



Empowering Village Krama Councils in Preventing Child Marriage: A Study of Policy Synergy on North Lombok

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Abstract: This qualitative study explores the role of Village Councils in preventing child marriage on Lombok Island, focusing specifically on policy synergy and local governance. This research uses Lawrence M. Friedman's legal system theory to analyze the impact of regional regulations and community-based initiatives in addressing child marriage in North Lombok Regency, West Nusa Tenggara Province, Indonesia. This study adopts an empirical juridical approach, with primary data from North Lombok Regent Regulation No. 20/2017 on Village Council Guidelines and secondary data from relevant literature. Despite significant efforts, child marriage remains a widespread issue on the island. The North Lombok Regency Government, through the empowerment of Village Krama Councils, has made substantial progress in addressing this issue. However, challenges persist, including unclear regulatory provisions and inconsistent application of Village Council functions across the region. The strong legal culture and the tradition of deliberation for consensus within the local community play a crucial role in the success of these initiatives. This study emphasizes the importance of empowering Village Councils to enhance the effectiveness of policies and further reduce child marriage practices in Lombok.

Keywords: Child Marriage; Village Krama Councils; Prevention; North Lombok.

Introduction

Marriage is a universally recognized institution that holds profound significance in most societies. It is often considered a sacred bond that marks a pivotal transition in human life (Hlaing & Read, 2016). As echoed by Safwan et al. (2013), "the Almighty determines birth, mate, and death," illustrating the cosmological importance of marriage as part of human existence. In contrast to birth and death, which are transitions between realms, marriage represents a phase of life within a single realm, marking the progression from youth to adulthood. It is not only a union between two individuals but also a means of continuing offspring and forming a family, the fundamental unit of social structure (Härkönen et al., 2017; Maimun et al., 2024).

Despite its revered status, marriage is not free from challenges, one of the most pressing being the issue of early marriage (Retnowulandari et al., 2024). Early marriage is defined as a union between a man and a woman where one or both parties are below the minimum age stipulated by the law (Avita & Oktalita, 2022). This issue is not unique to Indonesia; it affects countries across the globe. According to the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (2018), there are currently 650 million women who were married before the age of 18. Although the global prevalence of early marriage has been on the decline, with a 4% reduction in the last decade, it remains a significant concern. In 2018, 21% of women aged 20-24 were married as children, a decrease from 25% a decade ago. Efforts over the last ten years have successfully prevented at least 25 million child marriages globally.

In North Lombok, Indonesia, child marriage remains a critical issue. Data from the Women's and Child Protection Service Technical Implementation Unit (UPTD PPA) of North Lombok Regency shows that between 2020 and 2022, 175 child marriage cases were recorded. In 2020, there were 62 cases, with 31 successfully annulled, 31 unresolved (underhanded marriages), and 17 dispensation cases (Zainuddin et al., 2024).

In 2021, 62 cases were reported, with 29 annulled, 33 unresolved, and 21 dispensations. In 2022, 55 cases were recorded, with 25 annulled, 9 unresolved, and 21 dispensations. While these figures reflect reported cases, it is likely that many child marriages remain unreported, particularly those not brought to the attention of UPTD PPA by local institutions such as the Village Krama Councils (Shodiq et al., 2025; Yustianugraha, 2022). Thus, these statistics do not fully capture the extent of child marriage in North Lombok.

The consequences of child marriage are far-reaching and include reproductive health complications, increased risks of maternal and child mortality, domestic violence, poverty, and reduced human capital development (Basir et al., 2025). In response, the West Nusa Tenggara Provincial Government introduced local regulations aimed at curbing the practice. Notably, West Nusa Tenggara Provincial Regulation Number 5 of 2021 provides a framework for the prevention of child marriage. According to Article 23, paragraph (3), the regulation allows for the involvement of village-level institutions, including the Village Krama Council, in efforts to prevent child marriage. The Village Krama Council, established under North Lombok Regent Regulation No. 20 of 2017, plays a critical role in addressing such social issues at the village level through mediation and consensus-building among community members.

North Lombok has taken a proactive approach by establishing the Village Krama Council as a legal body to resolve disputes, including preventing child marriages. Despite the scope of its mandate covering minor criminal offenses, civil disputes, and customary issues, the Village Krama Council has successfully intervened in several cases of child marriage using mediation techniques. However, of the 13 Village Krama Councils studied, only eight are functioning adequately, and only four have actively participated in preventing child marriage. These findings suggest that while some councils are successful, others face challenges in fulfilling their role, highlighting issues in the implementation of Regent Regulation No. 20/2017.

