

Social Attitudes, Environmental Factors, and Laws-Institutions Impacts on School Dropouts: Case Studies in Sumba Island

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ABSTRACT

This research is based on the fact that most children in West Sumba and Central Sumba are forced to drop out of school for various very crucial reasons. The purpose of this study refers to efforts to identify various factors that influence the high dropout rate. The collected data shows that the number of primary school dropouts in West Sumba was 151 students (0.76%) from 18,772 primary school students in the regency. The highest number was in the Lamboya and Tanarighu districts, making up 2.02% and 1.06%, respectively. The percentage is even lower for secondary school dropouts, which is 0.006% of the total of 13,368 junior high school students in West Sumba. The percentage of school dropouts at the primary schools in the Central Sumba Regency is 0.72%. From the collected data, the highest dropout rates are in the districts of Mamboro (1.28%). The percentage of secondary school dropouts in Central Sumba is 2.14%. The highest numbers were in the districts of Umbu Ratu Nggay Barat (3.61%), Katikutana Selatan (2.42%), Katikutana (2.04%), Mamboro (1.70%), and Umbu Ratu Nggay (1.21%). From the information above, the highest dropout rates for primary and secondary schools are in Umbu Ratu Nggay Barat and Katikutana Selatan districts. The main factors causing the high dropout rate in these two districts are Social Attitudes, Environmental Factors, and Laws & Institutions.

1. Introduction

East Nusa Tenggara (NTT) Province has an average Human Development Index (HDI) and was ranked 32 out of 34 provinces in Indonesia in 2018 (BPS, 2018). The average of HDI in NTT Province was 64.39 compared to the national average of 71.39. Both West and Central Sumba ranked lower than the province HDI average, accounting for 62.91% and 60.07%, respectively. The Human Development Index of NTT Province in 2020 has decreased by 0.04 from 65.23 in 2019 to 65.19 in 2020 (BPS, 2020). This trend is due to the outbreak of Covid-19, putting the NTT still ranked 32 with the average category (BPS 2020). In West Sumba Regency, the HDI also slightly declined by 0.03 from 63.56 in 2019 to 63.53 in 2020. Nonetheless, West Sumba's HDI from 2013 to 2020 had grown by 4.91%. While some components of HDI increased during the 2019 to 2020 period, some others have decreased. In 2019, the newborn's life expectancy was up to 66.98 years. This figure increased by 0.1 in 2020 to 67.08 years. In addition, the Expected Years of Schooling (*Harapan Lama*

Sekolah/HLS) for the 7-year-olds had increased by 0.22 to 13.11 years in 2020 compared to 2019. Moreover, in 2020, the school-leaving age for the population aged 25 years and above had increased by 0.07 to 6.60 years compared to 2019. Nevertheless, the expenditure per capita decreased by 265,000 Rupiah from 7,586,000 Rupiah in 2019 to 7,321,000 Rupiah in 2020 (BPS Sumba Barat, 2021).

The Central Sumba Regency data for 2019 and 2020 concerning Life Expectancy show a slight increase of 0.06% from 68.32% to 68.38%, respectively. Moreover, the Expected Years of Schooling (HLS) in this regency slightly rose from 12.66 years in 2019 to 12.96 years in 2020, making up 0.30%. Meanwhile, the Average Length of Schooling (Rata-rata Lama Sekolah/RLS) increased by 1.71% from 2019 to 2020 with 5.96 years and 6.25 years, respectively. Based on the achievements above, there was a gradual increase in the HDI achievement of Central Sumba Regency from 2019 to 2020 with 61.01 and 61.53, respectively (BPS Sumba Tengah, 2021).

The poverty rate is one of the challenging situations in those impacted areas. Statistically, the poverty rate for West Sumba was 28.39%, while Central Sumba was 34.27%, compared to the average NTT Province poverty rate of 20.99% (BPS 2021). Children's health and nutrition status is another problematic situation. In 2018, the Indonesian Ministry of Health released the Basic Health Survey (Riset Kesehatan Dasar/ RISKESDAS), which indicated that Indonesia's average stunting prevalence was 30.8%. That means 1 out of 3 children was under the stunting category due to chronic malnutrition. Among 34 provinces in Indonesia, NTT Province had the highest stunting prevalence, which counted for 42.6%. Among the regencies in NTT, West Sumba and Central Sumba have a high percentage of stunting cases. The Nutrition Surveillance Report issued by Provincial Health Office indicated that 40.6% of cases occurred in 2016 and 38% in 2017 at the same time frame in West Sumba. Low nutrition intake, food insecurity, limited access to clean water, poor hygiene practice, and poor parenting system have significantly contributed to stunted children (Septiyani et al., 2021). Stunting indicates that a child fails to thrive, with impaired brain development, lower I.Q., weakened immune systems, and greater risk of serious diseases (Koshy et al., 2022).

Referring to the Statistics Central Agency of NTT Province (BPS, 2019), as many as 1,742 (0.63%) Primary School children and 2,390 (1.15%) Junior High School children dropped out of school. These children dropped out for various reasons, such as girls being pregnant while in school and getting expelled from schools, boys working in the economic sector to fulfill domestic needs, among other social problems. The school doesn't care when a child drops out of school for various reasons (Fall & Roberts, 2012). As a result, only some children became students and succeeded in completing their Compulsory Education, and these numbers managed to enter the university.

In West Sumba, 8.9% of boys and 3.4% of girls aged 7 to 18 left school in March 2017 (Susenas, 2017). More specifically, 0.8% of boys and 1.2% of girls never attended school. Three-quarters (75%) of these boys and girls did not go to school due to their disability conditions such as blind, deaf, down-syndrome, and physical. From this fact, it can be considered that both the levels of supply and demand are not in favor of them. There is only one school for children with special needs in West and Central Sumba at this present time. The school is in Waikabubak city; therefore, children who live far away in the rural areas may find it difficult to get access to the school. Also, the long-distance may have an impact on expensive transport fare and social adjustment. Moreover, parents or guardians of children with disabilities may not understand that their children have the talent to be nurtured despite their disabilities and did not put effort to send their children

to school. The other contributing factor is lack of family financial support (for 25% of boys who never attended school) and other related factors (for 25% of girls who never attended school).

