DPPKB), the Head of the Islamic Community Guidance Section of the Ministry of Religious Affairs Office, and the Chairperson of the Religious Court (PA). The reason for selecting these informants is because the stakeholders are directly involved in the policy process of preventing child marriage in Malang District. Meanwhile, documents were obtained from each local government's regional apparatus organization (OPD), downloaded from the internet and other media. Descriptive analysis explains phenomena in three levels: data reduction, where data is analyzed by transforming raw data from the field, presenting data, and finally assembling complex data into a systematic form so that conclusions can be drawn. Furthermore, the data is analyzed and arranged systematically to produce research results.

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RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

In 2024, Malang Regency recorded the highest number of child marriage cases among all districts and cities in East Java. However, data from the Ministry of Religious Affairs in Malang Regency indicate a significant downward trend in child marriage cases between 2021 and 2023. In 2019, the number of cases reached 917, which then rose sharply in 2020 to 1,768 cases. Since 2020, however, the figures have gradually declined, marking a sustained shift in the trend. In 2021, the number fell to 1,610 cases, decreased further to 1,499 in 2022, and continued to decline to 1,202 in 2023 and 788 in 2024. This reduction did not occur spontaneously, but rather was the result of the concerted efforts and collaboration of various stakeholders in Malang Regency. The swift and effective actions taken by these stakeholders in preventing child marriage have been the key to addressing this issue successfully. This provides clear evidence that the child marriage prevention policies adopted by the Malang Regency Government have been effective, as also emphasized by SR, Head of the Division for Child Protection and Women's Empowerment (PHA DP3A) in Malang Regency.

Related to this, as explained by SR as the Head of PHA DP3A Malang District.

"Based on data from year to year, child marriage cases in Malang Regency continue to decline, and Alhamdulillah in 2024 the cases have decreased dramatically. This is the result of efforts to accelerate the prevention of child marriage in Malang District, which is fully supported by the Regent to oversee the follow-up of the East Java Governor's SE on the prevention of child marriage in Malang District ". (Informant SR)

As a district with a high number of child marriage cases in East Java, the Malang Government is very enthusiastic in following up on the policy in the form of the East Java Governor's Circular on the prevention of child marriage. In Malang District itself there is no specific policy governing the prevention of child marriage, therefore the Regent fully encourages the follow-up of the policy from the Governor. In 2024, four years after the implementation of the Governor's Circular on the prevention of child marriage, there were significant results in reducing the number of child marriage cases in Malang District. This means that there is a discrepancy between the objectives of the policy and the expected results, because public policy is made by the central or regional government in the form of regulations and implemented by officials, the main goal is to solve problems and harmonize the relationship between the government and society (Wang & Wei, 2009).

Process Dimension - Maintaining policy objectives and instruments

From a policymaker's point of view, a legislative process in which a carefully scrutinized regulatory policy, but which results in the retention of broad values or the retention of detailed policy objectives and instruments, is likely to be considered a success (McConnell, 2021). Therefore, policies must be made carefully so that the values or objectives and policy instruments used can be maintained, and to ensure that the desired results of the policy can be achieved. This is because policies that have been passed and implemented will affect changes in the policy object, which can have good or bad effects. However, the main principle is to create positive changes (Weible & Sabatier, 2017).

Circular Letter (SE) of the Governor of East Java Number 474.14 / 810 /109.5/2021 concerning Prevention of Child Marriage which leads to Law Number 23 of 2002 which has been amended to Law Number 35 of 2014 concerning Child Protection, Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage which has been amended to Law Number 16 of 2019 concerning Amendments to Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage. The purpose of the East Java Governor's Circular Number 474.14 / 810 /109.5/2021 concerning Prevention of Child Marriage is to increase child protection, fulfill children's rights, control the quantity and improve the quality of the population or Human Resources (HR), and to improve the quality of children's health, it is necessary to prevent child marriage.(Regional Government of East Java Province, 2021). In the East Java Governor's Circular Number 474.14 / 810 /109.5/2021 concerning Prevention of Child Marriage, there are 6 instruments or 6 concrete steps to achieve these goals, including:

First, Inviting all stakeholders in the region to jointly prevent child marriage and ensure that marriage is only carried out if the prospective bride and groom are at least 19 years old, with an ideal age recommendation of 25 years for men and 21 years for women.

