

DESACRALIZATION OF MARRIAGE IN THE ISLAMIC COMMUNITY OF JAVANESE FARMERS

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Abstrak

Perkawinan dini merupakan prakondisi terjadinya perceraian di usia anak-anak dan perkawinan berulang kali di Kecamatan Kabuh Jombang. Dua hal ini membentuk pergeseran pandangan masyarakat petani pedesaan di daerah tandus atas sakralitas perkawinan. Penelitian ini berjenis kualitatif yang bertumpu pada wawancara mendalam dan observasi terhadap 20 informan yang mengalami kawin muda dan bercerai. Artikel ini dengan menggunakan teori Struktur- Fungsional Robert Merton menghasilkan kesimpulan terjadinya desakralisasi perkawinan yang ditandai dengan fenomena perkawinan di bawah umur yang masih terus berlangsung, angka perceraian yang tinggi dan perkawinan berulang kali. Desakralisasi perkawinan juga berbentuk perilaku yang kurang tanggungjawab terhadap kewajiban rumah tangga dan tatanan sosial yang lebih menghargai janda atau duda dari pada perawan dan jejaka tua. Fenomena tersebut dipengaruhi beberapa fakta sosial yang bias nilai antara nilai budaya dan sikap tindakan. Perkawinan yang memiliki nilai idealitas yang sacral dalam budaya namun realitas sikap dan tindakan dalam membangun perkawinan tidak mendasarkan diri pada sakralitas tersebut.

Kata kunci: *Perkawinan; Perceraian; Kultur- Religius; Pedesaan.*

Abstract

Early marriage is a precondition for divorce in children and repeated marriages which can reduce the sacredness of marriage in District of Kabuh Jombang. This qualitative research is based on in-depth interview and observations techniques of 20 informants who experienced early marriage and divorce. By using Robert Merton's Structural-Functional Theory, this research concludes that the desacralization of marriages with underage marriages is still ongoing, high divorce rates and repeated marriages. The desacralization of marriage also takes the form of behavior that is less responsible for household obligations and social arrangements that value widows or widowers more than spinster and old bachelor. These phenomena are influenced by several social facts that are biased values between cultural values and attitudes of action. A marriage has a sacred ideality value in culture, but the reality of attitudes and actions in building a marriage does not base itself on the sacrality.

Keywords: Marriage, Divorce, Culture-Religious, Rural.

A. Introduction

Rural Peasant Communities live by all the rules of tradition directing patterns of action, patterns of thought and behavior. Marriage in the teachings of tradition is the process of forming a small family social structure involving human children, with a set of social norms that bind it. The majority Muslim Rural Community not only follows the Shari'a norm, but is also thick with traditional values. The value of marriage is sacred, which must be passed by everyone (Sadiani, 2018: 101-116). Getting married is good for everyone. Fast marriage is far better, than being single, becoming a spinster or old woman (Septiana and Syafiq, 2013: 71-86) and (Noviana and Suci, 2010: 9-16). *The phenomenon of underage marriages results in reproductive health, emotional maturity, personality stability, disability in the economy, and so on.* (Aryati, 2008,; 243). Legal education is very important to control the level of early marriage (Hanafi 2015 : 399-422). The high number of divorces in rural areas is caused

by a low sense of responsibility towards the spouse, both socio-economic and moral (IntanArimurti, 2017: .249-226). Because they are not ready to enter the world of marriage, because emotionally unstable.Reduction in the sacredness of marriage, where marriage is no longer a sacred thing. Marriage repeatedly is not a disgrace, being a widow and widower repeatedly is not a disgrace (Syukaisih, 2017: .56-60). The impact is very broad on family welfare (Mahfudin and Waqi'ah, 2016: 115-156). Neglected children from marriages because of the separation of parents. Lack of affection, children lose strong figures in the family, who become inspirational morals. The process of physical and spiritual development is disrupted because there is no unity of vision and mission between father and mother, because of this separation (Yusuf, 2014: 33-44).

