PREVALENCE OF CHILD MARRIAGE AMONG YOUNG WOMEN IN INDONESIA

Joseph Natanael Marshan
(SMERU Research Institute, E-mail: jmarshan@smeru.or.id)

M. Fajar Rakhmadi
(SMERU Research Institute, E-mail: frakhmadi@smeru.or.id)

Mayang Rizky
(SMERU Research Institute, E-mail: mrizky@smeru.or.id)

Abstrak

Di Indonesia, pernikahan dini (menikah di bawah usia 18 tahun) telah menjadi perdebatan dari berbagai persepektif tetapi masih sedikit penelitian empiris yang dipublikasikan untuk mengetahui penyebab dan dampak dari fenomena ini. Melalui studi ini, kami bertujuan untk mengkalkulasi prevalensi pernikahan dini menggunakan data SUSENAS tahun 2010 yang merupakan data yang dapat merepresentasikan kondisi Indonesia pada tahun tersebut. Kemudian, kami menggunakan synthetic cohort analysis untuk menangkap profil pernikahan dini di Indonesia. Hasil dari studi ini menyatakan bahwa pernikahan dini yang selama ini diasosiasikan sebagai usaha untuk keluar dari jerat kemiskinan tidak terbukti. Manfaat dari pernikahan dini hanya dirasakan dalam jangka pendek dan secara jangka panjang pernikahan dini tidak membawa manfaat secara ekonomi.

Kata Kunci: *pernikahan dini, kemiskinan, cohort analysis.*

INTRODUCTION

Trends of Child Marriage in Indonesia

Child marriage, as defined as a formal marriage or informal union before age 18 years old (UNICEF, 2011) and in broader definition early marriage, pretend to be social economic phenomenon in many developing countries. For the period 2000-2011, just over one third or about 34 per cent of women aged 20-24 in developing regions were married or in union before their eighteen birthday (UNFPA, 2012). This percentage was equivalent to almost 67 million women. Although there are gains in some selected countries, some developing countries made a little progress in preventing early marriage.

Table 1.1. Progress in Preventing Child Marriage in Developing Countries

REGION	COUNTRIES WITH SIGNIFICANT DECLINES IN RATES OF CHILD MARRIAGE
Sub-Saharan Africa	Benin (U), Cameroon (U), Congo (R), Ethiopia, Lesotho, Liberia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Togo, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Zimbabwe (R)
Arab States	Jordan (R)
East Asia and the Pacific	Indonesia (R), Philippines (R)
South Asia	Bangladesh (U), Nepal
Eastern Europe and Central Asia	Armenia
Latin America and the Caribbean	Bolivia, Guyana (R)

Source: Results from two consecutive household surveys (MICS and DHSS) in 48 countries, cited in UNFPA (2012)

Table 1.1 shows that there is a decline in rates of child marriage in some regions of countries. Two consecutive household surveys (MICS and DHSS) were conducted in 48 countries and the

result showing is shown to be a measure of changes of 10% or more in the prevalence of child marriage between two surveys conducted during 1986-2006 and 2001-2010. Changes observed are basically taken from the area of residence whether it is urban or rural area. In East Asia and the Pacific, changes in rates of child marriage in Indonesia and the Philippines were being observed, particularly in its rural areas. The changes explain that there are significant declines in rates of child marriage in rural areas of Indonesia and the Philippines. Overall, the results of these analyzed surveys conclude three things that; (1) the practice of child marriage is still high in many developing countries in which 61 countries have a prevalence of child marriage of 20 per cent or higher, (2) this global level has remained relatively constant over the last 10 years, (3) developing countries are unable to develop appropriate policies and programs to address child marriage due to the lack evidence to document prevalence and trends in child marriage.

Yet, the number of child brides will have grown from an average of 67.4 million in 2010 to 71.8 million in 2020 according to UNFPA (2012). As Table 1.2 presents, it is over 14 percent growth each year in the estimated number of child brides if the current trends continue. Countries in South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa are still predicted to have a higher estimated number of child brides if constant growth remains. The rank is then followed by countries in East Asia and the Pacific, in which the estimated number of child brides marrying in 2010 is 9.7 million and will continue to grow until it will reach a number of 11.1 million in 2030.

