



## Strategies for Child Marriage Prevention in Indonesia: A Case Study

Enny Fitriahadi<sup>1✉</sup>, Thuy Hong Nguyen<sup>2</sup>, Endang Koni Suryaningsih<sup>1</sup>, Evi Wahyuntari<sup>1</sup>, Yekti Satriyandari<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Department of Midwifery, Faculty of Health Science, Universitas Aisyiyah Yogyakarta, Indonesia

<sup>2</sup>Department of Fundamental Nursing, Faculty of Nursing and Medical Technology, Can Tho University of Medicine and Pharmacy (CTUMP), Can Tho City, Vietnam

### Article Info

#### Article History:

Submitted September 2024

Accepted July 2025

Published July 2025

#### Keywords:

early-age marriage; prevent; stunting; sexual exploitation

#### DOI

<https://doi.org/10.15294/kemas.v21i1.13732>

### Abstract

Early marriage is a complex social problem, with many girls marrying before the age of 18. In Indonesia, child marriage data in 2021 increased by 30%. This figure indicates that early marriage remains a significant challenge in Indonesia, in terms of education and health. This study aims to explore perceptions about child marriage and provide insight into the dynamics of decision-making around child marriage in Dlingo and Dukun, Indonesia. Qualitative research methods were used to ensure an in-depth understanding of the reasons and processes behind child marriage. Data were collected through 12 focus group discussions (FGD), 20 in-depth interviews (IDI), and 6 semi-structured key interviews (KII) informants. The instrument used a semi-structured guideline, using individual interview techniques. Data analysis used Nvivo version 12. This study concluded that families use child marriage as a protection strategy in response to economic insecurity. In addition, this program is also used as a means to protect young women from sexual exploitation and prevent consensual sex before marriage. Early marriage is associated with the vulnerability of pregnancy complications, while the recommendation is to provide comprehensive education to adolescents about reproductive health and the dangers of early marriage.

### Introduction

In Indonesia, child marriage has been increasing annually by 18% among young women and 4.7% among young men under the age of 18. Meanwhile, the incidence rate in Central Java was 9.75%, while in Yogyakarta it was 84% (Statistics of Indonesia). This trend is shaped by cultural norms and perspectives among those under 18, which restrict educational opportunities, particularly for young women, and negatively impact health and empowerment due to the risks associated with early pregnancy (UNFPA-UNICEF, 2020; Wen, 2024). Additionally, some communities resort to early marriage as a means of protecting children from premarital relationships and sexual abuse, as well as preserving family honor.

In Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, child marriage is also seen as a strategy to alleviate family economic hardships (Hüseyin, 2021; Kuygun, 2020). Daughters from households with lower levels of education and income are particularly vulnerable to child marriage, often arranged by their parents (Allasad, 2020; Duran, 2019). Furthermore, the availability of suitable grooms who belong to specific castes and religions, possess economic assets, and hold high educational qualifications, as well as the availability of dowry funds, serve as significant driving factors.

Local customs play a significant role in promoting the occurrence of child marriage (John, 2019). Child Marriage Restriction Law recommended a national minimum age of 16

✉ Correspondence Address:

Department of Midwifery, Faculty of Health Science, Universitas Aisyiyah Yogyakarta, Indonesia  
Email: [ennyfitriahadi@unisayogya.ac.id](mailto:ennyfitriahadi@unisayogya.ac.id)

years for women and 18 years for men. In 2020, the marriage age for women was raised from a minimum of 18 to 19 years in Yogyakarta province. According to the Demographic and Health Survey (2021), 18.29% of women aged 29–49 years were married at 18 years, while 12.7% of 15–19-year-old women in Bantul were reported to be married. Child marriage reached 13.5% of total cases in 2020–2021 (Lo, 2019), attributed to the poor implementation of legal restrictions and contextual factors such as economic constraints and climate change (Indraswari, 2023; Nurlaily, 2025). In Indonesia, 66–78% of marriages are adapted to local culture, where a pair of siblings is exchanged between two households (Lo, 2019).

Young women are also commonly considered subordinate to young men, possessing limited decision-making power, education, and knowledge regarding sexual and reproductive rights as well as health (Ali TS, 2011; Chandra-Mouli, 2018; Handayani 2024; Azinar, 2024). For example, a study conducted in the urban slums of Lahore showed that 13 out of 19 interviewed women were unaware of the negative impacts of child marriage and satisfied with parental decision to become engaged before the age of 18 (Lo, 2019). Mengjia (2021) interviewed five married 13 to 19-year-old women in the Dlingo Bantul area, as well as another five in Dukun Magelang, and found that the victims lacked adequate initial preparation because of limited knowledge. Furthermore, the victims believed that higher knowledge would help to achieve sufficient preparation for future lives (Raj, 2019; Hermawan, 2024; Fitriahadi, 2024).