Previous research, among others, was conducted by FitrianaTsany (2017) with the theme of the Trend of early marriage among adolescents (case study in GunungKidul Jogjakarta district in 2009 - 2012) in the Journal of Religious Sociology, 9 (1) 83, which resulted in the finding of socio-economic impacts for teenage married couples. Another study was conducted by Dian eka in 2019, with the title cultural factors, parenting, economic status, and education on early marriage published by the obstetrical and obstetrical scientific journal, OBSGIN(Januriwasti 2019: 34). The findings are that early marriage has a great influence on the level of reproductive health. This is also related to the factor of family education on low reproductive health of girls. The results of this study are oriented towards gynecological or reproductive health counseling instruments for the health department. Other research was conducted by Husyaimah in2019 entitled Underage Marriage in the perspective of customary law, Islamic law, and Marriage Law no. 1 of 1974. research conducted on the Pancor village community KetapangsubdistrictSampang Madura district The result is that this research highlights underage marriage from the perspective of customary law, Islamic law and marriage law (Husyaimah 2019 : 25). The significance of the above research with the research to be carried out is that the first

research only emphasized the impoverishment of the families of young couples who contributed to the low level of welfare in the GunungKidul community. The second research focuses on cultural factors and parenting that have an impact on the reproductive health of women who engage in early marriage. Third research The comparison with the research to be carried out is that this study only focuses on clarifying legal perspectives: adat, Islam, and the marriage law.

Literature studies that support research, among others, about gender inequality are domestic products which are validated by undeniable socio-cultural and theological values (Suardi, 2016: 41-45). The Problems of Laws which regulate marriages are very dilemmatic (Sodiq, 2016: 109), and (Muhaimin, 2012: 11-16). With a low level of education in women, it creates a complexity of problems for women, and this triggers poverty, social, health and psychological problems for women (Hastuty. 2018: 55-64). Rural communities still preserve the tradition of underage marriages, because of the teachings of legalizing traditions (Santoso, 2016: 412-434). Underage marriage is seen as a form of deprivation of children's rights (Inayati, 2015: 46-53). On the other hand underage marriage is a solution for parents to reduce the economic burden of the family, to be delegated to other parties, namely husbands (Haryanto, 2012: 1-14) and (Muzaffak, 2013: 1-8). Violations of marital rules occur in many rural communities. Violations of marital rules occur in many rural communities (Dewi *et al.*, 2019 : 519). Girls are considered to have no skills, so parents must make decisions for their future (Fadhilah, 2012: 19). Educational problems which are the rights of children, are often ignored by parents, especially to girls (Hasan, 2019: 63-84). This is what makes women in rural areas always subordinated and marginalized. The reason for women suing for divorce is because their husbands are not responsible, neglect, unemployment, and domestic violence (Nurhasanah, 2014: 1). The norm value also contributes to the increase in divorce rates. In the perspective of divorce law raises aspects of legal violations of children's rights (Tusan, 2017: 200).

This paper aims to describe the practice of patriarchy which results in structural and cultural discrimination of women and men in the majority of Rural Farmer communities as Muslims. So far, the existing studies are more oriented to the causes of underage marriages and the causes of divorce from an economic and violent perspective. This study focuses more on issues of Gender Structurization, community's religious-cultural conception of the value of marriage, and the consequences of divorce. In line with that there are 3 fundamental problem raised, first, it is the conception of gender structures in rural areas. Second, it is the cultural-religious conception of marriage. Third, it is the phenomenon of the social impact of marriage and divorce on children's problems. This paper is based on 3 arguments, namely, first, that the conception of gender structure influences the perspective of discrimination against the position of girls, which affects men's authority over women. Second, the conception of religious culture of marriage has an impact on the subordination of women in marriage. Third, that the phenomenon of underage marriages and divorce has an impact on the future of the children of their marriages.

This research was conducted in Kabuh sub-district, Jombang Regency, with the consideration that the phenomenon in this place could represent social phenomena in East Java related to underage marriages and problematic divorce. This research is Qualitative-descriptive type (Sugiyono, 2016: 16) with a sociological approach using the theory of Structuralism - Functional of Robert Merton. This theory is used to explain various social facts in society that degrade marital values, and overlapping social values that weaken the sacredness of a marriage. One social fact that contributes to early marriage is the strong Patriarchism which until now is still a strong ideology in society. Social norms function in reverse which contributes to the weakening of the sacredness of marriage, namely the ease of divorce as a solution to household problems. The result of repeated divorce is that children's rights are neglected. Determination technique of purposive sampling is 20 people,

from people who are in the process of divorce, both law and divorce, and from their family members. Data collection by observation and interview, both structured and free, to leverage the data in depth.