Table 1.2. Estimated Number of Child Brides if Constant Growth Remains (in millions)

REGION	2010	2015	2020	2025	2030
Sub-Saharan Africa	13.1	13.7	14.0	14.5	15.0
East and Southern Africa	7.0	7.2	7.4	7.7	8.0
West and Central Africa	6.2	6.4	6.6	6.8	7.1
Arab States	6.0	6.2	6.4	6.6	6.9
East Asia and the Pacific	9.7	10.1	10.3	10.7	11.1
South Asia	24.4	25.3	25.9	26.8	27.9
Eastern Europe and Central Asia	5.8	6.0	6.1	6.3	6.6
Latin America and the Caribbean	8.5	8.8	9.1	9.4	9.7
TOTAL	67.4	70.2	71.8	74.3	77.2
TOTAL PER YEAR	13.5	14.0	14.4	14.9	15.4

Source: UNFPA database, cited in UNFPA (2012)

Without regarding cultural aspects, economic motives shall be the main driver of early marriage. Around millions of adolescent woman, mostly in South Asia and Sub-Saharan countries, still forfeit their freedom into marriage or any other form of union. In modern days, these sad pictures pretend to be unacceptable since in 2001 by the UNICEF, the practice of child marriage was classified as violation of human rights. The issue was no longer about "freedom" of but more accurately about health status and economic impact on a person, especially for woman.

In Indonesia, using multiple data sources, Jones and Gubhaju (2008) shed light on how people in Indonesia making progress in delaying marriage time. If the causes remain debatable, whether it attributed to improvement in education or better well being in Indonesian families through years, the benefit already arose. Improved education for women followed by higher labor participation in the same periods. Overall, woman already more engaged to economic activity than in the past.

Although there is a declining rate of child marriage in Indonesia, using large datasets of a nationally representative sample of Indonesian households (SUSENAS) in which handles the question of age at first marriage, child marriage among young women aged 20-24 is most prevalent

in rural area. Nationally, as it is reflected in Figure 1.3, prevalence of child marriage was at 18.2 per cent in 2001 and continue to decline until it comes up with the number of 13.5 per cent in 2010. Urban area has a lower prevalence of child marriage in Indonesia than in rural area since it has been broadly admitted that it is in urban where the girls are being given more opportunity to do things outside the marital and child bearing activities. Girls in the urban area posses a higher education and more participation in the labor market sector than girls in the area of rural. This is thus resulting to a higher age at first marriage for girls who reside in urban area than those live in rural area.

Figure 1.3. Prevalence of Child Marriage among Young Women (20-24 years old) in Indonesia based on Area of Residence
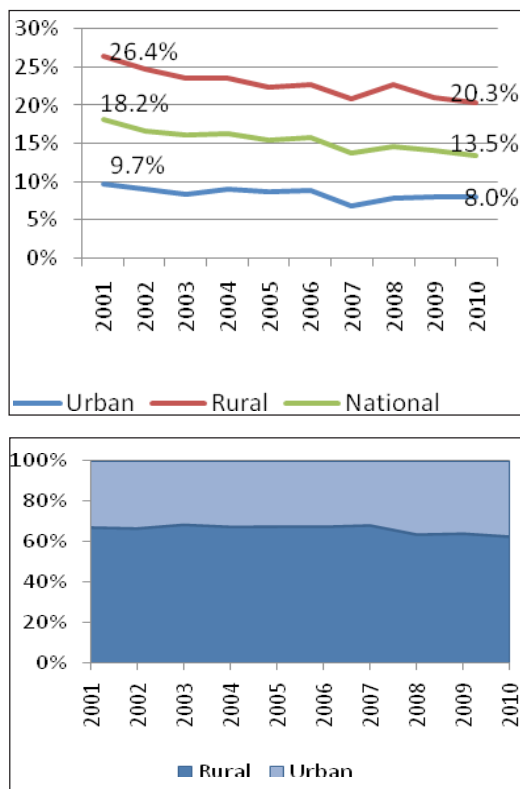

Source: Calculated from SUSENAS 2001-2010

Different sources are also collected through the other specific survey of population and health, RISKESDAS 2010. Through Figure 1.4,

it reveals that the proportion of female population aged 10-24 who are married below 18 years old are 11.7 per cent and 26.2 per cent of each age group respectively for the age cohort 15-19 and 20-24 years old. The rest is 0.2 per cent for female population aged 10-14 who were married below 18 years old.

