

Travis Hirschi's Social Control Theory Perspective on the Relevance of Early Marriage and Sexual Violence

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ABSTRACT. Crime as an inherent problem throughout the history of the human journey continues to trigger a never-ending discussion, including in the context of early marriage and sexual violence. The purpose of writing this article is to explore the relevance between sexual violence and early marriage in the view of criminology, especially from the perspective of social control theory initiated by Travis Hirschi, so that later efforts can be found to prevent the practice of early marriage from taking root. The research method applied is normative juridical research with literature study techniques. The results showed that the relevance between early marriage and sexual violence is closely related. Early marriage and sexual violence can be said to be a domino effect. Another relevance lies in the means of control, if sexual violence is overcome (controlled) then early marriage also does not occur (controlled), and vice versa. According to Travis Hirschi's social control theory, there is a causal chain of the relevance of early marriage to sexual violence which includes individual attachment to parents and school (attachment), commitment not to disappoint the important things in one's life (commitment), individual involvement in a positive activity (involvement), and belief in good noble values in the context of early marriage and sexual violence (belief).

KEYWORDS. Early Marriage, Sexual Violence, Social Control Theory, Travis Hirschi.

Travis Hirschi's Social Control Theory Perspective on the Relevance of Early Marriage and Sexual Violence

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Introduction

The discussion and study of early marriage is not a new issue and has been the main focus of various discussion forums. Although often debated, the topic continues to attract scholars to delve deeper into the essence and implications of early marriage. The use of the term early marriage itself is relatively contemporary, with the connotation of "early" being closely linked to the dimension of time, referring to marriages that occur at a relatively young age.¹ The issue of early marriage can be considered as an issue that has been buried for a long time and is now coming back to the surface after being covered by the pages of history. If analyzed more deeply, the phenomenon of early marriage is not new in Indonesia. In the past, many of our ancestors married at a relatively young age. Even in that era, marriage at an age that was considered "mature" could be considered a detrimental behavior

¹ Habibi, Ahmad. "Pernikahan Dini Dalam Tinjauan Hukum Islam dan Psikologi." *Mitsaqan Ghalizan* 2, No. 1 (2022): 57-66. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33084/mg.v2i1.5276>, p. 58.

for society. At that time, women who did not get married immediately were negatively viewed as old maids (*perawan kasep*).² But over time, this view has undergone a drastic change as the process of globalization has significantly altered people's perspectives. A deep understanding of the essence of democracy, which includes rights, obligations and equality, has changed the perspective on marriage at a young age as something that is considered unnatural, risky and taboo because it can have a serious impact on family life, especially for the future of mothers and children.

If studied and traced in the positive legal order, early marriage is closely related to the dualism of the regulations that apply in Indonesia in the Marriage Law³ and the Child Protection Law⁴ where both regulate different age limits, resulting in disharmonization of norms. The age limit of a child in the Marriage Law is 19 years old while the Child Protection Law is 18 years old. Basically, these two rules are different because the Marriage Law is heavily influenced by the background of legal politics in Indonesia which is also still thick with religious norms where initially the marriage age limit for men was 19 years and women were 16 years old, but in its development this difference caused negative assessments because it was considered a form of discrimination against women until it was finally sued to the Constitutional Court. Ultimately, the Marriage Law was amended where the age limit between men and women was updated to 19 years. Meanwhile, the Child Protection Law itself adopts 18 years of age for children because it looks at international legal instruments in the Convention on the Rights of the Child.⁵ Analyzed through the doctrine of norm conflict, the principle of *lex specialist derogat legi generalis* applies, which means that the Marriage Law overrides the Child Protection Law in the context of early marriage. Thus, early marriage is a marriage in which one or both partners are under the age of 19 years based on Indonesian positive law.

² Umah, Habibah Nurul. "Fenomena Pernikahan Dini di Indonesia: Perspektif Hukum Keluarga Islam." *Jurnal Al Wasith: Jurnal Studi Hukum Islam* 5, No. 2 (2020): 107-125. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.52802/wst.v5i2.11>, p. 111.

³ Marriage Law refers to Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage which has been amended through Law Number 16 of 2019 concerning Amendments to Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage.

⁴ The Child Protection Law refers to Law Number 23 of 2002 concerning Child Protection, which was last amended by Law Number 17 of 2016 concerning Stipulation of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 1 of 2016 concerning the Second Amendment to Law Number 23 of 2002 concerning Child Protection.

⁵ The UN-CRC (United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child) is a human rights treaty that guarantees children's rights in the civil, political, economic, social, health, and cultural fields that was passed in 1989 by the United Nations (UN).

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Building commitment through marriage involves more than just fulfilling biological needs, the important element is sustainability in building a family.⁶ There is an aphorism, "marriage is not only about the sexual aspect, but also about fulfilling the needs of the family as a source of livelihood." If this situation is left unaddressed, it is not surprising that early marriage can lead to issues of poverty and vulnerability to social problems. Early marriage actually has a positive impact mainly from a religious perspective because it helps teenage couples to avoid adultery and promiscuous sexual behavior because their sexual needs have been met.⁷ In addition, when couples who marry at an early age enter the later stages of their marriage without having to care for children, various positive impacts can arise. One of them is to reduce the burden on parents, as all responsibilities related to the needs of teenagers have been fully transferred to their husbands. However, these positive impacts are still far away as the negative impacts of early marriage are more prevalent. Early marriage can lead to problems such as high school dropout rates, poverty, increased chances of sexual disease transmission, vulnerability to domestic violence and sexual assault, increased risk of death in young mothers and babies, vulnerability to divorce, risk of stunting in unborn babies, and increased risk of depression, stress and trauma in couples.⁸ To narrow the breadth of the study of the negative impact of early marriage which is multi-disciplinary, in the preparation of this article the main focus that will be studied is sexual violence which is also the main domain in the study of law, especially criminal law.

In short and simple terms, sexual violence is any unwanted sexual act using coercion.⁹ In normative juridical terms, the Sexual Violence Law¹⁰ states that sexual violence is a violation of human rights, a crime against human dignity, and a form of discrimination that must be eliminated.¹¹ It is

⁶ Yuhelson., Sinaulan, Ramlani Lina and Rahmat, Abdul. "Perlindungan Sosial Bagi Perempuan Korban Pernikahan Dini di Gorontalo." *Jurnal Pemberdayaan Masyarakat: Media Pemikiran dan Dakwah Pembangunan* 4, No. 1 (2020): 257-282. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14421/jpm.2020.041-10>, p. 267.

⁷ Alviola, Atma Aulia., Marlina, Sopfi Putri., Hidayati, Dewi Ayu., Ningsih, Yuni Setya and Jannati, Rahma Aulia. "Fenomena Pernikahan Dini di Perkotaan." *Jurnal Wacana Publik* 17, No. 1 (2023): 21-27. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.37295/wp.v17i1.2>, p. 24.