B. Discussion

1. The Social Fact Meaning

Theory of Structuralism - Functional Robert Merton explains social facts that have meaning, purpose, and social function. Underage marriage in the Merton Perspective is a social fact that is understood by the community, which has meaning, purpose and social function. Social Structures consisting of: social roles, institutional patterns, social processes, cultural patterns, culturally patterned emotions, social norms, social structures, and social control, also drive social functions. All elements of society can adapt to the marital culture system that has been patterned in such a way. Although there is an ideological bias from the adaptation process. Judging from the meaning, purpose and benefits of the implementation of underage marriages that are believed to have many positive values. Underage marriages also have a negative impact on other facts, namely family problems that are prone to conflict, divorce, reproductive health of vulnerable mothers, abandoned children, and poverty. The meaning, purpose, and social function of marriage are framed with cultural values - religion, and socio-economy. Internalization of marital traditions is standard and patterned.

Divorce in Merton's explanation is a social fact that is caused by other social facts, such as: Marriage at a young age, norms that allow multiple marriages and divorce. Social perception views the status of widower or widow more attractive than being an old spinster or old woman, having a social function in standardizing the facts of divorce. Subordination to girls is a social fact that perpetuates a culture of gender injustice. Marginalization of women is also an established social fact supported by traditional values. The weaknesses of women are constructed by their own family environment, especially the power of my father. The rights

of the married daughter were taken away by her own husband for the permanence of his superiority.

2. Conception of Gender Structure

a. Gender inequality in Javanese family

In most Javanese people, especially in the rural area, the family system adheres to the patriarchic culture, which places men as the mainstay of women. Because men are considered to be able to raise the family status. To enter the gate of marriage a boy must have the ability to work in the fields or other jobs that make money. He was given the freedom to determine the prospective wife in accordance with his choice. Boys must have children, to preserve the family. Children born of boys take precedence. To get a good offspring, a boy must choose his soul mate with moral criteria: Seedlings, weights, and *bebet*, meaning the origin of the offspring of quality physically and spiritually, and the performance of the prospective spouse. Boys may postpone their marriage, to provide an opportunity to save, because boys must finance the marriage independently. In general, men carry out marriages in usis 18-19 years. In the family, he is analogous to saving gold, which has a high selling value. The norms of tradition that bind men are looser than women.

Women are constructed as *konco wingking*, which means their social position and position behind their husbands, whose role is in the domestic sphere. They were directed to master domestic work, because he would later be the caretaker of children, so higher education was not needed. They also considered many weaknesses, so they were unable to determine his life, including choosing his match. Girls must be married immediately, which are considered adults with a marked biological mechanism, the arrival of menstruation, because this is an important female reproductive tool. Girls must obey and obey the will of parents. Unfair treatment is accepted both in the family

environment and in the community. Women who are still girls are not allowed to work far from home, for example working out of town as a factory worker. This is because parents cannot release their daughters freely, because they must be monitored. Cultural values that discredit women, that women contain Wadi in their bodies. That is a social construction that female body organism is created with all its sensitivity. In the economic field, women working in the agricultural sector are paid half of the men with the same duration of time. The burden of domestic work is entirely on the shoulders of women.

b. Girls are the responsibility of their parents.

Lasting social discrimination deprives women of their rights, including the freedom to determine their own lives. For matchmaking girls must be determined by parents. When they have graduated from junior high school, they are considered to be old enough to enter the household gate. Arranged marriages for girls are often done with the closest social environment: neighbors, distant relatives, or from friends own families. Moral principle: Seeds, weights, and bebep, still apply to a girl's mate. Father's role is very central in determining the pair of daughters, with whom and how their families are. Father has full control over his daughter (Ulya 2017). Towards a woman's marriage there is no need for special physical and spiritual preparation. Enough parents are responsible for financing all wedding needs. The average daughter does marriage at the age of 14-16 years. There is no word of coercion, there is an attitude of obedience and respect for Father. Women are limited by strict social norms. Girls are analogous to silver savings, which have less selling value. The ability to be a wife will develop through the process of family life. This parental optimism makes girls enter marital gates without mental preparation and moral commitment.