The cultural and religion reasoning can be played some part in child marriage decision. However, the number of child marriage depicts low rate in any place in the world. Child marriage, basically, is not a natural behavior. Even in highly rated as India, the number of child marriage can be far away than less of quarter. Child marriage in terms of cultural and religious consequences, if this true, should be has larger prevalence as other customs already did. In regarding the cultural argument, it seemed to be cultural and religious view played as "permission" rather than "suggestive" role.

Figure 1.4. Proportion of Population Married below 18 years old, Pregnancy, and Childbirth among the Population Aged 10-24 years old
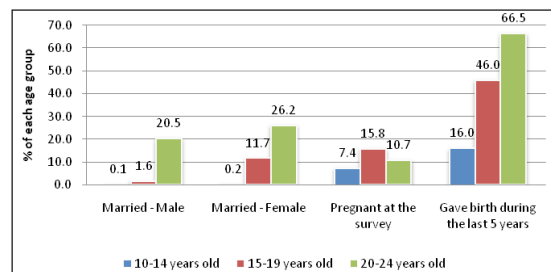
Source: RISKESDAS 2010, Atmarita (2012), cited in UNICEF (2013)

Looking at western and eastern pattern of child marriage, we can see that people in eastern part in Indonesia decided marriage earlier. However, the highest cases of child marriage are still in Java. It seemed to be reasonable if we looked at highlight concentrated poor people in Java island. From this side, we can argue that child marriage in some extent has relation to economic and education background.

The discussion of child marriage continue to the question why they took marriage decision. As mentioned before, the economic and social status should be laid as the rationale behind. Studies on earlier marriage exposed that family wealth as the main motives of child marriage. Economics motives is the famous explanation if child marriage. In the similar way of thinking, the parents decide to have early brides as the solution of moving out poverty effort.

The Legal Aspect of Child Marriage in Contemporary Indonesia

According to the Law Number 1, 1974 on Marriage, in Chapter 7, verse 1, a marriage would be acknowledge legally if only female already older than 16 years old (for the man it is 19 years old). In other hand, as comparison, the definition of children as UNICEF recognized is all people under 18 years old. It implies child marriage is all marriage conducted under 18 years old in refers to UNICEF definition. Therefore, the national definition captures less child marriage incidence.

Other issue of starting analyzing child marriage phenomena is not only on definitive effort but also capitulating measurement concept. We understand child marriage was a dynamics phenomena, so that if we looking the data, moreover demographic data, usually we need to isolate the time dynamics to get the prevalence rate. Following the UNICEF (2009), the child marriage prevalence measure on group of women aged from 20 to 24 years old who first married or entered into union before age 18. Some UNICEF report alternatively using percentage of women age 15-19 who are married or union in the given time. However, this measurement will include 19 years old women who excluded from UNICEF's child definition. The second, it may include 15-17 years

old woman who possibly shortly after get married.

Referring simply to the definition by UNICEF, we are interested to understand the child marriage phenomenon on young woman. The using of UNICEF criteria is to capture larger portrait of child marriage. Thus, in order to have comparability with international experience. The comparability needed to understand the determinants to contribute more on general understanding of child marriage.

Later discussion revealed the importance of measurement as child marriage is a dynamic incidence. Accommodating the issue, cohort analysis approach should help us to understand the problem rigorously. We should ensure that the aspect of lifetime changing can be framed. Presumably, there are changing patterns in child marriage both profile and triggering factors, before fetching more generalize conclusion.

Our study objectives, as we already discussed, aimed to giving clearer picture of child marriage in Indonesia especially from women perspectives. In order to leap their wealth status or at least helping the origin family wealth status, young woman chose to be married. The decision also highly influenced by limited information of the cost of child marriage which linked to their low education level.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Previous Empirical Studies and Theoretical Framework

