

# Can Subjective Well-being Achieved on Early Marriage among Madurese Women?

Yudho Bawono<sup>1,2</sup>, Dewi Retno Suminar<sup>1</sup>, M. G. Bagus Ani Putra<sup>1</sup>, Wiwin Hendriani<sup>1</sup>,  
and Tommy H. Firmanda<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Faculty of Psychology, Universitas Airlangga, Surabaya, Indonesia

<sup>2</sup> Psychology Study Program, Faculty of Social and Cultural Sciences, University of Trunojoyo Madura

Keywords: Marriage Happiness, Indigenous

Abstract: Data shows that Madura became one of the regions in Indonesia with the highest early marriage. Many kinds of literature also stated that early marriage brings adverse effects to individual psychological development. However, it does not always seem like so for Madurese Women married in such early age. Previous study results found that Madurese women managed to achieve harmony and happiness in her early marriage. Data also shows that those who had early marriage claimed to be able to reach subjective welfare. This research aimed to investigate further of the result on previous researches which discuss subjective well-being on Madurese Women who had an early marriage. Study of narrative literature was used as the methodology in this research. Results show that SES, education, religion, tradition, matchmaking since childhood, *jampi-jampi* (black magic practices), and manipulating married age were several factors which contributed to early marriage in Madura. Prior research also found problems appeared in early marriage on Madurese such as domestic disharmony, difficulty in fulfilling household needs, parenting and child education issues, and incompatibility to partner which leads to divorce. Nevertheless, this research also found that Madurese women on early marriage could find harmony and happiness which could lead to achieving subjective well-being.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Early marriage in Indonesia has become an issue in which seeks the attention of various institutions that are focusing on women and child. Based on records obtained from World Fertility Policies United Nations in 2011, early marriage in Indonesia was ranked in 37th place out of 73 countries; meanwhile, on Southeast Asia, even Indonesia was in second place after Cambodia (Rubaidah, 2016; Rachmad, 2017). In its development, Trihendrawan (2017) and Juniman (2017) stated that the United Nations (PBB) classified Indonesia in ranked seventh place worldwide for the absolute rate on early marriage. Specifically, on 2011-2013 Jawa Timur were claimed as the highest region with the age of married women were ranging from 10 to 17 years old, followed by a region in Madura islands such as Sumenep (45,08%) and Sampang (43,33%) (Yunitasari, Pradanie, & Susilawati, 2016).

Many early age marriage cases are still appearing in Madura island (e.g., Bangkalan region, Sampang

region, Pamekasan region, Sumenep region) and other small islands near Madura Island due to Madurese ethnic community still believe on the matchmaking tradition (Sakdiyah&Ningsih, 2013; Rahayu&Bawono, 2017). Matchmaking usually has been done since their children were still in womb (Sidiq, 2003; Sadik, 2014; Munawara, Yasak, & Dewi, 2015) or in their childhood phase known to be called *tan-mantan* tradition which refers to a wedding that similar to a typical adult wedding, but instead the bride and groom is a child. Moreover, the process of *tan-mantan* starts from the engagement session (*bebekalan*) until the wedding reception, except there are not solemnization of a marriage (*ijab kabul*) because the bride and groom are still 4-10 years old (Nuri, 2016).

Early marriage among Madurese women still exists as a consequence of community belief. A study conducted by Bahrudin (2016) in Banjarbillah Village, specifically Tambelangan Sub-District, Sampang District, Madura Island, found that community believes that friendship between

unmarried men and women were considered as sin and could raise defamation. Most of its villagers were a Moslem who upholds the teachings of Islam that marriage is an obligation to Moslem once they reached a sufficient age. In addition, if any girls have reached in 15-18 years old and haven't married, then she will become a public humiliation. They would use the term *sangkal* or *ta' pajulake* to humiliate her, as it refers to there will be no man who would want to marry her on such a long time. Parents who avoid the burden for their daughter to be called "old virgin" will consider to marry off their daughter immediately (Sidiq, 2003; Sumbulah & Jannah, 2012).

Early marriage in Madura has not always been causing problems as stated earlier (e.g., disharmony, unhappiness, economic and psychological issues, domestic violence, divorce). As research conducted by Hairi (2009) in Bajur Village, specifically in Waru Sub-District, Pamekasan District, state that couple who married at such early age could find happiness (or *sakinah*, *mawaddah*, *warahmah* in Islam term) in their marriage. Indeed, a study by Zumriyah (2015) in Larangan Luar Village, specifically in Larangan District, Pamekasan Regency also found that early age married couple could achieve happiness in their marriage.

