

Salasika

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Agents in Child Marriage Practice in Rural West Java

Novitha Syari Dhevi Pradipta, Ekawati Sri Wahyuni,
& Titik Sumarti

Bogor Agricultural University

novipradipta@gmail.com, ekawatiwahyuni@gmail.com,

& titiksumarti61@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The prevalence of child marriage in Indonesia, although it has declined over the last three decades, remains in a high rate. Child marriage is indirectly legitimated by the Indonesian Marriage Law of 1974 which states that the minimum age limit of the bride shall be 16 years old. This is contrary to the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and the Child Protection Law. Child marriages in rural areas are not only driven by structures like family and society but are also initiated by individual actions driven by the agency. Therefore, this study examined child marriage practice comprehensively through the perspective of Giddens's structuration. This study aimed to identify the agents in child marriage practice. The results of the study found that there are two types of child marriages in rural areas. The first one is registered and the other is unregistered marriage. The identified agents in child marriage practice are girls, *amil* (assistant of marriage recording officer), Religious Affairs (KUA) officers, peer groups, teachers, mothers, and spouses. Each agent's action is affected by both structure and agency. Girl's actions are influenced by the agency. The girls are able to do agency in and through social practice. Girls' agency produces meaningful action understood as a process and inherent to the agent through reflexive monitoring. Meanwhile, the actions of other identified agents are influenced by the existing structures in the society. Agent's actions perpetuate child marriage practice. Child marriage practice occurs because there is no family strength. Therefore, the improvement of the family strength is needed as a constraining structure.

KEYWORDS: *agency, child marriage practice, family strength, reflexive monitoring*

INTRODUCTION

Child marriage is a critical issue because it is a violation of human rights of children to education, to health especially reproductive health, inhibits their opportunities for personal development and growth. Child marriage is a marriage made by children under the age of 18 through civil, religious or customary law with or without

official record (BPS and UNICEF 2015). Girls, especially in rural area, are more likely to get married earlier than boys.

Child marriages in developing countries have different patterns. Girls' marriages in the Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia region occur before the age of 15 years, which aim to maintain the virginity of girls. Islam et al. (2015) revealed that the

intercommunication of girls in rural Bangladesh was limited after puberty and even hampered their education. Child marriages in the Middle East like Iran cannot be separated from the practice of temporary marriage contract in the Shia tradition (*mut'a marriage*) (Tremayne, 2006). Some of these practices then turn into permanent marriages when the couple has grown up. Meanwhile, in Latin America, Taylor et al. (2015) mentioned that girls are usually married to more mature males. Pregnancy is one of the causes of child marriage. In addition, religion became one of the important factors in influencing norms about sexuality and marriage.

Indonesia is the second highest country in ASEAN after Cambodia in child marriage. According to UNFPA report (2012), the child marriage rate in Indonesia today is persistently high despite the declines over the last three decades. Based on SUSENAS 2015 there was a decline in the child marriage practice under the age of 15 years old from SUSENAS 2008 that was 27.4 percent to 23 percent. That rate still represents almost more than one in six girls marrying before reaching adulthood. Most Indonesian girls get married before the age of 18 years. According to UNICEF (2016), one in every seven girls in Indonesia is married before the age of 18. About 2.24 percent of girls aged 10 to 17 years in rural Indonesia have been married (KPPPA & BPS, 2015).

Indonesian Marriage Law No. 1 of 1974 article 7 paragraph (1) states that marriage is only permitted if the man has reached the age of 19 years and women aged 16 years. The minimum age limit for women becomes one of the opportunities

and legitimises child marriage practice. The consideration of the Government in the setting limit focuses more on the physiological standpoint. Indonesian Marriage Law No. 1 of 1974 has undergone legal inconsistencies because it is contrary to the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and the Child Protection Law. In Indonesian Child Protection Law, a child is a person who is not yet 18 years old. Judicial review has been conducted against The Marriage Law of 1974, because it results in the deprivation of the right of the child to grow and develop in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia article 28 B and 28 C section 1 (Iriani, 2015). The Indonesian Marriage Law is also contrary to The Child Protection Law and Convention on The Rights of The Child. In The Child Protection Law and International Law definition of a child is anyone under the age of 18 years.

