

## Pluralistic Family: Why They Let Their Children Get Married Early?

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### ABSTRACT

The decision to marry a child is taken by the parents after holding a family consultation. This was also done by the majority of consensual (16%) and pluralistic (77%) families who were respondents in this study. The purpose of this study is to find out the reasons why pluralistic families allow school-age girls to marry. This research method uses a descriptive qualitative method with depth interview with a number of informants such as: traditional leaders, government leaders, religious leaders, parents who marry off their children at a young age and the perpetrators of child marriages themselves. The research was taken in Bogor regency. The results of this study revealed that a pluralistic family in Bogor Regency has the following characteristics: being open with other family members, parents do not want to impose their will on their children, the decision to marry at school age is a mutual agreement, parents choose to marry off their daughters for reasons of concern, socializing, violating religious rules and norms, and also parents want their daughters to stay in the same house or close together. This has become a hereditary tradition. Child marriage also aims to improve the family's economy. Families of child marriages have carried out the tradition of young marriage for three generations following in the footsteps of their grandmothers and mothers who also married young.

### KEYWORDS

pluralistic family; early marriage; economic; culture; religion

## INTRODUCTION

The United Nations Development Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA) stated that Indonesia is the 7th country with the highest number of child marriages in the world. For the ASEAN region, Indonesia is in second place after Cambodia. The Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection released the latest information from UNICEF that Indonesia in terms of child marriage ranks 7th in the world (Jawa Pos, 2019). West Java is not a province that has a high prevalence of adolescent marriage, but the number of female adolescents who have ever married at the age of 15-19 years is very high, around 220,501 people compared to East Java with a total of 236,404 people. These two numbers are the most prominent of all provinces in Indonesia (BPS & UNICEF, 2016). The highest cases of child marriage in West Java occurred in Bogor Regency reaching 21,304 pairs of child ages where at the time of marriage they were less than 19 years old (SDKI, 2017). From the description above, the number of child marriages in Bogor Regency reached 15.7 percent.

The causes of child marriage can be identified as follows: (1) lack of information on reproductive health and the minimum age for marriage, (2) lighten the burden on parents, (3) strong negative stigma (old virgins) on girls in the village if they are late to get marry,

(4) the low level of education of parents and children, (5) massive information technology that makes it easier for teenagers to access pornography, (6) unwanted births (Desiyanti, 2015). The case of child marriage raises new problems for the quality of family resources for couples who marry at the child age. Married couples who marry at the age of children are very vulnerable in carrying out their family functions. The low quality of family communication with children adds to the problems in their relationship, so that children tend to be closer to people outside the family such as friends or girlfriends. Some of these conditions are the determining elements in circumstances that cause children to be married at a young age (less than 19 years) even though the decision to marry at an early age is largely determined by parents (Nurhajati & Wardyaningrum, 2012).

The results of research by (Aziyah, 2016; Horstman et al., 2018; Koerner et al., 2017; Nurma, 2016) show that family communication is one of the important factors for children and parents in designing children's lives and futures. In reality, family communication does not occur and is established as expected. So that this has an impact on the lives of children in the future and eventually becomes one of the problems in poverty. Previous research has shown that the decision of marriage child is based on a permissive family communication pattern (Saradian & Hasibuan, 2015).

However, the pre-research conducted by researchers in Bogor Regency in particular showed that cases of child marriage that occurred were exist from families with pluralistic communication patterns. From this phenomenon and reality, it becomes an interesting and important case to study, why is it that families with pluralistic family communication patterns allow their children to marry at a young age. Therefore, this study investigates and explores this with the aim of knowing more about the reasons why pluralistic families are more likely to marry off their children at a very young age.

