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Early Marriage is One of the Cause of Stunting in Bondowoso Regency

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A B S T R A C T

This study aims to explain the factors behind the rise of early marriages in Bondowoso Regency which can be at risk of causing stunting; study the knowledge possessed by women in early marriage, reproductive health, and parenting, and conduct studies regarding the role of stakeholders in alleviating early marriage and stunting. This study uses qualitative research methods with data collection techniques using in-depth interviews. The research location is in Pujer District, Bondowoso Regency. Determination of informants using purposive sampling consisted of several mothers who had stunted toddlers, village heads, clerics, to the head of the KUA Pujer District. The results of the study show that early marriage is still a risk factor that causes stunting in children. The dispensation of marriage, liking each other, arranged marriages, and avoiding adultery are the reasons why there are still early marriages here. Other factors that cause stunting apart from early marriage are knowledge, upbringing, socioeconomic conditions, and sanitation which are factors that indicate stunting in Bondowoso Regency. The role of stakeholders in internalizing the community through an approach follows their cultural characteristics plays a very important role in reducing the number of early marriages as well as stunting, such as counselling from health workers. However, if it is not accompanied by the efforts of the main actors to understand the impact of this early marriage, it can be indicated that stunting will still exist in Bondowoso Regency.

A. INTRODUCTION

Early marriage according to the Indonesian state is a marriage carried out by a bride who is under the age limit stipulated in Marriage Law No. 16 of 2019 Article 7 point (1), namely, "Marriage is only permitted if a man and a woman have reached the age of 19" (RI Law 2019). In the same year, 2019, the proportion of women aged 20-24 who were married before the age of 18 was 10.82%. It gradually decreased in 2020 to 10.35% and decreased again to 9.23% in 2021.

Early marriage means girls leave school earlier, have their first baby earlier, and are more likely to have babies with low birth weight (LBW) and grow up with malnutrition

(Ministry of National Development Planning/Bappenas 2019). LBW is the most dominant risk factor related to stunting. Children with LBW have 5.87 times the risk of experiencing stunting (KPPPA & BPS 2018). Stunting can result in slow child growth, low endurance, and less intelligence.

Early marriage seems to be still a problem in Indonesia, especially in Bondowoso Regency, East Java. Bondowoso is one of the areas with the highest early marriage rate. According to Soekaryo, the Acting Secretary for the Bondowoso Region, the high rate of early marriage is because there is space in the relationship, in the form of a marriage dispensation (Bahri 2021). The existence of this marriage dispensation provides access for children to be able to marry at a young age. Therefore, there are many

opinions that the dispensation of marriage seems to "ease" the marriage process by emphasizing more on fulfilling spiritual needs without considering the harmony of family life in the future (Andina 2021). Regarding stunting cases, based on data obtained from the Bondowoso District Health Office, the prevalence of stunting is 12.22% or as many as 5,150 stunted toddlers in 2020. The highest stunting rate is in Pujer District with 620 toddlers. The rising rates of early marriage and stunting in Bondowoso Regency are a reminder that this case is still unresolved homework, as well as the main problem raised in this research.

This writing aims to explain the factors behind the rise of early marriage in Bondowoso Regency; examine the knowledge possessed by women in early marriage, reproductive health, and child care; as well as conduct studies on stakeholder wars in alleviating early marriage as well as stunting.

B. METHOD

This study used qualitative research methods. The research was prepared using the following techniques: (a) determining the location of the research; (b) determination of informants; (c) data collection; and (d) data analysis.

First, the location of this research is in Pujer District with the reason that this location is the warehouse for the most stunting toddlers in Bondowoso. Based on data obtained from the Bondowoso District Health Office, the prevalence of stunting is 12.22% or as many as 5,150 stunted toddlers in 2020. The highest stunting rate in Pujer District are 20 toddlers.

Second, the selection of informants in this study consisted of several mothers who had stunted toddlers. The mother of the toddler was obtained from information provided by the midwife of Alassumur Village, Pujer District, Bondowoso Regency. Apart from that, the informants also came from stakeholders in Alassumur Village, the village head and clerics, who knew about the problems surrounding young marriages in the area. Additional information was also obtained from the results of interviews with the head of the KUA Pujer District who knows about problems of early marriage in a wider scope.

Third, data collection techniques using in-depth interviews. Researchers interviewed informants who have been determined in this study. The researcher interviewed by first asking the informant's permission to be willing to be interviewed. Then, the data collection process used the help of a voice recorder so that the results of the interviews could be transcribed into written form.