Lahore and Indonesia both have strong cultures and traditions that influence the practice of early marriage. Factors such as social norms, community pressures, and religious beliefs are often key drivers. While there are differences in cultural details, these basic patterns provide commonalities that can be used for analysis and comparison. The early marriage data from Lahore has significant relevance to the Indonesian context, particularly in socio-cultural, economic, and educational aspects. Despite geographic and demographic differences, similar patterns can be identified and used to understand the root causes and

design more effective solutions. International collaboration and knowledge exchange can be a critical step towards addressing this issue more comprehensively (Raj, 2019; Hermawan, 2024).

Only 34% of young women were surveyed and consulted. Parents were the primary decision-makers in choosing partners and marriage dates (Yount, 2018). Understanding the decision-making dynamics surrounding marriage is crucial for developing specific and effective interventions in cultural contexts. The primary objective of the mentoring program (2020–2021) conducted in Bantul is to enhance the reproductive health knowledge of younger generations, as well as reduce child marriage and early pregnancies. It includes implementation of the ‘in-school approach’ (Vanwesenbeeck, 2016; Sekine, 2017), dialogues with community leaders, and economic empowerment activities in certain districts. Specifically, the program develops an individual or private mentoring model consisting of cadres, midwives, young children, and parents who are trained to understand reproductive health and raise awareness concerning child marriage through community campaigns from one household to another. Based on collected data, this study aims to explore community perceptions about child marriage among youths aged 15–24 years and provide insights into the associated decision-making dynamics in Dlingo and Dukun, Indonesia. Research contribution to children’s health related to reproductive health in women who marry early. Contribution to the government in developing intervention programs to delay the age of marriage, such as women’s economic empowerment or community-based advocacy programs. This research can provide significant contributions to understanding the phenomenon of early marriage more deeply and offer solutions to reduce its negative impacts.

## Methods

Qualitative methods were applied in this study as a critical part of a broader investigation aimed at clarifying the child marriage assistance program conducted in Dlingo and Dukun. The assistance program was implemented collaboratively by the Bantul Regency government, community leaders, and Aisyiyah

cadres, with the Aisiyiyah community in Dlingo as a research partner. In addition, data collection was conducted in September 2021 in Central Java and Yogyakarta Provinces. Both Dlingo and Dukun are identified as predominantly poor rural areas with large Muslim populations, especially Dlingo, which experiences the highest poverty intensity in Bantul Regency, Yogyakarta. Dlingo has elementary schools and only a few high schools. Elementary school graduation rates for young men and women are 52% and 38% in Bantul and 57% and 26% in Magelang, respectively (Tenkorang, 2019). In addition, the labor force participation of 30% men in Dlingo is associated with the practice of recruiting around 700,000 children as casual laborers, mostly from Muslim families. Tenancy relationships are often inherited, and all family members, including women and children, are expected to be involved in field work (Weny, 2024; Paul, 2019). Previous investigations reported that 30% and 25%, and 40% and 13% of women and men aged 18 to 24 in Dukun and Dlingo, respectively, were married before the age of 18. According to Statistics Indonesia (2022), 11.2% of women aged from 15 to 19 gave birth early in Dlingo. Therefore, this study uses qualitative methods to provide in-depth insights into 'why' and 'how' child marriage occurs (Busetto, 2020). Data were collected through 12 focus group discussions (FGD), 20 in-depth interviews (IDI), and 6 semi-structured key informant interviews (KII).

FGD and IDI were conducted with adolescent girls and boys aged 15–24 years and their parents or caregivers. Other IDIs were conducted with health workers, religious leaders, Aisiyiyah cadres, and government staff, while KII were conducted with policymakers, legislators, and NGO staff at the district level. Each FGD session was attended by 6 to 8 participants and was arranged simultaneously with all interviews in a closed setting, such as the home of the participant or Aisiyiyah cadre. The research team consisted of a lead scientist and four assistants, including two women and two men. The assistants were midwifery students at Universitas Aisiyiyah Yogyakarta who had relate experience in qualitative investigations and were initially trained on research objectives, sampling methods, tools, and ethics before data

collection. In addition, guidelines for the FGD, IDI, and KII were developed by the team in collaboration with program partners. Purposive sampling was adopted to select participants based on age, gender, and marital status.