### **Conceptual Framework**

Bogor Regency has 40 sub-districts where the West Bogor area dominates the area of Bogor Regency with a total of 14 sub-districts, consisting of: Dramaga, Ciampea, Tenjolaya, Cibungbulang, Pamijahan, Leuwiliang, Leuwisadeng, Nanggung, Sukajaya, Cigudeg, Jasinga, Tenjo, Parungpanjang, and Cigudeg Districts. Rumpin. Referring to the table below, the distribution of cases of child marriage mostly occurs in three sub-districts, namely Cigudeg District, Pamijahan District and Leuwiliang District. The total number of child marriages in the West Bogor area reached 6,448 people while the total number of child marriages in Bogor Regency reached 15,118 people in 2019. The data on the percentage of child marriages in West Bogor can be seen in Table 1.

**Table 1.** Data on the percentage of child marriage in the West Bogor Region in 2019

No	Name of district	Amount of marriage	Total of child marriage	%
1	Cigudeg	1332	694	52.10
2	Pamijahan	1481	688	46.45
3	Leuwiliang	1372	679	49.48
4	Rumpin	1828	626	34.24
5	Sukajaya	794	600	75.56
6	Jasinga	1105	532	48.14
7	Ciampea	1405	431	30.67
8	Nanggung	1063	366	34.43
9	Dramaga	866	347	40.06
10	Tenjo	671	346	51.56
11	Leuwisadeng	826	319	38.61

12	Cibungbulang	1175	310	26.38
13	Parung	1091	298	27.31
14	Tenjolaya	581	212	36.48

Table 1 shows that there are three sub-districts with the highest number of child marriage cases in Bogor Regency, especially in the West Bogor area. The three sub-districts above, namely Cigudeg, Pamijahan and Leuwiliang are located in the same area in the West Bogor area, which is about two kilometers from the Bogor Agricultural Institute (IPB) University. This shows that the perpetrators of child marriage live in areas that have easy and affordable access to education. The existence of the IPB Campus, which is one of the best campuses in Indonesia, does not increase the motivation of the surrounding community to continue their education to the university level.

Child marriages that occur also cannot be separated from the communication patterns that occur within the family. As mentioned in the introduction, there are four types of family communication patterns, namely consensual, pluralistic, protective and laissez-faire types. The pattern of family communication proposed by McLeod and Chaffee (1987) in (Puspitawati, 2012) suggests social-oriented communication and concept-oriented communication. Socially oriented communication is communication that relatively emphasizes harmonious relationships and pleasant social relationships in the family. Concept-oriented communication is communication that encourages children to develop views and consider problems from various perspectives.

- 1) Family communication with a laissez-faire pattern, characterized by low concept-oriented communication, meaning that children are not directed to develop themselves independently, and are also low in socially oriented communication. This means that children do not foster harmonious relationships in the form of interactions with parents. Children and parents lack or do not understand the object of communication, so that it can lead to wrong communication.
- 2) Family communication with a protective pattern, characterized by low communication in concept orientation, but high communication in social orientation. Compliance and alignment are very important. Children who come from families who use protective patterns in communicating are easily persuaded, because they do not learn how to defend their own opinions.
- 3) Family communication with a pluralistic pattern is a form of family communication that runs an open communication model in discussing ideas with all family members, respecting the interests of other members and supporting each other.
- 4) Family communication with a consensual pattern, marked by consensus deliberation. This form of family communication emphasizes both socially oriented and concept oriented communication. This pattern encourages and provides opportunities for each family member to express ideas from various perspectives, without disturbing the family's power structure.
- 5) The pattern of family communication proposes that families create shared realities that influence how families interact, leading to the creation of a family communicative environment (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002).

## RESEARCH METHODS

This descriptive qualitative research was conducted in villages spread over 3 sub-districts (Pamijahan, Leuwiliang, Cigudeg) which had the highest number of child marriage cases out of 14 sub-districts in the West Bogor region (Bogor Regency). The determination of the village as the research location was chosen randomly based on the consideration that

the village or hamlet has and is implementing an empowerment program, where: (1) the location is far from the Bogor Regency government, (2) the dominant population's livelihood is in the agricultural sector, (3) heterogeneous population characteristics both in terms of education level and social status, (4) the West Bogor area is close to the IPB campus but the school realization rate is still low.