This research refers to facts on the ground related to the high number of out-of-school children in the West Sumba Regency and Central Sumba Regency, East Nusa Tenggara Province. Several previous studies, indeed, have concerns about school dropouts in that Province. Cornelia et al., (2016) intend to determine the general characteristics of senior high school dropout across the Province along with the causal factors behind that trend. Another study by Guntur & Lobo (2017) also investigate the characteristics of reasons behind school dropouts in East Nusa Tenggara province and determine the statistical model explaining the causal factors. However, those studies did not put their central focus on West Sumba and Central Sumba Regency that are categorised as the highest regencies in dropout case. Additionally, none paid serious attention on more underground causes related to social attitudes and gender gaps, environmental issues, and policy making. This study, therefore, focuses on the social inclusion of marginalized and vulnerable groups in the 63 villages assisted by the Save the Children Sponsorship program in West Sumba and Central Sumba. This study was conducted in particular communities in Sumba whose participants were selected using the purposive method due to the study needs consideration. That means that the findings of this study cannot be generalized to represent conditions in West Sumba and Central Sumba or the communities in Sumba in general. Nonetheless, the data and information presented as the findings of this study can be used as a reference for any other related studies.

In general, the main challenges faced are related to the availability of data at the village and regency levels. Even if the data are available, they were not the updated ones. Therefore, some considerations for choosing a location for primary data collection are based on the availability of the 2020 data. Considering the outbreak of the Covid-19 as a serious obstacle, some risk mitigations were also done. All FGD participants and in-depth interviewees were required to wear masks, sanitize hands, and maintain a safe distance during the discussion. Another challenge is that not all villages and offices have data on the characteristics of the marginalized groups to be studied. Therefore, some information on marginal groups cannot be presented with data per village. To mitigate this, Save the Children wrote to the offices/agencies, but the data obtained were not in accordance with the expected data, so the researchers used the generally available data. By analyzing the various factors that cause this high dropout rate, researchers can contribute to stakeholders, institutions and schools that play a direct role in the world of education. Therefore, the focus of this study rests on

the description of the factors causing children to drop out of school in the West Sumba and Central Sumba regions only.

2. Literature Review

Research by (Soetrisnaadisendjaja & Sari, 2019) found that the factors causing the high number of out-of-school children in the industrial area of Cilegon city. The results showed that the factors causing children to drop out of school are divided into two parts, namely, external factors and internal factors. External factors are caused by two things. First, environmental factors caused by a decrease in children's motivation to go to school because they are carried away by their friends to skip class. And second, economic factors that make children forced to quit school and choose to work to help parents in fulfilling their daily lives. In accordance with the research of (Parviainen et al., 2020), which mentions environmental and economic factors as the main causes of emotional and psychosocial imbalances of students so that they choose to withdraw from school. While the internal factor is the pain factor. Children have weak physical conditions that affect their immune system so they cannot go to school. The impact that children feel after experiencing dropouts is feeling disappointed in themselves and feeling sorry for letting their parents down. Low education makes it difficult for children, especially in finding a job because they do not have a diploma. In addition, the child's interaction with friends and people around so that they are more often unemployed at home and do not carry out useful activities. Children who have dropped out of school interpret education as important for different reasons according to their respective points of view.

Another study by Knyartilu & Neonufa (2021) outlined the factors causing out-of-school children in the adolescent category in Snok Village, North Amanatun District, South Central Timor Regency. The results showed that there are several factors that cause the high dropout rate in this region. Some of the contributing factors are economic factors, internal factors of children, factors of association with friends, environmental factors, factors of customs traditions, and factors of distance and facilities. High psychological inflexibility increased dropout intentions only in upper secondary general (not in vocational) education (Liinamaa et al., 2022). Meanwhile, another study by Cornelia et al., (2016) showed that APTS (Angka Putus Sekolah/ Dropout Rate) SMA in NTT, which was 8.60 percent in 2016, was higher when compared to the national APTS of 4.98 percent, showing that there are still many children in NTT who do not receive their right to full education. This is also evidenced by the low average length of schooling of residents aged 15 years and over in NTT Province in that year which was in the third lowest position in Indonesia at 7.54 years. This

means that the average population in NTT only receives education until junior high school, still lower than the average school length target launched by the Ministry of Education and Culture, which was 8.3 years in 2016. Based on the findings in the field, it can be concluded that the proportion of high school-age children who dropped out of school in NTT Province in 2016 is still relatively large. High school-aged children who are male and live in rural areas have a greater chance of dropping out. Likewise, those who come from low-income households and the number of children in the household is more than 2 people. The same is true for those who come from households with domestic violence working in the agricultural sector and are educated not to finish high school.

Research by (Jacob, 2022) shows that 10.19 million children were found to be out of school and 38% of them were girls. Some of the factors attributed to this ugly situation in Nigeria are early marriage, early pregnancy, violence at schools, funding is targeted at boys, child/domestic labour, dangerous journeys to schools, kidnapping, poor sanitation in schools, dilapidated desks/chairs, few female teachers to encourage them to attend school, religious and traditional practices etc. Another research by Prastyanti, et al. (2022) shows about participation of students during the Covid-19 pandemic. The results showed that teachers and students in research areas alike experienced technological disruption both in the educational process or services to students during the pandemic as an effect of the changing of studying learning methods from face-to-face to online. Another result found the use of digital media in the process of implementing and evaluating the studying learning process hurts boredom, lack of concentration on the lesson, and humanistic interaction with other students. In contrast, the result also found a positive impact such as interesting and innovative digital applications that can support the educational process during that pandemic. The implementation of online learning is also deadlocked because educators and students have little experience using online learning applications (Chowdhury & Behak, 2022). In online learning, many students cannot meet the requirements of online learning so they decide to drop out of schools.

Another study by Suyadi & Selvi (2022) describes the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on the effectiveness of learning at home by children and the work of their parents which is also carried out at home. The Covid-19 pandemic has taken away face-to-face learning methods and it has been very exciting (Rabbanie et al., 2022). The impacts of Covid-19 are still haunts us with its societal, economic, and psychological aftermaths (Pinto, 2022). The existence of conflicts of interest and responsibility causes many children to become victims of neglect and violence by their own parents. The results showed that there was physical, emotional, and verbal child abuse and negligence during online learning. This happened

because children were often assumed of neglecting studies and misusing gadgets. Furthermore, the stress levels in parents increased due to the dual role, i.e, working and being teachers at home.

Research by (Adelia & Irmawita, 2020) entitled Factors Causing School Drop Outs In Nagari Tanjung Betung, Rao Selatan District, Pasaman Regency, found several factors that cause many children to drop out of school, namely (1) Socio-Economic Conditions; (2) Low interest in learning; (3) Low motivation to learn; (4) Problems in schools; and (5) The social environment. And also researched by Mawar (2021) which found factors that cause out-of-school children in Duwanur Village, West Adonara District, East Flores Regency, namely: Family economic factors that are not supportive so that children drop out of school. Hal this is a factor inhibiting children from continuing their education or completing education in elementary school. As a form of diversion, their parents present work for the child as their activity after dropping out of school. Economic incompetence and lack of appropriate coaching on the importance of primary and secondary education or even tertiary education, are the causes of citizens feeling unimportant to receive an education in formal schools.