Fourth, the researcher conducted data analysis during the pre-and post-field activities. The results of these research data then the researchers conducted a quantitative and qualitative analysis. Quantitative data analysis uses several data such as the frequency distribution of the mother's last education and the distribution of the frequency of the marriage age of stunting mothers. Then qualitative data analysis was carried out to strengthen the interpretation of the results of interview data with several informants who had been determined by purposive

sampling.

C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Early Marriage is at Risk of Stunting

The research was carried out in Alassumur Village, Pujer District, Bondowoso Regency. This research deepens the problem of early marriage which affects stunting. The data obtained in the field were in the form of interviews with mothers of toddlers who have stunted children, the Head of Alassumur Village, religious leaders of Alassumur Village, and the Head of KUA Pujer District. The main questions posed to stakeholder informants were related to holistic data on marriage cases in Alassumur Village, such as the factors of early marriage cases, efforts to prevent early marriages, and their relation to stunting cases. Then the main questions for mothers with stunted children include daily activities/work, education, age at marriage, reasons for marriage, where to live after marriage, division of childcare roles, and sanitation. To find out early marriages that are at risk of stunting in Bondowoso Regency, first presented below are the general identities of stunting mothers from the results of data collection in Table 1.

Table 1. General Identity of Stunting Toddler Mothers

No	General Identity	Frequency	
1	Housewife	25	
2	Daily Activities	Farmer	2
3		Teacher	2
4		Seller	2
5		Other	2
6		Farmer	15
7	Husband's Occupation	Odd-job man	6
8		Seller	3
9		Village apparatus	1
10		Other	11
11	Residence	With parents	20
12		Own home	14
13		With grandmothers	2

Source: processed research data (2022)

Table 1 shows that the majority of informants have daily activities as housewives. Activities as a housewife should be able to provide more time to always raise and care for children properly, monitor the growth and development of children, and provide proper nutrition for children. However, this does not seem to have happened in Alassumur Village, Pujer District, Bondowoso Regency. Because most of the informants' activities as housewives have children who are classified as stunting. It cannot be denied that this condition is closely related to the mother's knowledge in caring for children, including providing nutritious food intake to children.

Table 2. Frequency Distribution of Stunted Toddler Mother's Last Education

Last education	Frequency	%
Elementary school	10	28%
Junior high school	13	36%
Senior high school	11	31%

S1	2	6%
Total	36	100%

Source: processed research data (2022)

Knowledge is very closely related to education, it can be assumed that the higher the education, the wider the knowledge, and vice versa. Table 2 above shows that junior high school graduates dominate the final education of stunting mothers by 36%. Then some informants still have an elementary school education with a percentage of 28%. From the results of interviews with the Head of KUA Pujer, the paradigm of uneducated people tends to have a simple mindset. Then, teenage promiscuity and lack of control from parents also play a role in increasing the rate of early marriage. Here's the explanation,

"Itu masih dalam paradigma masyarakatnya. Masyarakat yang masih belum terdidik. Mindset-nya begitu. Anggapannya, 'wes momong cucu lebih anu, lebih seneng'. Itu paradigma lama sudah. La itu kalau bisa diminimalisir itu kalau sudah ganti generasi. Tapi dengan catatan generasi-generasi yang pendidikan sudah tinggi. Kalau pendidikannya masih mohon maaf ya, mohon maaf, masih SD SMP saja masih tetep begitu. Itu yang dominan itu. La di samping itu ya kenakalan remaja, pergaulan bebas itu lebih anu juga. Masalahnya teman, ya walaupun sekelas, ijnnya belajar bersama, orangtua kan mengijini saja itu. Tapi ternyata belajar bersama yo sak dalam-dalamnya hahahaha. Sehingga mohon maaf kalau sudah begitu kan namanya sudah mengadakan hubungan intim ya kan mungkin 1 kali ketagihan, 2 kali akhirnya jadi keterusan. Keterusan menyebabkan dia hamil. Akhirnya terpaksa nikah."