3. The conception of the religious culture of marriage and the process of desacralizing its value.

a. Cultural value

Social norms prevailing in society, that having a virgin child has more moral burden than having a widowed child. This does not apply to boys. But if you stay alone longer, parents would prefer their children to become widowers. With the principle of social norms, many young people get married without a strong moral commitment. They are “forced” to get married to meet the demands of parents. Patriarchal culture structurally places men with unlimited superiority, women positioned inferiorly. This cultural value continues to be a normative reference for every family. Social transformation that is happening at every social level, does not affect the way people look at the value of a marriage. By accelerating the marriage of girls, it is an attempt by parents to transfer responsibility to another party, namely a prospective husband. Because daughters who have married all the responsibility lies with the husband. For men marriage is to show the existence of success, even with the conditions as they are. Javanese principle: many children have a lot of luck, and everyone has been determined by Gusti Allah; have a wife strengthen fortune. This economic principle motivates the mentality of boys to rush into marriage. In the view of the community Marriage accelerates children’s sense of responsibility and independence. Married children have a contribution to the preservation of large families, because they give birth to a generation that will continue the existence of the family. A married boy has not been blessed with a child, meaning his wife is considered infertile. In some cases, the wife must be divorced, because she is forever unable to bear children. Parents are considered successful if the children are all married. In general, Javanese families prefer the number of extended family members.

Cultural complexity constrains women's freedom, and will still be the identity of rural communities. People's thinking patterns are inconsistent, biased, ambivalent, ambiguous, conflicting between cultural values. On the other hand there are cultural values that are sacred to support marriage, on the other hand there are cultural values that can damage the sacredness of marriage. The concepts of sacredity and infertility are two values of culture that clash with each other. Likewise, the interpretation of tradition and social action is not synchronous. The ideal of marriage and divorce has its own pattern. The sacred value of marriage is often put into practice in damaging marital arrangements. The socio-economic value which is the foundation of marriage does not direct the household ark to become a place for the welfare of the family. Cultural ambivalence in the countryside contributes to the decentralization of marriage and divorce. If we pay attention to what are the ideas and ideals in marriage is the existence of independence in responsibility, carrying out the Sharia Religion, forming a dignified family, and avoiding immorality. In reality, the steps and actions taken by the community did not support the ideals, on the contrary, so that the values and meaning of marriage in some cases were harmed.

b. Religious value

Theologically the community believes that a match, fortune, and death are God's provisions, humans cannot reject and seek it. Women naturally contain wadi, where holiness and virginity must be preserved. For that to immediately marry off a daughter is the best way. Because this step can save a girl who falls into a self-defeating action. The theological construction of the female body is a cultural reference, that girls and boys are created differently. Therefore, the treatment between the two

must be different. The concept of religious culture is what legitimates discrimination between women and men. Daughter does not have freedom, so she is subordinated. Whereas men have freedom that leads to superiority.

The process of marital desacralization by building new cultural - religious values that depart from domestic values. Marriage is believed to be a once-in-a-lifetime moment, symbolized by the bride and groom as King and Queen a day. This shows the sacredness of the value of marriage. Religion is used as a basis for carrying out marriage, that marriage is following the Sunnah of the apostle, that not married means not the people of the Prophet Muhammad. Marriage is interpreted as self-control, so it does not fall into immorality. Marriage is interpreted as perpetuating offspring based on seed, weight, and *bebet*, in order to have quality offspring and heirs. The process of marriage desacralization, by reducing its sacredity, through building new cultural values by authorizing marriage and divorce, is repeatedly not a disgrace and does not violate traditional values. The sacred value of marriage is not implemented in practice and action. When people believe that the match comes from God, in practice without internalizing the value of God's Power in arranged marriages. Women's bodies are constructed to contain *wadis*, where purity and virginity must be maintained, so that the dignity of the family is maintained. On the other hand being a widow or widower and getting married repeatedly is not a problem, and it becomes commonplace. When marriage is interpreted as self-control, the reality of divorce occurs because it is not able to control themselves. When marriage is interpreted as perpetuating offspring based on seed, weight, and *bebet*, by giving birth to quality senators and heirs, the reality of divorce makes children neglected, does not get love and attention, and does not have strong moral figures in the family. When marriages are carried out with the

environment with the aim of strengthening brotherhood, in reality it cannot strengthen brotherhood, and even divorce can divide brotherhood. Girls are considered to have no skills, in reality a widow is recognized for her existence when she is able to support herself and her children. Being a widow and widower is normal, not a disgrace Even considered more attractive, mature, and experienced. When unmarried children are bound by strict social norms, when widowed and widowed their social norms are more lax.