Child marriage ends the childhood of a girl immediately and forces her to assume responsibilities beyond her years. Child marriage has negative consequences on the girl's own life such as curtails her education, minimizes her economic opportunities and close the possibility for the girl to obtain job opportunities or job training for a better life. Consequently, the girl would have lower social status in her husband's family, fewer reproductive controls, domestic violence and higher divorce risks (Field & Ambrus, 2008; Raj et al., 2010). Seiler (2002) mentions that the marriage of girls gives some effects on the economy, health, and welfare of the mother. Furthermore, child marriage is very risky for the girl. The married girl at that time experiencing puberty generally has

a strong sexual drive so it is very likely to soon have a first and subsequent child after marriage. This is certainly very risky to reproductive health for mothers even leads to maternal and infant mortality and low nutritional intake (Santhya, 2005). Girls under 15 years old are five times more likely to die in childbirth than women in their 20s and face the higher risk of pregnancy (Nour, 2009).

The high rate of child marriage is related to economic factors, low levels of education and there is still a culture or tradition that encourages child marriage practice. Even child marriage has become a social norm in society. Nour (2009) reveals that child marriage is driven by three main forces: poverty, the need to reinforce social ties, and the belief that it offers protection. In such cases, girls who are considered to have been worthy to marry may be viewed as an economic burden or even disgrace for the family (Jensen & Thornton, 2003). Research conducted by Homzah and Sulaeman (2014) reveals that marriage at child age in West Java is associated with the social structure of society. The social structure of agrarian or rural societies with weak socioeconomic conditions tend to marry at the age of the child. In addition, there are traditional norms aimed at preserving women's chastity and preventing premarital sex. But on the other hand, it also relates to patterns of individual relationships including romantic relationship. Sometimes marriage is a self-choice, come from girl's initiative. The decision to marry is influenced by the negative stigma of society in getting married at old age, fear of adultery or disclosure of premarital sexual (PLAN International Australia, 2014;

Candraningrum et al., 2016). Therefore, this study aimed to comprehensively examine child marriage practice through the structuration standpoint by Giddens, that a social practice is the result of a combination of structure and agency. This study attempted to identify the agents in child marriage practice. This is because the child marriage practice is not only related to the structure of society but also agency.

This research was conducted in Gunungsindur Village, Bogor Regency, West Java Province. The location selected purposively with consideration that West Java Province is one of the provinces with high child marriage that is 29.3 percent (BPS & UNICEF, 2015). Meanwhile, Aminullah (2012) mentioned that Bogor Regency has a low first marriage age more than 50 percent. This study used a mixed-method that combined qualitative and quantitative approaches. The quantitative approach was used as a baseline data in this study. The qualitative approach was used to interpret the meaning and purpose of action as well as the behavior of research subject. While the participants of this study were girls aged 13 to 20 who got married under the age of 18 years, as the agent in child practice. Important to note though it is said as a child, they have entered adolescence. In addition, other agents who involved in child marriage practice were parents, siblings, spouses, *amil* (assistant of marriage recording officer), Religious Affairs (*KUA*) officers, village officers, teachers and peer groups. In this case, agent's action was affected by both the structure and the agency. The purposive sampling technique used in the quantitative approach was 32

married girls under the age of 18 years. Data collection techniques for obtaining primary data were through observation, in-depth interviews, and survey. In addition to primary data, this study also made use secondary data such as literature study and statistics.

THE GIRLS AND FAMILY BACKGROUND

Mostly the age of the bride is 16 and their spouses' was between 17 to

25 years old. This means that marriage of girls aged 16 and 17 is still viewed as acceptable in much of Indonesian society. It shows that protection against girls decreases when they reach 16 years of age (BPS & UNICEF, 2015). The age of the spouses was also young, that indicates that marriage is no longer arranged by parents as before, but family driven by society still shape child marriage practice.

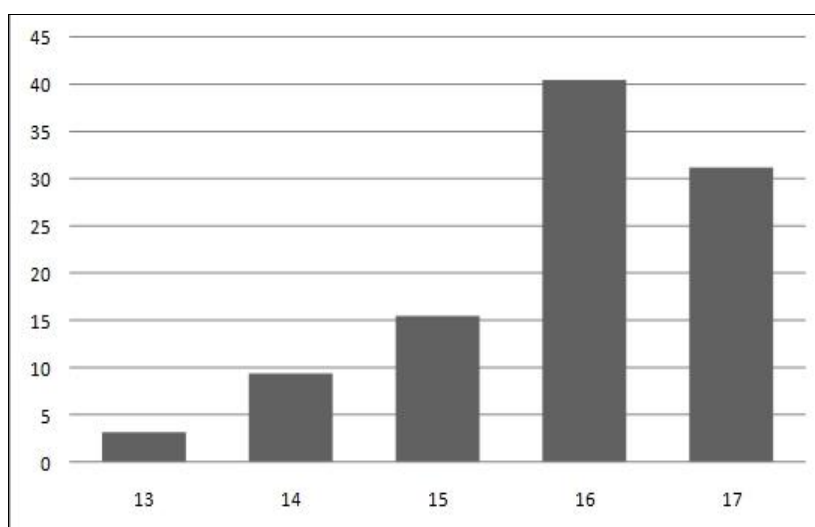


Figure 1. Percentage of girls' age at marriage

Based on Figure 1 most of the girls got married when they were 16 years (40.7 percent), and 17 years (31.2 percent). It is because, at that age, the girls were permitted to get married. The figure also shows that getting married at that age is most common (BPS & UNICEF, 2015).