3. Method

This qualitative research refers to the Social Inclusion Analysis Framework issued by Save the Children, which emphasizes that social inclusion is a condition in which a community has the resources, opportunities, and abilities to learn, work, engage, and have a voice. This framework recognizes that social inclusion is dynamic (changes over time) and contextual (varies according to circumstances and location). This study promotes an approach that addresses the social factors determining whether people have the resources, opportunities, and capabilities they need.

This study took place in West Sumba and Central Sumba from June to December 2021. Study preparation began from inception report submission and review by the Save the Children team to data collection and finding report. Data collection covers two stages, namely secondary sources review and primary data collection through Focus Group Discussions (FGD), In-depth Interviews (IDI), and Key Informant Interviews (KII). The documents reviewed include internal Save the Children Indonesia's sources and external documents or official data published and released by the Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS). The primary data collection was conducted within FGD, IDI, and KII in West Sumba and Central Sumba.

The researchers initiated this study by conducting 16 KIIs in West Sumba and Central Sumba. The interviews were arranged for ten representatives of the

regional departments, four representatives of local NGOs, and two representatives of Special Schools. Other rounds of interviews were conducted with two Village Heads and a Village Secretary. The Head of Cendana Village could not attend the interview because, at the same time, he was being quarantined due to the election of the Village Head in Cendana Village. The researchers also featured interviews with four school principals and four village midwives who served in Manola Village, Watukerere Village, Dewa Djara Village, and Cendana Village. 13 FGDs were conducted with groups of low-income families living in disaster-prone areas, Marapu adherent communities, and parents with stunting children in the separate research villages. The IDIs were conducted with five out of school children (two elementary school dropouts and three junior high school dropouts), two early marriage adolescents, three families with children with disabilities, and three business owners who employ school dropouts.

All FGDs, IDIs, and KIIs were conducted in Indonesian by the consultant team and translated as necessary into Sumbanese by research assistants and the Village Volunteers on Development (RDM), a Save the Children program located in the village. All consent, instructions, and answers were provided in Indonesian. All participants were informed about the objectives of the FGD and interviews and asked to consent. All participants understood and were willing to be part of the discussion and interview. Written documentation, sound recordings, and photos of activities were available during the process.



Figure 1. FGD with the Targeted Communities

Every day after the FGD was over, the research team held a reflection and briefing session and transcribed information from field notes and recording sessions. In addition, a short training session and material preparation for the next day's FGD activities were also completed. The IDIs and FGDs were held for five days from Monday, 1 November to Friday, 5 November 2021. The KIIs were conducted online in the period 18-23 October 2021. While FGDs with local communities were held in their villages, KIIs with government officials and NGOs were held in their respective offices, and discussions with partner NGO leaders were held online.

4. Result

This study aims at determining the number of school dropouts from four most socially excluded groups in West Sumba and Central Sumba regencies and analysing causal factors to group exclusion based on social attitudes and gender gaps, infrastructure and environmental factors, and laws and institutions' policies.

According to the Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS), the definition of the school dropout rate refers to the proportion of children by the school-age group who are no longer in school or who have not completed a certain level of education. The age groups referred to are 7-12 years, 13-15 years, and 16-

18 years. This study focuses on the number of out-of-school children in the West Sumba and Central Sumba regions. As an illustration, the researcher presents comparative data on the Net Enrollment Rate (NER/APM) of West Sumba and Central Sumba. The basis of comparison follows the BPS data. Nonetheless, there is a year difference in the data recorded, while the West Sumba data is from 2020, the Central Sumba from the 2019 report. BPS defines NER as the proportion of the population of a school-age group currently attending school at the appropriate level of education to the whole population of the corresponding school-age group. Since 2007, Non-Formal Education (Package A, B, and C) has been taken into account.

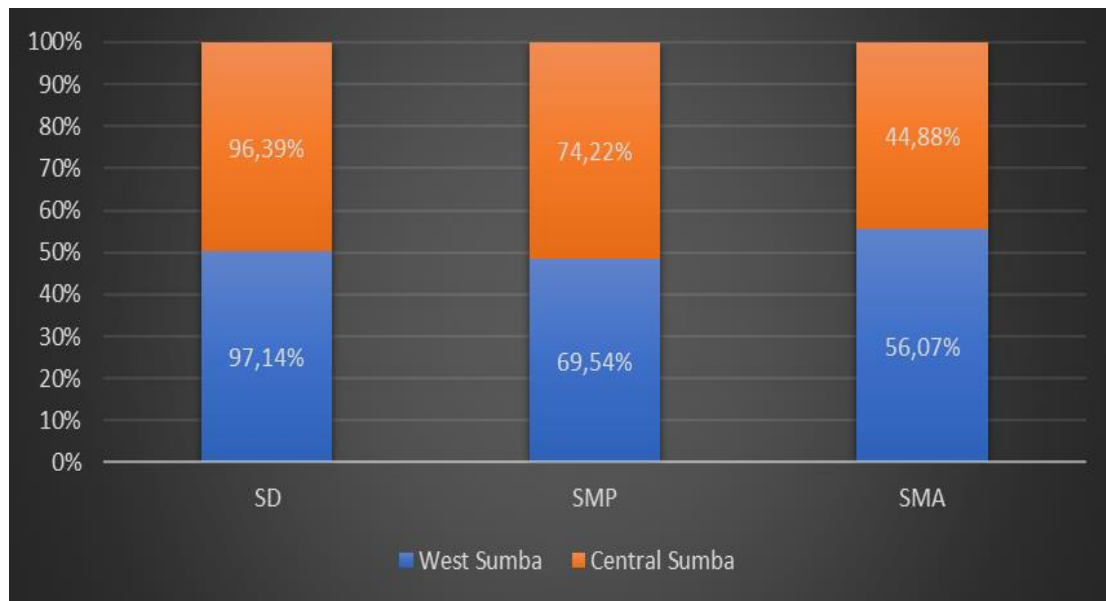


Figure 2. Comparison of the Net Enrollment Rate (NER) of West Sumba and Central Sumba (2021)

The Net Enrollment Rate for West Sumba Regency in 2020 for the primary school (SD)/ equivalent level, the secondary school (SMP)/ equivalent level, and high school (SMA)/ equivalent level are 97.14%, 69.54%, and 56.07%, respectively. The NER for Central Sumba Regency in 2019 for the SD/ equivalent level, the SMP/ equivalent level, and the SMA/ equivalent level are 96.39%, 74.22%, and 44.88%, respectively. This condition is exacerbated by the concept of online learning during the pandemic, which results in teachers and students not having a distinctive and strong bond in learning and teaching activities. Teaching in this pandemic is divided by technology, technological know-how, online approaches in teaching and learning, including the preparation of the pre-service teachers which test their capacity and adaptability on the challenges of online learning—the new normal of education (Camayang & Bautista, 2022).