This study aims to assess the implementation of North Lombok Regent Regulation No. 20/2017 in preventing child marriage. It explores the functioning of the Village Krama Council as a mediation body in the region. Previous studies have addressed various aspects of child marriage prevention, such as the role of local regulations, cultural practices, and legal frameworks. For instance, Kartikawati et al. (2023) explored the role of *Belas* in preventing child marriage within the Sasak community in West Lombok. Similarly, Azwar et al. (2024) and Hamdi et al. (2022) studied the effectiveness of traditional customs (*awig-awig*) in the *Merariq* age maturation process in preventing early marriage in Kekair Village. Ningsih et al. (2024) focused on the socio-cultural implementation of Regional Regulation No. 5 of 2021 in East Lombok, while Munshorif et al. (2024) assessed the effectiveness of Law No. 16 of 2019 in reducing early marriage rates in Boyolali.

This research contributes a unique perspective by specifically focusing on the operational role of the Village Krama Council in preventing child marriage, an area that has not been thoroughly examined in previous studies. Utilizing Lawrence M. Friedman's legal system theory, this study will identify barriers to policy implementation, including the legal structure, legal substance, and legal culture in North Lombok. By applying this theoretical framework, the study provides a more comprehensive analysis of the effectiveness of local regulations in preventing child marriage, offering insights beyond the empirical and legal analysis of previous works.

Method

This research employs a qualitative approach aimed at identifying the obstacles to the implementation of Regent Regulation No. 20/2017 regarding the Village Krama Council, with subsequent analysis through Friedman (1986, 2019) of legal system theory. The study was conducted in North Lombok Regency, West Nusa Tenggara Province, Indonesia. The research approach is empirical juridical, focusing on both legal frameworks and their practical implementation at the local level. Primary data for this research was collected through a combination of interviews, documentation review, observation, and analysis of North Lombok Regent Regulation No. 20/2017, specifically the Village Krama Council guidelines. Secondary data, which serve as supporting materials, include relevant literature, legal documents, local regulations, religious texts such as the Qur'an and Sunnah, and expert opinions (Hammarberg et al., 2016).

Data collection techniques involved structured interviews and participant observation. Purposive sampling and snowball sampling were employed to select informants (Dobinson & Johns, 2017). The

informants in this study include: village officials, Village Krama Council administrators, couples who have been mediated by the Village Krama Council, representatives of the North Lombok Regency Government, and members of the general public in North Lombok Regency. The criteria for informants from the village include: a) villages that have a Village Krama Council; and b) Village Krama Councils that have been involved in child marriage prevention cases. The criteria for informants from the community include: a) couples whose marriages were successfully or unsuccessfully prevented by the Village Krama Council; and b) individuals in the vulnerable age group for child marriage.

The data obtained from interviews and observations were processed by reducing the data to focus on the most relevant information, displaying the data to categorize it based on field facts, and conducting further analysis (Baxter & Jack, 2008). This systematic approach to data processing ensures that the research effectively addresses the barriers to the implementation of Regent Regulation No. 20/2017 and provides a comprehensive understanding of the role of the Village Krama Council in preventing child marriage in North Lombok.

Results and Discussion

Child Marriage in North Lombok District

North Lombok Regency is one of the regencies in West Nusa Tenggara Province and is the youngest regency, formed from the division of West Lombok Regency. The geographical area of North Lombok is bordered to the north by the Java Sea, to the south by West Lombok Regency, to the east by East Lombok Regency and Central Lombok Regency, and finally to the west by the Lombok Strait. North Lombok has an area of 80,953 hectares (Hamim et al., 2022; Yusuf & Usman, 2022).

The indigenous tribe of Lombok Island, especially North Lombok, is the Sasak Tribe. The value system of the Sasak Tribe has three layers: the deepest layer as basic or philosophical values, the second layer as a support for morals, and the third layer as an applicative symbol of the previous layers (Putri, 2022). The first layer contains overlapping values or values whose function is to motivate the Sasak Tribe to become human beings who are appropriate, obedient, *pacu* (diligent), *solah* (good), and *soleh* (pious). The second layer contains the value of *maliq* (prohibition) and *merang* (the spirit to do good). The third layer contains collective practices that aim to do good together, such as *sangkep* (deliberation). In addition, this third layer also contains *krama* (norms) and *awig-awig* (rules) to regulate the lives of the Sasak people (Fikri, 2024; Mansyur, 2021; Munir et al., 2022).