SN as the Regent of Malang Regency explained:

"We urge and invite through families, religious leaders, community leaders and local governments the importance of directing children's behavior so that it does not lead to the causes of child marriage, because the role of parents, education and the environment has a great influence on children's behavior and mindset." (Informant SN)

The Regional Government of Malang District provides appeals and invitations to various parties, including families, religious leaders, community leaders, and local governments, at the regional, sub-district, and village levels, to jointly direct the behavior of children so that they do not fall into child marriage. It is important to emphasize that the role of parents, education, and the environment have a great influence on the behavior and mindset of children. This appeal emphasizes the importance of a joint role in protecting children from the dangers of child marriage, which can have a negative impact on their development.

Calls and appeals are also made by DP3A, DPPKB, the Ministry of Religious Affairs, and the Religious Court of Malang District to collaborate in efforts to prevent child marriage. DP3A consistently promotes collective awareness through the slogan "Stop Child Marriage" to remind the community of its negative impact. DPPKB conducts socialization on Maturing Age of Marriage and Family Functions to increase children's understanding. The Ministry of Religious Affairs took proactive steps with MOUs, collaboration and socialization to encourage marriage at a more mature age. The Religious Courts organized counseling programs, tightened the requirements for marriage dispensation, and educated the parties involved in the judicial process about the risks of child marriage.

Second, create policies and budget commitments that encourage all relevant District/City Regional Apparatus Organizations (OPs) to implement child marriage prevention. In terms of making policies. The Malang District Government in its efforts to prevent child marriage has implemented several policies. One of them is cooperation with Forkopimda through a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) / Cooperation Agreement (PKS) to prevent child marriage. First, the Cooperation Agreement (PKS) between the Malang District Government, in this case the Health Office and the Malang District Religious Court and the Malang District Ministry of Religion Office, Efforts to Combat Underage Marriage in Malang District. The purpose of the PKS is to carry out preventive and solution activities for those who will marry underage, with the aim of reducing the number of underage marriages in the Malang Regency area (Pemerintah Kabupaten Malang, 2023a).

In addition, there is also a Cooperation Agreement (PKS) between the Malang District Government, in this case the Office of Women's and Children's Empowerment (DP3A) and the Malang District Religious Court on the Protection of Women and Children for Reducing the Number of Marriage and Divorce Dispensations and Disability Services. The purpose of this PKS is the protection of women and children to reduce the number of marriage dispensation applications and efforts to reduce divorce applications / lawsuits and disability services in Malang Regency. The purpose of this PKS is to reduce the number of marriage dispensation applications, which often involve women and children in marriages that are not in accordance with the law or social norms. (Pemerintah Kabupaten Malang, 2023b).

The next Cooperation Agreement is between the Malang District Office of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Malang District Office of Women's and Children's Empowerment (DP3A) regarding the Implementation of the Child Friendly Education Unit Program, Child Friendly Places of Worship and Efforts to Suppress Child Marriage and Facilitation of child protection assistance. The purpose of this cooperation agreement is the implementation of efforts to implement the Child Friendly Education Unit (SRA) Program in Diniyah Education, Child Friendly Islamic Boarding Schools and Child Friendly Places of Worship as well as Efforts to Suppress Child Marriage (Early Age) and Facilitation of Child Protection Assistance in bullying cases within the Office of the Ministry of Religion of Malang Regency, East Java Province, in accordance with the duties and responsibilities of the agency (Kemenag Kabupaten Malang, 2022). All of these agreements are

in line with and support policies in the form of Circular Letter (SE) of the Governor of East Java Number 474.14 / 810 /109.5/2021 concerning Prevention of Child Marriage.

In order to obtain stronger legality that focuses on the prevention of child marriage, the Malang District Government has also prepared a Draft Regent Regulation on Child Marriage Prevention. The draft regulation has been prepared and then taken to the District Legal department for further processing at the Provincial level. This step shows the serious commitment of the local government to prevent the practice of child marriage in Malang District, and to regulate the prevention efforts through appropriate legal instruments.

Regarding the budget commitment, NR as PJ Regional Secretary of Malang District also explained.