Based on the ratio, the higher the level of education is, the fewer the number of students are. At

the primary school level, the difference between West Sumba and Central Sumba is comparatively slight at 97.14% and 96.39%, respectively. That means that almost all primary-school-age children are registered and in school. This number significantly decreases when referring to the NER for the high school level. Only 44.88% of the population of the corresponding school-age in Central Sumba and 56.07% in West Sumba attend high school. That means that while only half of the high school-age children were at school, the other half were not. The following table displays data on the school dropouts in 2021 at the secondary school level in the West Sumba and Central Sumba regions released by the Education Office of each regency.

The data of research presents the data of the primary school dropouts in the Central Sumba Regency. The percentage of the school dropouts at the primary schools in the Central Sumba Regency is 0.72%. From the data in table 8 above, the highest dropout rates are in the districts of Mamboro (1.28%),

Katikutana Selatan (0.80%), Umbu Ratu Nggay Barat (0.80%), and Umbu Ratu Nggay (0.46%). Interestingly, Katikutana is the only district with a zero dropout rate (0%). From table 6 and table 8 above, the highest dropout rates for SD and SMP are in Umbu Ratu Nggay Barat and Katikutana Selatan districts. Based on village profile data released by Save the Children in 2021, there were 24 (M=23, F=1) out-of-school children from 44 Save the Children assisted villages in West Sumba. This data is different from the data obtained by the researchers from the local district government. The Sponsorship intervention's villages in West Sumba with the most dropouts were Watukerere (M=13), Rewarara (M=6), Lapale (M=1, M=1), Dokaka (M=1), Manola (M=1), Zalakadu (M=1). Based on this data, 96% of drop-out children are male/boys and only 4% are female/girls.

Based on all data above, the researchers argue that school dropouts are a vulnerable group because they may relate to other categories of problems, namely unemployment, child labor, violence against children, as well as being the cause of poverty. The comparison between the number and percentage of school dropouts at the primary schools and the school-age children in the West Sumba and Central Sumba Regency shows a tiny percentage. There are some reasons why children drop out of primary school level. They are due to children's low motivation to schooling, often experiencing bullies from peers and corporal punishment by teachers, working to help parents, being incapable to learn, and getting married. The

primary school dropouts that the researchers interviewed, 4 out of 5 children stated that they immediately regretted having to leave school too early, but because they had no other choice, leaving school was the only option. However, some claimed that the lack of parental support triggers them to leave school.

Some school dropouts at the secondary schools stated they must immediately leave the school and start working because of economic demands. In the interview with a shop owner in Waikabubak, he affirmed that the children who came to ask for work in his shop were generally junior high school graduates, and some even graduated from elementary school. In general, they come from Kodi and Wewewa (Southwest Sumba Regency), Lamboya, Laboya Barat, and Loli. Still, according to the same interviewee, these children did not have any skills yet to work, so they must always be directed, even for the simplest tasks, such as listing incoming and outgoing goods, arranging goods, and doing other work in the shop. According to him, this is reasonable because they had not possessed any skill to do the job. Besides, leaving school too soon proves them incapable of working and earning a decent income.

The result above is in line with the study conducted in East Sumba, Sikka, and Kupang by [Guntur & Lobo \(2017\)](#) explained that the main reason for dropping out from schools is quite different amongst three categories of students and between genders.

Table 1. The main reasons that caused children to drop out of schools of Senior High School ([Guntur & Lobo, 2017](#))

Reasons	Senior High School		
	Male	Female	Total
Can't afford	21.40%	17.50%	38.90%
Work to Help parents	12%	7%	19.00%
School far from residence	0.80%	0%	0.80%
Incapable to learn	0.80%	0.00%	0.80%
The effect of surroundings residence	3.20%	4%	7.20%
Unwilling to go to school	14.30%	6.30%	20.60%
Married	0.00%	7.90%	7.90%

[Table 1](#) is evidence that among students in the senior high school group, the inability to pay tuition and aversion to attending classes—recorded at 38.90% and 20.60%, respectively—were the two main causes of school dropout. The motivation for helping parents on the family farm was also identified as a significant factor that contributed 19% to the case. At

this level, the environment in children's homes and getting married were the factors that significantly contributed to the dropout number, which was around 7%. With a percentage of 21.4% for male students and 17.50% for female students, respectively, the economy was the main cause of school abandonment for both sexes.

Table 2. The main reasons that caused children to drop out of schools of Junior High School (Guntur & Lobo, 2017)

Reason	Junior High School		
	Male	Female	Total
Can't Afford	26.40%	1.90%	28.30%
Work to Help parents	15.10%	9.40%	24.50%
School far from residence	0.00%	7.50%	7.50%
Incapable to learn	1.90%	0.00%	1.90%
The effect of surroundings residence	3.80%	0.00%	3.80%
Unwilling to go to school	18.90%	1.90%	20.80%
Married	0.00%	3.80%	3.80%

Table 2 shows the dropout numbers in the Junior High School group. The percentage of students who dropped out of school due to being unable to pay their tuition was at a level of 28.3%, followed by the percentage who worked to support their families financially at 24.50%. In this group, school costs were the primary driver of male dropouts (26.40%),

whereas female dropouts were driven by the need to work to support their families. 3.8% of male and female children dropped out of school due to health reasons. The same proportion contributed to the number of female school dropouts because of having families.

Table 3. The main reasons that caused children to drop out of schools of Primary School (Guntur & Lobo, 2017)

Reason	Primary School		
	Male	Female	Total
Can't Afford	20.00%	26.70%	46.70%
Work to Help parents	26.70%	0.00%	26.70%
School far from residence	6.70%	6.70%	13.40%
Incapable to learn			
The effect of surroundings residence			
Unwilling to go to school			
Married			

On the Table 3 regarding primary education group, the economic factor that led to the inability in paying school fees was the main reason that contributed to the number of DOSC with the percentage of 46.70%. Working to help families contributed about 26.70% to the number of DOSC.