The qualitative research instrument used a semi-structured guideline, using individual interview techniques. The interview guideline was piloted before the interview was conducted to ensure that it functioned well and was in line with the research objectives. In addition, the observation checklist form uses primary and secondary data. For quantitative research, a questionnaire was used to assess respondents' knowledge of the impact of early marriage on children. The questionnaire refers to previous research, which had previously undergone validity and reliability tests. The validity of the questionnaire was confirmed at 100%, and its reliability, as measured using Cronbach's Alpha, was 0.809, exceeding the threshold of 0.50. Thus, the questions in the questionnaire are reliable.

Interviews were subsequently audio-recorded with the consent of participants, and assistants prepared field notes. The process of FGD was carried out for about 1.5 hours, and interviews were performed over a period of 1 hour. One of the scientists supervised and supported the assistant team to ensure the quality of the collected data. After each session, the study team conducted debriefings to assess the quality and progress of data collection and discuss associated challenges. The team regularly contacted the authors virtually to discuss the challenges and opportunities encountered during data collection. All data were transcribed verbatim and translated into English, followed by the implementation of random testing checks on the transcripts. Thematic content analysis was also performed using Nvivo version 12, and a generic coding framework was developed based on current and relevant literature as well as the results from the baseline data collected in 2018. Themes identified from the data were discussed among the team and added to the coding framework. The coding helped identify patterns, including similarities or differences, in the responses of participants from the two sub-districts. Narratives were written based on primary

themes and sub-themes, and then the study team explained the objectives, potential risks, and benefits as part of the consent process.

The right to withdraw consent during the interview without any penalties was reiterated, and informed consent forms adapted to the local Indonesian language were provided to participants. Verbal consent was obtained when participants felt uncomfortable disclosing names or signing the consent form. In the case of minors, consent from parents or caregivers had to be obtained, along with the minors' consent. This study adhered to strict qualitative research standards to ensure data validity and trustworthiness (Johnson, 2020), using various strategies to maintain high data quality throughout the research process. Data validity in qualitative research is assessed through trustworthiness, which includes aspects such as transferability, confirmability, dependability, and credibility. Repeated checking and review of transcripts by other researchers further ensured reliability, with NVivo 12 used for data storage and organization. Moreover, the child marriage assistance protocol was approved by the Research Ethics Committee of Universitas Aisyiyah Yogyakarta (1873/KEP-UNISA/VIII/2021).

## Results and Discussion

Sample demographic characteristics, including the participants' gender, are presented in Table 1. In this study, both married and unmarried young people were recruited as participants, showing varying levels of education, with some lacking formal education. Most interviewed fathers received a relatively good education and were predominantly engaged in farming, while all interviewed mothers had no formal education and solely remained as homemakers. Similarly, all interviewed grandmothers lacked formal education and were aged 50 years. Among the two religious leaders (Muslim) assessed, one held a bachelor's degree. Health workers from both sub-districts were over 40 years old and found to possess a Diploma III education. Interviewed Aisyiyah cadres had higher education degrees, and all key informants were Muslim men over 40 years old.

From the exploration of perceptions and

driving factors, many young people and some adult participants acknowledged the social value attributed to child marriage. But the victims did not recognize any benefit from the practice. Some young and adult participants believed that child marriage was justified due to various economic benefits for households during childbirth, spousal benefits for in-laws, and the perceived 'protection' provided to young women. It was also speculated to offer opportunities for young women to express personal rights, thereby fulfilling imposed societal expectations. Young people, particularly women, are seen as burdens, with the discourse revolving around the perception of children as financial burdens. According to a young woman (FGD, 15–19 years old):

*"Parents consider them [daughters] as burdens, hence, they marry early. And we [daughters] really relieve our parents of responsibility [when they marry early]."*

Additionally, the financial burden of raising a daughter who will at some point marry and move into the house of in-laws was mentioned by an Aisyiyah cadre and several young people. A young man (IDI, 20–24 years old) summarized this statement by saying parents tend to save expenses through the early marriage of daughters. A mother and a young woman (FGD, 15–19 years old) discussed the pressure on young men to meet the expected responsibilities of providing for families. A young woman (IDI, 15–19 years old) referred to an unmarried son as a (potential) 'burden' to the family, while a married son could be independent. Child marriage is seen as protecting young women from premarital sex and sexual harassment. Some members of the community viewed child marriage as an appropriate strategy to prevent young women from consensual premarital sex and harassment. For young men (IDI, 20–24 years old), marriage was speculated to be a safeguard against 'bad habits'. A young woman from a youth organization stated that community members believed marriage would liberate the victims from negativity. This sentiment was elaborated by a grandmother based on the belief about a young woman having a boyfriend. The