" Regarding this budget, it is indeed a classic problem, not that it does not exist, but we optimize and emphasize to the head of the P3A Service to optimize the available budget, even if it is only enough. But we must be realistic about the priorities and superpriorities of the distribution of the budget we have, because this local government budget must be managed optimally and firmly related to the priority scale. This budget problem is a classic issue where resources are relatively small but the need for development is very large. And the challenge is that when meeting with the DPRD, the budget team always uses priorities and superpriorities." (Informant NR)

The budget is an issue that is often faced, however, this does not mean that there is no solution. NR instructed the head of DP3A to optimize the use of the available budget. Although the amount may not be as much as expected, we must be realistic in setting priorities and super-priorities in budget distribution. In addition, in the context of the budget, the Malang District DPRD cannot make decisions on matters that have not been formally regulated in regulations. As a solution to the limited budget, the regional secretary of Malang Regency generally gave directions to Regional Apparatus Organizations (OPD) to improve the communication, negotiation and collaboration skills of heads of departments with the central and provincial governments. This is important considering the large number of agencies at the central and provincial levels, so effective communication needs to be built to ensure that policies and programs along with the budget can be derived and directed to Malang District. Relying on the Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBD) alone is not sufficient, therefore other strategies are needed that are more agile and efficient in dealing with budget limitations.

Third, advocating, supporting, encouraging, and facilitating all citizens to be able to fulfill the implementation of the 12 (twelve) year Compulsory Education Program. The Government of Kabupaten Malang consistently strives to encourage community participation in completing education at least up to the senior high school (SMA) level. In addition, efforts are also made to strengthen the educational environment, both through the Education Office and the Ministry of Religious Affairs, with the aim of providing education to students so that they do not fall into the problem of child marriage. The government emphasizes that parents have an important role in encouraging their children to complete their education up to college.

In addition to the local government, the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MoRA) has also always been a key driver in ensuring that every community, especially Malang District, can fulfill the obligations of the 12-year Compulsory Education Program. They actively advocate, support and facilitate efforts to integrate formal education through penma (madrasah education) and pontren (pesantren). In addition, this institution, through its community development (binmas) section, has also consistently mobilized support and voiced the importance of education in the community. The programs initiated by binmas not only aim to facilitate access to education, but also to ensure that every individual has the opportunity to complete their education up to senior high school level or equivalent. Thus, the MoRA not only plays a role in ensuring the continuity of formal education through religious institutions, but also in expanding the reach of education at all levels of society.

Fourth, facilitating and providing infrastructure for the establishment of Family Learning Centers (PUSPAGA). PUSPAGA is a national program that aims to facilitate and provide infrastructure for families in the learning process. In Malang District, PUSPAGA has a "one stop services" service for holistic integrative family services based on children's rights. This Puspaga service is divided into two forms, namely passive services and active services. Passive services are services where residents of Malang District can consult or

counsel related to problems experienced either from the child, parents or people responsible for the child. While active services emphasize more on providing information about strengthening the family's ability to care for and protect children. So that there are several forms of programs as an effort to strengthen families in caring for children and protecting these children.

Fifth, facilitating and encouraging the implementation of School for Prospective Brides for teenagers who will carry out marriage in order to gain skills and knowledge to prepare for married life. FA, as the Head of the Islamic Guidance Section of the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Malang Regency, gave an explanation regarding the implementation of the school for prospective brides or marriage guidance conducted at the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Malang Regency

" To gain skills, knowledge and knowledge of preparation for life in the household, there is this Bimwin program for prospective brides who have registered with the KUA. So there will be a lot of material delivered by resource persons. The resource persons for this binwin can be from DPPKB, the health department, can be from the facilitators, can also be from Bimas Islam, can be from the Head of the KUA, can be from the Islamic religious instructors, or can also be from mass organizations." (Informant FA)

The marriage guidance program (Bimwin) organized by the Ministry of Religious Affairs (Kemenag) is an initiative that aims to provide skills, knowledge, and life preparation for prospective brides and grooms who have registered with the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA). In this program, participants will receive a variety of materials delivered by various resource persons who are competent in their fields. The resource persons come from various agencies such as the Office of Women's Empowerment, Child Protection, Population Control, and Family Planning (DPPKB), the Health Office (DHO), experienced facilitators, the Islamic Guidance Agency (Bimas Islam), the Head of the KUA, as well as Islamic religious instructors and community organizations (CSOs). The material presented covers various aspects relevant to domestic life, such as reproductive health, interpersonal relationships, family financial management, and religious understanding. Through Binwin, it is hoped that prospective brides and grooms can obtain sufficient provisions to build a healthy, harmonious and sustainable marriage relationship.