The girls have low educational attainment, as shown in Figure 2. Mostly the girls completed their middle school (46.9 percent). Even around 43.8 percent just completed their primary school. Some factors related to the low educational

attainment of girls are explained in next discussion.

Figure 3 shows that educational attainment of the girls' father is low. Mostly the girls' fathers just completed primary school (46.9 percent). In addition, Figure 4 also shows that even 50 percent of the mothers have no ducation or some primary. It means that both parents and the girls (daughters) have low educational attainment.

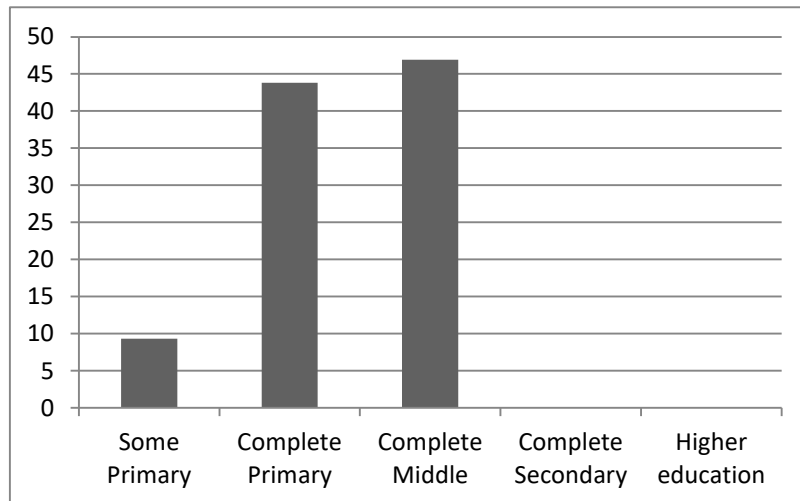


Figure 2. Percentage of educational attainment of the girls

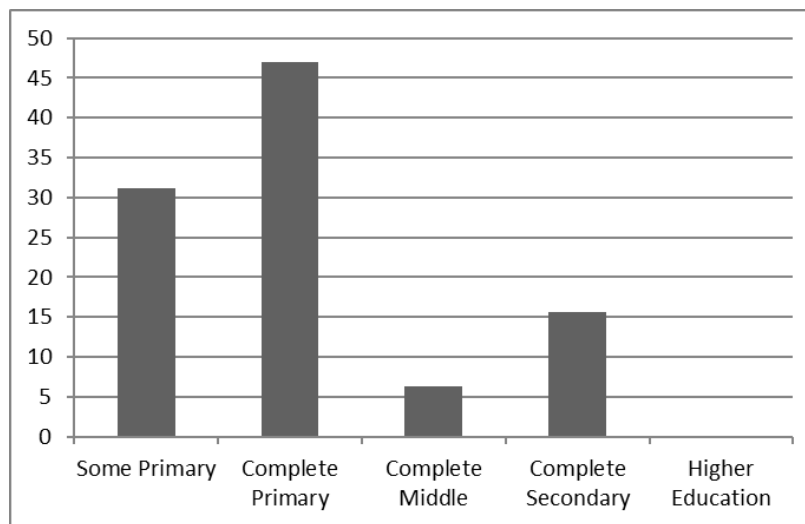


Figure 3. Percentage of educational attainment of the girls' fathers

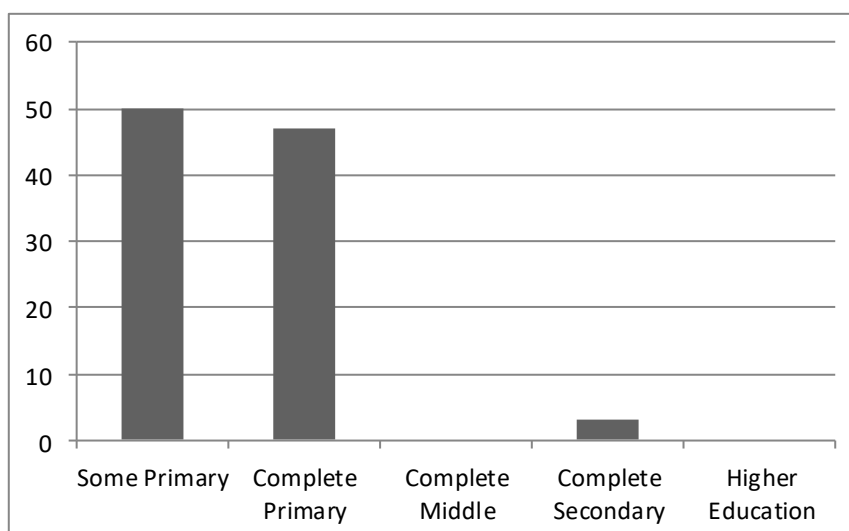


Figure 4. Percentage of educational attainment of the girls' mothers

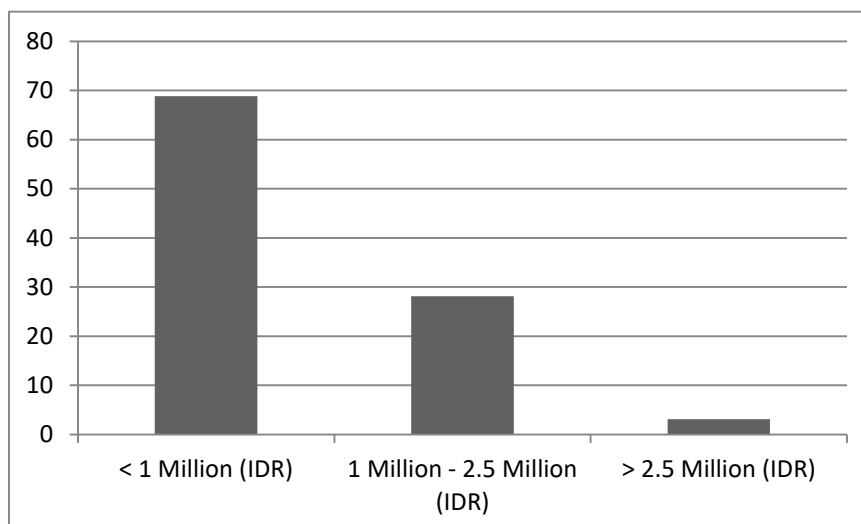


Figure 5. Percentage of monthly family income

Low educational attainment of both the parents and the daughter became one of the causes of child marriage. Parents have no knowledge about the impact of child marriage. The girls who quit the school earlier have no reason to delay the marriage. After quitting the school, they choose to work for several years. Afterwards, they choose to get married. They think they have completed their life process and it is time to enter family life.

The people who marry off their children are in the low social-economic level. Child marriage in rural society occurs as a division of roles and responsibilities of the female family to the husband (Oyortey and Pobi 2003). Monthly family income of the respondents ranged from less than 1 million (IDR) to more than 2.5 million (IDR). Most of them (68.8 percent) have monthly income less than 1 million (IDR) (Figure 5).

TYOLOGY OF CHILD MARRIAGE