Most of the literatures on child marriage are basically derived from empirical studies concerning for girls in some developing worlds. In terms of gender concern, the practice of child marriage is not as widespread among boys. This may be due to a traditional hypothesis that girls are often being used as an assurance to save the

family from financial woes through the practice of child marriage. However, to date, girls become the center of attention in fact much discussions rely on the aspect of consequences. Many of the consequences starting from physical aspects associated with childbirth, status and power in the household, are specific to girls (Jensen and Thornton, 2003). Johnson-Lans and Jones (2011) investigate child marriage among girls in the issue of child preference absenteeism. In the rural customary of India, parental decision plays a larger role in determining marriage, specifically for their daughters. The girl being married has no choice in either whom she marries or the timing of her marriage. Parents use early female marriage for their daughters as a mean to protect family norms because they are forced by the fear of the effect of late marriage for the girl and the family (Sarkar, 2009). Having an older unmarried daughter means a loss of social status as well as additional monetary costs to the family (Johnson-Lans and Jones, 2011).

In terms of geographic concern, countries in Asia and Africa are often appeared as its cope of study because the practice of child marriage among girls is common in such countries. Data from 40 Demographic and Health Surveys around the world reveals that overall 20-50% of women marry or enter a household formation by age 18, and is most prevalent in Sub-Saharan Africa and in South Asia (Singh and Samara, 1996).

Though the universal and early marriage have been a characteristic of almost all of Asia, child marriage is still common in South Asia, but not in South-East Asia, with the exception of some of the Malay populations of Malaysia and Indonesia. Meanwhile, key difference between child marriage pattern in South Asia and South-East Asia resides in the kinship system (Jones,

2010). The system that produces child marriage is a strongly patriarchal and traditional one in which parents arrange marriage. The Hindu system in India emphasized the absorption of the bride into the husband's family, whereas the bilateral kinship systems of most South-East Asia allow much closer association of the bride with her affine, and a pattern whereby the newly married couple more commonly lived first with the bride's parents rather than the husband's parents, before establishing an independent household.

Basic theory of girls' transition to marriage are modeled in the theories of economic independence, the local marriage markets, and cultural theories of marriage timing (McLaughlin and Lichter, 1997). Economic independence theories suggest that as women's education and earnings increase they will be less reliant on marriage for economic support and that women with greater economic independence will delay marriage. This supports for an attempt to explain the theory of modernization on changing marriage pattern (Goode, 1963). Goode states that global industrialization has brought the family systems in developing world toward the European norm. People with higher social status tend to get married late since they want to have more freedom during modernization process. They who were born and live in big cities are more likely to marry later than those living in rural area or small town. This hypothesis may be a result of greater diversity in life and little social control in big cities than in rural areas. Second theory, local marriage market, is defined as the availability of possible spouses and how that influences marriage timing. This becomes the basis for marriage market explanations of marital timing. Areas where there is a greater availability of unmarried men, especially men with high levels

of education or good jobs, should encourage women's marriage. Lastly, cultural explanations of marriage suggest that family background, attitudes toward women's roles, and beliefs about marriage influence women's decision to marry.

ANALYSIS

The Incidence of Child Marriage

We begin our analysis by providing the distribution figure of child marriage across Indonesia. Figure 3.1 display the distribution of woman aged above 10 years, who had child marriage based on SUSENAS 2010. The number of child marriage undeniably concentrated in Java, southern and northern part of Sumatera, and South Sulawesi. As the most populated, yet the main island of Indonesia, Java show two face of center of development. It is a center of growth but also has the largest poor population in numbers in Indonesia. From the total about 23 million women who had early marriage, 70% of them lived in Java. In Sumatera, we have 15% and the rest its distributed quite equally. respectively from highest to lowest, on Sulawesi, Kalimantan, Bali, and the least numbers in Maluku and Papua.

Figure 3.1. The Map of the Incidence of Child Marriage among Young Women
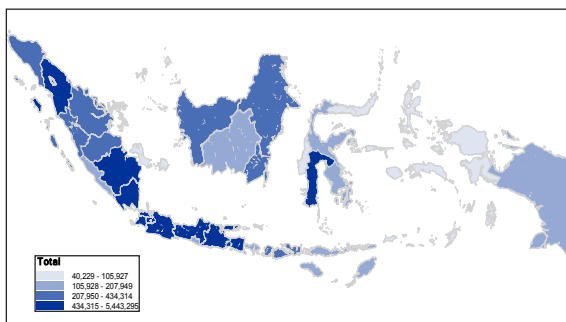
The practice of child marriage is alleged to happen more in rural than in urban area due to the different understanding on child marriage between these two places of residence. In rural areas, child marriage can be considered as one form of legacy from the older generation and this has been forced traditionally by the social custom whereby the child marriage takes its place. This turns out to be the case when marry as a child is quite common in rural society, given by the educational background.