The community is currently experiencing a cultural anomaly. Because the culture of marriage - divorce has for decades been a social fact, which forms a pseudo cultural value, experienced by its predecessor. In Clifford Geertz's perspective that culture is a web created by humans, which will ensnare itself. Children enter the household ark without mental-moral readiness and commitment, to form a happy and harmonious family. Internalization of cultural values is still very low in every family. The community does not create a conducive environment for household sustainability. This is a form of cultural anomaly, there is a process of reducing the sacred values of marriage with a pattern of pragmatism that makes divorce a shortcut to overcome domestic problems. Cultural anomalies certainly have socio-cultural impacts, both directly and indirectly. The direct impact is the birth of a new generation of broken homes with all its socio-economic problems. Women's subordination continues with economic, social and cultural limitations.

4. The phenomenon of the social impact of divorce on children

a. Children are not guaranteed life

Divorced men generally do not provide for the children of their marriages. The Religious Courts have no instruments to compel fathers to support their children after divorce. There are no strict sanctions for fathers

who do not support their abandoned children. Child custody falls into the hands of his wife, because of the age of children who are still under age. This makes the responsibilities of the wife heavier, in addition to having to earn a living for children, also must care for them. The process of children's inner physical suffering has begun after their parents are separated. Women become single parents encourage him to immediately find a new partner. Divorce is often not accompanied by the distribution of gono-gini, because there is no treasure from the marriage.

b. Neglected children, not getting affection

Divorce has an impact on deprived of the right of children to get love from both parents. Communication of ex-husband and wife has a problem, because of the emotional condition of those who are still angry and hate each other. Harmonious parenting patterns, resulting in disturbed emotional and psychological stability problems of children. They need complete love from both parents. Affection can affect children's confidence. If the process of growing self-confidence is disrupted, children will experience personality problems, the formation of their self-concept will have problems. This will result in disturbed understanding of himself.

c. Children lose their moral figure

The children lost a strong figure in the family. The weakness of marriage law no.1 of 1974 cannot force ex-husband to provide for the children of the marriage. In the growth and development of children - children need role models who guide their moral attitude, so that children can develop attitudes that heed goodness and merit. Separation of children with their parents, especially their fathers, makes children lose the example and example of the family. The figure of parents is very strategic in instilling the values of kindness to children.

Referring to the Marriage Law the child resulting from the marriage is in the care of the mother, if the age is not yet mature. Mother's caring for this double role decreases the quality of care. The moral order should be developed early on through the process of habituation in the household. The habit of positive thinking, acting normatively, behaving ethically is a pattern of character education that must always be emphasized by parents. Children have good attitude and moral commitment. In Merton's explanation the child as a family structure is marginalized and neglected his rights and interests, and results in his growth and development.

C. Conclusion

The desecralization of marriages in rural areas takes the form of social phenomena, including underage marriages that are still ongoing. High divorce rates, multiple marriages. The desecralization of marriage also takes the form of values and ethics, being widowed or widower is still a better choice than being a virgin and old bachelor. Construction of social structures in rural areas occurs gender injustice, with institutionalized discriminatory social facts, namely: *First*, a strong patriarchal culture, placing boys in the main social structure, which is analogous to high-value gold savings. While girls as a second class structure, which is analogous to silver savings, is of little value. *Second*, girls are the responsibility of parents, they are under the authority of parents, especially Dad. They do not have the freedom to determine their own life choices. Boys have the freedom to determine their own lives. *Third*, daughters are morally burdening parents, because of the unjust construction of women's bodies. Boys are considered capable of raising family ranks. Inequality between men and women results in subordinated and marginalized women from childhood to adulthood.

Cultural - religious conceptions in rural communities have ambiguity between ideality and reality. *First*, that marriage is sacred, God's destiny, and follows the apostle's sunnah.

For this reason, each person must have a marriage as the identity of a religious person. But there is a process of marital desacralization by building new cultural-religious values which depart from domestic values. In practice the desacralization of marriages takes place, by making it easy to marry or divorce. This tarnishes the meaning and sanctity of marriage. *Second*, marriage is to avoid being single and immoral. In practice being single, being a widow or widower is better than being an old virgin at old age. *Third*, the meaning of marriage culturally as a social institution that preserves quality offspring, through moral principles: seeds, weights, and Bebet. In practice many children who lose their rights are deprived of the situation of their parents separated. The phenomenon of the social impact of divorce on children, among others: *first*, children do not get a guarantee of life from their parents, especially the father who divorced his mother. This problem dominates all divorce cases that occur in rural areas. *Second*, children are neglected and do not get love from their parents. This ex-partner communication became very difficult because of feelings of emotion and anger with each other. *Third*, children lose the strong parent figure, which is able to become the moral inspiration of children. In many cases children who are separated because of divorce are cared more by their grandparents.

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