There are two types of child marriage, both are legal marriages. The first one is registered and the other is unregistered marriage. The registered marriage is legally done in accordance with both state and religious law. The registered marriage is legal even the age of the bride is between 16 to 18 years old because the age of 16 years old is the age limit in the Indonesian marriage law of 1974. But there is the registered marriage because of manipulation of the age of the bride. The registered marriage due to the manipulation of the age of the bride relates to the agent's action in the child marriage practice which will be the next discussion. Manipulation of age through raising the age of girls to be able to register the marriage in Religious Affairs Officer (*Kantor Urusan Agama*). Although at the age of 16 years old the girls are eligible for marriage, the bride who has not reached 21 years old needs parental consent, which is shown by the model form N5. But when the wedding still wants to be held even if the bride and groom or one of them is still below the minimum age

limit, parents can apply a dispensation to the Religious Court. However, their parents prefer to shortcut by manipulating their daughter's age than applying for dispensation for impracticality reasons.

The second one, unregistered marriage is only legal under the religious law. This type also includes marriage under the customary law. Both marriages under the religious or customary law are legal but without an official record. The marriage usually will be registered when the age of the bride has been appropriate with the limit of bride age in the Indonesian marriage law of 1974. The delay of marriage register because they do not have the fund for the wedding celebration or the age of the bride is still under the minimum age limit. Another reason is because the girls have been pregnant out of wedlock. This marriage is held on condition that women should not get pregnant first so that their child remains recorded in their family card.

Starting in 2016 the marriage registration has been conducted by computerized system, thus minimizing the effort to manipulate the age of marriage. But on the other hand, it increases the marriage of the second type, the unregistered marriage that is only under religious law. In marriage under the religious law, there is only agreement between the girl's father or trustees and the groom and witnessed by two men. Under the religious law the girl may marry when she is already in her puberty.