According to Seligman (2005), happiness refers to positive emotion which consisted of positive feelings and positive activities. This particular happiness could be seen from three dimensions, that is happiness to the past, optimism to the future, and happiness to present. Several previous theories claimed that happiness is synonyms to subjective well-being (Amelda&Hartati, 2013; Sasmita &Yulianti, 2013; Harmaini &Yulianti, 2014; Aryanto & Hartono, 2014) wherein married considered as one of the alternatives to achieve subjective well-being.

Miswiyawati and Lestari (2017) claimed in their study that early married couple could feel a reasonably high subjective well-being in their marriage. This statement illustrated by results obtained from the research which shown satisfaction among early marriage couple towards their parents and siblings. Moreover, early married couples also felt positive affection such as happy to live together with their partner, the happiness of feeling cared about and supported by their families. However, couples who are married in an early age also felt

adverse affection as in jealousy towards their partner, overly sensitive which affect to their emotion (get angry easily). This fact indeed supported by the study conducted by Setyawan and Herdiana (2016) in Mandangin Island, Sampang District, which claimed that early marriage highly related to women's subjective well-being.

The purpose of this study is to presented the results of previous studies on early marriage factors, problems on early marriage in Indonesia, specifically in Madura, as well as obtaining relationship between early marriage and subjective well-being. The benefit of the study is to provide a theoretical explanation of subjective well-being in the early marriage of ethnic Madurese women which is expected to be used as a basis in providing treatment to ethnic Madurese women who marry early in relation to their subjective well-being.

## 2 METHODS

This research was using narrative literature study. The researcher obtained results from research over the last ten years (2008-2018) by downloading the full article in Google Scholar and Indonesia One Search database. In browsing for databases, the researcher was using "early marriage phenomenon in Madura" and "subjective well-being on early marriage" as keywords.

Based on those literature studies, the researcher was able to obtain 13 kinds of literature which have been selected based on several criteria, such as (1) Study which conducted in Indonesia, specifically Madura; (2) Study were focusing on factors determining early marriage, problems on early marriage; (3) participants of the study were women who had early marriage

## 3 RESULTS

In this study, literature study which conducted by the researcher was presented in tables based on findings of previous research (Table 1) regarding factors determining early marriage and problems on early marriage, also the relationship between early marriage and subjective well-being (Table 2).

Table 1: Findings of previous research

Author(s)	Findings 1	Findings 2	Findings 3	Findings 4
<b>Hairi (2009)</b>	Marriage at a young age is caused by economic factor, educational factor, religion factor, tradition factor, parental factor, and desire to get married by the child themselves	Marriage at young age often led to unhappy families, most of couples who had early marriage decided to get divorced due to incompatibility with partner, and difficulties in fulfilling household needs	Early marriage as an alternative to get closer to Allah SWT	
<b>Jannah (2011)</b>	Factors that encourage marriage: Parents concerns to their children behavior, reducing family economic burden, and lack of awareness on the importance of education	Implications of early marriage for the survival of marriage life were the occurrence of disputing and divorce, also parenting and child education issues	Majority community belief on refusing early marriage concepts due to immature age, childish way of thinking, affecting reproductive healthiness, psychological, social, and incapability to nurture and educate children as parents	
<b>Sumbulah, Jannah (2012)</b>	Parents concerns to their children behavior as an encouraging factor in early marriage	Self-readiness as an encouraging factor in early marriage	Family economy situation encouraging early marriage	Lack of awareness to the importance of education as one of the factors to early marriage
<b>Muzaffak (2013)</b>	There is a significant effect between education and economy status upon the decision to marry off their children	Low-educated parents had a chance of 34,48 times higher to marry off their children early than well-educated parents	Family with lower economy status has a chance of 10,97 higher to marry off their children early than family with higher economy status	
<b>Sakdiyah, Ningsih (2013)</b>	Economy factors, self-factors, education factors, parental factors as an encouraging factor in early marriage	Guidance and counseling on forming quality generation and early marriage affect from relevant agencies were necessary		
<b>Munawara, Yasak, Dewi (2015)</b>	In early marriage tradition, there are several processes namely matchmaking children, <i>jampi-jampi</i> (black magic) practices, and manipulating marriage age	Women on early marriage in a position to be chosen and appointed by men with no right to refuse or consider.		
<b>Yunitasari, Pradanie, Susilawati (2016)</b>	There was significant relationship between cultural factors, family support factors, economic factors, technology factors with early marriage	Knowledge factors not related to early marriage		
<b>Bahrudin (2016)</b>	Each participant felt happy for not have an early marriage as they could continue to get higher education even if they became rebellious by disobeying their parents, and unwelcomed by local community	Local community called a child <i>sangkal</i> for refusing to be married by their parents		