fear of the daughter eloping with the boyfriend prompted parents to arrange a marriage with another man to prevent such an occurrence. Moreover, the same grandmother clearly distinguished between the behavior of educated and uneducated young women. The uneducated who remained unmarried at 18 were ridiculed by presuming that the situation would increase the chances for young women to start dating men. But it was not considered an issue for their educated counterparts. A key informant from an NGO described child marriage as a strategy to protect the victims from sexual harassment.

The motivation behind child marriage explains why younger generations marry early despite preferring to engage above the age of 18. Marriage, children, and household chores are part of life. Some young people mentioned that society considered child marriage beneficial because young brides would take care of the in-laws of the husband and assist with household chores. For a young woman (IDI, 15–19 years old), marriage is a social order constituting a crucial aspect of life, where a daughter will marry, go to the house of in-laws to provide care, and help with household chores. A young man (FGD, 20–24 years old) reported that, supposing the couple is “settled” (has a stable income and clear living arrangements), there will be no negative impact from child marriage. Another young man reiterated that young couples could bear children early to gain support in the future. A young woman and two adults discussed early marriage as a normal phenomenon. Other benefits of child marriage include introducing an infant into the family and learning how to live responsibly in society.

The exploration of decision-making dynamics showed that in most cases, a premature marriage is the parent decision. Young people, specifically women, lack the option to make this decision, while the educational status of parents and children influences the tendency toward child marriage in households. Additionally, this study obtained community ideas about consent, where some young people could reject getting married and intervene in other marriages. The stated refusal attitude is particularly true when confronted with or trained through assistance programs. The majority of participants reported parents as the main decision-makers regarding

child marriage. Two key informants explained that fathers play the most significant role in making this decision due to the patriarchal nature of society. Other relatives (men) were mentioned as decision-makers by young men (FGD, 15–19 years old) and a grandmother (IDI) in a context where most marriages were only recorded in religious offices. Some young people, including those who have participated in assistance programs, felt the necessity for children to make personal decisions and reported that more parents solicit the consent of children before arranging marriages. A young woman (FGD, 15–19 years old) associated these changes with increased awareness of the negative impacts of child marriage. Most young people and all parents explained that children would not be forced into marriage. However, a father in FGD still estimated that only 10% of parents asked for the opinions of children. Some participants reiterated the influence of education and agreed that educated parents offer children more freedom and options in making marriage-related decisions.

*“In some communities, children are not consulted about marriage, as parents make the decisions and set the wedding date. Even before marriage, they cannot meet each other [referring to the couple], but in educated communities, the situation is different.”*

In educated communities, the desires of daughters for marriage are considered, and the right to make marriage decisions is acknowledged. In the Indonesian environment, 50% of the community accepts the rights of children, and 50% do not.

*“A young woman from the youth group (20 years old, IDI) stated that conscious people respect the rights.”*

According to a father (FGD), children should primarily decide when to marry while still considering the opinion of parents. Most fathers interviewed in FGD were highly educated and working as teachers, which might influence some opinions. Some fathers stated that there would be no negative consequences in case a son refused to marry. Another father realized that

providing opportunities for partner selection to children would make daughters confide in parents and not run away from home. It was mentioned that when an absconding daughter received stigma and embarrassed the family. FGD conducted with mothers possessing a more diverse background and level of education compared to fathers added some differences to these results. According to a particular report, mothers are often consulted, and children can inform parents in case of disagreement. But the father has the right to make the final decision in such matters. For a healthcare worker from the IDI category, parental education does not automatically guarantee the consideration of the children's consent. This participant stated:

*"I have seen some people who get children's consent for marriage, even though they have low education. But many educated people also ignore children's expectation".*

Young people do not have sufficient opportunities to make decisions about marriage. Many young people reported the lack of ability to make decisions about marriage and the need to obtain permission from their fathers. A policymaker reiterated the influence of gender norms and mentioned the discourse about young women as 'burdens' by stating the expectation of future marriage, which affects the nurturing pattern used for women. This participant declared that:

*"They [parents] consider them [daughter] as burdens, not responsibilities. First, they educate their children, then marry them without being asked, let alone the daughters." According to young people (FGD, 15–19 years old), there is a significant difference between the decision-making capacity and freedom provided to young women and men."*