⁸ Makarim, Fadhli Rizal. "6 Akibat Pernikahan Dini untuk Kesehatan Mental dan Fisik Remaja." Halodoc. Retrieved from <https://www.halodoc.com/artikel/6-akibat-pernikahan-dini-untuk-kesehatan-mental-dan-fisik-remaja> (accessed on November 19, 2023).

⁹ Rahayu, Ninik. *Politik Hukum Penghapusan Kekerasan Seksual di Indonesia* (Jakarta, Bhuana Ilmu Populer, 2021), p. 74.

¹⁰ The Sexual Violence Law refers to Law Number 12 of 2022 concerning Criminal Acts of Sexual Violence.

¹¹ Explanation of Law Number 12 of 2022 concerning Criminal Acts of Sexual Violence.

interesting to discuss because Indonesian positive law lists sexual violence as a "crime" against human dignity. Crimes and criminal behavior are objects of study in criminology.¹² However, the study of the problem of crime in the view of criminology is very different (broad) compared to the view of criminal law (normative juridical).¹³ In criminal law, crime is any act that violates the law that can be punished under criminal law. Criminology, on the other hand, has a broader perspective in which it sees crime not only from the juridical aspect, but also includes acts that are contrary to the norms of society, including acts categorized as social problems (community diseases) that have the potential to encourage the emergence of crime (social pathology).

Another difference in the problem of crime between the legal view and the criminological view is in terms of terminology. People who work in the world of law (criminal), the term used for actions that violate criminal law is called "criminal offense" (crime) which includes "crime" and "offense" while the person is called "offender/criminal" and the science that studies the problem is called criminal law. While in criminology (social science in general), the act is called "crime" or "crime" is often used the term "deviance" (deviant actions or behavior). For the perpetrators (criminal), several terms are often used such as criminals, thieves, bandits, and others. Criminology emphasizes understanding and analyzing the causes of crime and also exploring what underlies criminal behavior. Thus, the purpose of criminology is to prevent crime after research so that the *prima causa* of crime is found because the scope of criminology includes three main things, namely: the process of forming criminal laws and criminal procedures (making laws); criminal etiology (theories that cause crime); and reactions to violations of the law which also include efforts to prevent crime (criminal prevention).¹⁴

There are new nuances when the problem of early marriage that intersects with sexual violence is studied with a criminological scalpel, because so far early marriage has only been studied from the normative side. But behind all that, there is a fundamental issue that should be put forward, why many early marriages actually run aground in the middle of the road, the household is not harmonious, husband and wife often fight until it leads to

¹² Hagan, Frank E. *Pengantar Kriminologi: Teori, Metode, dan Perilaku Kriminal (Edisi Ketujuh)* (Jakarta, Kencana, 2013), p. 22.

¹³ Sambas, Nandang and Andriasari, Dian. *Kriminologi: Perspektif Hukum Pidana* (Jakarta, Sinar Grafika, 2019), p. 18.

¹⁴ Alam, A. S. and Ilyas, Amir. *Kriminologi: Suatu Pengantar* (Jakarta, Kencana, 2018), pp. 3-4.

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sexual violence. Is it due to ignorance of the law or because of material shortages, the answer can be yes and no because to find out this must be studied in depth on the relevance of early marriage and sexual violence itself. To be able to summarize and better understand the problems related to the relevance of sexual violence and early marriage, it is necessary to use a theory in this study because in the scientific realm, theory occupies a very vital position.¹⁵ Criminological theory, which in Dutch is called *criminologie theorie*, is an expert view relating to the factors that cause offenders to commit crimes.¹⁶ In criminology, there are many theories that can be used and used as an analysis knife to explore a problem to be studied. The number of theories in criminology can be divided into three perspectives, namely theories that explain crime from: biological and psychological perspectives; sociological perspectives; and from other perspectives.¹⁷

One of the most famous theories in explaining crime from a biological and psychological point of view is the born criminal theory of Cesare Lombroso, who is nicknamed the father of modern criminology.¹⁸ The born criminal theory was inspired by Charles Darwin's theory of human evolution. He came up with the atavism hypothesis which, according to him, proves the existence of a savage/wild nature inherited by human ancestors.¹⁹ According to Cesare Lombroso, those who have criminal conditions have a special character that can be seen by physical characteristics (criminal typology) known as the criminal look. Another case from a sociological perspective, one of the theories that has attracted attention is the strain theory proposed by Robert King Merton. This theory states that the social structure in society can pressure individuals to commit crimes when they cannot achieve success through legitimate means. This happens because the goals to be achieved by the means to achieve them are so great that the only way to achieve these goals is through deviant behavior, this is what creates strain.²⁰ In addition, there are also theories from other perspectives such as labelling theory, critical criminology theory, cultural conflict theory, and other theories.

¹⁵ Hamidi, Jazim., Sugiharto, Moch. Adi., Ihsan, Muhammad., et all. *Membedah Teori-Teori Hukum Kontemporer* (Malang, Universitas Brawijaya Press, 2013), p. 308.

¹⁶ H. S., Salim and Nurbani, Erlies Septiana. *Penerapan Teori Hukum Pada Penelitian Disertasi dan Tesis* (Depok, Rajawali Pers, 2017), p. 185.

¹⁷ Santoso, Topo and Zulfa, Eva Achjani. *Kriminologi* (Jakarta, Rajawali Pers, 2017), p. 35.

¹⁸ Priyana, Puti and Yuliardi, Andika Dwi. *Kriminologi: Sebab-Sebab Terjadinya Kejahatan* (Depok, Rajawali Pers, 2021), p. 44.

¹⁹ Susanti, Emilia and Rahardjo, Eko. *Buku Ajar Hukum dan Kriminologi* (Bandar Lampung, Penerbit AURA, 2018), p. 66.

²⁰ Saefudin, Wahyu. *Psikologi Masyarakat* (Jakarta, Kencana, 2020), p. 50.

This study will not look at and analyze the relevance of early marriage to sexual violence from the point of view of many criminological theories, only one theory will be chosen as the analytical scalpel in this study, namely social control theory or also known as social bond theory, which was coined by Travis Hirschi in his work entitled "Causes of Delinquency" in 1969. The work presents an internally consistent, logically coherent, and simple theory that can be applied to all types of criminal or deviant behavior.²¹ Travis Hirschi formulated a social control theory that brings together elements from all previous control theories²² and offers new ways to explain criminal behavior. In addition, Travis Hirschi's social control theory contained in his work has been cited hundreds of times per year and continues to spark new research and theoretical development in the field.²³ This is the logical reason for choosing this theory in the study to be discussed.