<b>Kurniasari, Hariastuti, Mardiono (2018)</b>	Lack of understanding about health reproduction (early marriage and risk behavior) on teenage	Lack of understanding on health reproduction due to local tradition, teenage obedience to towards their parents and lack of information about health reproduction		
--	---	---	--	--

Table 2: Studies on early marriage and subjective well-being

<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Research Purposes</b>	<b>Research Results</b>
<b>Zumriyah (2015)</b>	To obtain description and achievement on early marriage couples in LaranganLuar Village, Larangan District, Pamekasan	Early marriage couples could achieve a harmony marriage life, as being a happy and harmony family were the main purposes of the early marriage couples. They believe in each other by thinking positive about their partner. Trusting their partner is an important thing, as followed by commitment and following rules that applied before or after married.
<b>Setyawan, Herdiana (2016)</b>	To explore the quality of life among Mandangin Island women who had early marriage	Results showed that quality of life among Mandangin Island women who had early marriage in terms of physical well-being, materially, socially, and emotionally has shown a relatively good condition. Those conditions were dominated by emotionally/psychologically welfare which referred to perception of individual on sincerity and surrender by the reality of life. Even though Mandangin Island women who had early marriage showing a relatively poor health condition, disinterest to developing skills and socializing, they claimed to had a comparatively decent quality of life. Despite of their limited sources to fulfill their needs, Mandangin Island women who had early marriage still felt whole-hearted, yet surrender and also felt enough with their present condition. These ways of thinking have proven to reduce gaps between ideal life expectation and real-life condition.
<b>Miswiyawati, Lestari (2017)</b>	To obtained and described subjective well-being on early marriage couple	Early marriage couple felt a relatively high subjective well-being on their marriage life. This subjective well-being was formed due to their gratefulness and acceptance to present conditions. Overall, early marriage couples experiencing higher positive affection than negative affection. Factors that contributed to subjective well-being on early marriage couples as follow, optimism, positive relationship, and having goals.
<b>Indriastuti (2017)</b>	Exploring factors which contributing in the process of subjective well-being among early marriage women with long-term age of marriage	Subjective well-being process among participants showed an increasing happiness from their beginning of marriage until present time (long-term marriage). Participants claimed they were happier now than before. Moreover, those who lived only with their husband felt lonely and sad when their husband was leaving them first. Nevertheless, they felt satisfied with their present life as it is happened as they wish.

Based on the table above, it can be concluded that early marriage in Madura was caused by several factors such as economic factors, educational factors, religion factors, tradition factors, parental factors, and desire to get married by the child. In addition, parents concern to their children behavior, their readiness, reducing family economic burden, lack of awareness to the importance of education, matchmaking children, practicing *jampi-jampi* (black magic), and manipulating married age were also factors which causing early marriage.

Besides the factors determining early age marriage which described above, problems that arise in early marriage also stated, namely most of the

couples who didn't feel the connection between them were decided to divorce, disharmony in marriage life, difficulty in fulfilling household needs, parenting and child education issues.

Indeed, early marriage wasn't all about problems which stated earlier, as Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith (1999) found that marriage is one of the factors that could affect subjective well-being. A meta-analytical study conducted by Bawono (2017) also support the previous findings which claimed there is a relationship between marriage and subjective well-being. Table below shows the results of a research on marriage, especially early marriage, and subjective well-being:

Based on the previous table, Madurese women were not always experiencing problems on their early age marriage. Instead, they were feeling harmony, happiness, and subjective well-being in their early married life.

## 4 DISCUSSIONS

Madura has known as a part of Indonesia with relatively high rates of early marriage. Most of the early marriage was done by teenagers. One of the developmental tasks on teenager was preparing for marriage and building a family (Havighurst cited on Hurlock, 1994; Havighurst cited on Agustiani, 2009). While in fact, many teenagers were required to finish the adult developmental task, in which to had an early marriage.

