

DETERMINANTS OF CHILD MARRIAGE IN INDONESIA : A SYSTEMATIC REVIEW

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ABSTRACT

Early marriage is an ongoing phenomenon and is becoming more prevalent. The lack of public knowledge and lack of awareness of early child marriage leaves children deeply traumatized. More than 1 million (1.2 million) women aged 20-24 were married for the first time before the age of 18. The purpose of this study was to provide an overview of the causal characteristics of child marriage in Indonesia. The method used in this study was a systematic review conducted according to the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) rules. The literature search was performed across multiple journal sites or online articles such as Google Scholar, PubMed, and Science Direct by entering the keywords 'Determinants of child marriage AND Indonesia'. There is a prevalent belief among parents and youth is that marrying off young girls preserves family honor. Additionally, poverty and economic instability make child marriage more socially acceptable. Other contributing factors include limited access to education and societal norms that promote marriage after puberty and within the same ethnic group. Despite existing laws regulating the minimum age for marriage, enforcement remains problematic. The review of nine articles indicated that child marriage in Indonesia is influenced by beliefs, limited access to education, culture, environmental factors, and gaps in legal enforcement.

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INTRODUCTION

Children, according to WHO in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), are all human beings less than 18 years of age unless the applicable law in the country determines the age of adulthood earlier¹. Whereas in Indonesia, the regulation of Law no. 25 of 2014 states that

a child is any individual whose age has not reached 18 years, including children who are still in the womb². Child marriage is defined as a formal or informal marriage, where one or both of the partners are under 18 years of age³.

Early marriage is an iceberg phenomenon that continues to occur and is

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increasingly widespread. Lack of public knowledge and understanding of perceptions of early child marriage results in children experiencing deep trauma because of the many inhibiting factors due to such marriages, such as reproductive damage, disrupted health, and internal violence in households, because children are not ready to settle down. Factors consistently associated with child marriage in South Asia, including rural location, low levels of education, poor economic background, mass media, and religion (Hinduism and Islam in some countries), are less exposed. Maternal health factors resulting from child marriage include low availability of antenatal care services, low institutional births, and low delivery support by qualified obstetricians⁴.

In the revision of the 1974 Marriage Law no. 1, it is stated that the requirement for a man and a woman to be able to enter into a marriage is that they are both 19 years old. The difficulty of preventing early marriage or the rise of early marriage is due to the presence of permissible dispensations, such as children aged 16 years may marry as long as they have permission from their parents and local court. In addition, many early marriages are carried out in secret by way of unregistered marriage or are already pregnant before marriage⁵.

More than 1 million (1.2 million) women aged 20-24 were married for the first time before the age of 18. Meanwhile, there were 61.3 thousand women who held their first marriage before they were 15 years old⁶. In Indonesia, the province with the highest prevalence is West Nusa Tenggara, with 16.23 percent⁷.

The impact of early marriage can be observed in various dimensions of life, so it is necessary to know the causative factors.

This needs to be done to prevent an increase in the incidence of early marriage⁸. Sociocultural factors influence the misconduct that leads to child marriage, especially among girls. The factors contributing to child marriage include the lack of role of community leaders (village officials), lack of role of health workers, age, education, knowledge, household finances, parenting, and promiscuity^{9,10}. Religious beliefs also contribute as a factor. For example, in a study by Rofika and Hariastuti (2020), when a woman is in a trance, she has to be married to stop the trance⁹.

Until now, child marriage has been an important problem in Indonesia. The factors causing early marriage are different in each community area. This is influenced by geography, economy, society, culture, and religion. The negative impact of marriage and giving birth at a young age is the risk of premature birth, low birth weight (LBW), and even maternal death caused by the unpreparedness of women in conceiving and giving birth. Child marriage also has an impact on the low quality of the family, both in terms of psychological unpreparedness in dealing with social and economic problems in the household, and the risk of being mentally unprepared which results in severe depression¹¹.

Therefore, research on child marriage in Indonesia is important to do as the child marriage rate in Indonesia remains high (10.82%)¹². The purpose of this study was to provide an overview of the causal characteristics of child marriage in Indonesia, to determine the influencing variables, and to analyze the tendency towards child marriage in Indonesia.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The method used in this research was a systematic review, which was conducted following the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) rules and following the author's topic regarding Determinants of Child Marriage in Indonesia. A literature search was carried out through several journal sites or online articles, such as Google Scholar, PubMed, and Science Direct, by entering the

keywords "Determinants of child marriage AND Indonesia". Of the 45.522 articles found based on these keywords, the authors filtered them based on full-text criteria, articles in the 2021-2023 year range, and articles in Indonesian and English. The authors decided to use only articles from the last 2 years because the authors wanted to focus on discussing the implementation results of the 2019 revision of the Marriage Law. The next stage was the screening of the articles based on predefined inclusion and exclusion criteria, as shown in Figure 1.