Furthermore, a young woman (IDI, 20–24 years old) reported that when a daughter refused to marry, the parent was pitied. A teacher advised daughters not to refuse marriage:

*"Parents are the ones who make decisions. If a son denies his parents' decision, he can be expelled from the house. Parents call the son*

*misbehaving. However, the daughter cannot deny their parents' decision."*

Most mothers subjected to IDI and FGD had different opinions about whether sons have more chances to make decisions than daughters. One mother argued that although some parents ask for the consent of sons, this does not occur with daughters. Similar to educated parents, educated younger generations show more voice in decision-making. According to a grandmother, an educated young woman would be respected by the community and not married off before reaching the age of 18. A father (FGD) stated that an educated daughter would have greater bargaining power in marriage. Some young and adult participants discussed potential income (to be earned after education) and economic security as benefits of educating young women who are not married. It was also mentioned in the context of vocational training or skill development opportunities capable of generating employment and preventing child marriage. An NGO participant subjected to KII stated that

*"If a young woman becomes a doctor or a teacher, her parents will not marry her off at a young age because she is a source of income, she earns a living, and supports her parents; hence, why would they marry her off early? In the village, the situation is different, where acceptance of women's education is limited, hence; they are married off".*

While discussing decision-making regarding marriage, the extent of consent of women is considered crucial. The participation of young women in decision-making seems limited to giving consent, and only in some cases involve selecting a partner. Some young women (IDI, 15–19 years old, and FGD, 15–19 years old) reported that marriage would not last long without mutual consent and understanding, and could lead to divorce. One key informant questioned the ability of younger generations to offer meaningful consent. According to an NGO participant (KII),

*"If you see a 12 or 13-year-old child about to get married, it would not hurt to ask for their*

*consent. They sometimes do not even know what marriage is; hence, they also do not know what decision-making is, and they do not know what responsibilities they should take on. It is just moving from one house to another”.*

Some young people rejected and intervened in existing child marriage, and this study found certain cases of refusal, which occasionally led to the stopping of the marriage. The majority of participants reported that with increasing awareness, there is a change in the attitudes of parents and society toward child marriage. As expressed by a young woman from the youth organization, increased awareness and knowledge enable society to reject child marriage. When discussing the role of a group of adolescents, a young woman (FGD, 15–19 years old) testified to the influence of mentoring programs on stopping child marriage:

*“Yes, they [youth clubs] prepare younger generations a lot; now young people are aware and can voice their rights. I refused when my parents arranged my marriage when I was still in the first year of high school. I told them that it was not my time to get married. I am still a child and do not know what marriage means. My father wanted to marry me off because he was not healthy, and his financial condition was not good.”*

Additionally, education plays a crucial role in rejecting child marriage. A grandmother subjected to IDI stated that *“Educated young women and men can also reject that decision and make the final decision”*. According to a young man (IDI, 20–24 years old), child marriage can be stopped by informing parents that it is a crime. The study discussion section consistently referred to the influence of education on child marriage tendency. Education levels among younger generations, specifically young women and parents, play a role in delaying child marriage. There is insufficient presence of higher education institutions in both sub-districts, and gender norms describe women as burdens, leading to limited mobility. Due to these situations, only 1 of 4 young women in Dlingo and Dukun pursue specific education. Education particularly allows young women to

be considered ‘valuable’ family members rather than ‘burdens’ and married off as children in a context of severe economic insecurity. A study in India found that limited education and poverty remained the most influential factors in child marriage. Empowerment through education and economics would be a safe strategy to address this issue (Paul, 2019).

Raj (2019) stated that even though secondary education reduced the tendency of early marriage for young women, the impact was not significant because many engaged at older ages. Additionally, the effect of limited education in contexts consisting of unequal gender norms (Bandiera, 2020) was identified. It is relevant in the patriarchal context of Indonesia, where the median marriage age for women (25–49 years) is 20.4 years. In India, promising marriage proposals were found to outweigh the potential benefits of future education. In the context of food insecurity, bonded child labor, poverty, weak education systems, and limited job opportunities, methods for preventing child marriage should be multifaceted. There is a need to advocate for education for young women and expand available career choices while striving to effect broader social norm changes. This study found that the benefits of education apply to parents where parental education and aspirations are related to delaying marriage, as also observed in Senegal, Ethiopia, and India (Marchetta, 2016; McDougal, 2018; Singh, 2016; Singh, 2018).

