

Analysis of Unregistered Child Marriage Practices Through the Lens of Social Norms and Economic Pressures (Case Study in Sukaresmi Village)

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ABSTRACT

Child marriage is a social phenomenon that remains quite high in Sukaresmi Village, influenced by various social and economic norms. This phenomenon occurs without official registration in accordance with the provisions of Indonesia's Marriage Law, particularly concerning the minimum age requirement of 19 years. This practice is often carried out as a community effort to address social and economic issues, especially among middle-class families and those with relatively low education levels. Economic factors serve as the primary driving force, where families with unstable and limited income choose to marry off their underage children to alleviate economic burdens and simultaneously reinforce poverty rates. On the other hand, social and cultural norms that still uphold traditional values and customary influences strengthen the perception that marriage is a matter of honor and morality in society, leading the community to accept this practice despite its legal prohibition. The existence of this unregistered marriage practice is also accompanied by a lack of legal education and literacy, as well as limited access to information and services from the government. As a result, children who marry secretly often experience school dropouts, are completely dependent on their partners, and are vulnerable to legal and social problems in the future. Therefore, strategic efforts are needed to improve legal, economic, and social norm education to reduce underage marriage practices and protect children's rights.

ABSTRAK

Perkawinan sirri anak di bawah umur merupakan fenomena sosial yang masih cukup tinggi di Desa Sukaresmi, yang dipengaruhi oleh berbagai faktor norma sosial dan ekonomi. Fenomena ini berlangsung tanpa pencatatan resmi sesuai dengan ketentuan Undang-Undang Perkawinan Indonesia, khususnya ketentuan usia minimal 19 tahun. Praktik perkawinan ini sering dilakukan sebagai upaya masyarakat dalam mengatasi permasalahan sosial dan ekonomi, terutama di kalangan keluarga kelas menengah dan pendidikan yang cukup rendah. Faktor ekonomi menjadi pendorong utama, di mana keluarga dengan pendapatan tidak tetap dan terbatas memilih mengawinkan anak mereka di bawah umur untuk mengurangi beban ekonomi, serta memperkuat angka kemiskinan. Di sisi lain, norma sosial dan budaya yang masih memegang teguh nilai tradisional dan pengaruh adat memperkuat persepsi bahwa perkawinan adalah bagian dari kehormatan dan moral masyarakat, sehingga masyarakat cenderung menerima praktik ini meskipun secara hukum dilarang. Keberadaan praktik perkawinan sirri ini juga disertai dengan minimnya edukasi dan literasi hukum, serta terbatasnya akses informasi dan layanan dari pemerintah. Akibatnya, anak yang kawin secara sirri sering mengalami putus sekolah, bergantung sepenuhnya kepada pasangan, dan rentan mengalami permasalahan hukum dan sosial di kemudian hari. Oleh karena itu, diperlukan upaya strategis dalam meningkatkan edukasi hukum, ekonomi, dan norma sosial guna menekan praktik perkawinan di bawah umur dan melindungi hak-hak anak.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 19 August 2025
Accepted 20 September 2025
Published 30 November 2025

KEYWORDS

Secret Marriage; Underage Children; Social Norms; Economic Demands; Legal Education; Sukaresmi Village.

KATA KUNCI

Perkawinan Sirri; Anak di Bawah Umur; Norma Sosial; Tuntutan Ekonomi; Edukasi Hukum; Desa Sukaresmi.

1. Introduction

Marriage represents a fundamental right for every individual to establish households and families through sacred and legitimate unions. Marriage proceeds through specific requirements and conditions governing matrimonial arrangements, as outlined in legislative regulations. Such provisions ensure that all community members entering marriage fulfill dual obligations: religious validity and legal recognition through registration at the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) (Judiasih, 2023). This registration guarantees official state recognition, legal protection, and rights for married couples and children born from such unions. However, field observations reveal numerous regions continue practicing marriages conducted solely through religious ceremonies without supervision by Marriage Registration Officers. Consequently, these unions remain unregistered in state administration, creating the phenomenon of secret marriages or informal unions within Indonesian society.