The informants in this study were women who had child marriages and were in a family of child marriages of approximately 10 people and 1 traditional head who served as village head and 1 religious figure. Through this informant, the characteristics of the family of child marriage, the characteristics of their parents and the characteristics of their parents-in-law were obtained. A general survey was also conducted in families who were the object and subject of research to get an overview of the overall characteristics of the family communication patterns in the three sub-districts. Primary data obtained directly from the results of in-depth interviews with informants and observations in the field. In the next stage, primary data was taken from in-depth interviews with families of child marriages with unique cases to find out the mindset and communication of the family regarding child marriage and its impact on decision making based on the typology of family communication patterns. The instrument for communication patterns of child marriage families was created and developed based on the concept of Epstein in (Miller et al., 1994; Morse et al., 2014; Ramadhany et al., 2016) and refined using indicators from the McMaster Family Functioning Model (Dai & Wang, 2015; Fugard et al., 2011; Skinner et al., 2000, 2000; Steinhauer et al., 1984).

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

The phenomenon of child marriage in rural Bogor Regency is still ongoing today. External factors (outside the nuclear family) that support child marriage include the tradition, norms and values as well as cultural factors in society that make child marriage cases very difficult to prevent. Parents have the right to apply to the district court to legalize the marriage of their child who has not yet reached the age of 19. This event is known as a marriage dispensation. Regarding marriage dispensation, there was a 20-fold increase in applications for marriage dispensations in 2018 compared to 2015. The number of dispensations recorded was 13,783 cases in religious courts and 190 cases in general courts. Another issue related to marital dispensation is unwanted pregnancy or people call it pregnancy out of marriage due to premarital sex (AIPJ2, 2019).

Child marriage causes other social problems, such as health problems for young mothers who give birth where the threat of death is higher for young mothers and their babies compared to mothers who give birth at a sufficient age (over 20 years). The results of previous studies stated that there was a correlation between the safety and health of mothers and babies with the mortality rate of both during childbirth (Bappenas, 2019). In addition to the threat of death for young mothers who give birth, other factors that are also concerning are child marriage reducing poverty in newly formed families. The low level of formal education and lack of special skills mean that child marriage partners do not have many choices in working to earn a living. The work of housewives is only limited to socializing activities so that the wages they get are not sufficient for their daily needs.

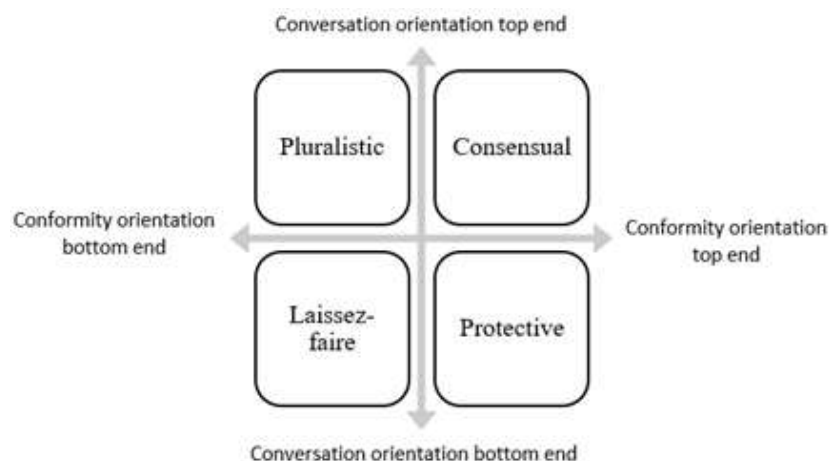
Although religious and cultural norms in some communities reject child marriage, in certain areas, people still use religious and cultural interpretations as justification. Departing from this condition, regarding norms, culture, and values in society that support the practice of child marriage, special strategies and approaches must be obtained. The central and local governments as policy makers can assign facilitators according to their respective expertise to educate rural communities about the impact of child marriage on the

future of children and their families. Data obtained from the research illustrates that cases of child marriage occur due to a number of internal factors (conflict and communication patterns within the family) as well as external factors (community traditions, norms and culture in society). The poverty factor that results in the low economic capacity of the family is often the main trigger for child marriage (BPS et al., 2020).