To prove that this research has novelty value and definitely produces something different, it is necessary to state things that are different from some research and scientific works that have been done before with topics or themes that are relevant to the theme of the study.²⁴ Several studies have been written regarding early marriage or sexual violence, one of which is entitled "Risalah Tantangan Penegakan Hukum Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual Pasca Lahirnya Undang-Undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2022" written by Eko Nurisman.²⁵ The results of this study are: First, the Law on Sexual Violence serves as a support for criminal regulations in Indonesia to overcome the crime of sexual violence; Second, the Law on Sexual Violence provides comprehensive legal protection for victims of sexual violence and; Third, the Law on Sexual Violence contains various criminal and non-criminal sanc-

²¹ Akers, Ronald L., Sellers, Christine S. and Jennings, Wesley G. *Criminological Theories: Introduction, Evaluation, and Application (Eight Edition)* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2020), p. 85.

²² As Travis Hirschi develops his theory, it is important to note that "control theory" has been around in criminology for some time. Starting from Emile Durkheim's theory of anomie (1893) which later inspired Robert King Merthons's strain theory (1938), followed by Albert Kircidel Cohen (1955) to Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin (1960). On the flip side, there is also the theory of social disorganization by Clifford Shaw and Henry D. McKay (1942) and the early perspectives of Walter Reckless (1943) and David Matza and Gresham Sykes (1957), all of which draw on (at least to some degree) the idea of informal social control.

²³ Costello, Barbara J. and Laub, John H. "Social Control Theory: The Legacy of Travis Hirschi's Causes of Delinquency." *Annual Review of Criminology* 3, No. 1 (2020): 21-41. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-criminol-011419-041527>, p. 21.

²⁴ Prasetyo, Teguh. *Penelitian Hukum: Suatu Perspektif Teori Keadilan Bermartabat* (Bandung, Penerbit Nusa Media, 2019), p. 226.

²⁵ Nurisman, Eko. "Risalah Tantangan Penegakan Hukum Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual Pasca Lahirnya Undang-Undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2022." *Jurnal Pembangunan Hukum Indonesia* 4, No. 2 (2022): 170-196. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14710/jphi.v4i2.170-196>, p. 170.

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tions to overcome the crime of sexual violence. The next research is entitled "Pernikahan Dini Dalam Perspektif Undang-Undang Perkawinan dan Kompilasi Hukum Islam" written by Yopani Selia Almahisa and Anggi Agustian.²⁶ The results show that the challenges in early marriage involve fundamental differences in views regarding the regulation of child marriage in the context of fiqh or Islamic law and positive law. The difference is rooted in the different sources of law of the two. Positive law such as the Marriage Law is sourced from material law which involves factors such as norms, traditions and customs in the formation of law. In contrast, Islamic law comes from the Qur'an and hadith which are then interpreted by scholars who have in-depth knowledge to determine a law.

Another research that also has a similar topic and has been conducted is entitled "Perlindungan Hukum Terhadap Korban Kekerasan Seksual: Kajian Kebijakan Hukum Pidana Indonesia dan Hukum Pidana Islam" written by Ika Agustini, Rofiqur Rachman, and Ruly Haryandara.²⁷ The results of this study are: First, the form of legal protection for victims of sexual violence includes aspects of general protection including the provision of restitution and compensation. In addition, counseling as a response to psychological impacts, medical services for victims who experience medical impacts, and legal assistance are also forms of protection provided. Legal aid is defined as assistance to victims of crime; Second, in the context of Islamic criminal law, the act of rape is referred to as forced adultery. The existence of an act of rape committed by a man against a woman considers the legal status of the perpetrator who is considered an adulterer, while the victim is considered a forced person.

The three studies that have been put forward focus more on the normative level that exists in Indonesian positive law such as laws and rules that bind society such as in Islamic law both regarding early marriage or sexual violence. Meanwhile, this study will look at and try to comprehensively describe the relationship that will be seen from early marriage and sexual violence itself because studies that link these two things are rarely found, even though if examined deeper, a connecting thread between the two will be found. In addition, this study also has its own value because it uses

²⁶ Almahisa, Yopani Selia and Agustian, Anggi. "Pernikahan Dini Dalam Perspektif Undang-Undang Perkawinan dan Kompilasi Hukum Islam." *Jurnal Rechten: Riset Hukum dan Hak Asasi Manusia* 3, No. 1 (2021): 27-36. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.52005/rechten.v3i1.24>, p. 27.

²⁷ Agustini, Ika., Rachman, Rofiqur and Haryandara, Ruly. "Perlindungan Hukum Terhadap Korban Kekerasan Seksual: Kajian Kebijakan Hukum Pidana Indonesia dan Hukum Pidana Islam." *Rechtenstudent Journal UIN KHAS Jember* 2, No. 3 (2021): 342-355. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.35719/rch.v2i3.89>, p. 342.

the social control theory analysis knife from Travis Hirschi, which is the most referenced of hundreds of studies that have been published in various scientific journals. Thus, it can be seen objectively and can be accounted for academically that this study contains originality and has a new contribution (novelty) for scientific contributions, especially the science of criminal law and criminology. Based on the background description of the problems that have been described, a problem formulation is drawn in this study, namely whether there is an intersection between early marriage and sexual violence and how Travis Hirschi's social control theory perspective on the relevance of early marriage to sexual violence. Thus, this research was conducted to achieve exploratory objectives related to an in-depth understanding of the relevance of early marriage to sexual violence based on the perspective of Travis Hirschi's social control theory.

Method

This research is conducted by exploring and analyzing theoretical aspects related to principles, concepts, views, theories, and legal norms related to the focus of the research. Therefore, this research simply uses a type of normative juridical research using a statutory approach and conceptual approach. In this study, the legal materials traced to answer the main problems in the study tend to be secondary legal materials by presenting relevant concepts and theories, especially the theory of social control proposed by Travis Hirschi, but the use of primary legal materials is still used in this study. Primary legal materials include all written rules enforced by the state²⁸ consisting of the Marriage Law, Child Protection Law, Sexual Violence Law, and other relevant rules. The technique used to collect legal materials is carried out by library research which is then analyzed descriptively qualitatively with a deductive conclusion model.

²⁸ Olson, Kent C. *Legal Research in a Nutshell (Thirteenth Edition)* (Saint Paul, West Academic Publishing, 2018), p. 3.