Sixth, encouraging the community to actively report to prevent child marriage. The people of Malang Regency are encouraged to actively report child marriage to the RT RW neighborhood administrator, which is then continued in a structured manner to the ranks of Government starting from the Village Head / Head of Village to the Governor of East Java, both in writing and online, in order to prevent the occurrence of harmful child marriage. Through various channels such as Reporter Pioneers, sub-district and village level children's forums, and the Online Complaint Container Application (WADOOL), the community can provide reports quickly and efficiently. DPPKB Malang District also encourages active community participation in reporting by going directly to the field, inviting to be involved in reporting cases that occur, and conveying prevention messages through assistants from the Family Planning Service Center (TPK) who are active in each village. With a structured reporting system, it is hoped that the people of Malang District can be at the forefront of preventing and protecting children from the practice of child marriage, showing a strong commitment from DPPKB in addressing the issue.

In the criteria for maintaining policy objectives and instruments, the policy in the form of Circular Letter (SE) of the Governor of East Java Number 474.14 / 810 /109.5/2021 concerning Prevention of Child Marriage in Malang District is included in the Resilient Success category, which is defined as policy objectives and instruments are maintained, although there is a slight failure in achieving the objectives. (McConnell, 2017). The aim of the East Java Governor's SE is to prevent child marriage in East Java, one of which is Malang Regency, this goal is maintained in Malang Regency with several derivative policies or programs, namely the MOU / GCS for the prevention of child marriage, and the process of proposing a Perbup on the prevention of child marriage. However, although the six more specific policy instruments are maintained, there is one that is not fully maintained, namely related to the budget, because there is no regulation governing a special budget for the prevention of child marriage in Malang District. This is in accordance with the research (Mardiyanta & Ermawan, 2023) in maintaining policy objectives and instruments falls under the Resilient

Success/Tolerable Failure criteria, where the salt policy objective, as stated in Law No. 7/2016, is to improve the welfare of salt farmers, and this objective is maintained in its derivative policies, namely Ministerial Regulations, and regulations issued by the NTB Provincial Government. However, the six more specific policy objectives are not fully maintained in the derivative policies. Although not yet fully supported by the APBD, policy instruments from the APBN have been provided to implement the PUGaR program.

Process Dimension - Ensuring policy legitimacy

The process of ensuring that policies adopted by an institution or government have legitimate authority, strong buy-in from relevant parties, and are based on democratic principles or applicable laws (Begley et al., 2019). This is important because ensuring policy legitimacy lies in the need to ensure that decisions taken by governments or public organizations are reflective of the interests of society as a whole, and not just a particular interest group or party. According to (Andrews & School, 2022) that a policy produced through constitutional and quasi-constitutional procedures will give greater legitimacy to policy outcomes, even when they are challenged.

Even the emphasis on evidence-based policy or good negotiation and debate, which is at the core of politics, can be seen as a problem. (Crick, 2013), giving legitimacy and authority to whatever final decision is taken. Indeed, as argued by (Issalys, 2021), To the extent that legitimacy rests on the acceptance of both an authority and the rules set by that authority, it has a clear impact on the effectiveness of any public mechanism intervention. Consequently, process legitimacy can help ensure successful program implementation.

Regarding the legitimacy of SN as Regent of Malang Regency explained:

"The policy is very good, because as an accelerated government policy to reduce child marriage in East Java, we (Malang District Government) have followed up the Circular Letter with several quick steps such as MoUs with relevant Stakeholders." (Informant SN)

Malang District as the district with the highest cases of child marriage in East Java in 2024 welcomes and follows up on the Governor's policy in the form of a circular letter (SE). The policy in the form of an SE is said to be very good because it is part of the government's accelerated efforts to reduce child marriage cases in the East Java region. The positive action taken by the Malang District Government by following up on the Circular Letter shows their commitment to supporting the Provincial government's policy, as well as an effort to deal with the high number of child marriage cases in Malang District.