Translate:

"That is still in the paradigm of society. Uneducated people. That's the mindset. Their assumption, 'raising grandchildren is more fun'. It's been an old paradigm. This condition can be minimized if the generation has changed. But with the record that these generations are already highly educated. If their education is still apologies, I'm sorry, if they're still in elementary school or junior high school, it's still like that. It's the most dominant. Besides that, there is juvenile delinquency, and promiscuity, which also has an effect. The problem is friends, yes, even though they are in the same class, they get permission from their parents to study together, and their parents just permit that. But it turns out that learning together is deep (laugh). So I'm sorry if that's the case, the name has already had an intimate relationship, right, maybe once it's addicted, the second time it ends up being continuous. Continuation caused her to become pregnant. In the end, they had to get married." (Interview with Mr. Hasan¹, 2nd June, 2022)

Education is a practical way to make it easier for mothers to absorb health information, especially in meeting the nutritional needs of children and mothers. This education cannot be separated from factors related to stunting. Research at the Kandahaur Indramayu Health Center

proves that there is a relationship between the mother's education level and the incidence of stunting with a p-value of $0.005 < 0.05$ (Husnaniyah et al., 2020). The level of education affects a person in receiving information. Ni'mah and Muniroh (2015) said that people with a better level of education will find it easier to obtain information than people with less education. This information is used as a provision for mothers to care for their children in everyday life. However, increasing knowledge is not obtained only from formal education, but can also be obtained through non-formal education. Mothers who have a high curiosity can influence them in obtaining information about the right food for children (Ikhwanayah in Rakhmawati & Panunggal, 2014).

Table 3. Frequency Distribution of Stunted Toddler Mother's Marriage Age

Age of Marriage (years)	Frequency	%
Over 19	15	42%
Less than 19	21	58%
Total	36	100%

Source: processed research data (2022)

Teenage pregnancy can have an impact on adolescent growth and nutrition. The growth process still occurs during adolescence, so pregnancy during adolescence can cause competition for the absorption of nutrients between mother and fetus which results in losses for both (Pamungkas et al., 2021). Like Nur Atmilati Khusna and Nuryanto's research (2017) in Temanggung Regency, there is a tendency that the earlier the age of the mother's marriage, the higher the percentage of stunted children. Likewise, the earlier the mother's marriage age, the higher the percentage of malnutrition. In line with the statement by the Head of the KUA Pujer which explained that young marriage is a high risk for the fetus and the mother who is pregnant. The low socioeconomic conditions also affect how nutritional intake. The following is an explanation from the Head of KUA Pujer,

"... La yang sering terjadi kalau orang atau anak ini belum cukup umur risikonya tinggi. Mohon maaf kalau sudah mengadakan hubungan intim ini kan secara medis nah ini kan belum siap. Mohon maaf ya, alat reproduksinya tuh kan belum siap begitu. Apalagi sampai terjadi kehamilan. La kalau sampai terjadi kehamilan anak yang dikandung ini efeknya apalagi dari segi ekonomi, ekonomi lemah. Kan belum mapan. Ya kan tadi itu, mangan melu morotuwu kan begitu? Terus dikasih apa? Nah akhirnya gizinya kurang. Terus ibunya sendiri masih muda. Sehingga bayi yang dikandung ini perkembangannya kurang sehat lah. Kalau kurang sehat bisa saja melahirkan bayinya kecil. Kalau bayinya kecil ini namanya stunting. Stunting ini berat badan bayi di bawah normal. Kan begitu. La kalau sudah begini rentan, ya biasa sering kali terjadi meninggal. Tapi ya tidak menutup kemungkinan ada yang selamat hidup ya ada. Tetapi secara ya anu aja, umpamanya ada kasus berapa, la yang hidup berapa, yang meninggal berapa kan begitu? Walaupun tetep kita yang beragama Islam yang membuat hidup dan mati kan bukan manusia gitu. Tapi kan bisa dianukan. Makanya ini program stunting."

Translate:

"... It often happens, if this person or child is not yet mature, the risk is high. I'm sorry if they've had intercourse, it's medically not ready. I'm sorry, the

¹ In the interest of ethical issues, the name has been changed/hidden

reproductive organs aren't ready yet. Especially when it comes to pregnancy. So if this woman gets pregnant, the effect will be on the child she is carrying. Moreover, from an economic perspective, it has a weak economy, not yet established. They still eat with their in-laws, right? What are they given then? Well, finally the nutrition is lacking. Then his mother was still young. So that the baby in the womb is not healthy. If the mother is unwell, she could give birth to a small baby. If the baby is small, it's called stunting. Stunting is the baby's weight is below normal. I see. If this is the case, the child is vulnerable, so it's common for death to occur. But it doesn't rule out that there are survivors, yes there are. But just like that, for example, how many cases were there, how many of them lived, how many died, right? Even though we are Muslims, it's not humans who make life and death. But it can be expected. That's why this is a stunting program." (Interview with Mr. Hasan¹, 2nd June, 2022)