A different study reported that parents remained skeptical about the ability of young people to make decisions despite possessing the necessary rights. Parents in Indonesia typically direct major decisions in the children’s lives. Particularly, young women (Sarfo, 2020). Other investigations observed that when parents solicit the consent of daughters before marriage, it is often superficial (Crivello, 2018; Van Veen, 2018). This study showed that a few parents who requested their daughters’ consent often discussed the readiness to marry and rarely asked questions related to the choice of partners. However, parents soliciting the consent of children regarding timing might indicate progress in the context of most arranged marriages. This study found no young women selecting partners, while increased

levels of education among young women have been associated with an elevated tendency of partner selection in arranged marriages (Sarfo, 2020; Kistiana, 2025).

Crivello (2018) found that young women often agree to marriage to gain family support in case of possible future marital problems. When younger generations are expected to obey elders, engaging parents in adult peer education and intergenerational dialogue, along with the promotion of alternative parenting styles, helps to delay marriage (Bhan, 2019; Semra, 2022; Robert, 2019). This study found that community engagement programs need to involve parents to bridge the generational gap, particularly while consistently addressing sensitive topics. To counter harmful gender norms limiting young women to domestic roles as well as restricting educational and career choices, interventions focusing on social norms can offer opportunities for substantial change (Sarfo, 2020; Canan, 2021).

The perception that child marriage serves as a protection and prevention strategy against forced and premarital sexual activities also shows the taboo surrounding the sexuality of young women and reproductive health. It suggests the need for consistent inquiry during data collection due to the limited chances commonly available for self-expression among children. However, this study identified some

cases of resistance occurring when young people, particularly in Dukun community, intervened in child marriage. The ability of families to carry out intervention can be associated with empowerment and knowledge-based training received as part of mentoring programs. The training comprises raising awareness on reproductive health issues, including gender equality and child marriage, developing skills in self-expression, engaging with community members, and intervening in cases of child marriage. It provides an opportunity for educated women who postpone marriage to become role models, a situation equally relevant for young men.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, the results showed that child marriage was used by families as a protective strategy in the context of economic insecurity. Additionally, it was implemented to prevent young women from exploitation and premarital consensual sexual relationships. Young people, specifically women, were found with limited freedom for decision-making about marriage due to strict norms requiring obedience to elders and restricting victims from giving birth and performing household roles. Although the requests by parents for child marriage approval tended to be simply superficial, it might signify progress in a context

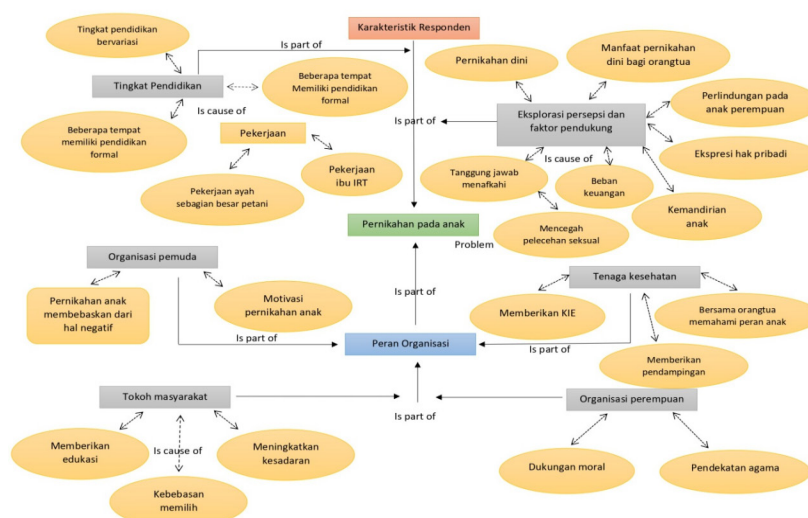


Figure 2. Problems and Models of Assistance in Preventing Child Marriage (Qualitative Analysis in Bahasa).



featuring commonly arranged marriages. Moreover, education was perceived and used, both by young people and adults, to negotiate decisions in families and reject societal norms to delay marriage. The results showed that advocating for the education of women and expansion of available career choices should be the primary and ongoing focus while striving to effect social norm changes by involving parents, Aisiyah cadres, and empowering younger generations.

### Acknowledgment

The authors are grateful to the community of Dlingo and Dukun Sub-districts in Yogyakarta and Central Java Provinces for participating willingly in this study, as well as the local assistants who remained committed during data collection. The authors are also grateful for the contribution provided by Aisiyah cadres conducting child marriage mentoring programs in Indonesia.