Several factors were contributed to early marriage in Madura namely economy factors, education factors, religion factors, tradition factors, the desire to be married by the children themselves, parents concern on their child behavior, readiness, to reduce family economy burden, lack of awareness on the importance of education, children matchmaking, practicing *jampi-jampi* (black magic), and manipulating married age (Hairi, 2009; Jannah, 2011; Sumbulah & Jannah, 2012; Muzaffak, 2013; Sakdiyah & Ningsih, 2013; Munawara, Yasak, Dewi, 2015).

The occurrence of early marriage in Madura was arising issues such as disharmony on married life, difficulties in fulfilling household needs, parental and child education issues, also an incompatibility between partner which led to divorce.

Despite the issues mentioned above, early marriage was not always causing issues and adverse effects. As a study by Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith (1999) and Bawono (2017) found that marriage significantly related to subjective well-being. Furthermore, Diener, et al. (cited in Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith, 1999) also found that person who married were happier compared to a person who was divorced, separated, or single.

This statement indeed supported by Maulida (2014) in which found marital status significantly influenced individual subjective well-being. As Stutzer and Frey (2006) referred marriage as one of the most important aspects of life which affected the level of the individual's subjective well-being. These married consisted of not only adult marriage but also teenager marriage, known as early marriage (Miswiyawati & Lestari, 2017).

Furthermore, according to Miswiyawati and Lestari (2017) stated that early marriage couple felt satisfied with their families (e.g., parents, siblings). These population also experiencing positive affection as they are happy living together with their partner, glad to be taken care of by their partner, and received support from their families. On the other hand, early marriage couple also found that they were susceptible to jealousy towards their partner, and overly sensitive which caused to irritability.

According to Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith (1999), marriage was one of the factors which affect individual's subjective well-being. A person who experienced high subjective well-being will be easily adapt to circumstances and live their life with satisfaction and happiness (Sasmita & Yulianti, 2013). In contrast, people who felt unhappy or ill-being (on psychology term) could cause depression, anxiety, and unpleasant emotion (Pavot & Diener, 2009).

Thus, teenagers with high subjective well-being were expected to be the main engine of economic growth in Indonesia on 2030 since they could live their life with satisfaction and happily (Yuswohady, 2018). As Yuswohady (2018) predicted that a peak of bonus demography would occur at that year, which referred to the number of productive age population (15-64 years old) will exceeds unproductive age population (below 14 years old and over 65 years old).

## 5 CONCLUSIONS

Numerous studies on early marriage in Indonesia has been conducted previously, including Madura Island. Findings suggested that factors contributed to early marriage in Madura consisted of economic factors, education factors, religion factors, tradition factors, children matchmaking, practicing *jampi-jampi* (black magic), and manipulating married age.

Other researches related to issues on early marriage were also brought up by researcher likewise. Findings found that disharmony in married life, difficulties in fulfilling household needs, parenting and child education issues, and incompatibility toward partner which led to divorce were various issues regarding early marriage.

On the other hand, Madurese women who had early marriage were not always experiencing issues in their marriage life as mentioned earlier. Instead, they felt happy, harmony, and sufficient quality of life on their marriage life, whereas could lead them in achieving subjective well-being.

There is, however, limitation to this research regarding participant variability. Participant in the current research was limited to Madurese women. In addition, database sources used were limited to two electronic databases resourced.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The researcher would like to thank Head of Doctoral Program and Indonesia Endowment fund for Education (LPDP) for the support during the writing of this article.