In relation to this current inclusion study in Sumba, school dropouts and out-of-school children neither were involved nor got involved in the village meetings to voice their opinions. That is due to the community's perverted mindset that often underestimates 'those' who are not in school. The central government's efforts with the compulsory education program require all school-age children to attend school. Nevertheless, 4 out of 5 school

dropouts that the researcher interviewed stated that they had never got involved in any meeting at the village level, nor had the village authority paid serious attention to their school dropout status. One school dropout at the primary school level stated that maybe he was still in elementary school, so people never asked for his opinion.

Education, poverty, health quality, and violence generally are in a close cycle. Therefore, Save the Children need to pay special attention to out-of-school children and school dropouts. Either by returning them to school or providing assistance to be ready to work for children who have dropped out of secondary and high school levels.

5. Discussion

The analysis of the causal factors will be based on three interrelated domains, namely **Social Attitudes, Environmental Factors, and Laws and Institutions**. In the process of identifying socially excluded groups by discrimination and inequality in West Sumba and Central Sumba, several detriments were accounted to help examine prevailing social attitudes, gender and community acceptance, local environmental and cultural factors, as well as legal and institutional forces that affect access to and benefit from public services.

a) Social Attitudes / Norms

Social values are a set of beliefs embedded in a given society regarding positive or negative actions or things. The meaning of social value in sociology refers to intangible qualities or beliefs accepted or endorsed by a given society or community to everything that is proven to have functional utility for living together. According to Koentjaraningrat, social values or cultural values are the highest guidelines for human life, which originate from efforts to instill values from oneself since in family life, in school, and in social life (Prayogi & Danial, 2016). Social values or cultural values are closely related to the implementation or actualization of personal roles affectively, cognitively, and psychomotorily as well as emotional skills (Sriwidaningsih & Friskawati, 2022).

In this section, the research team presents data and information on social attitudes (gender and power gaps) that are the factors affecting a group to become marginalized in the community, including community acceptance of the group, power gaps and decision making in the group, prejudice or stigma attached to the group, as well as the influence of traditions to the group. In various KIIs conducted with key stakeholders at the regency and village levels, IDIs, and FGDs with target groups, the research team locates some common factors predisposing a group left behind and marginalized in the community. They are deviations from deep-rooted traditions, party culture, security factors, among others. In the following, we discuss some of the causes of social attitudes, norms, and gender gaps based on interviews and FGDs conducted with these groups, so that these groups become marginalized.

1) Culturally, both West Sumba and Central Sumba adhere to a patrilineal system. The patrilineal community recognizes family relationships and descent lines traced through the male line or from the father's side. In discussions with marginalized groups in West Sumba and Central Sumba, patriarchal domination is the formidable barrier to the gender gap in society. From each component of the community groups that the researchers visited during data collection in Sumba, they agreed that the son in the Sumba family concept is the backbone of the family

and the successor of the family lineage. Boys, especially the eldest sons or the only sons, get the most special place in the extended family. Girls are often seen as 'outsiders' because they will be brought and wed to belong to their husband's families. Every decision in the family then becomes the men's responsibility; women are not in a position to negotiate. Girls are said to have 'no rights' anymore in the family. This biased construction of thinking then affects other aspects of the lives of women and girls in West Sumba and Central Sumba. In addition to that, parents prefer sending their sons to school, especially their eldest son. Boys have the right to be heirs to family inheritance such as land, livestock, and other tribal property. Sumbanese bride family will provide her with several household appliances, money, ivory bracelets, and other properties, such as land, cars, or motorbikes, in return for the dowry from the groom family. The reply of dowry is usually given under the estimated amount and nominal value following the man's belongings at the time of the proposal. Not a few then bear the burden of debt with a very large nominal considering the amount of dowry they have to bring or pay. A growing wisecrack once heard that better it is to start a household from zero, but usually, new families in Sumba start from minus capital.

That the bride has no right to negotiate brings other detrimental influences in the patriarchal tradition of the marriage system. All decisions on belis (dowry) are left to the extended family to decide. In the Sumbanese marriage tradition, the mother's brother (Om) has a central role in their niece's marriage. The marriage process can only be continued under the uncle's approval, of course, after the uncle gets his share in the dowry. Usually, uncles will obtain several animals, such as horses and buffaloes, from the groom families who come to propose. In return, the uncle usually gives pigs as a sign of his blessing in the marriage procession. Without such 'blessing', the entire marriage procession cannot continue. Usually, obstacles are likely to encounter if the 'belis quota' that will be received by the uncle is not as much as expected. From various traditional processes, the position of women in a marriage proposal and marital affairs is very vulnerable to discrimination. Starting from not having a choice to make their voice heard in the traditional procession, they continue to carry double burdens if there is a debt to tackle from the whole process. Indeed, a shift to better women engagement has already existed, but the strong, traditional root has eroded respect for women. As a result, their presence remains impeded in any traditional procession, making them the second class under men's and extended family's domination over decisions. This kind of construction of thinking society actually plunges women into positions at the bottom and becomes servants of men in their households. This perspective is then passed down for generations as a label given that men are higher than women (Nurcahyo, 2016).

2) There are some distinctions regarding household-related roles assignment and family decision-making. Parenting activities, cooking, setting the table, preparing drinks (coffee or tea) for guests, taking children to Posyandu and schools, trading at the market, feeding livestock, nursing and bathing children, washing dishes and clothes, fetching water, and gathering firewood, among others are woman's work at home, usually carried out by mothers and eldest daughters. Men in rural villages spend most of their time working in gardens and herding livestock (horses and buffaloes). Reflecting on the types of tasks and responsibilities having to be carried out by women, it is obvious there is a double burden on them, especially the mothers and daughters in their homes. This condition also shows that there is also a compartmentalization of sectors and access so as to make women's space limited when they want to be at an equal level with men in public spaces other than in the family (Apriliandra & Krisnani, 2021). It will become ever more a burden, especially if the head of the family has more than one wife. All decisions in the household are generally the head of the family to make, and other members must all abide by it. A housewife in the West Sumba Regency bore that out in an interview regarding the division of tasks and decision-making in the household.

3) The terrible images, placing men as the central actor in the family and community, has been imprinted on the Sumbanese mindset forever. The case of 'bride kidnapping' or 'capture and wed' widely reported on online media pages recently is evidence of the women's powerlessness in determining whomever they agreed to marry or whether they agreed to the marriage or not. Even for personal decisions, women are not in the position to negotiate. Adolescent, like girl dropouts experience various psychosocial difficulties such as social stigma, depressive symptoms, and anxiety after they leave school (Kwon, 2020). Furthermore, this impartiality towards women has converted into a series of violence and harassment against women. Excessive violence experienced by women in 'bride kidnapping' includes physical, sexual, psychological, and social violence.