From a medical point of view, this is the result of young marriages. However, it is different from the statement from the results of interviews with the Head of Alassumur Village. Short or stunted children who are not in proportion to their age are not due to a lack of nutrition, but genetics from their parents who also have a short height. Destiny is the final reason for the result of this problem. Here's the statement,

"... Yang stunting itu menurut saya, maaf ya, kadang ibunya kecil, bapaknya kecil, ya anaknya ikut kecil. Itu memang dari situ yang banyak kalau di desa. Ya saya lihat gambaran kenapa saya bilang gitu, karena saya lama di sini. Kalau dia memang bapaknya sudah besar, ibunya besar, kok masih kecil aja udah besar anaknya gitu. Bisa dilihat di situ dah. Ya memang sudah takdir hahaha. Memang takdir."

Translate:

"... In my opinion, I'm sorry, sometimes the mother is short, the father is short, so the children are short too. Conditions like this are common in villages. Yes, I see the conditions why I said that because I've been here for a long time. If he is indeed his father is tall, and his mother is tall, so his child is still young but his body is already that tall. Can be seen from there. Yes, fate has it (laughs). It's fate." (Interview with Mr. Surya¹, 1st June, 2022)

There are various backgrounds for the occurrence of early marriage in Alassumur Village, such as being attracted to each other, matchmaking, and avoiding adultery. From this, it can be seen that parents have a role to determine the future of their children, including marriages carried out at a young age. As quoted from the following statement from the Head of Alassumur Village,

"... Tapi yang banyak ini yang maksa malah anaknya bukan orangtuanya itu. Kadang kan tunangan ya. Kadang sering dibawa ke rumah mertuanya, kadang pulang, kadang ikut lagi. Jadi orangtua kan takut dosa atau merasa gimana lah dikira ndak ada tanggungjawab. Kadang anaknya dinikahkan langsung. Ya kebanyakan orangtua yang menurut anak itu."

Translate:

"... But most of those who want to get married as soon as possible are their children, not their parents. Sometimes after the fiancé, the man often takes the woman to the house of her future in-laws. But sometimes the women are also sent home, sometimes they come again. So, parents are afraid of sin or feel that others think they are not responsible for their children. Therefore, sometimes their children are married off immediately. Yes, most parents obey their children. (Interview with Mr. Surya¹, 1st June, 2022)

Another reason is that children want to maintain the dignity of their parents and to avoid committing adultery, then parents permit children who want to marry even though they are still underage. As stated by the Head of Alassumur Village, "... If there is an early marriage, the parents are forced to allow it, rather than things that are not desirable and become the talk of many people" (Interview with Mr. Surya¹, 1st June, 2022). Because if the parents forbid their children to marry, the children may elope as stated by the Kyai who cares for the Islamic boarding school in Alassumur Village:

"...Jadi ada yang istilahnya si anak itu mencintai laki-lakinya ya. Cuma orangtuanya kurang merespon, kurang menyetujui. Karena sudah anak ini hilang beberapa hari, akhirnya dilamar sama si laki-laki, akhirnya diterima. Jadi menerimanya menantu tersebut karena terpaksa. Nah itu sampai mengajukan ke KUA dan wali sudah mendaftarkan pernikahan sampai bertandatangan cuma menunggu jadwal yang ditentukan oleh KUA. Habis itu si perempuan ini ikut padahal masih tunangan. Ikut si laki-laki. Terus diem-diem di sana itu dikawinkan oleh orangtuanya. Padahal orangtua laki-laki ini tidak punya hak untuk mengawinkan. Yang punya hak kan si perempuan. Ini tanpa apa ya tanpa musyawarah dari pihak bisan ini ke orangtua si perempuan ini sudah dikawinkan. Ini kan pelanggaran secara syara'. Artinya pernikahan tanpa ada penyerahan wali kepada orang yang mengawinkan, siapa pun yang mengawinkan. Jangankan cuma pak Modin, penghulu tidak punya hak untuk mengawinkan. Yang punya hak itu adalah wali. Kalau tidak ada itu kan hukum agama sudah batal. Ini sudah pernah terjadi..."