## REFERENCES

- Agustiani, H. 2009. *Psikologi perkembangan: pendekatan ekologi kaitannya dengan konsep diri dan penyesuaian diri pada remaja*. Bandung: PT Refika Aditama
- Amelda, C. & Hartati, N. 2013. *Subjective well-being* wanita yang pernah menjadi istri kedua siri. *Jurnal RAP (Riset Aktual Psikologi Universitas Negeri Padang)*. 4, pp. 138-149
- Aryanto, C., B. & Hartono, S., S., B. 2014. Perbandingan *subjective well-being* musisi dan non-musisi. *Mind Set (Jurnal Ilmiah Psikologi)*. 6(1), pp. 1-13
- Bahrudin. 2016. Konflik intrapersonal remaja putri yang dipaksa menikah dini di Desa Banjarbillah. *Undergraduate Thesis*. (not published). Bangkalan : Program Studi Psikologi Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Budaya Universitas Trunojoyo Madura
- Bawono, Y. 2017. Pernikahan dan *subjective well-being*: sebuah kajian meta-analisis. *Biopsikosial, Jurnal Ilmiah Psikologi*. [e-journal] 2(1), pp. 101-116. Tersedia di: <<http://publikasi.mercubuana.ac.id/index.php/biopsikosial/article/view/2165>> [Diakses 15 Januari 2018]
- Diener, E., Suh, E., M., Lucas, R. E., & Smith, H. L. 1999. Subjective well-being : Three decades of progress. *Psychological Bulletin*. [e-journal] 125(2), pp. 276-302. Available at: <<https://media.rickhanson.net/Papers/SubjectiveWell-BeingDiener.pdf>> [Accessed 30 September 2017]
- Hairi. 2009. Fenomena pernikahan di usia muda di kalangan masyarakat muslim Madura (Studi kasus di Desa Bajur Kecamatan Waru Kabupaten Pamekasan). *Undergraduate Thesis*. (not published). Yogyakarta: Fakultas Ushuluddin Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga
- Harmaini & Yulianti, A. 2014. Peristiwa-peristiwa yang membuat bahagia. *Psymphatic (Jurnal Ilmiah Psikologi)*. 7(2), pp. 115-125
- Hurlock, E. B. 1994. *Psikologi perkembangan: suatu pendekatan sepanjang rentang kehidupan*. Jakarta :Erlangga
- Indriastuti. N. W. 2017. *Subjective well-being* pada perempuan menikah dini dengan usia pernikahan *long-term marriage* :Pendekatan kualitatif metode *Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis* (IPA). *Proceeding Book*. Surabaya :Fakultas Psikologi Universitas Surabaya
- Jannah, F. 2011. Pernikahan dini dalam pandangan masyarakat Madura (studi fenomenologi di Desa Pandan Kecamatan Galis Kabupaten Pamekasan). *Undergraduate Thesis*. (not published). Malang :Jurusan Al-Ahwal Al-Syakhshiyah Fakultas Syari'ah UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang
- Juniman, P. T. 2017. PBB soroti jumlah pernikahan anak di Indonesia. (Retrieved from [www.cnnindonesia.com](http://www.cnnindonesia.com) on 26 March 2018)
- Kurniasari, N. D., Hariastuti, I. & Mardiono. 2018. Pemahaman remaja tentang kesehatan reproduksi (pernikahan dini dan perilaku beresiko) di Sampang Madura. *Komunikasi, [e-journal] XII(01)*, pp.74-85. <http://dx.doi.org/10.21107/ilkom.v12i1.3801>.
- Maulida, S. N. 2014. Kesejahteraan subjektif wanita usia dewasa yang belum menikah. *Thesis* (not published). Yogyakarta: Fakultas Psikologi Universitas Gadjah Mada
- Miswiyawati & Lestari, D. 2017. *Subjective well-being* pada pasangan yang menikah muda. *Naskah Publikasi*. [online] Surakarta :Fakultas Psikologi Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta. Tersedia di: <<http://eprints.ums.ac.id/51437/1/NASKAH%20PUBLIKASI.pdf>> [Diakses: 3 Oktober 2017]
- Munawara, Yasak, E. M., & Dewi, S. I. 2015. Budaya pernikahan dini terhadap kesetaraan gender masyarakat Madura. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*. [e-journal] 4(3), pp 426-431. Tersedia di: <<https://media.neliti.com/media/publications/42455-ID-budaya-pernikahan-dini-terhadap-kesetaraan-gender-masyarakat-madura.pdf>> [Diakses 30 September 2017]
- Muzaffak. 2013. Pengaruh tingkat pendidikan dan ekonomi terhadap pola keputusan orang tua untuk mengkawinkan anaknya di Desa Karang