The study shows that the controversial custom of 'bride kidnapping' in Sumba was due to economic factors related to debt, social rank, traditional belief, and the Sumbanese indigenous level of understanding towards the positive law. The 'bride kidnapping' marriage process generally evolves through customary stages, namely parents searching for their abducted daughter (potential bride), groom family providing restitution (tutup malu), marriage proposal (ketuk pintu), paying dowry (tikar adat), religious investigation and commitment, and the final stage of marriage. The 'bride kidnapping' case experienced by Sumbanese young women goes to trial with collective criminal codes, alleging amount of violence, namely physical violence (being kidnapped, pulled, forced,

held captive, even beaten), sexual violence (body parts being held, harassed and even raped), psychological violence (humiliated, depressed, traumatized and worthless), and socially (women managing to escape being stigmatized by society as outcasts). The 'bride kidnapping' practice inflicts violence and injustice against women, making them suffer from very long physical and psychological trauma (Doko, Suwetra & Sudibya; 2021). In addition, women and children being under the threat of violence often do not know where and whom to turn to when they experience violence. Moreover, some other women view domestic violence remains a dynamic nature to be accepted. Therefore, the risk is that such violence against women and children continues to escalate.

4) One root factor of poverty among others typically characterizing the Sumbanese way of life is the very costly customary practices within the marriage process and funeral rituals. The Sumbanese, culturally, should not violate or make adjustments to certain customary practices because that can be subject to taboos (Pamali). It is still common in the Sumba area that a bride dowry is determined in precisely equivalent to her mother's dowry. It still happens today that the Sumbanese marriages amount to hundreds of livestock as bride dowries (horses and buffaloes). The groom or any Sumbanese man, in that situation, has to maintain the dignity of his family and not be humiliated in any case, especially those related to customs matters of marriage and death.

Usually, the family will do whatever it takes to avoid being humiliated when they appear unable to meet culturally social demands, such as bridewealth for a wedding or the gifts for a funeral. In general, they go by debt or mortgage the property they own. However, another problem then arose. Due to the costly dowry and mounting debts being unable to repay, the borrowers will release their assets one by one to cover the debts. Currently, a medium-size horse for bridewealth in Sumba costs around 5 to 7 million rupiahs, and male buffalo with horn-sized 10-20cm costs around 15-19 million rupiahs. As an exchange for the bridewealth, the groom's family provides some fat pigs (each with ten bearers) that cost per each about 15 million rupiahs. The price is rising according to the number of bearers and the length of the horns or tusks.

By comparison with the income of the people whose occupations are mostly peasant farmers, livestock herders in rural areas, and civil servants or private/contract employees for the majority of people living in urban areas, the price mentioned above is even ten times higher than their income, or even salary of a junior civil servant (Datuk et al., 2021). None of the Sumbanese will escape from this obligation, even if they are well-educated persons.

5) The high number of stunted children in West Sumba and Central Sumba is highly possible due to the parents poor understanding of the importance of balanced nutritional intake in the first 1.000 days of life (HPK) and the health of mothers and fetuses from pregnancy to delivery and when babies grow and develop. This was confirmed by the midwife whom researchers met in Central Sumba, who complained about the lack of nutritious food intake for pregnant women and newborn babies. There is still the practice of giving (unboiled) rice water to newborns. Training interventions have been carried out, but according to the midwife, the next move is returned to their respective families because the role of health workers is only to provide counseling. The next choice is for the family to decide; whether they intend to implement this by making maximum use of the resources in the yard or not. In general, pregnant women do not consume healthy foods during pregnancy. That is because certain groups of the community still believe in not consuming certain types of food during pregnancy. Likewise, when babies are born, the parents still have to undergo a ritual of acceptance at home with various special inviolated requirements.

In addition, the role and participation of fathers, especially in rural villages, are still low concerning parenting and stimulation to babies even since pregnancy. Moreover, stunting children are still considered a taboo and shameful secret. Parents feel ashamed because they seem to neglect their child's nutrition intake and health, but the measurement proves true; that their child suffers from malnutrition and is under the stunting category. It can be argued that there are still biases in parental perception or knowledge of the stunting concept so that parents will generally get angry if their child is categorized as a stunting child.

6) In the Marapu community structure, men are central in all religious and customary rituals. Customary law in the Marapu community does not tolerate the role of women involved in various Marapu customary rituals. If there is a violation of this customary rule, then the women who violate it will be given severe sanctions and expelled from their group. The eldest male is the successor who holds a higher rank and plays a vital role in the Marapu ritual in West Sumba and Central Sumba. They possess the only right to live, rule, and inherit all the property in the traditional clan house. The next generation who will carry on this role will be the son of Rato (the leader of Marapu) in the tribal community. Men occupy central roles because they are the only ones who have to make every decision, both regarding their household and concerning the lives of community groups in their communities.

Several findings on determinant factors of social attitudes concerning traditional norms and the gender gap above reveal that the Sumbanese deep-rooted

tradition goes against the social inclusion of certain marginalized groups. Women and girls feel severely deprived under society's view that cults men as the only successors of the family. As gender bias is quite reluctant to change at this time, women and girls will continue to suffer from the most blatant discrimination. Sending girls to school is not an option because traditionally, they are 'outsiders' and will belong to other's family members. The men's domination over women includes the determination of crucial decisions in women's lives, such as the decision to marry and choose the life partner they like. The division of roles in the household also emphasizes more workload on mothers' or women's side. These things indirectly bear extra burdens for women. They are neither a priority nor the decision-maker in their lives under the men's domination. Women become confined to their main function of taking care of the household, while other social functions get no chance at all due to patriarchal domination (Indarti, 2019).

b) Environmental Factors / Access and Facilities

Environmental factors in the context of this research include the extent of physical resources, geographic location, and environmental issues where marginalized and vulnerable groups live. In this section, the researchers focus on the influence of environmental factors (Andrei, et.al., 2011), location, and geographical conditions that cause certain groups to fall into marginalized and vulnerable groups.