Digging Deeper into the Intersection Between Early Marriage and Sexual Violence

The issue of early marriage is a crucial concern within the framework of the SDGs. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) is a 2030 agenda that is a sustainable development agreement based on human rights and equality²⁹ where the whole world has made a determination to form strategic cooperation to prevent the practice of early marriage to the fullest.³⁰ Quoting from the "Policy Brief on Child Marriage Prevention" compiled and produced in collaboration with the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KemenPPPA) of the Republic of Indonesia and the Center for Studies and Advocacy for the Protection and Quality of Life of Children at the University of Indonesia (PUSKAPA UI), the prevalence of early marriage in Indonesia has relatively decreased over the past 10 years based on data from the 2011-2021 National Socio-Economic Survey (SUSENAS).³¹ However, this decline has not achieved the expected results and is relatively slow³² because when compared to other Asian countries, the prevalence of early marriage in Indonesia is still very alarming and relatively high.³³ Based on data from UNICEF, Indonesia ranks eighth worldwide and second highest in Southeast Asia in terms of the percentage of early marriages, where at least one partner is married under the age of 18.³⁴

²⁹ Ministry of National Development Planning of the Republic of Indonesia/National Development Planning Agency. "About SDGs." SDGs Indonesia. Retrieved from <https://sdgs.bappenas.go.id/tentang/> (accessed on November 24, 2023).

³⁰ Suhadi., Baidhowi and Wulandari, Cahya. "Pencegahan Meningkatnya Angka Pernikahan Dini dengan Inisiasi Pembentukan Kadarkum di Dusun Cemanggal Desa Munding Kecamatan Bergas." *Jurnal Pengabdian Hukum Indonesia (Indonesian Journal of Legal Community Engagement) JPHI* 1, No. 1 (2018): 31-40. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15294/jphi.v1i01.27277>, p. 32.

³¹ Center for Studies and Advocacy for the Protection and Quality of Life of Children of the University of Indonesia (PUSKAPA UI) and the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection of the Republic of Indonesia. *Risalah Kebijakan: Pencegahan Perkawinan Anak untuk Perlindungan Berkelanjutan Bagi Anak*. Available to download at <https://puskapa.org/blog/publikasi/6043/>, p. 2.

³² Ministry of National Development Planning of the Republic of Indonesia/National Development Planning Agency. *Strategi Nasional Pencegahan Perkawinan Anak 2020*. Available to download at <https://www.unicef.org/indonesia/reports/child-marriage-in-indonesia>, p. 24.

³³ Pratiwi, Andi Misbahul. "Mengapa Perkawinan Anak di Indonesia Masih Tinggi Meski Ada Kemajuan Dalam Kebijakan?." *The Conversation*. Retrieved from <https://theconversation.com/mengapa-perkawinan-anak-di-indonesia-masih-tinggi-meski-ada-kemajuan-dalam-kebijakan-207212> (accessed on November 25, 2023).

³⁴ Wibowo, Heribertus Rinto., Ratnaningsih, Muliani., Goodwin, Nicholas J., Ulum, Derry Fahrizal and Minnick, Emilie. "One Household, Two Worlds: Differences of Perception Towards Child Marriage Among Adolescent Children and Adults in Indonesia." *The Lancet Regional Health-Western Pacific* 8 (2021): 1-9. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lanwpc.2021.100103>, p. 2.

The data proves that the classic problems that continue to occur regarding the practice of early marriage in Indonesia do not end. In fact, early marriage is suspected by a variety of factors that trigger this, one of which is due to unwanted pregnancy (pregnant outside marriage).³⁵ The phenomenon of pregnancy outside of marriage is a form of sexual violence against women because in the context of early marriage, the pregnant woman is a minor. Even if the underage woman does it of her own free will or because she is in a dating relationship, it is still sexual violence. This is due to the inability of minors to make responsible decisions for themselves, so the primary responsibility still lies with the adults involved. Given that these two things (early marriage and sexual violence) are social symptoms that are always faced by Indonesian society, it is not wrong if early marriage and sexual violence are declared as social problems (community diseases) whose scope is also included in the discussion of criminology. Thus, a fundamental question arises in this study, whether early marriage and sexual violence can be said to be a crime or deviant behavior (delinquent). This is important to answer because according to J. Constant, criminology is a science that aims to determine the factors that cause crimes or criminals to occur.³⁶

The first point about sexual violence is clear and there is no need to debate that it is a crime. There are many forms of sexual violence, but the most common form of sexual violence in early marriage is unwanted pregnancy (pregnancy outside of marriage or more popularly known as married by accident). To avoid further stigma and embarrassment to the girl's family because of this occurrence (pregnancy outside of marriage), early marriage (married by accident) is an automatic response that is usually the last resort of the family to the sexual violence that occurred.³⁷ Meanwhile, in another context, can early marriage be called a crime. Unlike sexual violence that can be clearly identified, early marriage is in the gray area to be considered a crime. Article 10 of the Sexual Violence Law states:

³⁵ Petroni, Suzanne., Steinhaus, Mara., Fenn, Natacha Stevanovic., Stoebe, Kirsten and Gregowski, Amy. "New Findings on Child Marriage in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Annals of Global Health* 83, No. 5-6 (2017): 781-790. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.aogh.2017.09.001>, p. 781.

³⁶ Mangkeprijanto, Extrix. *Kriminologi, Viktimologi, dan Filsafat Hukum* (Bogor, Guepedia Publisher, 2020), p. 7.

³⁷ Kok, Maryse C., Kakal, Tasneem., Kassegne, Abeje Berhanu., Hidayana, Irwan M., Munthali, Alister., Menon, J. Anitha., Pires, Paulo., Gitau, Tabitha and Kwaak, Anke van der. "Drivers of Child Marriage in Specific Settings of Ethiopia, Indonesia, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia - Findings from the Yes I Do! Baseline Study." *BMC Public Health* 23, No. 1 (2023): 6. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-023-15697-6>, p. 6.

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Indonesian version:

- (1) Setiap orang secara melawan hukum memaksa, menempatkan seseorang di bawah kekuasaannya atau orang lain, atau kekuasaannya untuk melakukan atau membiarkan dilakukan perkawinan dengannya atau dengan orang lain, dipidana karena pemaksaan perkawinan, dengan pidana penjara paling lama 9 (sembilan) tahun dan/atau pidana denda paling banyak Rp 200.000.000,00 (dua ratus juta rupiah).
- (2) Termasuk pemaksaan perkawinan sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1):
 - a. perkawinan anak;
 - b. pemaksaan perkawinan dengan mengatasnamakan praktik budaya; atau
 - c. pemaksaan perkawinan korban dengan pelaku perkosaan.³⁸

English version:

- (1) Any person who unlawfully forces, places a person under his/her authority or that of another person, or his/her power to perform or allow a marriage to be performed with him/her or with another person, shall be punished for coercion of marriage, with imprisonment of up to 9 (nine) years and/or a maximum fine of Rp 200,000,000.00 (two hundred million rupiah).
- (2) Forced marriage as referred to in paragraph (1) includes:
 - a. child marriage;
 - b. forced marriage in the name of cultural practices; or
 - c. forced marriage of the victim with the perpetrator of rape.