The secret marriage phenomenon examined here involves underage participants in rural areas. Despite technological advancement enabling information access, questions arise about why such practices persist not only in urban areas but also in mountainous or rural regions where communities lag behind modern developments, particularly regarding secret marriage practices. Underage marriage constitutes a significant social problem across various Indonesian regions. Statistics Indonesia (BPS) data in Youth Statistics Indonesia shows 35.21% of male youth first married in the 22-24 age group, while 30.52% first married in the 25-30 age group. Among female youth, 37.27% first married in the 19-21 age group, yet 26.48% first married at 16-18 years old. Despite existing regulations, these practices remain far from expectations. Statistical data reveals numerous individuals continue engaging in such practices or rituals.

Specifically in mountainous and rural areas, this study examines Sukaresmi Village in Sukamakmur District, Bogor Regency. Such practices persist among youth under 19 years old, considered commonplace in the region. Unsurprisingly, many children become pregnant or bear children at very young ages, with some experiencing high miscarriage rates leading to elevated mortality risks. Mental and physical conditions also affect children unprepared for household responsibilities at young ages, often resulting in unsuccessful marriages and young widowhood or divorce. Marriage holds significant meaning from religious, cultural, and legal perspectives. However, recent periods have seen underage marriage become a critical issue across various Indonesian regions, including Sukaresmi Village, requiring urgent attention to eliminate such clandestine practices (Iskandar & Sepiyah, 2023). Field evidence indicates high underage marriage rates result from various factors including insufficient understanding of Marriage Law provisions, customary law and community habits, religious influences, economic pressures, social norms, low education levels, and youth promiscuity leading to premarital pregnancy. Customary law, habits, religious, and social influences seemingly validate underage marriage practices. Such conditions directly contradict Marriage Law provisions regarding age requirements and marriage conditions (Gunawan & Syamsul Bahri, 2023).

Some village communities consider secret marriage a rapid solution and moral approach to emerging social problems. Legal formal status becomes less prioritized than community acceptance and recognition from neighbors, religious leaders, and groups. Such attitudes cause communities to overlook that secret marriages without official KUA registration carry serious implications for children's rights, whether legal, educational, or social protection (A.Rahmaniar *et al.*, 2022). Another perspective involves seeking economic relief through marriages commonly practiced by middle-class families. Several research studies have identified secret marriage phenomena and underlying factors, concluding that insufficient legal literacy and government education beyond village administration, plus inadequate legal counseling regarding marriage law

for village communities, constitute serious factors behind such practices. Additionally, limited technology-based information access and strong traditional value adherence represent community symbols prioritizing social harmony and family honor over state law compliance.

According to a village government official in Sukaresmi Village, Sukamakmur District, Bogor Regency, which encompasses 10 villages and sub-districts including Sukaresmi, most areas still practice secret marriages among the 16-18 age group. From such statements, 60% of underage children register their marriages at the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) after reaching 19 years old. However, 40% discontinue their marriages, typically divorcing due to household incompatibility, financial issues, and immature thinking in managing households. Secret marriages, synonymous with informal unions in mountainous or rural areas, typically involve 70% older males, 20% productive-age males, and 10% underage males, with practitioners usually moving from Village A to Sukaresmi Village or from cities to villages.

Despite Indonesia's establishment of minimum marriage age provisions in Law Number 16 of 2019 amending Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage, Article 7 Paragraph (1) states "marriage is only permitted when men and women have reached 19 years of age." For marriages involving parties under 19 years old, parental consent and court dispensation become mandatory according to Article 7 Paragraph (2) of Law Number 16 of 2019, stating "in cases of deviation from age provisions as referred to in Paragraph (1), parents of male and/or female parties may request court dispensation for urgent reasons accompanied by sufficient supporting evidence" (Kholilurrachman, 2021).

Research demonstrates that amid rapid urban development and areas with access to information, alongside regions unable to access or obtain such information, concerning conditions requiring serious government and stakeholder attention persist. Such serious problems affect children who become victims and/or perpetrators of underage marriage in Sukaresmi Village (Uyuni, 2023). Research will prove such phenomena cannot be viewed as easily manageable problems, but rather as legal, social, and moral issues affecting overall community life structures (Kesumojati, 2022). Therefore, research was conducted to study and investigate "The Existence of Underage Secret Marriages in the Perspective of Social Norms and Economic Pressures (Case Study in Sukaresmi Village)." The research questions guiding this study are: How do underage secret marriages appear from normative and economic perspectives? What implementations emerge from underage secret marriage practices in Sukaresmi Village?.