SUSENAS 2010 data reveal that 64.2 per cent of female population aged 10 years above who ever married at the age below 18 years old reside in the rural area. Based on the age group, 78.4 per cent of girls aged 10-14 years old who married early live in the area categorized as rural (Figure 3.2). As the figure also illustrates, 71.0 per cent of female population aged 15-18 years old married as a child and live in rural area while for the age group 20-24 years old the number is 70.2 per cent. Child marriage in rural area also occurs at the age group 25-29 years old and 29 years above with the percentage of 70.4 and 62.6 per cent respectively.

Figure 3.2. Distribution of Child Marriage and Comparison Among Age Groups
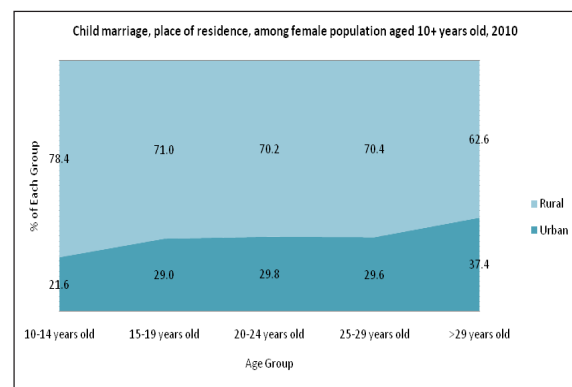
Source: SUSENAS 2010

While the overall percentage of child marriage in rural area for each age group always show a larger number than groups in urban area, interesting fact lies in the distribution for each age group between these two places of residence. There is a tendency that the percentage of child marriage in rural area decreases as the age rising. The figure

of child marriage in this lower age group is not valid for the age groups in urban area. However, this can be meant also that most of child marriage in rural area happens at a younger age, meaning that the vulnerability of children in rural to the practice of child marriage is still higher, compared to children reside in urban area.

Figure 3.3. Child marriage, education level, among female population aged 10+ years old, 2010
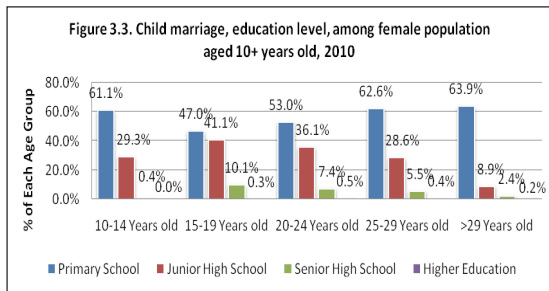
As Lung Vu (2009) states that poor people in Vietnam tend to get married earlier than people in middle and rich class, as well as some qualitative studies from Ghosh (2011) and Febriany (2005) and Febriany (2006) find that marriage is sometimes used as a mean to get out from poverty, we try to put economic condition as to observe the characteristics of child marriage. However, the cross tab analysis between child marriage and poor status using SUSENAS 2010 data show that 85.2 per cent of female population aged 10 years above who ever married as a child categorized as non-poor while the rest 14.8 per cent are poor.

Another issue that related to child marriage is the lack of proper education. Due to their early marriage they lose their chance to afford better education. This issue does not only related to child marriage condition but also will effect on their household health condition. WHO (2010) remark that health and education can go hand in hand specifically for women. for instance, a woman who have well-educated tend to have more attention to health care. Then they will become a better mother in the future, it is because they have more awareness of being healthy than less-educated woman.

Figure 3.3 explain child marriage women education level within age group divided into five level of education; Primary School, Junior High School, Senior High School, and Higher Education in 2010. Overall child marriage woman has low education level. Most of child marriage women attain primary and junior high school only. Among child marriage women that are 10-14 years old, 90.4% women attain primary and junior high school only. The percentage of child marriage women that attain primary and junior high school only within 15-19 years old group are 88.1% women, 20-24 years old groups are 89.1% women, 25-29 years old group are 91.1%, and >29 years old group are 72.8%. As comparison, using the same data source, on non child marriage group we have the opposite figure. In earliest cohort the similar pattern appear, which most of women mostly only had primary education. However, in 15-19 years old cohort, 20-24 years old cohort, and 25-29 years old cohort, most of women had senior high school education, respectively 54%, 40%, and 35%. It easily to conclude that being engaged at early marriage, practically put out women from education. The long term impact of lower education should be emerges on their future income, which we would discuss later.

