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

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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 Madurese. 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 (Sakdiah & 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-mantanan 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-mantanan 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 Moslems who uphold the teachings of Islam that marriage is an obligation to Moslems once they reached a sufficient age. In addition, if any girls have reached 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 & Yuliianti, 2013; Harmaini & Yuliianti, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Findings 1</th>
<th>Findings 2</th>
<th>Findings 3</th>
<th>Findings 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hairi (2009)</td>
<td>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</td>
<td>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</td>
<td>Early marriage as an alternative to get closer to Allah SWT</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jannah (2011)</td>
<td>Factors that encourage marriage: Parents concerns to their children behavior, reducing family economic burden, and lack of awareness on the importance of education</td>
<td>Implications of early marriage for the survival of marriage life were the occurrence of disputing and divorce, also parenting and child education issues</td>
<td>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</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sumbulah, Jannah (2012)</td>
<td>Parents concerns to their children behavior as an encouraging factor in early marriage</td>
<td>Self-readiness as an encouraging factor in early marriage</td>
<td>Family economy situation encouraging early marriage</td>
<td>Lack of awareness to the importance of education as one of the factors to early marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muzaffak (2013)</td>
<td>There is a significant effect between education and economy status upon the decision to marry off their children</td>
<td>Low-educated parents had a chance of 34,48 times higher to marry off their children early than well-educated parents</td>
<td>Family with lower economy status has a chance of 10,97 higher to marry off their children early than family with higher economy status</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sakdiyah, Ningsih (2013)</td>
<td>Economy factors, self-factors, education factors, parental factors as an encouraging factor in early marriage</td>
<td>Guidance and counseling on forming quality generation and early marriage affect from relevant agencies were necessary</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Munawara, Yasak, Dewi (2015)</td>
<td>In early marriage tradition, there are several processes namely matchmaking children, jampi-jampi (black magic) practices, and manipulating marriage age</td>
<td>Women on early marriage in a position to be chosen and appointed by men with no right to refuse or consider.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunitasari, Pradanie, Susilawati (2016)</td>
<td>There was significant relationship between cultural factors, family support factors, economic factors, technology factors with early marriage</td>
<td>Knowledge factors not related to early marriage</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bahrudin (2016)</td>
<td>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</td>
<td>Local community called a child sangkal for refusing to be married by their parents</td>
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</table>
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Research Purposes</th>
<th>Research Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zumriyah (2015)</td>
<td>To obtain description and achievement on early marriage couples in Laranganl.uur Village, Larangan District, Pamekasan</td>
<td>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.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Setyawan, Herdiana (2016)</td>
<td>To explore the quality of life among Mandangin Island women who had early marriage</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miswiawati, Lestari (2017)</td>
<td>To obtained and described subjective well-being on early marriage couple</td>
<td>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.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indriastuti (2017)</td>
<td>Exploring factors which contributing in the process of subjective well-being among early marriage women with long-term age of marriage</td>
<td>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.</td>
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</table>

Table 2: Studies on 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 (Miswiayawati& Lestari, 2017).

Furthermore, according to Miswiayawati 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.

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ICP-HESOS 2018 - International Conference on Psychology in Health, Educational, Social, and Organizational Settings