- Duwak Kecamatan Arosbaya Kabupaten Bangkalan. *Paradigma*. [e-journal] 01(01), pp. 1-8. Tersedia di: <<http://jurnal.mahasiswa.unesa.ac.id/index.php/paradigma/article/view/1689>> [Diakses 15 Januari 2018]
- Nuri, S. 2016. Agresivitas remaja putri akibat tradisi *Tan Mantanan* di Desa Poteran Kecamatan Talango Kabupaten Sumenep. *Undergraduate Thesis*. (not published). Bangkalan : Program Studi Psikologi Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Budaya Universitas Trunojoyo Madura
- Pavot, W. & Diener, E. 2009. Review of the satisfaction with life scale. *Social Indicators Research Series* (39), pp. 101-117. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-90-481-2354-4\\_5](http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-90-481-2354-4_5)
- Rachmad, T. H. 2017. *Kontestasi pernikahan dini dalam kajian budaya Madura*. (dalam: fenomena pernikahan dini di Madura. Editor: Kurniawati, N. D, Rachmad, T. H. & Yuriadi). Malang : AE Publishing
- Rahayu, W. Y. & Bawono, Y. 2017. *Emotion focus coping* pada perempuan madura yang menikah karena perijodohan. *Prosiding. Seminar Nasional Community Well Being for A Better Life*. Bangkalan: Universitas Trunojoyo Madura
- Rubaidah. 2016. Perkawinan usia dini di Indonesia tertinggi kedua di ASEAN. (Retrieved from [www.berdikarionline.com](http://www.berdikarionline.com) on 26 March 2018)
- Sadik, A. S. 2014. Memahami jati diri, budaya, dan kearifan lokal Madura. Surabaya :Balai Bahasa Jawa Timur
- Sakdiyah, H., & Ningsih, K. 2013. Mencegah pernikahan dini untuk membentuk generasi berkualitas *preventing early-age marriage to establish qualified generation, Masyarakat, Kebudayaan dan Politik*. [e-journal] 26(1), pp.35-54. Tersedia di:<<http://journal.unair.ac.id/download-fullpapers-mkp9b9d8e2432full.pdf>> [Diakses: 30 September 2017]
- Sasmita, M. & Yulianti, A. 2013. Kesepian dengan kesejahteraan subjektif pada usia lanjut yang tinggal di panti jompo khusnul khotimah Pekanbaru Riau. *Psymphatic (Jurnal Ilmiah Psikologi)*. VI(1), pp. 825-832
- Seligman, M. E. P. 2005. Authentic happiness menciptakan kebahagiaan dengan psikologi positif. (Penerjemah: Nukman, E. Y). Bandung: Mizan
- Setyawan, A & Herdiana, I. 2016. Kualitas hidup perempuan pulau Mandangin yang menikah dini. *Jurnal Psikologi Kepribadian dan Sosial*. [e-journal] 5(1), pp. 1-10. Tersedia di:<<http://journal.unair.ac.id/JPKS@kualitas-hidup-perempuan-pulau-mandangin-yang-menikah-dini-article-10495-media-52-category-10.html>> [Diakses: 12 Oktober 2017]
- Sidiq, M. 2003. Kekeabatan dan kekeluargaan masyarakat Madura Kecamatan Pasongsongan. (dalam: kepercayaan, magi, dan tradisi dalam masyarakat Madura. Penyunting: Soegianto). Jember: Penerbit Tapal Kuda
- Stutzer, A. & Frey, B. S. 2006. Does marriage make people happy, or do happy people get married? *The Journal of Socio-Economics*. 35, pp. 326-347. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.socec.2005.11.043>
- Sumbulah, U. &annah, F. 2012. Pernikahan dini dan implikasinya terhadap kehidupan keluarga pada masyarakat Madura (Perspektif hukum dan gender). *Egalita Jurnal Kesetaraan dan Keadilan Gender*. [e-journal] VII(1), pp. 83-101. Tersedia di:<<https://media.neliti.com/media/publications/42455-ID-budaya-pernikahan-dini-terhadap-kesetaraan-gender-masyarakat-madura.pdf>> [Diakses: 1 Oktober 2017]
- Trihendrawan, N. 2017. Indonesia peringkat tujuh kasus perkawinan anak. (Retrieved from [www.sindonews.com](http://www.sindonews.com) on 26 Maret 2018)
- Yunitasari, E., Pradanie, R., & Susilawati, A. 2016. Pernikahan dini berbasis transkultural nursing di desa Kara kecamatan Torjun Sampang Madura (*early marriage based on transcultural nursing theory in Kara village Sampang*). *JurnalNers*. [e-journal] 11(2), pp. 164-169. Tersedia di:<<https://media.neliti.com/media/publications/115283-EN-early-marriage-factor-based-on-transcult.pdf>> [Diakses: 4 Oktober 2017]
- Yuswohady. 2018. Puncak bonus demografi 2030, Indonesia harus siapkan manusia hebat (Retrieved from <https://economy.okezone.com/read/2017/11/05/320/1808672/php> on 26 January 2018)
- Zumriyah, R. 2015. Keharmonisan keluarga pada pasangan yang menikah dini. (studi kasus pasangan menikah dini di Desa Larangan Luar Kecamatan Larangan Kabupaten Pamekasan Madura). *Undergraduate Thesis*. (not published). Bangkalan : Prodi Psikologi FISIB Universitas Trunojoyo Madura