In a fairly simple sense, Robert M. Bohm and Keith N. Haley present two main perspectives in understanding crime. According to them, crime can be defined in two ways, namely in a social and legal context.³⁹ In a social understanding, crime includes behavior that violates social norms or can be referred to as anti-social actions. Meanwhile, from a legal perspective, crime is defined as an act that violates criminal rules or laws, is committed without permission or rights, and can be subject to legal sanctions by the state. Based

³⁸ Article 10 of Law Number 12 of 2022 concerning Criminal Acts of Sexual Violence.

³⁹ Bohm, Robert M. and Haley, Keith N. *Introduction to Criminal Justice (Ninth Edition)* (New York, McGraw-Hill, 2017), pp. 28-29.

on these teachings, child marriage (which in this study is referred to as early marriage) is a crime in the formal legal understanding (law) because Indonesian positive law calls it that. Even if in fact early marriage is something that is ignored by some Indonesians, it is still not justified according to the Law on Sexual Violence.

In the previous explanation, it was stated that early marriage occurs due to sexual violence so that children are married off directly by asking for marriage dispensation so that the family disgrace does not spread, this practice is actually a culture that is very thick with polite manners and behavior in Indonesia because maintaining virginity and avoiding promiscuity are noble values that are always instilled by parents in Indonesia to their children, especially girls. But actually, because children are not psychologically and mentally ready to live a household life until they are forced to marry too soon, early marriage also contributes as a trigger for sexual violence in the family. The 2023 Annual Report of the National Commission on Violence Against Women of the Republic of Indonesia (CATAHU Komnas Perempuan) places sexual violence in the private sphere against wives as the second most frequent report received by National Commission on Violence Against Women of the Republic of Indonesia and Service Institutions from both civil society and the government in collaboration with National Commission on Violence Against Women of the Republic of Indonesia.⁴⁰ This situation is very ironic because the formation of a household through marriage aims to create a happy and eternal family.⁴¹ To realize this ideal condition, of course, it is necessary for the perpetrators to have the ability both physically and spiritually as a provision.

The explanation that has been presented shows that there is a thread that connects sexual violence with early marriage. Sexual violence is like the "beginning" and "end" of early marriage. Why can this be said? Because early marriage (among other things) occurs because of sexual violence and early marriage (among other things) causes and triggers sexual violence. Early marriage sort of stands in the middle position and seems to be the connecting bridge. Looking at this kind of phenomenon, it can also be described as a

⁴⁰ National Commission on Violence Against Women of the Republic of Indonesia. *CATAHU 2023: Catatan Tahunan Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan Tahun 2022 (Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan di Ranah Publik dan Negara: Minimnya Perlindungan dan Pemulihan)*. Available to download at <https://komnasperempuan.go.id/catatan-tahunan-detail/catahu2023-kekerasan-terhadap-perempuan-di-ranah-publik-dan-negara-minimnya-perlindungan-dan-pemulihan>, pp. 34-35.

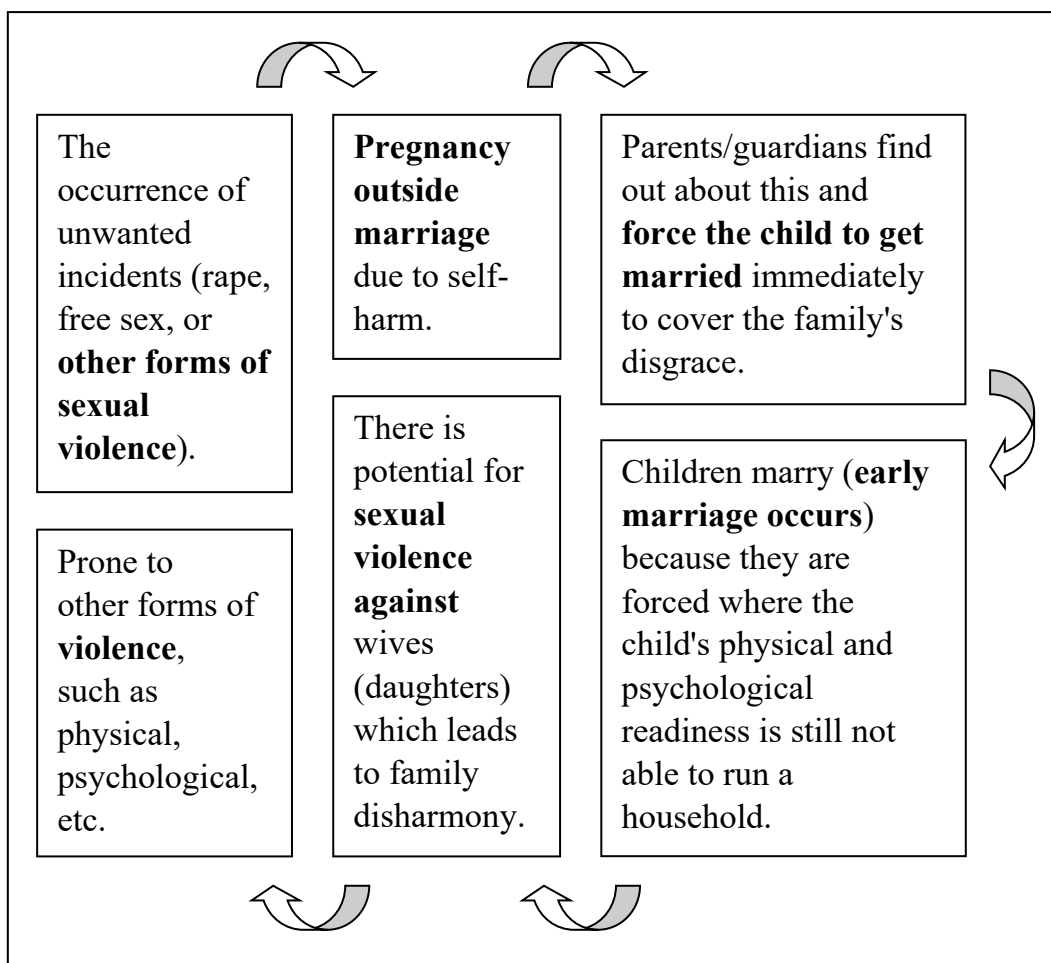
⁴¹ Isnaeni, Moch. *Hukum Perkawinan Indonesia* (Bandung, Refika Aditama, 2016), p. 27.

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domino's effect, which explains how an unwanted action or event can trigger other more serious actions or events. In the context of crime, the domino's effect can be used to explain how an act of crime can trigger other acts of crime or even trigger a larger crime wave. In this case, the domino's effect can help to identify the factors that cause crime and take appropriate precautions to prevent more serious crimes from occurring in the future. In relation to the discussion in the study, this can be seen in the model below:

Diagram 1.

Domino Effect of Sexual Violence with Early Marriage



The diagram is a simple illustration of the domino effect seen in the relationship between early marriage and sexual violence, depicting a situation where a series of interconnected events are triggered by one initial event

(sexual violence).⁴² These events can be illustrated as a series of standing dominoes that can be toppled by knocking down the first domino in the series, leading to other crimes.