The people of North Lombok generally have the perception that the customs of the Sasak Tribe in North Lombok, or Lombok Island more broadly, do not have provisions related to the minimum age limit for marriage to be carried out. So it cannot be denied that efforts to prevent child marriage often face obstacles from indigenous peoples, because they get legitimized by custom. That is, there has been a distortion of the message of child marriage in one of the Sasak heritage manuscripts, namely the *Rengganis* palm manuscript. It is told in this manuscript that marriage is only carried out when the woman is 20 years old. So it can be understood that the real message of this manuscript is that the Sasak people should be allowed to marry when they are 20 (twenty) years old (Herlina et al., 2024; Sainun et al., 2024). However, at present, there has been a distortion of communication in the Sasak community that child marriage gets its legitimacy from custom.

Although among the factors inhibiting the efforts of the Village Krama Council in preventing child marriage in North Lombok are elements of the indigenous community who reject these efforts, this is not the case for all indigenous communities. On the contrary, there are also indigenous people who support efforts to prevent child marriage. Especially those who are members of the Village Krama Council in North Lombok and there is an *awik-awik* (customary rule) agreed upon that prohibits child marriage. This *awik-awik* was later made into a Village Regulation, specifically Loloan Village Regulation No. 3 of 2016 on the Age of Spinsterhood (Anzari & Fitri, 2024).

Loloan Village Regulation No. 3/2016 Article 6 on *Memulang* paragraph (1) states that *memulang berik* is not allowed or child marriage is prohibited. Furthermore, in paragraph (2), *memulang* is only permitted for women who have reached the age of 19 (nineteen) years and men who have reached the age of 19 (nineteen) years. In paragraph (3), for anyone who marries under the age specified in paragraph (2), the two of them will be separated (*dibelas*), and an agreement will be made in a *sangkep gubuk*.

For couples who violate the above stipulations, Article 6, paragraph (6) further states that the couple and their families will be subject to social sanctions in the form of no youth involvement during the marriage process. The explanation of the content of Perdes (Village Regulation) Loloan above in this study is to prove that there are people who reject child marriage in their village and explicitly state that violators will be subject to social sanctions. Mr. Asmadi explained, "The Perdes Loloan was originally an awik-awik or customary regulation agreed upon by the people of Loloan Village, but to strengthen its existence, it was made into a Perdes." (Interview, Asmadi, Village Administrator, Loloan Village, November 2023). Data on the marriage situation in North Lombok is quite diverse. Overall, according to the 2020 Mother and Child Statistics data issued by the North Lombok Central Bureau of Statistics, the percentage of North Lombok women who have married in the age range of 10-54 years is 63.31. Furthermore, for women who are not married, the percentage is 29.45. The percentage of women who are divorced is 3.89. Women who are divorced are 3.36 (Rahiem, 2021).

When referring to data published by the Religious Courts, until now North Lombok has not had its own Religious Court, still under the jurisdiction of the Giri Menang Religious Court located in West Lombok Regency. Unfortunately, the data available is not split between North Lombok and West Lombok. So as a whole (North Lombok and West Lombok), the number of cases decided in 2021, namely: 91 cases of Dispensation of Marriage; 1,201 cases of *Isbat Nikah*; 1063 cases of Divorce; and 320 cases of Divorce. In 2020, namely: Dispensation of Marriage amounted to 150 cases; *Isbat Nikah* amounted to 920 cases; Plaintiff's Divorce amounted to 1115 cases; and Talak Divorce amounted to 369 cases. In 2019, namely: Dispensation of Marriage amounted to 70 cases; *Isbat Nikah* amounted to 11211 cases; Divorce Plaintiffs amounted to 842 cases; and Divorce Talak amounted to 279 cases (Nasir, 2020).

The situation of child marriage in North Lombok refers to data from the Technical Implementation Unit of the North Lombok Women and Child Protection Service (hereinafter UPTD PPA) from 2020 to 2022 there were 175 cases of child marriage. In 2020, there were 62 cases of child marriage, 31 cases were successfully separated, 31 cases were not successfully separated (underhanded marriage), and 17 cases of marriage dispensation. In 2021, there were 62 child marriage cases, 29 cases were successfully separated, 33 cases were unsuccessfully separated (underhanded marriage), and 21 cases of marriage dispensation. Meanwhile, in 2022, there were 55 cases of child marriage, 25 cases were successfully separated, 9 cases were not successfully separated (underhanded marriage), and 21 cases of marriage dispensation (Nasir, 2020; Rahiem, 2021). So it can be seen that the situation of child marriage in North Lombok has been quite balanced, between marriages that were successfully prevented and marriages that were not successfully prevented (underhanded marriage).