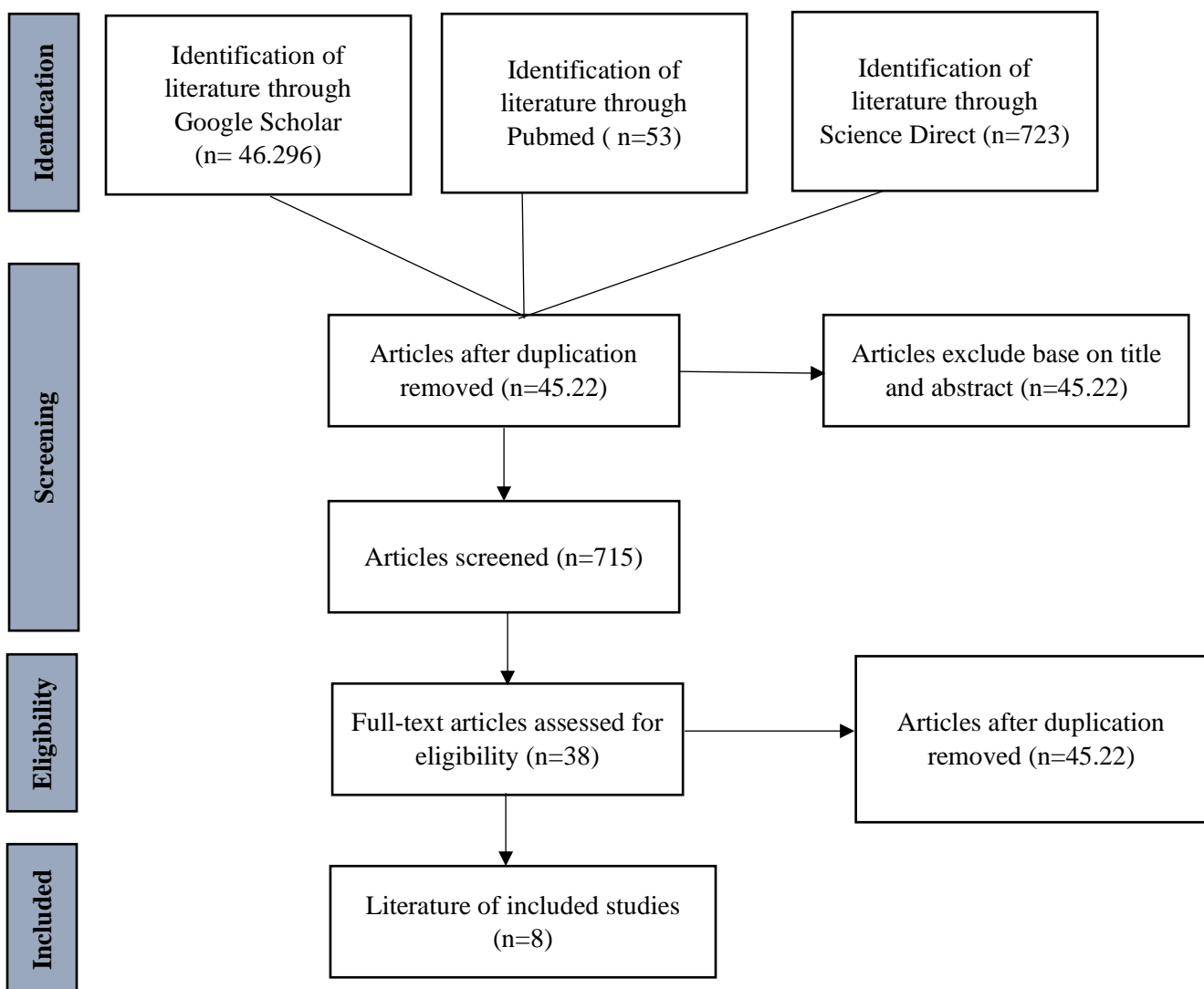


Figure 1. PRISMA Flow Diagram

RESULTS

Table 1. Literature search results

No	Authors	Title	Study Design	Sample	Main Findings
1	Heribertus Rinto Wibowoa, Muliani Ratnaningsih, Nicholas J Goodwina, Derry Fahrizal Ulumb, Emilie Minnick (2021) ¹²	One household, two worlds: Differences of perception towards child marriage among adolescent children and adults in Indonesia	A cross-sectional study using a quantitative survey.	Participants consisted of two groups; Parents or caregivers in households with children ages 13-15 and youth ages 13-15. The study was conducted in Bone District, one of 24 districts in South Sulawesi, located east of the capital of South Sulawesi.	The survey found that approximately 1 in 4 parents or adolescents have a perception that supports the determinants of child marriage. 25.8% of parents and her 26.0% of adolescents think girls can get married once they start menstruating. 25.6% of parents and 32.6% of adolescents agreed that unmarried girls over the age of 18 are a burden on the family. These differences were found to be significant using the U-Mann-Whitney, Kendall-Tau-b, and Pearson correlation tests.
2	Muliani Ratnaningsih, Heribertus Rinto Wibowo, Nicholas J. Goodwin, Ade Ayu Kartika Sari Rezki, R. Ridwan, Ratnakanya Nitya Hadyani, Emilie Minnick, Derry Fahrizal Ulum, Tanti Kosmiyati Kostaman, and Sitti Nur Faizah (2022) ¹³	Child Marriage Acceptability Index (CMAI) as an essential indicator: an investigation in South and Central Sulawesi, Indonesia	Quantitative study with cross-sectional study design.	Parents of households with children aged 13-15 living in two locations: Central Sulawesi and South Sulawesi.	The study found several important factors contributing to the acceptance of child marriage in Central and South Sulawesi. Household financial security (p=0.016), dowry (p<0.001), legal framework (p=0.017) based on ANOVA analysis. After performing bivariate correlations, dowry (p < 0.001) and sexual and gender-based violence (p < 0.001) remain significant factors. Dowry (p<0.001), expected B=0.122, and sexual and gender-based violence (p<0.001, expected B=0.064) remain significant after linear regression analysis.
3	Maila D.H. Rahiem (2021) ¹⁴	COVID-19 and the surge of child marriages: A phenomenon in Nusa Tenggara Barat, Indonesia	This study used qualitative phenomenology as a research method. Data is obtained through semi-structured, in-depth interviews	Using the Snowball sampling method, researchers selected 23 studies. Participants included 13 parents (7 mothers and 3 fathers) with minor children aged 14 to 17 who were married	Results show that teens get married for the following reasons: 1) Believe that marriage is one Escape - Escape stress and boredom at home during schoolwork, chores, studying or pandemic. 2) Customary Law - Local customs may encourage or permit child marriage. 3) Lack of understanding of the meaning and long-term consequences of underage