The Relevance of Sexual Violence to Early Marriage from the Perspective of Travis Hirschi's Social Control Theory: Socio-Criminological Pillars in Analyzing Criminal Behavior

As has been comprehensively explained in the discussion in the previous point, the relevance between early marriage and sexual violence is said to be a domino's effect. In addition, the two premises (early marriage and violence) in question also trigger each other towards the occurrence of deviant behavior. Thus, there are two sides that are interrelated in terms of the relevance between the two. Because the two premises trigger each other, it is necessary to find and analyze countermeasures that can prevent this from happening, because if one can be prevented, the other can also be prevented. The prevention effort lies in the means of control in the sense that if sexual violence is overcome (controlled) then early marriage also does not occur (controlled), and vice versa. In the context of controlling this deviant behavior, Travis Hirschi can explain it through social control theory.

According to Travis Hirschi (1969), almost all criminological theories begin with the false basic assumption that criminal behavior in some form requires the creation of criminal motivation. For example, strain theories that originated with the work of Robert King Merton (1938) assumed that the resulting pressure on social norms, caused by a mismatch between the goals and aspirations of young people and their ability to achieve these goals through legitimate means, triggered the motivation to commit crime.⁴³ This assumption was then carried forward in a later version of strain theory proposed by Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin (1960). In addition, perspectives that refer to the differential association theory proposed by Edwin Sutherland (1939) assume that values and skills related to criminal behavior

⁴² Mahr, Nathan. "Domino Effect Meaning & Examples." Study.com. Retrieved from <https://study.com/academy/lesson/domino-effect-overview-examples.html> (accessed on November 28, 2023).

⁴³ Parwata, I Gusti Ngurah. *Bahan Ajar Terminologi Kriminologi* (Denpasar, Universitas Udayana, 2017), p. 22.

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need to be learned through a process, which largely occurs through exposure to deviant peers and deviancy value systems that can create motivation to commit crimes.

In the opposite perspective, Travis Hirschi starts his theory with the premise that from birth, every individual has a hedonic drive to act selfishly and aggressively which can lead to criminal behavior. In Travis Hirschi's (1969) view, the relevant question is not "why do offenders commit crimes and delinquencies," the question is turned around to "why do most individuals not commit crimes." Thus, the questions that arise based on the discussion in this study from the perspective of Travis Hirschi's social control theory are "why people do not commit sexual violence" and "why people do not engage in early marriage." The short answer to why people do not engage in early marriage is (possibly) because they are not victims of sexual violence. As for why people do not commit sexual violence, the short answer is that there are social attachments that control them to avoid deviant behavior.

In the perspective of Travis Hirschi's social control theory, to analyze an individual's deviant behavior, the answer can be found in the bonds that the individual has formed with four key elements that are interrelated with each other, namely attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief. According to Travis Hirschi, it is these bonds that ultimately control individual behavior when they are tempted to engage in criminal or deviant acts. When related to the context in this study, the four elements proposed by Travis Hirschi can be described as follows:

1. Attachment

According to Travis Hirschi, this element refers to the bonds of affection that one psychologically has towards other people and social institutions. For Travis Hirschi, the role of parents and school is crucial in this regard as young people who have a close attachment to their parents and school will experience greater levels of social control. For example in the movie *Scream*, when two killers are unmasked, one of them is worried and says "my mom is going to be really mad at me." While this fictional actor's maternal attachment clearly did not prevent him from killing, it does point to something broader about how this attachment can control one's behavior. In other words, one does not want to disappoint their loved ones with bad behavior.

In relation to early marriage, when a person has a strong attachment to the family, he or she will try in such a way as to obey the parents by not committing deviations (such as sexual violence) that will lead to early marriage.

Good family conditions (e.g. moderate and open-minded) can also significantly influence a child's way of thinking, behavior and actions. Since children tend to imitate what they see around them, it is important to create a harmonious, peaceful and serene family environment so that children's development can be optimally controlled. If children feel that they do not receive attention and happiness in their family environment, this situation may encourage early marriage as an attempt to find happiness through the formation of a new family.⁴⁴ But keep in mind that such actions may be taken in deviant ways such as involving sexual violence.

2. Commitment

This element refers to the cost-benefit calculation of engaging in deviant behavior where Travis Hirschi mentions the importance of social relationships that people value that they do not want to risk by committing criminal acts. In essence, Travis Hirschi notes that people are less likely to commit crimes when they know they have something to lose.⁴⁵ For teenagers, this may mean not wanting to look bad in front of friends, parents, or teachers for committing a crime (something that makes them feel ashamed from people who have an opinion about them). The same is true for adults where one might refrain from engaging in deviant activities that could threaten their job or marriage. Key factors that can be identified through this commitment are family, career, success, and future goals.

The attachment between children and parents can be reflected in the form of commitment. This means that when there is a strong emotional attachment between parents and children, an agreement will be formed that is reflected in behavior so as not to engage in deviant behavior such as sexual violence that will lead to early marriage. Before engaging in criminal behavior, individuals tend to go through an evaluation process that aims to weigh the positive and negative consequences of the action compared to their investment in social conformity. For example, someone who behaves well and holds the noble value that committing sexual violence is bad, which is a teaching that is always emphasized by his parents and teachers, then his commitment to following this value leads him to avoid deviant behavior

⁴⁴ Waliddra, Silvia and Simanjuntak, Harapan Tua Ricky Freddy. "Strategi Dinas Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak (DP3A) Dalam Mencegah Pernikahan Anak Usia Dini di Kota Pekanbaru." *Jurnal Niara* 16, No. 1 (2023): 37-45. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31849/niara.v16i1.13929>, p. 39.

⁴⁵ Pratt, Travis C., Gau, Jacinta M. and Franklin, Travis W. *Key Ideas in Criminology and Criminal Justice* (California, SAGE Publications, 2010), p. 58.

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because he holds on to a pattern of behavior that respects the values, traditions, customs, and norms of community life. In other words, if he commits sexual violence (which again leads to early marriage), then everything is not functioning and working properly. Committing a crime will get a person into trouble so there is no benefit at all when they commit a crime. From this it can be seen that the stronger the commitment between a person and other people they consider important such as parents, friends, or teachers, the less likely they are to engage in deviant behavior.⁴⁶ If a person does not care about their commitment to others, they will be free to engage in deviant behavior, which means that the means of control becomes weak and fractured for the individual concerned.