The rampant cases of child marriage in North Lombok cannot be separated from the educational, environmental, economic, cultural, and religious situation in the North Lombok community. This study concludes that there are various factors that encourage child marriage in North Lombok, including: *First*, the education factor. A person's level of education influences their decision-making tendencies. A low level of education is associated with a higher risk of child marriage. In 2020, the average years of schooling for North Lombok residents aged 15 (fifteen) years and over was 5.91 years, equivalent to the elementary school level. This figure makes North Lombok the lowest average length of schooling in West Nusa Tenggara Province (North Lombok Regional Government, 2021). The level of education of parents and the environment of the child indirectly affects the level of child marriage in North Lombok. This was acknowledged by Mr. Sa'i that low family education affects child marriage in North Lombok (Interview, Sa'i, Village Administrator, Loloan Village, December 2023).

Second, environmental factors. Child marriage in Indonesia and especially North Lombok experienced a spike in child marriage cases during the Covid 19 pandemic. Many schools are closed or schools are conducted online or online, as a result many of the young people in North Lombok are easily bored and the use of gadgets or cellphones increases. If the use of gadgets is not managed wisely, it can have a negative impact, one of which is as a medium to support child marriage. With gadgets, young people become freer to get to know each other. This situation is recognized by Mr. Asmadi as a supporting factor for child marriage (Interview, Asmadi, Village Administrator, Loloan Village, December 2023). As a result of the prevalence of child marriage in North Lombok, it indirectly makes young people in North Lombok familiar with the practice, because they have examples or references to behavior that they can imitate. So that many young people take marriage for granted.

They think that marriage is easy, as long as they like each other, then just get married. Not infrequently, marriage is considered a solution to the problems they face. As happened in the case of child marriage in Kayangan Village, Kayangan District. Because his wishes were not fulfilled by his family, marriage was used as a solution. The same thing was also expressed by Rahiem (2021) that the perpetrator of child marriage believe that marriage is an escape from schoolwork, house chores, and the stress and boredom of studying and staying at home during the pandemic.

Third, economic factors. Marriage is often seen as a way out of family poverty. Quite a number of parents in North Lombok easily marry off their daughters because they are considered a burden on the family. Girls are still considered the second class because of the assumption that girls are not able to work and help the family economy, only in the domestic sphere, or the mattress, well, and kitchen (Azwar et al., 2024; Yustianugraha, 2022).

Fourth, cultural factors. The easy access to *memulang* (marriage) in the Sasak community of North Lombok is a supporting factor for child marriage. Just by *memulang* or running away from the woman who will be married can bring both of them to the aisle. When this *memulang* ritual has reached the *selabar* stage, it is very difficult to continue efforts to prevent child marriage. This is because when it reaches the *selabar* stage, the bride and groom are considered to have agreed to get married. And there is a negative stigma that develops in the community if the marriage is canceled. There are several Village Krama Councils in North Lombok who get obstacles from traditional leaders when mediating couples who will marry children. This is because they maintain the opinion that marriage, according to Sasak custom, does not regulate the minimum age of marriage, and young people have the right to do it at any age (Kartikawati et al., 2023; Safwan et al., 2013; Zuhdi, 2018). Whereas, as previously described, according to several Lontar Manuscripts of the Sasak Tribe, there is a minimum age limit for Sasak Tribes who are allowed to marry, for example, in the Lontar Manuscript, a minimum age of 20 (twenty) years (Meij, 2017; Syuhada et al., 2024). In addition, the *awig-awig* of the community in Loloan Village, Bayan Subdistrict, which was later made into a *Perdes*, prohibits child marriage, if found, it will be separated. If violated, they will receive social sanctions that their marriage will not be supported by the youth in Loloan Village.

Fifth, religious factors. Classical Islamic scholars tend not to set a minimum age at which a Muslim can marry. A marriage can be valid if the pillars and conditions of marriage are fulfilled. This understanding is still hegemonic among religious leaders or Tuan Guru in North Lombok. However, after conducting a dialogue together discussing the urgency of preventing child marriage, that child marriage has more *mudharat* than *mashlahat*, finally, the religious figure wanted to support efforts to prevent child marriage. There are also Tuan Guru in North Lombok who support the minimum age of marriage is 19 (nineteen) years as stipulated in the applicable legislation (Sainun et al., 2024).