1). Geographically based on the location of residence, the Marapu adherents, whose majority inhabits traditional villages in the West Sumba and Central Sumba regions, are one of the marginalized groups based on available access and existing supporting facilities in the village where the community lives. The characteristics of Sumbanese traditional villages commonly occupy a ridge and are located at a height. That is the safe way the Sumbanese traditional community groups defended themselves in the past. Road access to the villages is quite dangerous because the villages are located on hills and steep ridges. In contrast to the instagramable traditional villages around Waikabubak City, other Sumbanese traditional villages in remote areas have difficulty accessing clean water, electricity and lighting, and access to clean toilets. In addition, several Sumbanese traditional villages in Lamboya, Lamboya Barat, Tanarighu, Umbu Ratu Nggay, and Umbu Ratu Nggay Barat are almost isolated villages. That is due to the absence of vehicle access roads to the villages, far from educational facilities (schools), health facilities (Puskesmas and Pustu), and economic centers (markets and shops). Indeed, on the one hand, there is a need to maintain the authenticity of traditional custom sites to promote tourist destinations, but on the other hand, access issues should also deserve serious attention. Concerning difficult access to clean water sources due to the

distance between the springs and the village, women and children are usually the ones who are responsible for fetching water. For a few rural villages and hamlets having vehicle access roads, the men take water using motorbikes or pick-up trucks. There are also people who are forced to leave their original villages due to the difficulty of clean water (Silitonga & Rizal, 2021). They then built a new village adjacent to access to clean water



Figure 3. The Condition of Traditional Villages in Sumba

The space within Sumbanese traditional house is divided into the upper space, the middle/ main room, the terrace, and the lower space to keep livestock (horses, buffaloes, and pigs). In addition, the kitchen space is combined with the family space so that the smoke from the kitchen is often inhaled directly by family members. Moreover, the traditional house is rather claustrophobic, stuffy, and darkened inside. In addition, there is often an unpleasant smell of animal waste from under the house. These factors cause children to often suffer from respiratory-related tract diseases and Pneumonia. There is, nevertheless, a reason why livestock is placed under the house. It is due to security issues because of the high cases of animal theft. In addition, the construction of traditional houses made entirely of wood, bamboo, and reeds makes them susceptible to fire.

The high number of cases of animal theft drives people reluctant to open gardens or raise livestock on a large scale. The thefts and robberies often end with the murder of the family targeted by the thefts. Animal theft is still rampant despite the intensity of the cases that tend to decrease. Some thieves are still keen on doing it. So, people keep animals and livestock for personal and domestic purposes only. Despite that, cases of animal theft still target the owner regardless of how many animals they have. For some agricultural land disputes, the community is not free to work on the field because the arable land is still in conflict status, either between family members or land disputes between tribes. While theft and security issues are still rife in the Loli district, land disputes occur across West Sumba and Central Sumba regions.

2). Even though some villages are prone to flooding, the villagers, indeed, have lived and settled there for

generations. Examples are the villages along the Wanukaka river bank and around Lamboya. Flooding often occurs every year during heavy rainfall, disrupts access to and from the impact area, or leaves residents with no choice but to evacuate. Geographically, the topography of the village area along the river bank is prone to flooding. During the observations along the Wanukaka riverbank, the researchers found deposited sediment and silting in some parts of the river bed due to the sediment materials left by the floodwater. In addition, some parts of the embankment have been under untold damage so that when the rainfall is high, the river is unable to accommodate the overflow of water, resulting in heavy floods that damage agricultural land, shelter, and livestock of the people living along the riverside. Furthermore, there is deforestation in the upstream area (protected forest/community forest) which sometimes causes floods and droughts (dry springs). In addition, there are still remote areas, such as traditional villages, which are difficult to reach for assistance if a fire occurs.

3). Persons with disabilities belong to a disadvantaged group. They are not a priority in the family and tend to neglect. One of the issues is the opportunity for them to go to school. All of the persons with disabilities that the researchers met did not receive any formal education. Even if they had been in primary education once, they left the school at the very early grade before graduation. Very few persons with disabilities have attended public schools and special schools. Commonly, children with such types of physical impairment, such as limping, broken leg, and sensory (albino) can attend public schools.

For other types of disabilities such as mental retardation, blindness, and deafness, they cannot attend public schools at all. That is because the learning facilities are not supporting this type of disability. However, the lack of special school facilities for certain types of disabilities is also one of the causes why children with such disabilities do not attend Special Schools. Each regency only has one Special School, but it is in the regional capital. The children who can attend this Special School are only children with disabilities who live in orphanages in West Sumba and Central Sumba.

A mother of a child with a disability asked for an opinion when the researchers interviewed her. The topic of the talk at that time was children's opportunities to learn despite their disabilities. Indeed, this remains a daunting challenge, as teachers had complained about qualifications and facilities in public schools if they also have to teach children with special needs. The weakness is that not all teachers are trained and qualified to handle children with special needs. Moreover, teaching and learning materials designs have not been applicable for children with special needs. In this case, the government needs to take its role and authority to

provide adequate access to education as a whole, even in difficult situations (Mukherjee et al., 2021), policies for people with disabilities can be carried out by creating new policies for the existence of inclusive schools that accommodate people with disabilities.

4). The high unemployment rate is due to the low number of job vacancies in West Sumba and Central Sumba. Unemployment is closely related to the high rate of dropouts at the secondary and high school levels. The data from the previous section records that five out of ten high school students drop out of school. That means those five out-of-school adolescents will start working to make a living. With the lack of skills and job opportunities available in West Sumba and Central Sumba, they will certainly work at odd jobs or search for works that do not rely on any skills but physical ability. Currently, the best option is to migrate or try their luck outside of Sumba. The majority of Sumbanese dropout children chose to work at odd jobs in Bali, Kalimantan, and Jakarta or to become migrant workers in Malaysia, Singapore, and Brunei. In addition, young people living in rural areas find it difficult to access information related to an available job vacancy in the West Sumba and Central Sumba regions. There is no accessible information possibly related to their work position. For young out-of-school children who cannot travel outside Sumba, the choices of work they could do are to be shop assistants, waiters in restaurants, retail gasoline sales, construction workers, fish sellers, and project porters. However, this type of work is low-paid as its wage is below the regional standard.

5). With the 9-year compulsory education and free schooling program, there should be no children of primary education-age out of school. The PAUD teachers collaborate with Village officials to collect data on early childhood education-age and register them at the nearest PAUDs. Likewise, when the children have passed PAUD and continue to SD, PAUD teachers work closely with primary schools to ensure that all children in the area get enrolled in elementary schools (SD). However, the process immediately stopped when the children were about entering to junior high school. The role is entirely in the hands of parents. That is because SMPs are located far outside the village in the district city. Likewise, the process stops when children have to go to high school. The highest dropout rates in West Sumba and Central Sumba occur at the high school level.