2. Methodology

The research methodology employed utilizes an empirical approach with qualitative research and descriptive-analytical methods. The descriptive method examines factual problems within society and prevailing procedures in specific situations, including relationships, activities, attitudes, perspectives, and ongoing processes influenced by existing phenomena. The author identifies specific realities regarding secret marriage practices in Sukaresmi Village (Duryadi, 2021). Data sources used in this research are divided into two categories: primary and secondary data. Primary data includes information collected directly from objects or respondents serving as research subjects. Such data is gathered through direct interaction with respondents and field observations, along with primary legal materials including Law Number 16 of 2019 amending Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage. Secondary data utilizes literature studies by collecting relevant sources related to the problem of "The Existence of Underage Secret Marriages in the Perspective of Social Norms and Economic

Pressures" from books and journals. Data collection techniques in this research involve interviews and observations gathered through field data notes containing information related to research questions or objectives. Data analysis techniques are conducted through literature studies and other data collection methods using interviews and observations to gather in-depth and contextual information. Interviews conducted by the author aim to obtain information from research subjects' perspectives, while observations aim to examine behaviors and direct events occurring in the field.

3. Results

3.1 How Underage Secret Marriage is Viewed from Normative and Economic Perspectives

Based on extensive interviews conducted with village officials, parents of children involved in secret marriage, midwives/posyandu staff, and children who experienced secret marriage, village officials revealed that 2023 saw high rates of underage secret marriage compared to previous years. Post-pandemic economic factors and the resumption of social activities triggered the increase. Traditional pressures, fears of promiscuity, and minimal legal understanding also accelerated these practices.

"From registration records of temporary marriage certificates in 2023, underage secret marriage was indeed at its peak, with most marriages occurring at ages 16-17 during 2023. Actually, in 2024 and 2025, there are still those conducting secret marriage at ages 17-18, but not as high as last year, though numbers are still rising slightly. The reason for marriage is lack of knowledge from both parents and children. There are several other reasons as well."

Entering 2024 through mid-2025, marriage rates continued increasing. Interview results revealed that rising marriage numbers did not stem from a single cause but resulted from various interconnected factors. Economic factors became primary drivers of secret marriage practices, where 2023-2025 represented a crucial transition period in post-pandemic social and economic recovery following the global crisis of 2020. After the global health crisis affected numerous life aspects, including education, economics, and social structures, these years marked evaluation periods for policy effectiveness in recovery and societal adaptation to new life arrangements. Despite government efforts to accelerate development and improve human resource quality, many communities, especially in rural areas, have not fully recovered from the pandemic. Consequently, economically constrained families choose to marry off their underage children as a survival strategy. Although not as high as the 2023 surge, the phenomenon shows that such practices have not been truly suppressed and are increasingly viewed as solutions by some middle-class families to educational and economic problems. Underage secret marriage also shows that the majority of society still uses social and religious norms as primary foundations for determining when children may marry. Norms that strongly influence and are believed prioritize men over women in society or social groups, where women's positions are still considered household managers and not viewed as subjects with rights to complete education and develop personal potential. Marriage, considered a form of protection and way to maintain family honor, becomes the most significant matter.

Additionally, interview results conclude that the main issue is minimal knowledge and lack of education among communities, particularly parents. The necessity for education about legal norms in village communities becomes very clear, along with understanding law content that establishes minimum marriage age at 19 years and requires all marriages to be officially registered. Consequently, secret marriages involving underage children are not administratively recognized and directly impact the legal status of women and future children.

"Many want to register at KUA but cannot, because prospective partners should be at least 19 years old, but the other candidate is under 19 years."

Regarding economic aspects, economic factors represent highly dominant drivers of underage secret marriage. Secret marriage practitioners belong to lower-middle-class groups with irregular income and relatively low parental education. Interviews revealed that parents marry off their children because they can no longer afford school fees and daily child needs. Parents feel that early marriage can transfer economic burdens to husbands and their families. However, in reality, such marriages actually strengthen poverty cycles. Young girls who marry early more often drop out of school, lack work skills, and become highly dependent on their husbands. When household problems or divorce occur, children and mothers lack legal protection or appropriate social access.