3. Involvement

This element relates to how people spend their time towards socially beneficial activities. Specifically, Travis Hirschi uses the classic philosophy of "idle hands are the devil's workshop"⁴⁷ which means that if a person spends their time engaging in some form of beneficial social activity, then they will not spend their time engaging in activities that lead to deviant behavior.⁴⁸ For example, a young person who is highly involved in legitimate school activities (whether academically, socially, or athletically) will not spend the same amount of time destroying property, stealing things that do not belong to them, using marijuana or heroin, and so on. Of course, this does not mean that such young people cannot engage in such behaviors before or after their legitimate activities. However, Travis Hirschi argues that at least during that time the youth will not commit delinquent acts because the time has been spent engaging in worthwhile activities.

In a perspective that is relevant to the discussion, one of the things that can make a person avoid the practice of early marriage is through long-term investment through involvement in pursuing the highest possible education. It is important for the community and youth (the surrounding environment)

⁴⁶ Anarta, Fikri., Fauzi, Rizki Muhammad., Rahmadhani, Suci and Santoso, Meilanny Budiarti. "Kontrol Sosial Keluarga Dalam Upaya Mengatasi Kenakalan Remaja." *Jurnal Penelitian dan Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat (JPPM)* 2, No. 3 (2021): 485-498. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24198/jppm.v2i3.37834>, p. 493.

⁴⁷ The origin of this saying is rooted in the scriptures of the Bible. Although not a literal translation, the Apostle Paul states in 2 Thessalonians 3:11 that "those who are idle or not busy will easily fall into sin." Proverbs 18:9 also explains that "a slothful man works with one who destroys," and Proverbs 16:27 states "the wicked digs up evil, and in his lips is a consuming fire."

⁴⁸ McLeod, Danielle. "Idle Hands are the Devil's Workshop or Playground Saying." Grammarist. Retrieved from <https://grammarist.com/proverb/idle-hands-are-the-devils-workshop-tools-or-playground/> (accessed on November 28, 2023).

to encourage awareness of the need to maximize human resources through the education system.⁴⁹ A person's involvement in educational institutions is very central in the context of early marriage where the low level of education of parents, children and the community causes a tendency to marry off children who are still underage because it is not accompanied by knowledge and long thoughts about the consequences and impacts of the problems faced related to early marriage.⁵⁰ Even in school, an adolescent also needs to be involved and interact in positive activities such as sports, religious activities, or other good social activities.

Conversely, if the interactions and activities carried out are negative, such as drug abuse, free sex, brawls, promiscuity, or other forms of delinquency which in this case can potentially lead to sexual violence, then delinquent behavior and deviance can easily be internalized in an adolescent. This becomes more likely if there is a strong and sustained engagement between the adolescent and their peers (peer-group) who have a history of delinquent behavior. Therefore, the role of parents as supervisors becomes crucial, with the responsibility to monitor their children's activities and associations outside the home and the surrounding environment.⁵¹ Thus, it can be concluded that the more intensely the individual is involved in positive interactions and activities, the less likely they are to commit deviant behavior.

4. Belief

The final type of social bond identified by Travis Hirschi is belief, which refers to the extent to which an individual subscribes to values associated with behavior that conforms to social norms, including legal norms. The assumption is that the more important such values are to a person, the less likely they are to engage in criminal or deviant behavior. The concept underlying Travis Hirschi's research is that there is an important relationship between attitudes and behavior (not in the sense that attitudes motivate people to commit crimes), but rather because attitudes that believe in good

⁴⁹ Rahmatullah, Alfanda and Prayono, Arif Aminullah. "Menciptakan Generasi Muda Tanpa Pernikahan Dini di Kabupaten Situbondo." *Forum Ilmu Sosial* 43, No. 2 (2016): 169-175. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15294/fis.v43i2.9357>, p. 174.

⁵⁰ Raya, Fitri., Arif, Syamsul., Febriyanti, Annisa., Salsabila, Mumtazmahal Shafa., Handayani, Arika Pratiwi and Aulia, Syifah Shofiyah. "Urgensi Pendidikan Tekan Pernikahan Dini." *Dedikasi: Jurnal Pengabdian Masyarakat* 15, No. 1 (2022): 51-61. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.32678/dedikasi.v15i1.5943>, p. 55.

⁵¹ Pratiwi, Lusiana. "Peran Orang Tua Dalam Mencegah Kenakalan Remaja Desa Gintungan Kecamatan Gebang Kabupaten Purworejo." *Diklus: Jurnal Pendidikan Luar Sekolah* 1, Vol. 1 (2017): 75-83. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21831/diklus.v1i1.23854>, p. 79.

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values (norms) constrain people from committing crimes. If there is no such bond of belief, then individuals will tend to commit deviant behavior.

Associated with the subject matter, a good value in the context of early marriage is "marriage does not need to start with violence or end with triggering violence". This value is a good value that needs to be followed by individuals so that deviant behavior does not occur. If the beliefs and values in society open up opportunities for early marriage and sexual violence, then this is also a criminogenic factor. One of the most commonly used views to legitimize early marriage is the interpretation of the hadith of Aisha which states that the Prophet married her at the age of six.⁵² Regarding the hadith of Aisha's early marriage to the Prophet, it is necessary to distinguish between the means and the ends contained therein.⁵³ Aisha's age at the time of marriage is considered a means that can vary depending on the context of the time, place, and local culture.⁵⁴ Therefore, age should not be the main benchmark in interpreting the hadith. If we agree that the minimum age limit is temporal and can be adjusted to the context of the times, then it is relevant to further examine the physical maturity or readiness of children, as happened to Aisyah at the age of nine at that time compared to nine-year-old children today. Therefore, interdisciplinary scientific studies including aspects of health, psychology and other fields are needed to provide a holistic answer to the comparison.

Another major obstacle and challenge to the entrenched practice of early marriage lies in the values still held by some Indonesians (especially in rural communities) that "women should get married as soon as they are considered old enough". This stigma is still strongly held by some parents for fear of their children being labeled as "old maids." This causes parents to feel that they have to find a match for their daughter and that the child has to obey as a form of respect for the parents, so the child is forced to accept this.⁵⁵ On

⁵² The wording of the hadith can be seen in the sahih narration of Bukhari No. 3894 and Muslim No. 1422 which basically reads "Telling me Furwah bin Abi al-Mugra, telling us Ali bin Mushar from Hisham from his father (Urwah) from Aisha (ra) said: I was married by the Messenger of Allah when I was six years old and lived with me when I was nine years old."

⁵³ The focus should actually be on the purpose of marriage itself to understand the hadith. If marriage at an early age is considered to provide benefits and does not cause damage or harm, then it is acceptable. However, if marriage at an early age results in negative impacts or badness, it should not be implemented.

⁵⁴ Muhajir, Muhammad. "Kontekstualisasi Hadis Pernikahan Dini di Era Kontemporer." *Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa Raushan Fikr* 10, No. 1 (2021): 46-55. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24090/jimrf.v10i1.4664>, p. 53.