Regent Regulation No. 20/2017 on Village Krama Assembly Guidelines

Linguistically, Majelis Krama Desa (Village Krama Councils) consists of 3 (three) syllables, namely “*majelis*” means place, “*kruma*” means procedure, “*desa*” means an area. Thus, Majelis Krama Desa linguistically means a place or assembly that maintains manners in the village. According to Dr. TGH Najmul Ahyar, the use of the name Majelis Krama Desa was inspired by the names of traditional institutions in the Sasak tribe, such as Krama Banjar Urip Pati, Krama Gubuk and Krama Desa. The Village Krama Council is a modernization of these traditional institutions of the Sasak tribe. Considering the scope of its membership, the Village Krama Council is more similar to the Village Krama (Interview, Ahyar, Village Member of Village Krama Councils, Lombok, November 2023).

The Sasak community has long recognized a form of community institution whose function is to regulate the procedures in social life (Anam, 2024). This container is known as krama. The concept of krama in Sasak society is divided into two domains, namely krama as a customary institution and krama as a rule of social interaction (Zuhdi, 2018). Krama as a customary institution is divided into 3 (three), namely: *kruma banjar urip pati*, *kruma gubuk* and *kruma desa*. *Krama banjar urip pati* means an institution whose membership is limited to the hamlet community and is engaged in the field of *kebanjaran* or matters relating to the ritual affairs of life and death. *Krama banjar urip pati* consists of various types, including *kruma banjar subak*, *kruma banjar merariq*, *kruma*

banjar mate, and *krama banjar haji*. *Krama gubuk* has a wider membership, namely the gubuk community (*dasan*, *dusun* and *kampung*). *Krama village* means the traditional institution or assembly at the village level. Its membership consists of *Pemasungan* (Customary Village Head), *Juru Arab* (Village Head Helper), *Jaksa* (Village Judge), *Luput* (Village Welfare Coordinator) and *Kiai Penghulu* (Putri, 2022).

The background of the formation of Perbup (Regency Regulation) No. 20/2017 is to preserve the values that have been embedded in the people of North Lombok from ancient times until today. The value in question is the value of deliberation for consensus, if there is a dispute or conflict, then the resolution by deliberation for consensus is prioritized. The value of deliberation for consensus is not only embedded in the community in North Lombok, but has also become part of the principles of local wisdom in the Sasak Tribe in a broader scope. In resolving a dispute, the Sasak people will prioritize deliberation for consensus, rather than looking to lose or win.

Furthermore, the establishment of Perbup No. 20/2017 also aims for the Village Council to become a forum that brings together various legal systems that live in the community, namely the positive legal system, the religious (Islamic) legal system and the customary legal system. Therefore, in the mediation process at the Village Krama Council, at least 4 (four) elements of the community must be present, namely the Village Government, Religious Leaders, Traditional Leaders and Community Leaders. This meeting of 3 (three) legal systems is a representation of the spirit of the term “*wetu telu*”, namely “*wet*” means territory, “*tu*” means tau or person and “*telu*” means three. This means that the Village Krama Council is an embodiment of *wetu telu* or an area that involves 3 (three) parties, namely the government, religious leaders and traditional leaders (Putri, 2022).

This Perbup is the legal basis for the presence of the Village Krama Council formed by each village in North Lombok Regency. Structurally, the Village Krama Council serves as a partner of the Village Government. The presence of the Village Krama Council is intended to assist the Village Government in facilitating dispute resolution. So that it can foster community harmony and maintain peace in the village community. Article 5 states that the Village Krama Council has several functions, namely: *first*, to facilitate mediation of disputes that occur in the village community; *second*, to develop coordination and cooperation between village institutions and the Village Government in saving cultural values that grow and develop in the village; and *third*, to document and inventory values and norms developed or developed in the community. The disputes referred to in Article 5 above are further explained in Article 18, which states that the scope of disputes that can be submitted for handling to the Village Krama Council includes minor criminal offenses (*tipiring*), which include complaints, civil cases, or customary disputes (Hadi, 2024).

The formation of the Village Krama Council by the Village Government is carried out through four stages. It starts with the Village Government drafting a Village Regulation on the Village Krama Council and then the draft is discussed with the Village Consultative Body. After approval by the Village Consultative Body, the Village Regulation on the establishment of the Village Krama Council is enacted. Finally, the Village Government establishes the management of the Village Krama Council based on the results of Village deliberations. The operational costs of the Village Krama Council are obtained from the APBDesa and/or APBD. The Village Krama Council may also receive non-binding donations or grants from the government, government institutions, the private sector or individuals (Afriadi, 2022).