			and analyzed with a two-level coding model.	between March and December 2020. Adolescents (10 females, 3 males) were included. They came from two different reigns of the NTB: Lombok Balat and Lombok Utara.	marriage. 4) Financial Problems - Financial problems cause parents to marry their children at an early age. 5) Environmental and peer influences that promote early marriage.
4	Lisa Cameron, Diana Contreras Suarez, and Susan Wieczkiewicz (2022) ¹⁵	Child marriage: using the Indonesian family life survey to examine the lives of women and men who married at an early age	Pooled cross-sections and ordinary least squares (OLS).	Data from the Indonesian Family Life Survey (IFLS), a sample of 40,800 women and men over a period of up to 20 years.	Child marriage has been found to be associated with lower levels of education, lower incomes, and less say in family decision-making for both men and women. Women are less likely to give birth under medical supervision and are less likely to have children who die, are stunted, or have worse cognitive test results.
5	Nunik Puspitasari (2021) ¹⁶	Determinants and Impact of Child Marriage on the Bride in Indonesia	A case-control study.	A case group of 116 brides consisting of 58 brides married at age <18 years old and a control group of 58 brides who got married at age > 18 years old.	The variables that were significantly associated with child marriage were 1) the ethnic of the bride, 2) father's education, 3) mother's education, 4) the occupational of the bride, 5) education of the bride and 6) the purpose of marriage was to live happily (psychological). While the variables that were significantly affected the child marriage were: 1) the bride's education and 2) the purpose of marriage was to live happily (psychological). The variable that had the greatest impact on the child marriage was the woman's independence or autonomy.
6	Aliyas, Suardi Rais, A. ST. Kumala Ilyas, Jupri, and Yoslan K Koni (2022) ¹⁷	Optimizing The Role of Religious Jurisdiction in Preventing Child Marriage in Gorontalo Province	Empirical research with a qualitative approach.	People who apply for marriage dispensation at the Religious Court of Gorontalo Province.	The role of religious courts in efforts to stop marriages remains suboptimal. There are two reasons for a judge to grant a marriage dispensation: the benefits outweigh the harms and the best interests of the child take precedence.
7	Amran Suadi and Mardi Candra (2022) ¹⁸	Prevention of Child Marriage in Indonesia Based on System Interconnection	Normative research that uses a statutory and a	Examines the principles, norms, and legal regulations relevant to the research's major	The systematic prevention of child marriage referred to in this study refers to court strategies to prevent child marriage, which also involve other agencies. This