A special approach in preventing child marriage in the village must be carried out by the government in collaboration with various government institutions and community institutions. In addition to the above factors, data that researchers gained show that the causes of child marriage in rural areas arise due to other social problems such as parental divorce, the father as the main provider leaving the house without notification, the head of the family dies so that the mother has to work hard to meet the family's needs, Mother falls ill and needs medical expenses for medical treatment, to help pay school fees or school needs for younger siblings due to parental limitations. If looking at the factors above, there is a sincere intention from a child to help the difficulties of parents and their families. The decision to marry at a young age (school age) by ignoring the ideals and future is the hardest thing that must be endured by the perpetrators of child marriage. At a very young age, they must act as husband or wife as well as father or mother of their children. This is very concerning where the role of parents is very heavy to be borne by parents who are still young.

Data obtained from the field states that marriage is one way to maintain family honor. This happens because parents are worried if their children already have a boyfriend. This condition makes parents worried if their children have premarital sex until an unwanted pregnancy occurs. This act is a violation of religious norms, values and culture as well as a disgrace to the family. In addition, parents think that child marriage is much safer because parents are not worried about violating religious and cultural norms. Parents' concerns also underlie the decision of the Bogor District Court judge who granted the parents' request to marry off their child even though the child's age has not yet reached 19 years (Bappenas, 2019). The role of the communication pattern of the child marriage family as described above is to become the basis for the formation of a more effective family category determinant. Communication patterns of child marriage families through aspects of conversation orientation and conformity orientation are dimensions that are able to underlie and determine the type of family or family typology (Koerner et al., 2017; Koerner & Schrod, 2014; Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 1997, 2002; Schrod, 2009).

The interaction between conversation orientation and conformity orientation as an aspect of family communication patterns forms four family typologies, namely consensual, pluralistic, protective and laissez-faire types which are divided into two parts, namely the upper end (high) and the lower end (low). It can be seen on Figure 1 below.



**Figure 1.** Conversation Orientation and Conformity Orientation Form a Family

Figure 1 states that a consensual typology is formed when the conversation orientation and the conformity orientation are both at the top (high) end. Pluralistic type results from the interaction of high conversational orientation with low conformity orientation. The protective type is the opposite of the pluralistic type, which is formed from a low conversational orientation and a high conformity orientation, and finally the laissez-faire type is formed from a conversational orientation and a low conformity orientation.

Communication in pluralistic families is characterized by open and unconstrained discussions with all family members. Fitzpatrick stated that the characteristics of communication in the pluralistic family are being able to cultivate communication competence and independent ideas in their children. Parents who are heads of pluralistic families are categorized as independent types (Koerner et al., 2017). Independent couples in pluralistic families carry out non-conventional family values in human relationships such as not limiting the freedom of family members, a strong desire to share and staying close even though each individual still maintains a routine schedule and has a separate room from others. such as: private bathroom, private bedroom). Family members with pluralistic types tend to be involved and do not avoid marital conflict (Schrodt, 2009). The results of previous research on family communication patterns with the number of respondents 375 participants (Yusnita, 2021), overall the family typology in child marriage families is divided into four typologies which can be seen in Table 2.

**Table 2.** Typology of Child Marriage Families in Three Districts

<b>Family Typology</b>	<b>Number (family)</b>	<b>%</b>
Consensual	61	16
Pluralistic	291	77
Protective	17	5
Laissez-faire	6	2

*Source: Yusnita (2021)*

The results showed that the typology of child marriage families in the three sub-districts surveyed was dominated by the pluralistic and consensual types, while the protective and laissez faire types were only a small part. This means that child marriage families have multiple parenting styles (consensual type) usually known as authoritative parenting in which parents have sufficient control and full support for their children. Permissive family parenting (pluralistic type) usually prioritizes deliberation or agreement with the family. They direct the activities of their children as well as give permission to give and take that is reasonable because they will explain the reasons for the decisions taken. In permissive parents they do not need or demand much obedience from their children. This is very different from multiple parents (consensual type) (Schrodt, 2009).