The management structure of the Village Krama Council at least consists of a chairman (concurrently a member), secretary (concurrently a member), treasurer (concurrently a member) and members. The management of the Majelis Krama Desa must come from various elements of society, such as traditional leaders, religious leaders, village government, and community leaders. When a dispute wants to be resolved through the Village Krama Council, it must first come and report to the Village Krama Council. For more details, the following is a description of the stages of dispute resolution through the Village Krama Council. a) Village communities individually or in groups report their disputes to the Village Krama Council either orally or in writing; b) The oral report is then made in the form of an oral report. The oral report is then made in written form by the secretary of the Village Krama Council signed / thumbprinted by the reporting party; c) The dispute report is then verified and deepened by the Village Krama Council; d) The Village Krama Council schedules a mediation meeting for the first time no later than 14 (fourteen) days from the time the report is received by presenting the parties to the dispute; e) If the parties agree to reconcile, the Village Council shall draw up a deed

of peace with the knowledge of the Village Head; f) If the parties do not reach an agreement to reconcile, the Village Council shall draw up minutes and recommend the parties to the dispute to take formal legal action.

Village Council's Efforts to Prevent Child Marriage in North Lombok

This study uses the legal system theory proposed by Lawrence M. Friedman to dissect the implementation of Perbup No. 20/2017 in North Lombok, especially in efforts to prevent child marriage. According to Friedman, the implementation of a law is determined by the enforcement of the legal system itself. However, in his book *Legal System from a Social Science Perspective*, Friedman does not provide a specific definition of the legal system. This is because "the legal system is not a definitively formulated concept in the social world". Although he does not provide a definitive definition of the legal system, Friedman reveals that the legal system is a collection of sub-systems, which consists of 3 three things, namely legal substance, legal structure, and legal culture (Friedman, 2017, 2019).

In essence, to find out whether or not Perbup No. 20/2017 has been implemented in North Lombok, it can be seen by looking at whether the Village Krama Council in each village functions as expected or vice versa. Based on the results of research conducted by researchers on 13 (thirteen) Village Krama Councils in North Lombok, researchers found that not all Village Krama Councils from these villages functioned as expected. Whereas the existence of Perbup No. 20/2017 in North Lombok proves that the North Lombok Regional Government is in favor of the people of North Lombok, as much as possible, the community can live in a peaceful social environment, where there is no practice of child marriage. However, regulations will not be able to be effective if they are not supported by the structure and culture of the community.

There are at least 5 (five) Village Krama Councils that are not functioning properly. The remaining 8 (eight) Village Krama Councils have functioned well. Furthermore, not all Village Krama Councils were found to have prevented child marriage. Of the eight functioning Village Krama Councils, only four were found to have prevented child marriage. However, researchers found that the practice of preventing child marriage was mostly completed at the Dusun Head level. This was done for several reasons. So that researchers only found 4 (four) Village Krama Councils that had prevented child marriage in North Lombok.

Table 1. Village Krama Councils' Functioning Status and Child Marriage Prevention

No	District	Village Krama Council	Functioning (yes/no)	Prevent Child Marriage (yes/no)
1	Pemenang	Pemenang West	Yes	Yes
		Pemenang East	Yes	No
		Tanjung	Yes	No
2	Tanjung	Sigar Penjalin	Yes	Ya
		Medana	Yes	No
		Gangga	Yes	No
3	Gangga	Rempek	Yes	No
		Gondang	No	No
		Kayangan	Yes	Yes
4	Kayangan	Santong	No	No
		Selengen	No	No
		Bayan	No	No
5	Bayan	Sambik Elen	No	No
		Loloan	Yes	Yes

Source: The table was processed by the researcher based on the research findings.

The reasons why the 5 (five) Village Krama Councils in North Lombok cannot function as expected are due to various factors. Among them are: a) suboptimal human resources; b) lack of operational funds; c) lack of support from the village; d) lack of community requests for mediation.

The first factor is that the human resources that are part of the Village Krama Council structure are not optimal. It cannot be denied that being an administrator of the Village Krama Council is not the main job,

because it does not have a fixed salary like the Village Apparatus. Many of the administrators of the Village Krama Council, whose position in the Village Krama Council is only as a sideline, have a day job, such as being a teacher, lecturer, farmer, or trader. This was conveyed by Mr. Zainudin. Similar expressions were found in various other Village Krama Councils in North Lombok.