			conceptual approach.	issue using secondary data gathered by third parties.	new framework will allow non-judicial bodies to participate externally in the exercise and oversight of court jurisdiction in granting exceptional marriage licenses.
8	Nur Indri Wahyuni, Apik Indarty Moedjiono, and Muhammad Tamar (2021) ¹⁹	Determinant Factors Affecting Intention of Child Marriage to Adolescents in Banggai Laut	Quantitative study with cross sectional study design.	192 teenage students in SMA Negeri 1 Banggai and SMA Negeri 2 Banggai.	The results of the bivariate analysis showed that there was an effect of attitude family drive, and behavior control on the intention to do child marriage ($p < 0.05$). The results of multivariate analysis showed that there was only one variable that had a p-value < 0.05 , namely the family drive variable with $p = 0.029$. Further statistical analysis showed that respondents who are influenced by family encouragement have a plan to marry with children of 4,871 times.

A systematic review was conducted on 9 articles related to the determinants of what causes child marriage in Indonesia, which is explained in Table 1. Based on this table, the factors of child marriage in Indonesia are knowledge, economy, education, culture, law, and the environment, which have an impact on child marriage after the issuance of the 2019 Law concerning the maturity of marriage age.

DISCUSSION

Belief

The study found that a significant percentage of parents and adolescents in South Sulawesi believe that marrying girls can protect family honor, and this belief is stronger among adolescents. Child marriage is culturally and socially supported among Buginese and Makassarese communities in South Sulawesi, with the belief that marrying young can bring honor to the family¹.

Parents also did not understand the impact of young marriage. Parents allowed their children to marry for non-coercive reasons, such as children coming home late².

Another reason for the increase in child marriage is the belief that children who reach puberty are ready for marriage. Adolescents are more likely than parents to view puberty as a contributor to child marriage. The perception that physical changes, particularly menstruation, indicate a girl's readiness for marriage is prevalent among parents and adolescents in Indonesia and other countries^{1,2}. From the results of previous research, it appears that there is still a lack of understanding of the long-term impacts and implications of underage marriages.

Misconceptions and beliefs in society can also encourage marriage at a young age²⁰. In Indonesia, the number of early marriages is increasing due to certain community customs²¹. Certain cultural or religious values may create pressure or

demands for marriage at a young age. Some cultures and religions encourage young marriage as part of their religious traditions and beliefs²².

Economy

The high prevalence of child marriage in Indonesia is associated with poverty, as financial insecurity, including income, contributing to the acceptability of child marriage. Child marriage limits income generation capacity, leading to lower standards of living and poor health outcomes for girls and their families³. Child marriage has adverse effects on the well-being of women, men, and their children, including less education, lower earnings, less female empowerment, and worse child health⁴. Child marriages are more common among low-income families, as parents may see it as a way to no longer be responsible for their daughters². Adolescents believe child marriage can provide economic benefits, while parents see it as a solution to financial problems and avoid the burden of unmarried adult daughters¹.

The COVID-19 pandemic has impacted the economy, leading some families to consider marriage as a solution to their financial problems, especially if they cannot afford to send their children to school. Online learning requires expensive technological devices, which some families cannot afford, causing adolescents to become lazy and eventually leave school. Some adolescents have also reported that they have decided to get married because they were bored and did not have any other activities to do².

Governments can take a number of actions, including; Reducing the cost of education for parents, creating economic incentives, and providing vocational training and life skills to enable girls to

make informed decisions about their futures. Conditional cash transfers that target young women have been successful in reducing early marriage in Bangladesh and Malawi. However, limited evidence is available on interventions such as school construction or job opportunities⁴.

Education

In research conducted by Cameron, et. al. (2022)¹⁵ shows that child marriage has far worse consequences for women, men, and their children. Then the factors that influence child marriage, one of which is education (for men and women). This research also explains other factors, such as lower income and less voice in household decision-making for both men and women. This research is also in line with the results of Puspitasari (2021)¹⁶ research, showing that the education factor of fathers and mothers is a factor in the high rate of child marriage. For example, in Probolinggo district, East Java, Indonesia, if the daughter is 20 years old and unmarried, unless her parents are highly educated, the parents will be very concerned.