GIRL'S AGENCY IN CHILD MARRIAGE PRACTICE

The girls are the agent in child marriage practice. As an agent, girls have the capacity to reflexive monitoring that is rationalizing and finding reasons for their surroundings. The actions of girls are influenced by the agency because it begins with their initiatives. It also means that child marriage is self-choice. The girls are able to do the agency in and through child marriage practice. Please note that child marriage is a natural thing in society and has become a social norm. Marriage is the next stage of a girl's life. But in this case the action for girls to marry from within, then affect the decision to get married early. The girls have entered adolescence so they can make their own decisions even though based on intuition and emotional factors. This is also reflected in the mate selection made by themselves. Mostly the girls admit that they are ready to get married. Their readiness also arises from seeing their surroundings. Yet some of the respondents admitted that they were less ready to get married. Unfortunately, in fact, they were also not capable financially, socially and psychologically. Readiness and capability to get married are something seriously need to be considered. It so contrasts to the mindset of poor women in America or Europe, they tend to delay marriage until they are financially stable and ready to commit (Lammana et al., 2016).

Marriage readiness is the ability of a person to take their new roles as a husband or wife, and to try to get involved in his marriage (Duvall & Miller, 1984). The girls who claim to have been ready and capable to have families want immediately to have

children. Yet the girls who less ready and capable to have family and children, so child-rearing duties will be taken over by their parents. They also prefer to live with their parents, even some of them are still receiving financial support from parents.

In addition to intuitive and emotional factors, child marriage is also frequently initiated by sexual factors. Actually, intuitive and emotional factors are related to sexual factor. The girls through intuitive and emotional factors begin to build a romantic relationship with the opposite sex. Statistics show that most boys and girls become sexually active at around the age of fifteen or earlier (Glasier et al., 2006). In adolescence, girls and boys are undergoing development and maturation, especially sexual development, whatever studied and perceived by them will shape their attitudes and sexual behavior. Unfortunately, during this development, they received less attention from their parents so they are more affected by other agencies. The emotional involvement in relationships between boys and girls added with the modernization of information and communication technology resulted in premarital sexual behavior that became one of the causes of adolescent marriage. Premarital sexual behavior is often the case in teenagers who have been in pairs.

Unlike the marriage decision because intuitive factor which is voluntary, marriage decisions because of the sexual factor that results in premarital sexual behavior is often due to coercion. Sometimes the girls feel regret when they got married. This regret then leads to a less appreciative attitude towards the meaning of marriage. This less

appreciative attitude occurs in both or one partner only. On the other hand, the male as the head of the family is too focused on making a living so the child becomes fully regarded as the responsibility of the wife. It then leads to quarrels and even divorce.

Please note that one's agency can be influenced by internal and external factors. Kinseng (2017) mentioned that internal factors include behavioral system organism and personality system; external factors include the social system and cultural system. Girl's agency in marriage at the age of the child based on the internal factor of the personality system, the woman involves intuition and emotion. While external factors are social systems and cultural systems. The interaction between the girl and the other agents certainly influences her like her experience, attitude, and mind. For example, when girls interact with peers who are married then peers will put pressure on and influence the personal preferences of girls to marry, further discussed in the next section. Likewise, the customs or traditions of marriage that exist in society can affect girl's agency.

Therefore, the girl's action who are influenced by the agency rather than breaking the existing practice of child marriage but instead perpetuating that practice. Agency can also be an ability to maintain the existing conditions (Kinseng, 2017). The actions undertaken by the girls later became a social practice is child marriage practice.

THE OTHER AGENT'S ACTIONS

Unlike girls, whose actions are influenced by agencies, some of the

agents below act because they are driven by the structure of society. Therefore, the agent's action is not started from the initiative themselves and then become routine. In this case, there is no structure that constrains child marriage practice, so the action of this agent supports that structure. Some of these agents are *amil* (assistant of marriage recording officer), Religious Affairs (KUA) officers, peer groups, teachers, mothers, and spouses.

***Amil* as A Technical Implementers in Child Marriage Practice**

Amil in this case is an agent or technical implementers in the child marriage practice because he contributes to manipulating the age of the bride and groom, especially the brides. *Amil* has a role to assist the government in registering the marriage in Religious Affairs Office (KUA). *Amil* is appointed as a partner of Religious Affairs Office (KUA) because he is closer and knows the conditions of the community where he lives. Parents usually ask *amil* to register the marriage to the KUA including taking care of N5 form or parental consent form. Parents and *amil* manipulate the age of the girls to be able to register their marriage at KUA. As presented previously, manipulation through raising the age of girls is done in order to meet the requirements for minimum age limit. Please note that almost all children in rural areas do not have birth certificates, so manipulation is usually done through a family card. There is no structure that constrains child marriage practice so that *amil's* actions are driven by existing structures in society.