One of the components of the legal structural sub-system in North Lombok Perbup No. 20/2017 is the structural members of the Village Krama Council. With non-optimal human resources in several Village Krama Councils in North Lombok, the implementation of North Lombok Regent No. 20 of 2017 is flawed or has not been fully implemented. An optimal legal structure should be able to act as an officer who ensures that a legal regulation can be implemented properly. In accordance with the expected boundaries. Conversely, when the structure of the Village Krama Council in North Lombok, in this case as a legal structure in a component of the legal system, does not carry out its duties and functions as expected, the risk that can occur is that the Village Krama Council cannot function properly. As the findings in this study that have been described previously.

The second factor is the lack of operational funds. In the process of mediating a case, it is absolutely necessary to present the parties to the dispute. In addition, as mandated by Perbup No. 20/2017, in the process of mediating a case, at least 4 (four) elements of the community must be involved, namely the Village Government, Religious Leaders, Traditional Leaders, and Village Community Leaders. Calling these parties, of course, at least requires funds, at least to replace the "fee".

One of the sub-system components of the legal system is legal material. The legal material of Perbup No. 20/2017 that has been complained about is the unclear amount of budget that can be obtained by the Village Krama Council through each village. So there is ambiguity in practice. Between one Village Krama Council and other Village Krama Councils in North Lombok receive various budgets.

The third factor is not getting support from the village. Not all villages understand the importance of the presence of the Village Krama Council and the spirit of peace and harmony brought by the Village Krama Council, as mandated by Perbup No. 20/2017. Not all villages understand the situation of the Village Krama Council, which has minimal operational funds, so the hope of the Village Krama Council is that the village can support their presence. One of the other components of the legal structural sub-system in Perbup Lombok Utara No. 20/2017 is the Village Government. The Village Krama Council is formed directly by the Village through each Village Regulation in North Lombok. The position and institutional form of the Village Krama Council is as a partner of the Village Government. So it can be understood that, as partners, both should support each other or support each other's activities. Especially considering the situation of the Village Krama Council until now, which is still minimal with the budget, it is appropriate for the Village Government to support the sustainability of the Village Krama Council. By optimizing the role of the Village Government, it can support the implementation of Perbup No. 20/2017 in North Lombok.

The fourth factor is the lack of community requests to be mediated by the Village Council. One of the sub-system components of the legal system is the culture or legal culture of the community where the law is implemented. Basically, the people of North Lombok already have the values of consensus or mediation in solving a problem. However, what hampers the implementation of Perbup No. 20/2017 through the Village Krama Council in North Lombok is the uneven socialization carried out by the Regional Government and related stakeholders, regarding the existence of the Village Krama Council in every village in North Lombok. What can the community do through the Village Krama Council? So that the effort to equalize this socialization is absolutely necessary to do, in order to implement Perbup Number 20 of 2017.

Broadly speaking, the results of this study show that the stages of a dispute resolved at the Village Krama Council in North Lombok are in accordance with those stipulated in Perbup No. 20/2017 Article 19 above. Furthermore, the mediation process in preventing child marriage by the Village Krama Council in North Lombok is as follows: The Village Krama Council will receive reports from the community regarding efforts to practice child marriage. This report continues the process after being made in written form by the Village Krama Council member on duty.

The Village Krama Council then holds a meeting to discuss the validity of the report on the practice of child marriage. Once it is proven that there is indeed an attempt to practice child marriage, the Village Krama Council schedules a mediation to prevent it. It is prepared to invite various relevant parties who can assist the

Village Krama Council in its efforts to mediate the prevention of child marriage. In the mediation process for the prevention of child marriage, in addition to members of the Village Krama Council itself, which already consists of various elements of society, as stipulated in Perbup No. 20/2017 Article 15 paragraph (2), various other parties are also present. Parties that may be able to assist the efforts of the Village Krama Council in preventing child marriage, such as Health Officers or the North Lombok Women's and Children's Protection Agency.

Once all parties are present, the process of mediating between couples seeking child marriage begins. *First*, the Village Council will try to explore the motivations of the boy and girl, their motivation for getting married. Is it done with the awareness of each other (like to like), is there pressure that forces, or is pregnancy first due to promiscuity? If it turned out that the two were married because they had become pregnant first, then the mediation efforts to prevent the marriage would be continued by prioritizing efforts to get the two married and obtain marriage dispensation from the court, so that their marriage could still be recorded and recognized by the law. However, none of the Village Krama Councils studied have dealt with couples who were found to have been pregnant first.