Figure 3.4 shows us the household conditions of child marriage. From Figure 3.4, we know that 60.1% of child marriage household using firewood as the main fuel/energy source. It followed by gas and electric, oil, and briquette. The characteristic that shown interestingly represent the characteristic of typical poor household in Indonesia. The second figure show us the source of energy in non child marriage groups. We can observed in the second group, less household using fire woods (only about 45.22%). Meaning households in non child marriage group has better access to fuel/energy.

If wee looking at electricity, around 82.26% of the household enjoy electricity from PLN (state-owned enterprise) as the main source of light. About 9.9% use pump lantern, oil lamp, and others as source of light. The rest are use electricity off-PLN as the source. The profile revealed that electricity is no problem to the households. However, electricity from PLN usage also describe the productivity of households since it strongly affect their off-day activity and technology mastery. Approximately 10% of child marriage household do not have access to electricity which would limit their productive activity.

Figure 3.4. Comparing Source of Energy of Households
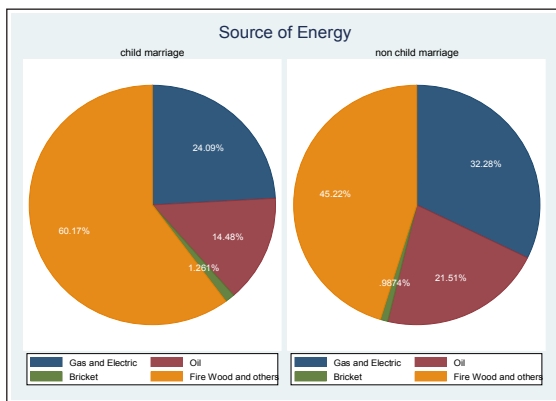
Child Marriage and Wealth Status

Figure 3.6. Welfare Status of Female Population Who Ever Married at the Age < 18
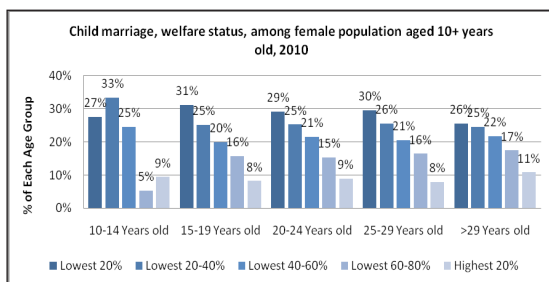
One of issue that rise from prevalence of child marriage is they live in poverty. Child marriage especially by women has tendency to limited their economic capacity so they can afford better life. Figure 3.6 provide explanation of child marriage women economic condition within age groups and divide into five welfare status; lowest 20%, lowest 20%-40%, lowest 40%-60%, lowest 60-80%, and highest 20%. Lowest 20% and lowest 20%-40% welfare status are categorized as the lowest status and it reflect poor economic condition.

Figure 3.6 shows that most of child marriage women live in poor economic condition. Among child marriage women in 10-14 years old group, only 39% women live in upper three welfare status. The 61% child marriage women in this age group live two lower welfare status. In the 15-19 years old group, child marriage women who live in three upper welfare status are 56% women and 44% other live two other welfare status. Interestingly, the three age group tend to have similar trend. It can be seen from their three upper welfare status 0-24 years old around 46%, 25-29 years old about 45% and >29 years old just over 50%.