3.2 How Implementation and Implications Emerge from Underage Secret Marriage Practices in Sukaresmi Village

Based on field interview results and community health findings, we provide conclusions regarding:

1) Implementation Emerging from Underage Secret Marriage Practices in Sukaresmi Village

Current underage secret marriage practices continue, particularly among girls aged 16-18 years, representing the most vulnerable group for secret marriage. Dominant reasons include family economic pressure, unwanted pregnancy, and concerns about promiscuity. Implementation typically occurs informally, involving only religious figures or local clerics as officiants, without official registration from the Religious Affairs Office.

"From a religious perspective, it's valid, but perhaps from the state's perspective, it's not yet recognized. The community still considers it sufficient, though legally unrecognized. However, most of those who have secret marriages register their marriages at the Religious Affairs Office after reaching 19 years old. Those marriages that run well from the beginning to KUA validation maintain good household relationships. Some also decide to separate during the marriage."

From social norm perspectives, communities tend to still tolerate such practices, as they are considered primary solutions to uncertainty about girls' futures. However, according to positive law, such practices strongly contradict Law Number 16 of 2019, which establishes minimum marriage age at 19 years.

2) Implications Emerging from Underage Secret Marriage Practices

Numerous cases of secret marriage practices in Indonesia, particularly involving underage children, show different backgrounds but generally share the same goal: obtaining religious legitimacy. From Sukaresmi Village community understanding, most people still strongly believe that secret marriage is valid when meeting religious requirements and pillars. Some community members believe that marriage constitutes part of worship obligations and personal matters. Therefore, official registration at the Religious Affairs Office is deemed unnecessary, causing marriage registration to be considered unimportant. However, such registration is crucial for each couple's marital future and serves as legally valid evidence, playing vital roles in protecting and maintaining rights for husbands and wives, children born, and family status continuity under law. Pranoto *et al.* (2025) support that absence of official registration causes legal status uncertainty and vulnerability to family rights protection. Such conditions represent ignorance about legal impacts of unregistered marriages, also contributing to continued secret marriage practices in society (Teuku Azwar Ananda & Usammah, 2025).

a) Social and Educational Implications

Social aspects of child secret marriage are extensive. Beyond physical and psychological deficiencies in children, many young women must leave school for motherhood and wifehood roles. Such situations reflect vulnerabilities in childcare, social isolation, and intergenerational poverty emergence. Additionally, unregistered marriage status results in insufficient social protection from the state. As Prima *et al.* (2022) stated, unregistered marriages lack legal force under state law.

b) Health Implications: Stunting

Based on village midwife interviews, data shows significant relationships between child secret marriage and increased stunting. Young mothers who marry at tender ages tend to lack knowledge or access to adequate pregnancy health services. Some young mothers rarely attend routine pregnancy check-ups due to fears of rejection because of unofficial marriage status, occasionally participating in pregnancy routines.

"We often receive young mothers bringing babies with low birth weight, apparently caused by young mothers who had secret marriages at ages 16-17."

Consequently, many babies are born with malnutrition and low birth weight, subsequently causing stunting. Midwives also report that incidents of diseases causing growth disorders increase drastically, and along with that, stunting incidents continue rising, marked by the highest numbers of children experiencing growth disorders.

"Young mothers who marry at early ages are usually not physically or mentally mature, making their children vulnerable to suboptimal growth."

4. Discussion

Marriage represents an institution with legal involvement, encompassing both religious and formal material law. From a religious standpoint, marriage stands as one of the most respected institutions, aimed at achieving perfection through procreation and maintaining personal honor and dignity. Beyond international recognition of moral values, marriage itself holds central significance in life, where mutual respect for established rules ensures that matrimonial practices align with agreed-upon norms and principles (Hamdan, 2023). In Indonesia, marriage constitutes a fundamental aspect of national and state life. From a legal perspective, marriage regulations are governed by Republic of Indonesia Law Number 1 of 1974, with implementing regulations outlined in Government Regulation Number 9 of 1975. The aforementioned law represents material law governing marriage, while procedural law is regulated under Republic of Indonesia Law Number 7 of 1989. From a legal perspective, secret marriage is clearly prohibited, yet ambiguity persists within legislative regulations. Indirectly, secret marriage practices remain accommodated through population administration services, such as the inclusion of "unregistered marriage" status on family cards, which constitutes administrative recognition of social reality and demonstrates implicit acknowledgment of secret marriage existence. According to our investigation, the aforementioned legislation lacks sanctions or punishments for secret marriage practitioners that could create deterrent effects, making it unsurprising that many locations, particularly mountainous or rural areas, continue practicing underage secret marriage.