This is in accordance with the results of interviews in the field that parents from child marriage families do not force their children to marry young. In the case of child marriage, parents discourse on their daughters if there is a candidate they should marry and this discourse is accepted by children as a form of obedience to their parents. Explicitly, there is no element of coercion or violence by parents against their children, this democratic family condition makes each member understand the difficulties experienced by the family, especially economic difficulties, so that children are willing to accept offers from both parents. According to Reiss (Noller & Fitzpatrick, 1993) that every family has a system of values and beliefs that have enormous consequences on how family members view the social environment and where their family lives and the consequences are how families communicate inside and outside the family environment. The way families

communicate greatly affects the psychological well-being of family members and their social functioning.

One of the informants from a pluralistic family in the case of child marriage said the results of the conversation between parents and daughters were as follows:

“My mom and dad asked if I had a boyfriend and loved him, of course I said yes. When I asked my parents again, it turned out that my parents advised me to just get married even though I was still in junior high school because of limited funds to continue my education. But my parents asked my opinion first. I just agreed if that was what my parents hoped for and was allowed to get married because I also didn't want to be a burden to my parents. By getting married I can earn a living from my husband” (Selvi, 14 years old, female).

From the statement of the informant, it appears that there is no coercion but rather the agreement of both parties, between the child and the parent. Findings of the relationship between communication patterns of child marriage families with family functioning where conversational orientation tends to be at the top end (high) and conformity orientation tends to be at the bottom end (low) so that the functioning of child marriage families is categorized as a more effective family because it is able to reach the core dimensions, namely problem solving. In addition, the typology of child marriage families is dominated by pluralistic and consensual types. This means that the family of child marriages always consults in every decision making even though the decision remains with the parents.

Another interesting finding from the informants of this research, the average child marriage family has carried out the tradition of marrying at a young age for the previous three generations. This information was obtained from the results of interviews with the informant's parents as follows:

“In my family, my brothers and sisters married young, even my mother (informant's grandmother) she was married at the age of 12. Almost all the women in my extended family get married young... so it's normal, here's the custom. When I was asked to get married, I was 11 years old but later divorced with my husband. Now I have remarried, and thank God he is a good person and loves my children” (YN, 42 years old, female).

Another informant has a similar statement about the tradition of marrying young in his village. Mrs. P expressed her concern if her daughter wanted to continue her education until she finished high school. This means that her daughter will postpone marriage until she is 19 years old as she stated as follows:

"In this village, the man doesn't want to marry a woman who is more than 18 years old because she is considered already old. Especially if the daughter is in high school (graduated from high school), it's trouble, because she will wants a lot. So aactually I am afraid and worried that if my daughter wanted to continue her studies, no one would propose to marry her”.

The Sundanese Pamijahan family tradition of living together (children and parents live together) raises concerns if their daughters marry 'immigrants' (young man who come from outside the Sundanese or are not natives). This concern is because the parents in the village do not want to live far away from their children. The principle of "eating, not eating, which is important to gather" has become an undeniable necessity even though they are a pluralistic family (prioritizing deliberation in making decisions).

Child marriage families in Bogor Regency, Indonesia are included in the category of pluralistic families. This is different from the results of previous studies where cases of

child marriage originate from the coercion of parents to their children or are often declared as crimes against children. The decision to marry off a daughter is dominated by her parents but it is decided jointly with her child so that this discussion prioritizes the common good (win-win solution). Girls in this case are not objects of their parents' decisions but become subjects who are able to choose decisions for their own lives. These school-age girls have the courage to decide to get married because the tradition in the Sundanese family allows them to stay with their parents even if they are married or have a family. The impact of school-age child marriage is the lack of independence of young couples in dealing with and managing their household. This is due to the high dependence on parents in terms of fulfilling their economic needs and social life so that cases of child marriage cause other social problems.