The computerized system of marriage recording that began to

occur in 2016 minimizes the effort of manipulating the age of the bride. Yet this does not reduce the child marriage practice. Marriage is still held even though not registered their marriage to KUA. As has been described previously in the typology of child marriage, this type of marriage is held in religious law. This type of marriage has consequences that the couple must delay pregnancy first so that their children will be registered as their child in the family card. If women have already been pregnant, then their children will be registered as a child of a mother's parents.

Religious Affairs Officer and Marriage Registration

The Religious Affairs Officer only records marriages if the man has reached the age of 19 years and women aged 16 years. If there are women who will register under the age of 16 years, they will be rejected. Religious Affairs Office (KUA) provide dispensation for any marriage involving people younger than 21 with parental consent. The parents have gained permission from a district level religious court. In this case, however, the parents chose to manipulate the age of the bride. This manipulation occurs because the girl does not have birth certificates. PLAN (2014) reported that lack of birth documentation is strongly linked to child marriages in Indonesia.

Religious Affairs Office (KUA) as a formal institution of marriage registration less anticipate child marriage practice. Religious Affairs officer can play an active role to minimize marriage of children under the age of 16 indicated to manipulate age. A computerized system implemented by Religious

Affairs Office at least reduce the practice of data manipulation. Religious Affairs Officer less educate and socialize about child marriage and its impact. Religious Affairs Office is expected to be an institution that can transform the child marriage practice.

Peer Groups

Individuals will align their behavior with their peer group. Peers put pressure on personal preferences in the community and then endogenously supported by society (Michaeli & Spiro, 2017). The pressure indirectly made by peers is also the result of reflexive monitoring from the surroundings. Each individual reflects what they get from their surroundings in their behavior. In other words, individuals feel the pressure to behave in accordance with their peers. In this case, it is related to child marriage practice.

There are three contributions of peers in child marriage practice that all perpetuate child marriage practice and even form a new behavior pattern that supports the practice. First is peer pressure to quit school earlier. Socially, in adolescence, individuals prefer secondary groups as a reference in behaving. Their reasons are they do not have fund and they most often say that their friends are also out of school and choose to work. They do not regret their decision to get out of school earlier despite not having passed the final exam. Second is peer pressure to get married at child age or earlier. Several informants admitted that those who have been married actually because they are affected by their friends who are also early married. Teenage girls assume after they work then decide

to get married also no problem and all parties both family and society widely support it. Third is peer pressure on sexual behavior. Peer pressure leads to biased norms and often sustainable (Michaeli & Spiro, 2017). Sexual behavior is influenced by social media and then transferred through peers. The adolescent desire for a relationship is influenced by peer groups. Similarly, when the sexual activity is often carried out even though they do not yet have a legal bond. Kim and Free (2008) said that the information obtained about the sexuality of peers more determine the attitude of adolescents in sexual activity with their partners. Sexual behavior has initiated the occurrence of child marriage.

Teachers: The Expected Transformative Agent

Teachers can be role models in the character development of students in schools and in society widely. Unfortunately, Gunungsindur Village people have a low interest and opinion on the importance of education. As seen in Figure 2, 3, and 4, they indicate that there are low educational attainment of two generations, the generation of girl's parents and the girls themselves. Education is less attractive to the majority of the people in Gunungsindur Village to improve their social status. In addition to improving social status, education can also be a way of delaying and maturity of marriage age.

Teachers in this context can mean teachers in formal education as well as teachers in non-formal education such as *pengajian* that are more closely with rural communities. Nationally, reproductive health does

not become the curriculum and main topics. Reproductive health or marriage maturation is usually only delivered in formal schools in the city but is not yet the primary reference in rural schools. Actually, reproductive health and marriage maturity can be delivered by counseling teachers. The obstacle is that the teacher still considers it as taboo. There is a case of immorality which involves a teacher actually makes expectations about role model and the transformative agent disappears. As a result teachers in formal education have not become a role model or a transformative agent in child marriage practice. Meanwhile, for teachers in non-formal education such as *ustadz* and *ustadzah*, discussion about marriage is quite often done even on the premarital sexual behavior. However, as well as formal education that does not inspire, nonformal education is also only attended by old people, so the target audience is not so precise.