After ascertaining the motivation of the couple, the Mediator invited various community leaders to provide their advice, encouraging the couple to postpone their marriage until they reached the minimum legal age of marriage, which is 19 years old. Religious leaders emphasized that child marriage brings more harm than good, and as Muslims, it is better to avoid such marriages, which also struggle to achieve a *sakinah*, *mawaddah*, and *rahmah* marriage. Traditional leaders advised that marriage should be carefully planned, including having a stable job to support the family. Community leaders, often Hamlet Heads, cautioned that child marriage would create administrative difficulties, such as not being able to obtain a Marriage Book or a Birth Certificate for any children.

The Village Government also warned that they would not facilitate anything if the marriage proceeded. Finally, health workers or representatives from the Women and Children Protection Agency (LPPA) pointed out the physical and psychological risks associated with early marriage. They explained that early marriage increases the risk of maternal and infant mortality and emphasized that psychological maturity is necessary to handle marital challenges, preventing the likelihood of divorce.

Empowering Village Krama Councils: A Collective Effort to Prevent Child Marriage in North Lombok

Against the fact that child marriage is still rampant in North Lombok, through the implementation of Perbup No. 20/2017, it is hoped that mediation efforts carried out by the Village Krama Council in each village in North Lombok can prevent and reduce the number of child marriages in North Lombok. This effort is done while maintaining the values that have long lived in the North Lombok community (Diana et al., 2024; Suhardi, 2025). There are several points that make Perbup No. 20/2017 important to be implemented optimally and thoroughly, namely as follows:

First, fostering community harmony and peace. Through mediation efforts carried out by the Village Krama Council, at least the problems faced by the people of North Lombok can be resolved with a 'cool head', and problems can be avoided and conflict can be avoided. Especially through mediation efforts to prevent couples who try to marry children, it can create a family climate that is *sakinah*, *mawaddah*, and *rahmah*.

Second, maintaining the values of local wisdom of the North Lombok community. The values of deliberation for consensus that have long lived in the North Lombok community can continue to be preserved. Moreover, the formation of the Village Krama Council, whose institutional form is inspired by Sasak traditional institutions, is expected to further actualize Sasak values in the lives of the people of North Lombok for today and beyond. By implementing Perbup No. 20/2017, it also plays an important role in maintaining the values of local wisdom of the people of North Lombok, namely deliberation for consensus in solving a problem. Lawrence M. Friedman said that one of the functions of the legal system is to distribute and maintain the allocation of values that are right according to society (Friedman, 2023).

Third, a forum to bring together various legal systems (positive, religious, and customary). Perbup No. 20/2017 also aims for the Village Krama Council to serve as a forum that brings together the various legal systems that live in the community, namely the positive legal system, the religious (Islamic) legal system, and the

customary legal system. Therefore, in the mediation process at the Village Krama Council, at least 3 (three) elements of the community must be present, namely the government, religious leaders, and traditional leaders, plus elements of the Village Government. Ultimately, this research argues that it is important to implement North Lombok Regent Regulation No. 20/2017 on Village Council Guidelines for the prevention of child marriage in North Lombok. At least in the scope of marriage, the important point to achieve is to prevent efforts to carry out child marriage, waiting until the minimum age according to statutory regulations, so that later it can form a family that is *sakinah, mawaddah* and *rahmah*.

When people in North Lombok no longer make efforts to marry children, then at that time, Regent Regulation Number 20 of 2017 has also been fully implemented, because it has succeeded in instating the people of North Lombok to behave correctly. As the function of the legal system, according to Lawrence M. Friedman, the legal system functions as a tool for dispute resolution, social control, and creating norms themselves (raw materials for social control). The legal system resolves disputes because, however, society cannot be separated from conflict; for that reason, the law is present as a solution that can be addressed to resolve conflicts. The legal system as social control basically regulates so that humans can behave correctly.

Conclusion

The legal minimum age for marriage in Indonesia is set at 19 years for both men and women, as stipulated in the Marriage Law. However, child marriage continues to be prevalent in North Lombok Regency. The North Lombok District Government, through the establishment of the Village Krama Council as regulated by Regent Regulation No. 20/2017 concerning the Village Krama Council Guidelines, has demonstrated success in preventing child marriage. Despite these achievements, several challenges remain in practice. These challenges include ambiguities within certain provisions of Regent Regulation No. 20/2017, which hinder its effective implementation. Additionally, not all Village Krama Councils across North Lombok Regency operate at their full potential. Nonetheless, the legal culture in North Lombok remains strong, with the community continuing to uphold the values of deliberation and consensus, as emphasized in the Regent Regulation. These findings suggest that while significant strides have been made in preventing child marriage, the full potential of the Village Krama Councils can be realized with clearer legal frameworks and more consistent implementation across all villages.

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