In an interview with the two principals of elementary school, each of which is in West Sumba and Central Sumba, they stated that generally, children decided to drop out of school because of their own wishes. Every effort made to return the children to school has been to no avail. Indeed, the number of dropouts is small but still exists currently. Usually, children who drop out of school come from low-income families, are abandoned by their parents, or

stay with relatives or other people. These children are also often bullied by their peers at school. They become embarrassed and then decide not to go back to school. Psychologically they are disturbed because they are called *poor children*, *abandoned children* (separated from their parents), and other stigmas (Liani & Marpaung, 2019). Solutions that can be offered build a good communication relationship between teachers and students so as to reduce the rate of increase in out-of-school children (Shefi, 2015).

The informant the researchers met was a school dropout who currently works odd jobs selling fish. To his knowledge, many of his peers had dropped out of school. Some came from the same village as him and others from surrounding areas. They then decided to work because if they continued to be unemployed or stayed in villages they would have become thieves or joined that group. Apart from selling fish in the local market, selling retail gasoline, dan being project porters, they also work as shop assistants and waiters in food stalls. At that time, according to him, his choice was not to go back to school because the school that was supposed to be the safest and most pleasant place had become less child-friendly.

c). Laws and Institutions

In this section, the discussion focuses on the extent to which government policy products at various levels have accommodated the fulfillment of the rights of socially excluded groups by discrimination and inequality. Another focus is on the public services the groups can access and benefit from these services. We explain the extent in the following points:

1) In general, all community groups claim to be able to access public services such as issuing ID cards (KTP) and Family Records (KK) and benefiting from several social assistance provided, such as the Hopeful Family Program (PKH), Non-Cash Food Assistance (BPNT), and other assistance. No serious problem relates to the benefit of these services. However, the only difficulty encountered was the distance between their villages and service provider offices in the capital city. Even if they have complete data to access various social services, access to transportation and communication is not adequate.

2) The community, in general, is involved in the existing political process, starting from engagement in voting and being elected in village head elections, people representatives, and regional head elections. Regarding village development, the community commonly get involved in village meeting and program planning. The issue has been raised on the need for persons with disabilities, children, and women representatives, but the involvement of women is still low. That is due to the rigid patrilineal perspective, including by women themselves, that men must be the ones who hold main power and predominate in roles of political and social privilege while women take care of household affairs. Women

have not been given the opportunity to advance in political events starting from the village level, and are not even given the confidence to hold important positions in the village.

3) The issue of child labor in West Sumba and Central Sumba should require serious attention. The children in these regions commonly perform various jobs, such as planting rice, being a racehorse jockey, working on road construction, working in traditional markets (including selling fish), and working in a shop. Growing rice is a seasonal job in which children receive wages of Rp. 30,000 to Rp. 35,000 per planting. Children selling fish in local markets earn between Rp. 30,000 to Rp. 150,000 per day while children working in shops can earn Rp. 500,000 per month to send to their parents. Violence against children is also due to unclear regulations governing child labor. Children decided to leave school to work because they had no other option. In addition, lax security and control by the government over labor agents or labor brokers coming in and out of the villages offering high-paying jobs abroad have exacerbated child labor protection. Not a few, Sumbanese women and children were tempted by the offer and then chose to leave for work without any skills. This condition aggravates the chances of out-of-school children returning to school because they are used to working and earning income. This became a serious concern when a group of children were found who had to take over the work that their parents were supposed to do (Hikmah, 2016).

Low-paid work and other types of menial work are the best choices amid children's limitations. The expansion of modern economic activities in the service and trade sectors did not improve the children's rights and values. With the high supply of out-of-school children laborers integrated with weak regulations on child protection, child labor and out-of-school children remain an inextricable aggravated ongoing link. For example, there is a clear presence of child labor in shops in Waikabubak city. Exploiting children in the labor market will interfere with their educational opportunities and trap them into prolonged poverty now and in the future. Out-of-school adolescents exploited in the informal setting sector are a very vulnerable group. Moreover, there are no manpower training centers to prepare them with productive skills to live their lives. In addition to the lack of skills upgrading training, the lack of job vacancies and available job information will lead groups of uncertified and unskilled unemployment to marginalization.

4) Marapu Faith is a local religion being absent in any official identity document. Marapu adherents are neither listed as Marapu followers in the ID card. They are, on the contrary, listed as adherents of other faiths. However, Marapu adherents by the silent majority admitted that they were obliged to choose one of the official religions in Indonesia to be theirs in

IDs. Instead of writing Marapu, they must tick the official religion on the pretext that Marapu has gone officially unrecognized as a religion in Indonesia. Marapu followers never protested or fought against this issue even though they chose one of the official religions by force. To their knowledge, that is only for an administrative purpose to obtain an ID. The rest, they are still loyal adherents of Marapu. Being Marapu means implementing their shared religious values in daily life. There has been no remarkable effort from the local government to deal with this issue. Marapu has gone unseen as a culturally civilizational asset that is the only one on Sumba Island (Djawa, 2014). For researchers, Marapu is a wealth of invaluable civilization that must be preserved, including the need for recognition in any identity document for the sect.

6. Conclusions

The collected data shows that the number of primary school dropouts in West Sumba was 151 students or 0.76% of the total 18,772 primary school students in the regency. The highest number was in the Lamboya and Tanarighu districts, making up 2.02% and 1.06%, respectively. On the contrary, there is no dropout student in the Laboya Barat district (0%). For the other three districts, namely Kota Waikabubak district, Loli, and Wanukaka, the dropout rates are 0.61%, 0.60%, and 0.28%, respectively. The percentage is even lower for secondary school dropouts, which is 0.006% of the total of 13,368 junior high school students in West Sumba. The percentage of the school dropouts at the primary schools in the Central Sumba Regency is 0.72%. From the collected data, the highest dropout rates are in the districts of Mamboro (1.28%), Katikutana Selatan (0.80%), Umbu Ratu Nggay Barat (0.80%), and Umbu Ratu Nggay (0.46%). Interestingly, Katikutana is the only district with a zero dropout rate (0%). The percentage of secondary school dropouts in Central Sumba is 2.14%. The highest numbers were in the districts of Umbu Ratu Nggay Barat (3.61%), Katikutana Selatan (2.42%), Katikutana (2.04%), Mamboro (1.70%), and Umbu Ratu Nggay (1.21%). From the information above, the highest dropout rates for primary and secondary schools are in Umbu Ratu Nggay Barat and Katikutana Selatan districts. The researcher recommended to the holders of the Sumba regional sponsorship program, Save the Children, to carry out movements for poverty alleviation and community empowerment, protection of children and women, institutional capacity building of marginalized groups, educational empowerment, and other programs to improve the welfare of the people of West Sumba and Central Sumba. It is also for stakeholders and community leaders to prioritize the education sector as an opportunity to increase the capacity of human resources and boil down to the achievement of poverty alleviation programs.

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