Girl's Mother

Mothers are the agencies that most often encourage child marriage practice. This condition occurs for several reasons. First, mothers are more sensitive to social pressures. Second, mothers having the experience of early marriage tend to pass it on to their daughters and consider it to be the natural thing. Third, mothers are usually also the most agree if their

daughters do not continue their education. Mothers assume that high education is not important because, in the end, women will only become housewives. This is actually related to the education attained by mothers themselves who mostly do not finish primary school. In addition, the mother is also always pessimistic with the child's work later if the child is highly educated.

Spouse

Partner or spouse also contribute in two ways in child marriage practice. First, the proposal indirectly as a behavior that encourages the occurrence of child marriage. Most partners or their husbands are also at a young age, so the decision to marry is also much driven by emotion. This condition is then reinforced by the customs of people who forbid rejecting a man's proposal because it will make difficult for the future the girls' mate. Thus the proposal will soon be accepted by the family even though the age of their child is still fairly young. Second, it is similar to the explanation of the girls' actions. The loose relationship between the girls resulting in sexual behavior between the girls and their partners is possible the occurrence of child marriage. Society and family will certainly encourage the occurrence of marriage as a way to cover up disgrace.

Table 1
Agent in Child Marriage Practice

Agents	Actions	Explanations
<i>Amil</i> (assistant of marriage recording officer)	Manipulating the age of brides	Perpetuate child marriage practice Shape new social practice → manipulating the age of brides
Religious Affairs (KUA) Officers	Ignore manipulating the age of marriage Less socialize about child marriage	Perpetuate child marriage practice
	Computerized system of marriage recording	Minimizes the effort of manipulating the age of the brides Increasing “nikah sirri” child marriage practice
Peer Groups of The Girls	Give preference about child marriage Peer pressure	Perpetuate child marriage practice
Teachers	Not become a role model Less inspire	Perpetuate child marriage practice
Mothers	Encourage child marriage practice	Perpetuate child marriage practice related to social pressure
Spouse	Propose to marriage Sexual behavior	Perpetuate child marriage practice

FAMILY STRENGTH: SPECIAL ATTENTION IN GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT STAGE

Adolescence stage brings many changes not only physically but also socially. Physically adolescents experience growth and puberty changes also occur at this stage. Physical changes are also followed by hormonal changes in the body. At this stage, the adolescent becomes interested and spend more time in mixed gender group. They begin to build relationships with the opposite sex. The relationship is especially a romantic relationship. The romantic and sexual relationship becomes important and central to their social life. On average, middle adolescence is a time when teens begin to be

interested in the more intimate relationship and experimentations (Tulloch & Kaufman, 2013).

Socially, adolescence is a transition stage between game stage to generalized stage, from primary socialization to secondary socialization. In this stage, children are most strongly attached to their parents move increasingly away from parents and increasingly close toward peers. It means that parents' influence diminishes at this stage. The process of secondary socialization at this stage most affect the individual. Peers more influence and acceptance becomes very important. It is because they more commonly participate in play with peers than with their parents. At the

same time, adolescents are developing and consolidating their identity including their development of self-identity and sexual identity. They disengage from parental control to assert more autonomy. Increasing to focus and more importance on the relationship with peers and group activities. They define their social identities according to how they are similar to and differ from others and find it in their social groups especially peers group. Moreover, they shape each other's behavior and attitudes. Peers give both positive and negative impact during adolescence. Negative peer pressure can lead them to make riskier decisions. Peers often reinforce and show approval signs against the problem and deviant behavior. In this case, negative peer pressures are quit school earlier and get married at child age or earlier.

In the case of child marriage, parents or the girls themselves see that the body is maturing physically, but not necessarily occur in the brain, thinking skills and emotional development. What looks on the surface does not always match what's happening on the inside. It is important to note especially by parents that puberty and physical changes just a sign of maturity does not mean they are mature. The child needs assistance in the face of the growth and development stage. Give special attention to children who are experiencing growth and development. Parents should have conversations with their child about their changing, sex and relationships and also ground rules and consequences for breaking the rules. But it is very difficult given that parents, especially in rural areas sometimes regard sex and relationships as a taboo

conversation. In addition, parents have less knowledge about growth and development stage of their child and do not know what to do. That is why when the child does not get the appropriate answers and parental assistance then the child will look for it in their peer group.

At least parents should be role models, although at this stage the child socializes more in peer groups. The most influential role models for teenagers are the grown-ups in their lives (Raising Children Network, 2017). Parents can play a role in helping their child choose 'good' friends (Knoster et al., 2006). It can anticipate the occurrence of unexpected behavior and social deviation. Important to note, in this case about 15.6 percent indicated got married as a result of premarital sexual behavior. This percentage is small because it does not represent real data because of the difficulty in obtaining information and informant consent.