The forms of legitimacy of the East Java Governor's SE regarding marriage prevention in Malang District are followed up with various policies and activity programs, including Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with several related parties in Malang District, including the Ministry of Religion, Religious Courts, DP3A, DPPKB and the Health Office. Another legitimization, namely the Malang District Government at the end of 2023, has submitted a Draft Malang Regent Regulation on Child Marriage Prevention to the District Law section to be submitted to the East Java Provincial Law section. This is the result of coordination with the DP3A of East Java Province. considering that the high level of child marriage in Malang Regency is considered an Extraordinary Event (KLB). Therefore, Malang District followed up by drafting and submitting a Regent Regulation (Perbup) to prevent child marriage. This step is expected to produce a more effective and measurable policy in overcoming the problem of child marriage in Malang District. With a more focused regulation, it is expected to minimize the risk of child marriage in the future and protect the rights and welfare of children in Malang District.

SR explained about the Draft Regent Regulation:

" We also involved the target group in the preparation of the draft of this Perbup, by inviting a meeting and we explained the importance of the regent regulation on the prevention of child marriage and as a basis for collaboration and the draft was discussed one by one with them led by the Legal department." (Informant SR)

The drafting of the district head regulation on preventing child marriage also involved the target groups by inviting them to the meeting. The Malang District DP3A explained to them the importance of the regulation as a basis for collaboration. Furthermore, the Malang District DP3A discussed the draft regulation one by one

with the groups, led by the Legal department. This aims to ensure that the resulting regulation really takes into account the needs and input of the target groups involved.

The process dimension on the criteria for ensuring policy legitimacy, the child marriage prevention policy in the form of East Java Governor's Circular Number 474.14 / 810 /109.5/2021 concerning Prevention of Child Marriage in Malang Regency is included in the Success category, which is defined as the legitimacy of the policy is ensured by the acceptance of all parties (McConnell, 2017). The entire SE follow-up process was legitimized by all parties, including all policies derived from the MOU / PKS and the draft Regent Regulation on the prevention of child marriage and the submission process showed success, which proves that the formulation of child marriage prevention policies has good legitimacy. This finding is consistent with research Fellows & Dollery, (2021), which found that, when the Education Amendment Bill was passed through a standard democratic process and was not challenged on procedural or legal grounds, the bill was deemed valid and nothing undermined or changed the intended purpose of the program.

Process dimension - Forming sustainable coalitions

Building sustainable coalitions is an important endeavor in the world of government, organizations, or social movements to effectively achieve common goals. It involves the process of strengthening relationships between parties with similar or mutually supportive interests, by building trust, open communication, and clear agreements (Luetjens, 2019). Sustainable coalitions not only focus on achieving short-term goals, but also consider the long-term sustainability of relationships and collaborative efforts. To achieve this goal, it is important to respect the diversity of views and interests within the coalition, as well as pay attention to power dynamics and resource distribution. In doing so, building sustainable coalitions not only results in better solutions to the challenges faced, but also strengthens the foundation for continued cooperation in the future. A successful process from the perspective of policy makers and policy advocates can be presented as sustainable coalition building.

Sustainability is a luxury that cannot be obtained in circumstances such as minority governments or party split issues. In this case, gaining formal approval is the main objective. Regardless of such circumstances, it seems more feasible if the policy process successfully involves and reflects the interests of a strong coalition of interests. A sustained coalition of support is more likely to have the authority to ensure successful implementation, and/or to have sufficient power and authority to ensure that minor failures are less likely to be perceived as undermining the overall success of the policy. Policies are designed in such a way that they connect actors vertically and horizontally in a process of collaboration and deliberation. Mutual deliberation in the context of finding enough common ground to avoid ongoing conflict over the legitimacy of the policy and the mission it has set out to fulfill. (Ansell & Gash, 2018).

It should be noted that determining what constitutes a sustainable coalition is far from an exact science. Scholars have approached the issue from various perspectives, such as Riker's (1962) minimum winning coalition, Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith's (1993) advocacy coalition, Tsebelis' (2002) veto players and Baumgartner and Jones' (2009) policy monopoly. (Leong & Howlett, 2022). However, the debate does not negate the fundamental point that, from a policymaker's perspective, a strong alliance in favor of a particular policy initiative can be described as the basis for a successful policy. George W. Bush, for example, launched Operation Iraqi Freedom with the support of 49 members of a 'coalition of the willing'. He continuously used the level of multi-lateral support as an indicator of how successful the invasion was. In other words, the legitimacy of the assumed success of the process is considered as a justification for the program as a whole (McConnell, 2010).