### References

- Ali T.S., 2011. Gender Roles and Their Influence on Life Prospects for Women in Urban Karachi, Pakistan: A Qualitative Study. *Glob Health Action*, 4(7448).
- Allassad, A.N., 2020. The Adjustment Process of Young Bedouin Women Who Were Child Brides. *J Commun Psychol*, 48(6), pp.1882–1897.
- Azinar, M., Shaluhayah, Z., Jati, S.P., & Purnami, C.T., 2024. The Phenomenon of Intergenerational Child Marriage Practice and Its Causes. *Jurnal Kesehatan Masyarakat, KEMAS*, 20(2), pp.280–287.
- Bandiera, O., Buehren, N., Burgess, R., Goldstein, M., Gulesci, S., & Rasul, I., 2020. Women's Empowerment in Action: Evidence from a Randomized Control Trial in Africa. *Am. Econ. J. Appl. Econ.*, 12(1), pp.210–259.
- Bhan, N., 2019. Effects of Parent–Child Relationships on Child Marriage of Girls in Ethiopia, India, Peru, and Vietnam: Evidence from a Prospective Cohort. *J Adolesc Heal*, 65, pp.498–506.
- Busetto, L., 2020. How to Use and Assess Qualitative Research Methods. *Neurol Res Pract*, 2.
- Canan, K.K., Perihan, C.R., Aysegul, Y.T., Ayse, A., Gonca, G.C., Necmi, C., & Nurdan, E., 2021. Evaluation of Child Marriage in a Turkish sample: 8 Years' Data. *J Health Psychol*, 26(11), pp.2031–203.
- Chandra, M.V., Plesons, M., Barua, A., Sreenath, P., & Mehra, S., 2018. How Can Collective Action Between Government Sectors to Prevent Child Marriage be Operationalized? Evidence From a Post-hoc Evaluation of an Intervention in Jamui, Bihar and Sawai Madhopur, Rajasthan in India. *Reprod Health*, 15(1), pp.118.
- Duran, S., & Tepehan, E.S., 2019. Socio-Demographic Correlates of Child Marriages: a Study From Turkey. *Commun Ment Health J*, 55(7), pp.1202–1209.
- Hermawan, D.Y., Widyaningrum, H., Lee, S.F., Indarjo, S., Nugroho, E., Raharjo, B.B., Nisa, A.A., Ediyarsari, P., Wahyono, B., Isniyati, H., Wasono, E., Prihatno, B.E., & Rozali, A., 2024. Integration of Minimum Initial Service Package for Reproductive Health in The Sister Village Program. *Jurnal Kemas*, 19(2).
- Sarfo, E.A., Yendork, J.S., & Naidoo, A.V., 2020. Examining The Intersection Between Marriage, Perceived Maturity and Child Marriage: Perspectives of Community Elders in The Northern Region of Ghana. *Cultural, Health and Sexuality*, 7, pp.991–1005.
- Fitriahadi, E., Rosida, L., Syagata, A.S., Makbul, I.A.A.B., & Intarti, W.D., 2024. Giving Baby Porridge Made from Moringa Leaves and Snakehead Fish to Toddlers in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. *Jurnal Kesehatan Masyarakat, KEMAS*, 20(2), pp.193–199.
- Handayani, N., Sariatmi, A., Martini, Jati, S.P., Kusumawati, A., Budiyo, Armunanto., Friska, E., & Asfiya, N.A., 2024. Referral Flow for Maternal and Child Health in Central Java Province during Health Crises Management. *Jurnal Kesehatan Masyarakat-KEMAS*, 20(2), pp.175–186.
- Hüseyin, A., Aylin, Y., Özlem, K.A., & Selda H.T., 2021. A Child Abuse: Marriage at Childhood Age. *Turk Arch Pediatr*, 56(6), pp.548–552.
- John, N.A., Edmeades, J., & Murithi, L., 2019. Child Marriage and Psychological Well-Being in Niger and Ethiopia. *BMC Public Health*, 19(1), pp.1029.
- Johnson, J.L., Adkins, D., & Chauvin, S., 2020. A Review of The Quality Indicators of Rigor in Qualitative Research. *American Journal of Pharmaceutical Education*, 84(1), pp.138–146.
- Kuygun, K.C., Cam, R.P., & Yolga, T.A., 2020. Evaluation of Child Marriage in a Turkish Sample: 8 Years' Data. *J Health Psychol*, 2020.
- Lo, F.C., Plesons, M., Branson, M., & Chandra,