In further investigation, child marriages that occur in pluralistic families are also based on religious norms that do not recognize the term child marriage because it is religiously valid, if it has fulfilled the pillars of marriage. This norm has become a discourse (dimension of significance) that residents repeat in their daily activities so that it becomes their behavior. In addition to the dimensions of the authoritative domination structure, religious norms have also given authority to parents to marry off their children if they have fulfilled the pillars of marriage and have a boyfriend, so that they do not become the subject of discussion by neighbors and other residents. This is consistent with interviews with religious leaders:

“As Muslims, we believe that when there is a violation of religion, it will be a sin, so it is a disgrace. Therefore, instead of being a disgrace, it is better to marry her because she is psychologically ashamed, has violated religion, let alone got pregnant. This is about sex education, how you can be educated about sex, they are village children, poor children, children of workers, who do not know about sex education and counseling. So when it comes to religion, the important thing is that there are pillars and conditions. From a religious point of view, child marriage is not really a problem.” (UB, 42, religious figure).

The statement of the religious figure shows that there is no prohibition for children to marry as long as religious norms are legal. This is why pluralistic families also allow their children to marry at a young age. Meanwhile, viewed from the perspective of legal norms, namely government regulations regarding the age limit for marriage for men and women, which is a minimum of 19 years. This norm becomes a legitimate structure that allows or enables child marriage, so that if the child has not reached the minimum age of 19 years, then the child cannot. This can minimize the occurrence of child marriages which can have an impact on other social problems even though the age limit for marriage is not necessarily obeyed by the community. Amil officers (P4N) stated this as follows:

"We, as officers appointed by the KUA to explain the terms of marriage according to state and religious laws, I have conveyed, ma'am, there are residents who understand but on average they do not want their child's marriage to be postponed or postponed so I made an agreement that it's okay I keep marrying the child but I delay the report to the KUA until the girl is 19 years old and over a day". (UD, 60 years).

The issue of legal child marriage is not understood by almost all residents. Although there are those who understand that the characteristics of the family are pluralistic, that's why they perpetuate the marriage of children. Furthermore, child marriage occurs because it is based on traditional norms that begin with various discourses related to child marriage as a habit that has been carried out by parents so that it is passed on to the current

generation. Parents don't feel comfortable if their child is dating for a long time, especially when they are old. The following is an excerpt from an interview with a religious leader explaining his views on child marriage:

"Regarding the value of the Sundanese tradition...Sunda Pajajaran, the most important thing is the tradition of respecting parents, family, right...when there is indeed a tradition of marriage, this is a great thing. In Sunda there are knick-knacks, there is a tradition from A to Z then there is an offering and then there is an offer to achieve a great marriage, so just like women before marriage, there is a term for 40 days not to meet, so this marriage is very great, this marriage is supported by religion because it will carry out worship so This tradition should not be broken, so if there is an accident or pregnancy, the hopes of parents who want to get married in one or more months are still clean, while if they are pregnant, all Sundanese values will fail and there will even be regrets... so for the Sundanese who glorify the tradition that before the wedding, the two candidates cannot be close, they cannot meet...the series of traditions is so long that if it is violated because of pregnancy, it will be a shame to be a disgrace to the family". (UI, 55 years old, religious and community leaders).

It is clear that religious leaders and the community also see child marriage as a tradition that has been passed down from generation to generation in their village. This is a sign that the child can get married, without considering other things too much. This discourse is an important factor that allows child marriage to still be a tradition to this day. The discourse also gives authority to parents to marry off their children at the age of children. Social norms that preach that marriage saves religious beliefs, marriage is worship and marriage can lighten the burden on parents, in addition to giving authority to parents to marry off their children like other norms, it also gives authority to children to choose marriage in order to reduce the burden on their parents. This was also conveyed by one of the perpetrators of child marriage who stated:

"I'm ashamed, ma'am, said my friend, why are you not married yet? Growing up, he still asks his parents for money, he's already married" (N, 17 years old).

The perpetuation of the social practice of child marriage cannot be separated from the role of the existing social structure as well as the role of the actors, namely parents, children, Amil officers (P4N) in the village, village head, traditional leaders and religious leaders. Traditional norms have an understanding that marriage is a great and sacred act. Before the wedding, the two brides-to-be are not allowed to meet (secluded) in order to maintain the sanctity and safety of both. If there is a violation of the process and purpose of marriage, it is considered a family disgrace and brings shameful consequences for the family in the life of rural communities.