Regarding the sustainable coalition, SN as the Regent of Malang District explained:

"Preventing child marriage is the responsibility of all parties, not just the local government. We always collaborate with stakeholders as well as being the initiator and facilitator to provide socialization and mobilize the ability of the region to provide guidance on preventing child marriage."
(Informant SN)

The Regent of Malang emphasized that efforts to prevent child marriage are a responsibility that must be shared by all parties, not just the local government. In this context, the Malang District Government involves various stakeholders in the prevention effort. The Malang District Government not only acts as an initiator, but also as an active facilitator in disseminating information and conducting socialization regarding the dangers of child marriage. More than that, we are also committed to mobilizing the ability of each region to carry out guidance and prevention efforts against child marriage. The form of sustainable coalition building carried out by the Malang District Government to overcome the problem of high child marriage rates is to implement a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) or Cooperation Agreement (PKS) with several related parties in Malang District, including the Ministry of Religion, Religious Court, DP3A, DPPKB and the Health Office. The PKS contains the tasks and functions that must be carried out by each related agency in the context of preventing child marriage. By building coalitions through MOUs with stakeholders, the Malang District government hopes to reduce the number of child marriages.

In addition to internal government, the Malang District Government also builds sustainable collaborations and coalitions with external institutions or organizations, namely the East Java Child Protection Agency (LPA) and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) Republic of Indonesia (RI). The form of coalition and collaboration is through the SAFE4C (Safe and Friendly Environment For Children) program and the BERANI II (Better Reproductive Health and Rights for All in Indonesia) program for the prevention of child marriage in Malang District.

The Malang District Government has also established various specialized teams to deal with the prevention of child marriage and the protection of women and children. This coalition was formed through the Malang District Head Decree which regulates the Child Friendly District Task Force and the Women and Children Protection Task Force (SATGAS PPA). The team involves various parties, including the Population Control and Family Planning Office (DPPKB), Religious Courts, Social Services, the Ministry of Religious Affairs, and community organizations. DPPKB through its Family Planning Extension Workers (PLKB) in each sub-district promotes understanding of marriage at the right age and family welfare. In addition, the Malang District Ministry of Religious Affairs formed a team of facilitators to socialize the importance of maturing the age of marriage.

The process dimension of the criteria for building a sustainable coalition, the success rate of the child marriage prevention policy in the form of East Java Governor's Circular Number 474.14 / 810 /109.5/2021 concerning Child Marriage Prevention in Malang District is included in the Success category, which is defined as the formation of a sustainable coalition (McConnell, 2017). Policies taken such as the MOU and PKS policies have contained coalitions with various related parties, in addition to coalitions built through collaboration with external organizations such as LPA East Java and UNICEF, and a special team has been formed involving various stakeholders, including the East Java regional government, courts, NGOs, and religious organizations and target groups to handle child marriage cases in Malang District.

Table 4. Degrees of success/failure on the process dimension

Criteria	Degree of Success/ failure	Degree criteria definition
Maintaining policy objectives and policy instruments	Tolerable Success	Policy objectives and instruments are maintained, despite slight failures in achieving objectives
Gaining policy legitimacy	Success	Gaining policy legitimacy
Building sustainable coalitions	Success	Building sustainable coalitions

Source : Kemenag Kabupaten Malang, 2024

CONCLUSION

The policy process for preventing child marriage in Malang Regency is a case study of preventing marriage based on the East Java Governor's Circular Letter Number 74.14/810/109.5/2021 from the perspective of Policy Success in the process dimension seen from three indicators. First, maintaining policy objectives and instruments. The objectives of the SE Child Marriage Prevention are maintained with several derivative policies or programs, although of the six more specific policy instruments are maintained, but there is one that is not fully maintained, namely related to the budget, because there is no regulation governing a special budget for the prevention of child marriage. Thus the level of success is included in Resilient Success. Second, ensuring policy legitimacy, where the entire SE follow-up process is legitimized by all parties, including all downstream policies. So that the level of success is included in Success. Third, building a sustainable coalition. The Malang District Government has built a sustainable coalition to both internal and external government to overcome the problem of child marriage through the policies made. The level of success is included in Success.

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