Translate:

"...So there is a term that the girl loves her boy. It's just that his parents didn't respond, didn't approve. Because this girl had been missing for several days, the boy finally proposed, and finally, he accepted. So, the girl's parents accept the prospective son-in-law forcedly. Then they submitted the marriage to the KUA, and the guardian registered the marriage until it was signed. After that, it's just a matter of waiting for the schedule determined by the KUA. However, this girl went to her future husband's place even though they were still engaged. Then she stayed there and was married off by the parents of the boy. Even though the parents of the boy's side do not have the right to marry, those who do have the right to marry are the parents of the girl's side. This incident took place without deliberation from the boy's parents to the girl's parents, but they were already married. This is a violation of religious law. This means that the marriage is without the surrender of a guardian to the

person who is marrying, whoever is marrying. Not only Mr. Modin, the headman has no right to marry. The one who has that right is the guardian. If there isn't, religious law is null and void. This has happened before..." (Interview with Kyai Abdullah¹, 2nd June, 2022)

Even so, there were still 15 informants who married over the age of 19 with a percentage of 42% as shown in Table 3. From a religious point of view, marriage must also be based on that person being an adult. The statement from the Alassumur Village Islamic Boarding School Kyai who is also one of the religious instructors from KUA Pujer states that,

"...Jadi tidak semua pernikahan itu disunahkan atau diwajibkan ndak. Jadi kalau masih belum nyampek waktunya untuk dikawinkan artinya belum ukuran yang ditentukan, baligh atau dewasa. Itu kan kalau hukum pemerintah kan harus 19 gitu kan? Kalau masih kurang 19 kan otomatis harus mengikuti apa itu namanya persidangan, lewat PA itu. Artinya di KUA tidak bisa mengeluarkan surat nikah. Sebenarnya kalau kita pikir antara hukum agama dan hukum pemerintah itu tidak jauh beda..."

Translate:

"...So not all marriages are legalized or obligatory. If it is not yet time to marry, it means that they are not yet mature. According to government law, the minimum age for marriage must be 19, right? If you are under 19 years old, you will automatically have to attend a trial through the PA (Pengadilan Agama/Religious Court). This means that the KUA cannot issue a marriage certificate. If we think about religious law and government law, there is not much difference..." (Interview with Kyai Abdullah¹, 2nd June, 2022)

Parenting is an action taken by parents in caring for their children, related to feeding practices and healthcare practices (Situmeang, 2019). Most couples who marry at an early age still live in the same house with their parents/in-laws as shown in Table 1. This condition has the potential for parents (grandmothers/grandparents) to have a role to take care of their grandchildren, even though the majority say they are taking care of their children alone or with their husbands. Caring for children who still tend to hand over to other people (grandmothers, relatives, neighbours) is indicated to contribute to the occurrence of stunting. Early marriages and the busyness of parents to make a living are the reasons their children are treated by their grandmothers. The problem exists because grandmother's knowledge is still embedded in cultural wisdom or local knowledge which is full of myths that are not in line with modern health care (Santoso et al., 2019). There is also a term behind the place where you live after marriage is still in the same house as your parents, "... Eat or not, the important thing is to be with your parents..." (Interview with Mr Surya¹, 1st June, 2022).

The situation above shows that adequate nutrition is not the main thing to improve family health, especially for mothers and children. Because the important thing is that the child is still together with his parents even though he is married. In addition, the nutritional intake of families in

Alassumur Village cannot be separated from social and cultural taboos in terms of food restrictions and understanding of maternal and child nutrition. Some of them like eating pineapple, durian, and shrimp. Pineapple is not consumed during pregnancy because it is considered to cause heat in the fetus and can be a cause of miscarriage (Santoso et al., 2019; Sholihah & Ayu, 2014). Likewise, durian has a fragrance that is harmful to pregnancy, as well as shrimp which is considered to cause the child's feet to grip the mother's womb and make it difficult to be born (Sholihah & Ayu, 2014). Inadequate nutritional intake in a family certainly affects their nutritional status, especially in children who are still growing. This situation is also an indication of stunting in Alassumur Village.

The work of the informant and her husband is also one of the factors that can affect their child's stunting. The interviewed informants have daily activities as housewives. While the husband's job is as a construction worker, working as a travel agent, and mostly as a farmer. The farmers referred to in this study are only farm workers, the fields are not their own, so their income is not much if they are the owners of the fields. As one informant said, "In a day my husband earns 20 thousand, I don't work." (Interview with Tamina¹, 1st June, 2022). This condition can be indicated as another factor causing stunting in Alassumur Village. Such as research in the Work Area of the Seginim Health Center in South Bengkulu Regency, Sari et al. (2020) said that there is a relationship between family income and the incidence of stunting in toddlers. Families who have less income will tend to influence the food staples that can be bought. This can be seen from several informants who said that they usually eat vegetables, tofu, tempeh, eggs, chicken, meat, fish and fruit. Vegetables, fruit, fish and chicken are a combination of nutritious foods if all are on one dining table. But they can only eat some of these types of food. Even the types of fish that can be bought are catfish and skipjack because these fish have affordable prices.