- M.V., 2019. What Can the Global Movement to End Child Marriage Learn from The Implementation of Other Multi-sectoral Initiatives? *BMJ Glob Health*, 4(5), pp.e001739.
- Marchetta, F.S., 2016. The Role of Education and Family Background in Marriage, Childbearing and Labor Market Participation in Senegal. *Econ Dev Cult Change*, 64, pp.369–403.
- McDougal, L., 2018. Beyond The Statistic: Exploring The Process of Early Marriage Decision-Making Using Qualitative Findings from Ethiopia and India. *BMC Womens Health*, 18, pp.1–16.
- Mengjia, L., Sandile, S., Satvika, C., & Rachel, S., 2021. New Estimations of Child Marriage: Evidence from 98 Low- and Middle-Income Countries. *Plos One*, 2021.
- Nurlaili, S.Z., Agustini, R.D., & Nurhidayah., 2025. Stunting Among Children Aged 6-59 Months in Gorontalo, Indonesia. *Jurnal Kesehatan Masyarakat*, 20(3).
- Paul, P., 2019. Effects of Education and Poverty on The Prevalence of Girl Child Marriage in India: A District–Level Analysis. *Child Youth Serv Rev*, 100, pp.16–21.
- Raj, A., Salazar, M., Jackson, E.C., Wyss, N., McClendon, K.A., & Khanna, A., 2019. Students and Brides: A Qualitative Analysis of The Relationship Between Girls' Education and Early Marriage in Ethiopia and India. *BMC Public Health*, 19(1), pp.1–20.
- Kistiana, S., Fajarningtiyas, D.N., & Riany, Y.E. 2025. Assessing Child Marriage in Indonesia: A Call for Educational Empowerment. *Jurnal Kesehatan Masyarakat*, 20(3).
- Indraswari, R., Widjanarko, B., Shaluhiah, Z., Suryoputro, A., & Musthofa, S.B., 2023. Exploration of Javanese Children's Knowledge and Attitudes about Puberty and Reproductive Health. *Jurnal Kemas*, 19(2).
- Robert, W.M.B., Mengmeng, Li., Omrana, P., Chandra, R., & Kayhan, N., 2019. Coming of Age in The Shadow of The Taliban: Education, Child Marriage and The Future of Afghanistan from the Perspectives of Adolescents and Their Parents. *J Adolesc Health*, 64(3), pp.370-375.
- Sekine, K., & Hodgkin, M.E., 2017. Effect of Child Marriage on Girls' School Dropout in Nepal: Analysis of Data from the Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey 2014. *PLoS One*, 12(7), pp.e0180176.
- Semra, Y., Fatma, A., & Naheeda, M.A., 2022. Associated Factors of Legal Child Marriage in Turkey: Pregnancy and Below-Average Intelligence. *J Biosoc Sci*, 54(6), pp.1024-1034.
- Singh, S.K., 2016. Competing Through Employee Engagement: A Proposed Framework. *International Journal of Productivity and Performance Management*, 65(6), pp.831–843.
- Singh, V., & Singh, M., 2018. A Burnout Model of Job Crafting: Multiple Mediator Effects on Job Performance. *IIMB Management Review*, 2018.
- Tenkorang, E.Y., 2019. Explaining The Links Between Child Marriage and Intimate Partner Violence: Evidence from Ghana. *Child Abus. Negl.*, 89, pp.48–57.
- UNFPA-UNICEF., 2020. *Child Marriage in COVID-19 Contexts: Disruptions, Alternative Approaches and Building Programme Resilience*.
- Van Veen, K., 2018. The Relationship Between Beginning Teachers' Stress Causes, Stress Responses, Teaching Behaviour and Attrition. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice*, 24(6), pp.626–643.
- Vanwesenbeeck, I.W.J., De, B.T.R.J., & Van, Z.R., 2016. Lessons Learned from a Decade Implementing Comprehensive Sexuality Education in Resource Poor Settings: The World Starts with Me. *Sex Educ.*, 16, pp.471–486.
- Weny, K., Silva, R., Snow, R., Legesse, B., & Diop, N., 2020. Towards The eElimination of FGM by 2030: A Statistical Assessment. *PLoS One*, 15(10), pp.e0238782–e0238782.
- Weny, W., & Trini, S., 2024. Stunting on Children Aged 6 – 23 Months in East Nusa Tenggara Province. *Jurnal Kemas*, 19(4).
- Yount, K.M., Crandall, A.A., & Cheong, Y.F., 2018. Women's Age at First Marriage and Long-Term Economic Empowerment in Egypt. *World Dev*, 102, pp.124–134.