Culture

A study conducted by Rahiem (2021)¹⁴ shows that cultural factors are one of the many factors that influence the high child marriage rates. For example, public opinion considers an unmarried woman to be married by the age of 20. Also, the general public believes that a person can get married once they reach puberty. According to Puspitasari (2021)¹⁶ research, it explains that there are cultural factors of the bride's tribe. Girls who marry at an early age will usually marry neighbors who are not far from where they live. Therefore, they tend to marry people from the same tribe. Since most of the Probolinggo regency tribes are Madurese, child marriage must also occur among Madurese. If a girl

travels far from her village, such for working or studying, she is much more likely to marry at a more mature age and find a partner from another tribe.

Law

Child marriage is influenced by many factors, one of which is the applicable law. Based on research conducted by Muliani et al (2022) stated that knowledge of the legal framework has a significant relationship with the acceptance of child marriage¹³. Marriage law in Indonesia has a significant influence on the prevention of child marriage. To prevent child marriage, the Indonesian government changed the law. Previously, Marriage Law No. 1 of 1974 stipulated that marriage was legal when the girl was 16, and the boy was 19 years old²³. This provision allows child marriage to occur. Therefore, this law was amended in October 2019, which states that the marriage age of women and men are allowed to marry if both are already 19 years old²⁴.

Another study also stated that the law on the dispensation of permission to marry has an impact on increasing the prevalence of child marriage. Prevention can be done by tightening permits or terminating dispensation permits. In this case, the judge must pay attention to the paradigm and interests of the child¹⁴. This research is in line with research conducted by Aliyas et al (2022) that the religious courts play a very important role in obtaining dispensation permits. Religious courts have the power to decide whether a girl or boy under the age of 19 is married. The authority of the court is regulated in the Supreme Court Regulation¹⁷.

The Indonesian Child's Act even has a provision that stipulates the obligation of parents to prevent early marriages.

However, the law is somewhat effective in Indonesia. Unfortunately, the fatal flaw is the low-threshold provision that enables parents to request dispensation for early marriage. This shatters all the efforts to eliminate child marriage. Moreover, corruption in Indonesia further contributes to the problem, with underage marriages facilitated by falsifying age records despite legal requirements. Efforts to combat such fraudulent practices by authorities have been limited²⁵.

Environment

The practice of child marriage is considered normal in the society, encouraging young people to marry early. Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, young people frequently spent time with their friends. However, during the pandemic, many experienced feelings of loneliness, with some decided to marry during this period. The influence of seeing friends get married also played a role, prompting some young girls to marry even before completing their education¹⁴.

An analysis by Wahyuni et al. (2021) revealed that family motives shape children's intentions to marry, with gender playing a significant role, while behavioral control influences marital intentions based on age during adolescence. Behavioral control, in this context, refers to the perceived ease or difficulty of marrying at an eligible age. Unlike common cases where marriage is driven by out-of-wedlock pregnancies or family pressure, this study found that the decision to marry was driven by the young woman's own desire, supported by her partner and family, to ease the path to marriage. Child marriage is facilitated by this behavioral control, making it easier for young individuals to marry under certain circumstances¹⁹.

The selection of a social environment is crucial, as it can play a significant role in shaping a child's future development and opportunities. Many parents are overconfident in their children without knowing what their children's social environment is like. This can encourage children to engage in promiscuity and lead to out-of-wedlock pregnancies. Thus, parents should marry off their children at a relatively young age²⁶.

CONCLUSION

Child marriage in Indonesia is influenced by beliefs, economic factors, limited access to education, culture, environment factors, and the law. The belief that marrying young girls protects family honor is widespread among parents and adolescents. Poverty and financial insecurity make child marriage more acceptable. Lack of education and societal norms that favor marriage after puberty and within the same tribe also contribute to the issue. While laws regarding marriage age exist, enforcement challenges persist. Child marriage is considered normal in society, and family motives and behavioral control impact the decision to marry early. Addressing child marriage requires a comprehensive approach involving education, economic empowerment, legal reforms, and changing societal attitudes.

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CONFLICT OF INTEREST

All authors have no conflict of interest.

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AUTHOR CONTRIBUTION

All authors contributed to the entire process of this study, including manuscript preparation, data collection and analysis, and approval for draft and publication.

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