⁵⁵ Azzura, Shalvena Aura., Nisa, Khoirun and Andani, Devy Kusuma Dian. "Nikah Muda: Antara Solusi versus Belenggu Patriarki (Studi Kasus di Desa Bandang Laok Bangkalan)." *Jurnal Insan*

the other hand, there is also a patriarchal culture that is closely held and a problem which is potentially crucial to the occurrence of sexual violence. Patriarchal culture is a form of injustice that requires serious attention and needs to be reconstructed where patriarchal culture can be interpreted as a system that places men in a higher position than women.⁵⁶ The adverse effects of patriarchal culture are seen through various forms of discrimination experienced by women, both in the private and public spheres, such as marginalization, economic inequality, subordination, stereotypes, violence, and double burden.

Patriarchal culture is a social construct that is accepted and recognized by society as normal. One glaring example is the view that women are incapable of generating income and should only be involved in domestic tasks. This results in constant restrictions for women especially in their role as wives. The patriarchal culture that is still deeply rooted in society makes women vulnerable to early marriage. They often do not have the freedom to refuse because in some customs, women who refuse to marry may face social sanctions. Therefore, although people realize the importance of psychological maturity in marriage, the reality is that many still ignore it.⁵⁷ In the case of early marriage, this position of women also leads to sexual violence because it elevates the belief (value) that wives must obey their husbands under any circumstances. This is a false value and should not be maintained because basically, all religious teachings are based on the concept of gender justice and equality. Any religion recognizes that God created humans from male and female groups, without judging a person's status based on gender. The key point here is that all humans are considered equal in the eyes of God. Unfortunately, humans often fall into discriminatory behavior and distinctions based on factors such as gender, race, ethnicity, skin color, religion, gender, social status, and even political sect.⁵⁸ The importance of the values believed is also a key factor in seeing whether a person behaves deviantly or

Pendidikan dan Sosial Humaniora 1, No. 2 (2023): 168-183. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.59581/jip-soshum-widyakarya.v1i2.278>, p. 174.

⁵⁶ Salwa, Tania Zahirah., Dewi, Sulih Indra and Rinata, Asfira Rachmad. "Penguasaan Tubuh Perempuan Oleh Budaya Patriarki Dalam Film Yuni." *Lenvari: Journal of Social Science* 1, No. 1 (2023): 40-54. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.61105/jss.v1i1.23>, p. 40.

⁵⁷ Sakina, Ade Irma and Asiah, Dessy Hasanah Siti. "Menyoroti Budaya Patriarki di Indonesia." *Share: Social Work Journal* 7, No. 1 (2017): 71-80. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24198/share.v7i1.13820>, p. 74.

⁵⁸ Kurniawati, Rahmaditta dan Sa'adah, Nurus. "Konseling Lintas Budaya: Sebagai Upaya Preventif Pernikahan Dini." *Islamic Counseling: Jurnal Bimbingan Konseling Islam* 6, No. 1 (2022): 51-74. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.29240/jbk.v6i1.3418>, p. 64.

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not in the perspective of Travis Hirschi's social control theory. If what is believed and practiced is a good value, then social control over the individual will be large and influential so that deviant behavior does not arise from the person concerned.

Travis Hirschi argues that the stronger the social ties, the less likely the occurrence of deviant behavior. Travis Hirschi is in line with Emile Durkheim's view that a person's actions reflect various views of morality and individuals have the freedom to commit crimes or deviant behavior. Travis Hirschi asserts that deviant behavior is caused by the lack or absence of an individual's moral attachment to society.⁵⁹ What is meant by "society" according to Talcott Parsons is a system built on a set of common values that are integrated by its members in a socialization process.⁶⁰ Through the socialization process, each individual then learns to give actions and reactions to the rules and values that apply in the community where he is.⁶¹ In this context, the individual will see and assess how the rules are influential or not in preventing himself from committing deviant behavior or, on the contrary, the individual actually falls into delinquency because of the supportive environment (society).

Conclusion

Moving on from the explanation that has been explained, it can be concluded that the relevance between early marriage and sexual violence is very closely related. Early marriage and sexual violence can be said to be a domino's effect because early marriage (one of them) occurs because of sexual violence and early marriage (one of them) causes and triggers sexual violence. This can be illustrated as a series of standing dominoes that can be toppled by knocking down the first domino (sexual violence) in the series so that the other dominoes also fall (early marriage and sexual violence again). Another relevance lies in the means of control, if one premise can be controlled then the other premise is also controlled in the sense that if sexual

⁵⁹ Effendi, Tolib. *Dasar Dasar Kriminologi: Ilmu tentang Sebab-Sebab Kejahatan* (Malang, Setara Press, 2016), p. 136.

⁶⁰ Podgorecki, Adam and Whelan, Christopher J. *Pendekatan Sosiologis Terhadap Hukum* (Jakarta, Bina Aksara, 1987), pp. 111-112.

⁶¹ Windari, Rusmilawati. "Efek Domino Globalisasi Internet Terhadap Angka Kekerasan Seksual Terhadap Anak dan Perubahan Hukum di Bidang Perlindungan Anak" in *Bunga Rampai Perkembangan Hukum Indonesia* (Malang, Literasi Nusantara, 2023), p. 45.

violence is overcome (controlled) then early marriage also does not occur (controlled), and vice versa. The relevance presented and explained from early marriage to sexual violence can also be said to cover two interrelated sides, the first is the relevance to the trigger of the crime where the two premises (sexual violence with early marriage) in question trigger each other. Meanwhile, the other side is the countermeasures, if one can be prevented then the other can also be prevented (overcome).

From the perspective of Travis Hirschi's social control theory, the factors that control individuals' behavior when they are tempted to engage in criminal or deviant acts can be found in the bonds people form with four key elements that are interrelated with each other: attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief. According to Travis Hirschi's social control theory, there is a causal chain of the relevance of early marriage to sexual violence that includes an individual's attachment to parents and school (attachment), commitment not to let down what is important in one's life (commitment), individual involvement in a positive activity (involvement), and belief in good values in the context of early marriage and sexual violence (belief). This means that the stronger these bonds are held firmly by a person, the further a person is likely to commit deviant behavior.

Seeing from the discussion that has been presented, the crucial thing that can prevent the chain of sexual violence with early marriage can be started from increasing the capacity of parents in involving their children in good things such as investing children in the highest possible education so that children are involved in positive activities that can later make children stand up to believe in good values in the context of early marriage and sexual violence because this knowledge will be obtained through education. In addition, it is also necessary to socialize the applicable regulations in relation to early marriage and sexual violence, namely the Child Protection Law, the Sexual Violence Law, the Marriage Law, and other relevant laws to the community on a massive scale, especially to parents and children who are still unfamiliar with the knowledge of laws and regulations. Thus, the goal of preventing these two deviant behaviors can at least be achieved slowly but surely.

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