The results of the researcher's interviews with the informants described above, show that a pluralistic family communication pattern decides the marriage of their children by giving permission to their children on the basis of religious norms and traditions that have prevailed in their village, so that there is a feeling of shame in children if they are not married even though they are not married. still in school. Pluralistic families have low conformity orientation and high conversation orientation.

The category of pluralistic family communication has the characteristic of being open and even tends to be uncontrollable. In addition, pluralistic families focus on independent ideas and fostering communication competence in their children (Rueter & Koerner, 2008). Children in pluralistic families feel free to express their ideas and opinions and do not feel intimidated or punished if they do not obey their parents (Huang, 1999). Pluralistic family

discussions about making decisions to marry off their children at school age are common in rural areas of Bogor Regency. Pluralistic families respect the opinions of their children, whereas children also respect parents who invite them to discuss their future (Yusnita, 2021).

The decision to marry at a young age (<19 years) taken by parents is also supported by various parties such as the family environment, close relatives, community leaders and religious leaders. Even a religious figure stated:

“In our village there is no term child marriage because all the girls who get married have reached puberty (menstruation). The term child marriage is deliberately exhaled by outside parties even though the purpose of marriage is one of them to avoid promiscuity and adultery which is strictly prohibited by religion (Islam). We believe that foreigners prefer promiscuity over marriage at a young age. Moreover, young mothers in the village are in good condition after marriage and their parents are calm because they are no longer worried about their daughter's association” (UB, 42 years old, religious figure).

It can be concluded that several factors and reasons for a pluralistic family in allowing their children to marry at a young age from the results of interviews with informants are seen from:

1. Parents; with the reason that child marriage aims to maintain faith, avoid dating or promiscuity to adultery, want to add productive workers to help work in the fields/rice fields, add new workers to help earn a living for the family, inability to face global changes due to the flow of information media, lack of insight into the concept of educating and empowering girls, formal education is not considered a way out of economic difficulties.
2. Children; with the reason that marriage is a solution to help the family economy, some are married because they have dropped out of school, there is no motivation from the family environment to continue their education to a higher level, school is only for 'the have' or the rich, tend to surrender to the difficulties of life, see that the average peer is married, embarrassed by neighbors and worried about being called 'unsold', has no aspirations or other life choices, homogenous way of thinking 'doesn't want to be different' from the people around him, partly because of the influence of social media so that promiscuity and unwanted pregnancies occur.
3. Support of traditional leaders; on the grounds that child marriage (marriage young) is common, it is an old tradition in the village, child marriage does not violate Islamic religious rules, marriage is a noble culture because it connects the ties of kinship between two families, for girls if they marry, their status is more noble if they become wives or As a mother, the celebration is a matter of pride for the bride's family, if the daughter is late in marriage then it is a disgrace to her family.
4. Village community support; with the reasons that children do not go to school because the distance from school to home is quite far, there is no access to public transportation or school pick-ups, parents are unable to pay the expenses needed while the child is in school such as buying textbooks, school supplies, snacks at school. Parents assume that the school goal is enough to be able to read and write (prevent illiteracy), and
5. Social norms; on the grounds that marriage saves religious belief (Islam), marriage is worship and marriage lighten the burden on parents. The discourse that marriage saves religious beliefs. The discourse that marriage is worship. The discourse that marriage can lighten the burden on parents. The authority of parents to marry their

children. The authority of the child to ease the burden on the parents. The authority of parents and children to make marriage a worship.

## CONCLUSION

Child marriage in Bogor Regency is the result of a deliberation decision between parents and their children where most of them are pluralistic (plural) families. Support from relatives, community leaders and the environment where they live really supports the continuity of the child marriage process which has become a hereditary tradition. Child marriage is believed to be a virtue in carrying out religious orders, reducing the burden on parents, increasing productive workforce to increase economic needs.

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