Underage secret marriage remains a significant social problem in Indonesia, particularly in Sukaresmi Village. In practice, these marriages occur without official state

registration, involving couples who have not reached 19 years of age, thus violating the conditions and requirements established by marriage law. The phenomenon not only reflects conflict between social norms and legal norms but is also influenced by economic pressures experienced by middle-class communities (Arif Daman Huri *et al.*, 2024). Based on field results obtained through interviews, underage secret marriage practices in Sukaresmi Village continue slowly but surely. Such practices are based on social norms and religious views, which in practice strongly contradict applicable legal norms. Limited access to regulatory information becomes one reason surrounding communities lack knowledge and education. According to our analysis, families often view child marriage as the most appropriate way to handle economic problems. However, such practices actually worsen children's economic, social, and health conditions. One of the most detrimental impacts is increased stunting rates, becoming long-term health problems. Therefore, cross-sector approaches or education are needed, starting from legal education to increase legal awareness among communities (Hamda Sulfinadia, 2020), reproductive health care, to family economic empowerment, to reduce underage secret marriage rates. Based on legal protection theory when related to the above implementation and implications, legal protection represents efforts to protect individual and community rights from arbitrary actions, also ensuring justice in law enforcement. Such approaches align with Satjipto Rahardjo's legal theory, that law exists for humans, and law's primary function is defending the weak, not providing legitimacy for negative social pressure (Rahardjo, 2018).

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

Based on the research findings and analysis conducted, we can conclude that underage secret marriage practices still occurring in Sukaresmi Village represent a complex social phenomenon that extends beyond legal issues to encompass social norms, cultural values, religious beliefs, and economic factors. Although Law Number 16 of 2019 clearly establishes the minimum marriage age at 19 years for both men and women, secret marriage practices continue openly and widely, particularly among rural communities. The primary drivers of underage secret marriage include low education levels and limited legal literacy within communities, persistent social and cultural pressures to marry pregnant unmarried girls, and family economic conditions that push parents toward arranged marriages as the quickest solution to reduce financial burdens. In many cases, secret marriage serves as an escape route to preserve family honor and avoid social shame, even when such practices violate national laws. Regarding implementation, secret marriage practices typically occur without official registration from the Religious Affairs Office, involving only local religious figures as officiants. While these marriages may be considered religiously valid, they lack legal standing under state law and create various problems, especially concerning the legal status of married couples and their children.

Interview results with relevant parties including village officials, parents of married children, and midwives or posyandu staff reveal that the implications of underage secret marriage are extensive and harmful. Socially, many girls must abandon their education to assume roles as wives and mothers at immature ages. Health-wise, girls who marry young face higher risks of pregnancy complications, miscarriages, and giving birth to children with stunting or low birth weight conditions. These issues worsen due to limited healthcare access, insufficient reproductive health knowledge, and unrecognized marriage status that restricts available public services. Economically, secret marriage fails to solve life difficulties and actually worsens structural poverty because children who marry young typically lack work skills, become economically dependent on their partners, and struggle to break free from poverty cycles. When divorce occurs, young

women in secret marriages lack full legal protection regarding alimony rights, shared property, and child custody. Therefore, underage secret marriage represents a multifaceted problem requiring holistic and cross-sector approaches. Government needs to strengthen local institutional roles through regular legal socialization and education programs. Additionally, family economic empowerment becomes crucial to prevent children from being viewed as economic burdens that must be "released" through underage marriage.

The findings reveal that addressing underage secret marriage requires more than legal enforcement alone. Communities need accessible education about marriage laws, reproductive health services, and economic opportunities that allow families to support their children's development rather than viewing early marriage as a solution. Religious leaders, village officials, healthcare workers, and educators must work together to change social attitudes while providing practical alternatives to families facing economic hardship. Moving forward, prevention strategies should focus on strengthening girls' education, improving family economic stability, and creating support systems that protect children's rights to complete their development before entering marriage. Only through such coordinated efforts can communities break the cycle of underage secret marriage and its associated negative outcomes for children, families, and society as a whole.

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