The daily life of the informants, who are mostly housewives, actually provides benefits for the children, because as mothers they will always be there in the childcare process. Unlike the results of Safitri's writings (2021), the status of mothers who are not working tends to have normal children or are not stunted by 66%. However, this has not been seen in the children in Alassumur Village. Even though the majority are housewives, cases of stunting are still unresolved homework here. This condition may be due to family income that has not been sufficient for the family's nutritional intake, especially for the child who is still in the process of growing. In addition, most of the informants who eventually became housewives after marriage indicated that there was gender inequality in this village. Gender roles limit girls' ability to generate income, continuing traditions such as the price of a bride and payment of a dowry, causing the marriage to be closely related to economic freedom for girls and their families (Save the Children, 2018).

Sanitation is another factor that causes stunting. The results of the interviews revealed that most of the informants used the river as their access to sanitation. Even though there was a private bathroom, they were more used to going to the river. The river has a complex

role for the people of Alassumur Village, such as bathing, washing clothes, washing vehicles, and defecating. Poor sanitation can increase the risk of infectious diseases, for example, diarrhea and intestinal worms (Pusdatin Kemenkes RI, 2018). This condition can interfere with the absorption of nutrients in the digestive process. If it is suffered by the baby, it can cause the baby to lose weight. Then if this condition occurs for quite a long time and is not accompanied by adequate intake for the healing process, there is a risk of stunting.

The issue of early marriage which is at risk of causing stunting remains a concern for Bondowoso Regency, especially the Alassumur Village Government. Prevention efforts are still being carried out to minimize this case so that it does not escalate. This activity is implemented by actively conducting counselling by health workers, monthly deliberations on stunting, and there is ADD (Alokasi Dana Desa/Village Fund Allocation) to purchase nutritious food for children who fall into the stunting category. As said by the Head of the Alassumur Village Government,

“... Iya ada penyuluhan. Malah sekarang diwajibkan. Di sini setiap 1 bulan sekali itu ada rapat stunting. Dikasih makanan bergizi itu, vitamin. Terus ada jatah dari ADD buat beli telur itu, khusus stunting... Iya antusias jalan. Kan itu ada Bu Bidan itu. Kalau misal mau ada Posyandu ya sudah diumumkan itu di Mushola. Kumpul itu sudah. Cukup di umumin di Mushola.”

Translate:

“... Yes, there is counselling. Even now it is mandatory. Here, once a month there is a stunting meeting. It discusses the provision of nutritious food and vitamins. Then there is an allowance from ADD (Anggaran Dana Desa/Village Fund Budget) to buy eggs, especially for stunted children... Yes, the community is very enthusiastic because there is a Midwife. For example, if there will be Posyandu activities, it has already been announced at the Mosquelet. Then parents who have small children will gather at the Posyandu. Enough with the notification via the loudspeaker at the Mosquelet (Interview with Mr. Surya¹, 1st June, 2022)

The results of the data above tell us that early marriage is closely related to being the cause of stunting in Bondowoso Regency, although many other factors influence it. Efforts from stakeholders have been realized. However, still, if there is no intention from the main actors (parents and grandmothers) to understand the impact of early marriage, then it can be indicated that stunting will still exist in Bondowoso Regency. The role of stakeholders in internalizing the community through an approach that is appropriate to their cultural characteristics also determines efforts to reduce stunting rates.

D. CONCLUSIONS

Early marriage is still a risk factor for stunting in children in Bondowoso Regency. The dispensation of marriage, attraction to each other, arranged marriages, and avoiding adultery are the reasons why early marriages still exist here. The causes of stunting aside from early marriage, other factors such as

knowledge, parenting, socio-economic conditions, and sanitation are factors that indicate stunting in Bondowoso Regency. The role of stakeholders in internalizing the community through an approach that is by their cultural characteristics is very influential in reducing the number of early marriages as well as stunting. However, if this implementation is not accompanied by the efforts of the main actors to understand the impact of this early marriage, it can be indicated that stunting will still exist in Bondowoso Regency.

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