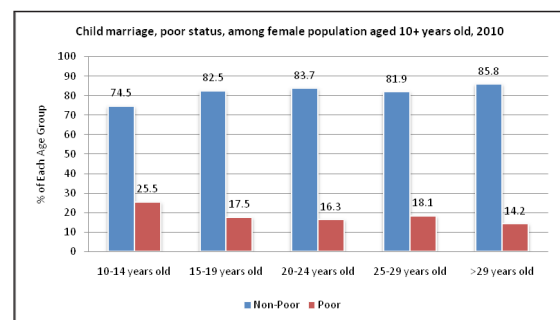**Figure 3.7. Welfare Status of Female Population Who Ever Married at the Age <18**

Figure 3.7 gives a greater explanation on the distribution of child marriage within age groups and the allotment of each age group into two categories; non-poor and poor status. Among child brides who were 10-14 years old in 2010, 74.5 per cent of them were categorized as non-poor. Only 25.5 per cent of them were coming from poor families. 82.5 per cent and 83.7 per cent of female population in the age group 15-19 years old

and 20-24 years old respectively who ever married at the age below 18 years old are categorized as non-poor. In the age group of 25-29 years old, non-poor status is possessed by the 81.9 per cent of females at that range. Finally, for the age group 29 years above, 85.8 per cent of them experience child marriage and are categorized as not poor.

Higher difference of percentage of non-poor and poor status all over the age groups mean that child marriage is not only occur in the poor family. We cannot find whether this higher difference of percentage presumably believed as the impact of child marriage because then we need to observe the economic condition before child marriage takes its place.

The Dynamics of Child Marriage

After looking to the current condition of child marriage in several age group, we are interested to see the intergenerational differences in child marriage households. We approach this problem by comparing broader age cohorts. We classify the group into ten years lag per each. Using a decade lagged age group we expected to obtain the dynamics aspect of being child marriage. This effort also useful to be proxy of seeing the impact of having child marriage in the future.

Table 3.2 Proportion of Young Woman Categorized as Poor, 2010

Categorized as Poor (%)		
Age Group	Not Child Marriage	Child Marriage
<18	0.15	0.23
18-27	0.14	0.21
28-37	0.13	0.20
38-47	0.13	0.17
48-57	0.12	0.16
58 >	0.15	0.20

Table 3.2 depicts the poverty rate of each cohorts regarding to marriage status. The poverty rate is defined as the proportion of people who classified as poor, using per capita expenditure basis on official national poverty line at districts level, represent to each age groups. In overall, we see that most people who had child marriage do not categorized as poor households. About 80% of woman are non-poor households. However, in non child marriages group, later we mention as adult marriage, we find similar relation. Poverty incidence is smaller also in each cohorts. . In adult marriage group we obtain similar poverty rate with national poverty rate. It support previous indication that poor status is not the main reason to become child brides. In the same way it show weak relationship between poverty and decision on married.

Our strategy follow Skoufias and Suryahadi (2003) using synthetic-cohort analysis. We build a panel data from 2001 to 2010 containing average expenditure per capita and highest education certificate. By taking average for certain age groups we developed synthetic-panel data based on four cohorts. We collect the data at starting years 12 years old in 2001 then followed to 13 years old in 2002 and so forth until 2010. We select 4 groups of cohort: 10, 20, 30, and 40 years old. By tracking the improvement each year then comparing it with non child marriage group, we expect to have reliable true impact of child marriage to wealth and education indicator.

Tracing average expenditure per capita would be very useful to understand the impact of child marriage on wealth status. Figure 3.8 below revealed the life time dynamics of expenditure per capita between two groups. Red line shows expenditure per capita for child marriage individuals than blue line show for the not child marriage group. Using synthetic-cohort analysis, we found that in earlier stages expenditure per capita for child marriage group surpassed the non child marriage group. Later on,

the non child marriage would catches up. In late cohort, cohort 30 and 40 years old, the non child marriage shown up outnumbered at any points of time. Wider gap on expenditure per capita among groups clearly seen as the woman getting older in late cohort. The result give us evidence that wealth motivation argument for being child marriage is invalid. Being engaged in early bride did not provide rigor beneficial in the future. At recent moment after being married, it would lift up the expenditure per capita, but soon in the future it would surpassed by the non child marriage group.