FAMILY SUPPORT TO ATTAIN HIGH EDUCATION

In this case, both parents or daughters have low educational attainment. Mothers even worry if their child has high education. In mothers' opinion, the girls will be housewives, therefore they do not need high education. Education has a latent function to prolong adolescence and delay marriage. The family does not provide reinforcement and support for the children to attain high education. It is seen from a family that loosely allowing their child to quite a school earlier. This may happen because family have the less academic knowledge and do not know how to support their children. The family attitudes are also less appreciative of

neighbors who have high educational attainment.

In another hand, few of them can attain high education so that it can delay marriage. Although parents do not have high educational attainment parents are highly appreciative of education. The family especially mother really support the education of their child. Therefore, children are motivated to go to school. Shor et al. (2013) mentioned that support from the family member was more beneficial and needed than the support provided by friends. Family involvement in education correlates with higher academic performance students tend to earn higher grades, attend school more regularly, and stay in school longer. In this special case, parents encourage their children to attain high education. Parents realize that education can provide a better life for their child.

We can see that although the surroundings do not support to attain high education, there are also peers who give negative pressure, support from family is very valuable. As described previously, although children in adolescence undergo a process of secondary socialization they still require reinforcement from their parents. There are several kinds of family support such as emotional support, social support, and financial support. In the special case above, parents primarily give emotional and social support such as caring, appreciation and positive role model for their children.

CONCLUSION

Child marriage in Indonesia is still existed, especially in girls aged 16 to 17 years. The age of the spouses

is also young, that indicates that marriage is no longer arranged by parents. Parents who marry off their children have the low social-economic level and low attainment education. There are two types of child marriage. The first one is registered and the other is unregistered marriage. The registered marriage is legally done in accordance with both state and religious law. However, there is the registered marriage because of manipulation the age of the bride. The second one is unregistered marriage is only legal under the religious law. The unregistered marriage is actually a delayed marriage registration. The registered marriage and unregistered marriage are both legal marriages.

Child marriage practice is not only related to the structure of society but with social relations between agencies, which are inter-related. Girls' agency has a reflexive monitoring capacity and reproduces the structure. In this case, girls' actions are affected by the agency perpetuate child marriage practice. This study found the identified other agents in child marriage practice. Their actions are driven by the existing structure in the society. First, *amil* or assistant of marriage recording officer, they are the technical actors or implementer in child marriage practice. Parents and *amil* manipulate girls' age to be able to register their marriage at Religious Affairs Office (KUA). Second, Religious Affairs Officer as the formal institution of marriage registration less anticipates child marriage practice. Religious Affairs Officer less educate and socialize about child marriage and its impact. Third, peers contribute in child marriage practice in three ways. They are peer pressure to quit

school earlier; peer pressure to get married at child age or earlier; and peer pressure on sexual behavior. Fourth, teachers are the expected transformative agency. In fact, teachers less inspire about education especially for parents and the girls. Fifth, mother and spouses of married girls. Mothers are the agent that most often encourage child marriage practice for the amount of reason. Mothers are more sensitive to social pressures; mothers having the experience of early marriage tend to pass it on to their daughters; and mothers are usually also most agree if their daughters do not continue their education. The spouse or partner also contributes in two ways in child marriage practice through their proposal and their premarital sexual behavior. To minimize the child marriage practice, it is necessary to improve girls' agency and transform existing structures, then increase constraining structure, beginning with the family level. In this case, child marriage practice occurs because there is no family strength. The family strength that can be implemented in this case are two things. First, the family gives special attention to children who are experiencing growth and development. Parents should have conversations with their child about their changing and be positive role model. Parents also can help their child to choose friends. Second, family support to attain high education. In this case, both parents or daughters have low educational attainment. Attaining high education is one way to improve the agency of girls. Actually, parents, especially mothers can encourage their children to attain high education although their surroundings does not support it. Few of them can

attain high education so that it can delay marriage.

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SALASIKA etymologically derived from Javanese language meaning 'brave woman'. SALASIKA JOURNAL (SJ) is founded in July 2019 as an international open access, scholarly, peer-reviewed, interdisciplinary journal publishing theoretically innovative and methodologically diverse research in the fields of gender studies, sexualities and feminism. Our conception of both theory and method is broad and encompassing, and we welcome contributions from scholars around the world.

SJ is inspired by the need to put into visibility the Indonesian and South East Asian women to ensure a dissemination of knowledge to a wider general audience.

SJ selects at least several outstanding articles by scholars in the early stages of a career in academic research for each issue, thereby providing support for new voices and emerging scholarship.

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