Figure 3.8. Cohort Analysis of Expenditure per Capita
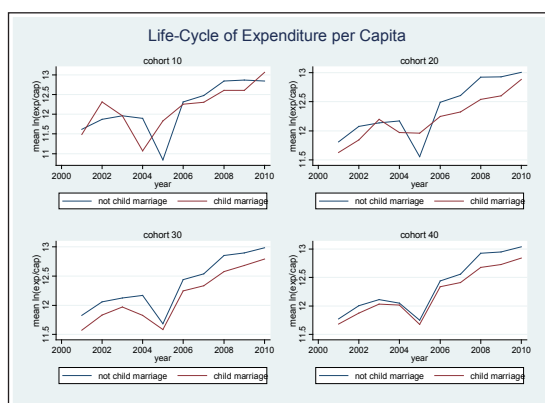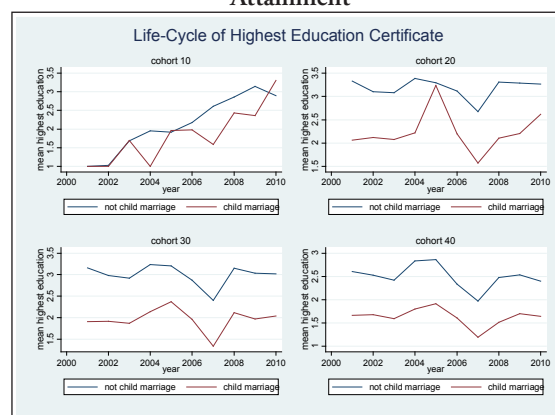

Source: SUSENAS 2001-2010

How could it happen? one plausible comments on this phenomena is by looking at human capital accumulation. In this sense, we look at the development of educational attainment. Using same synthetic cohort analysis we found the result as shown in Figure 4.9.

The mean of highest education scaled at 1-5, respectively refers from never attain primary education, had primary education, secondary education (SMP), tertiary education (SMA), and attended higher education. Figure 3.9 depict child marriage education, from earliest stages had lower education than non child marriage group. The trend remain unchanged overtime when at cohort 20, 30 and 40, the child marriage woman

had less educated. After being engaged in child marriage, the brides got less opportunity to enter higher education.

Overall, lower education of household head lean to larger child marriage incidence. Lower education imply lower information and opportunities for parents for not let their children to early marriages. The simplistic reason that using marriages as a way out of poverty, partly understand with the cost of being child marriage. From synthetic-cohort analysis, we understand that being child marriage do not provide better future, in terms of measurable wealth status. The reason for having better livelihood through married shown to be very weak assumption since we can clearly see non child marriage group able to obtain higher income.

Figure 3.9. Cohort Analysis of Highest Educational Attainment

Source: SUSENAS 2001-2010

CONCLUSION

Through this study, we aim to calculate the prevalence of child marriage using SUSENAS 2010 data as a nationally representative data for Indonesia in 2010 and the result shows that the prevalence of child marriage in Indonesia is 13.5 per cent. The number is shown a declining trend, when in early 2000's the prevalence was about 18.5%.

This number comes from the calculation of female population aged 20-24 years old who indicated that they were married or in union before the age of 18 per total number of women aged 20-24 years old.

In this study, we use age cohort 20-24 years as the measurement of child marriage based on two reasons. Firstly, the percentage of girls aged 15-19 who are married or in union at any given time includes girls who are 18 and 19 and they are no longer children (according to the definition of children based on the international accepted definition). Secondly, if we use an indicator based on the age cohort 15-19, this includes girls aged 15, 16, and 17 who are classified as single, but who could eventually marry or enter into a union before the age of 18. In terms of these limitations, we use age cohort 20-24 as the object of study to analyze child marriage because we assume that it is not affected by these limitations and a more accurately estimates the real extent of child marriage.

However, in order to give a bigger picture of the prevalence of child marriage in Indonesia which considers several numbers of age cohort, we also present a calculation of the prevalence of child marriage for the other each age cohorts. The prevalence of child marriage for the other each age cohorts is 0.09 per cent for the age cohort 10-14 years old, 7.3 per cent for the age cohort 15-19 years old, and 28.5 per cent for the age cohort 29 years and above. The increasing percentage of child marriage prevalence as the age cohort raises is due to the fact that the practice of child marriage is decreasing over time but again, this is limited to the composition of female population who were in those age cohorts in 2010.

From synthetic-cohort analysis, we learnt that decision to be married at earlier stage of life only seems to be beneficial at short term. As we follow through tracing several cohort in a decade observation, we firmly conclude that non child marriage group would have higher income. One of the argument is from the lower human capital accumulation since the child marriage group have less educated.

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