

The Representation of Women on TikTok Content on Child Marriage: A Systematic Literature Review

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ABSTRACT

This research analyzes the representation of women in TikTok content about child marriage and examines how social media shapes public perceptions of women and early marriage practices. Applying Stuart Hall's representation theory, gender and patriarchy theory, and social construction theory, this study employs a Systematic Literature Review (SLR) method, analyzing 30 national and international journals published between 2018 and 2025, selected through PRISMA guidelines. The findings reveal that women in TikTok content about child marriage are predominantly represented as ideal domestic figures expected to become wives and mothers at a young age. Such content romanticizes early marriage through religious, cultural, and social narratives, reinforcing the normalization of child marriage. However, social media also serves as a platform for digital campaigns opposing child marriage and promoting awareness about education, mental readiness, and the protection of women's and children's rights. The study identifies a dual role of TikTok: as a medium that can either strengthen or oppose child marriage practices. This research highlights the importance of improving digital literacy among adolescents to critically understand social media content. Governments, educational institutions, families, and content creators should provide educational content that supports gender equality and prevents child marriage on social media platforms. This study contributes to digital communication and gender studies by examining women's representation in TikTok content about child marriage through an SLR approach, offering references for future research on social media, women, and child marriage issues.

INTRODUCTION

The rapid development of digital technology has made social media a strategic space in shaping public discourse, values, and perceptions, including related to gender, family, and marriage issues. Visual-based social media platforms such as TikTok are showing a change in the media ecology that increasingly emphasizes the power of images and short videos in conveying messages (Farci & Scarcelli, 2024). These visual characteristics make the message quickly received, emotionally, and persuasively, especially by children and adolescents who are the dominant users of social media. In the process, social media not only functions as a means of entertainment, but also becomes an important space for the younger generation to express themselves, build social identity, and absorb cultural and social values circulating in the digital space (Korkmazer et al., 2021).

The case in Central Lombok shows that support for child marriage is still emerging in some communities, often on customary, cultural, social pressure, or concerns about youth association. In practice, this support can come from the family environment, community leaders, or the surrounding community who view marriage as a solution to maintain family honor or prevent behavior that is considered deviant. In fact, as emphasized by Arifah Fauzi as the Minister of PPPA, child marriage is a violation of the child's basic rights and is contrary to legal provisions, including Law Number 16 of 2019 and Law Number 12 of 2022 which emphasizes that forced child marriage is a form of violence. Social support for this practice shows that there is still a gap in understanding the long-term impact of child marriage, both in terms of education, reproductive health, psychological, and economic welfare, so that more comprehensive education and interventions are needed to change people's perspectives.

The practice of marriage among the Baduy people since the age of 14, as circulated on the TikTok platform (2024), shows how local traditions can be widely represented in the digital space and become national public consumption. In the cultural context, some indigenous communities have their own norms and provisions related to marriage age that are inherited from generation to generation. However, when the practice was displayed and went viral on social media, there was a meeting between customary values and the national legal framework that sets a minimum age limit of 19 years for marriage. This kind of visual representation not only documents cultural reality, but also has the potential to shape public opinion both in the form of support in the name of preserving tradition and criticism because it is considered to be contrary to the protection of children's rights and is therefore important to be critically analyzed from a legal, social, and human rights perspective.

Another case is a teenager with the text "16 years old is even busin" and the caption "Married for 13 Years is Getting Longer and Bucin". If interpreted critically, there is a logical ferocity: the age of 16 but having been married for 13 years, which implicitly leads to the practice of child marriage. This phenomenon is not just entertainment content on social media such as TikTok, but can be seen as a normalized representation of a discourse in which child-age marriage is shown lightly, even romantically, without displaying its problematic side. This has the potential to shape the public perception that the practice is natural or even ideal.

The phenomenon of increasing social media content that raises the theme of child marriage shows how the digital space plays a big role in shaping social discourse related to gender, family, and children's future. Visual-based platforms such as TikTok show a change in the media ecology that emphasizes the power of images and short videos as the main means of communication (Farci & Scarcelli, 2024). This visual content is fast, emotional, and easy to accept, so it has a strong influence on children and adolescents as the dominant user group. Social media then becomes not only a means of entertainment, but also a space for socializing values and normalizing certain social practices, including the practice of child marriage (Korkmazer et al., 2021).

TikTok in particular has emerged as a very influential platform in spreading the narrative about young marriage through creatively packaged, aesthetically pleasing, and easily viral content. These videos often feature the story of a child marriage with a romantic storyline, popular music, and visuals that emphasize domestic happiness and harmony. This kind of narrative is often framed as an ideal, religious, and solutive life choice for promiscuity, so that it has the potential to shape the public perception that child marriage is a natural or even

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exemplary thing. In the perspective of agenda setting theory, the media has the power to determine what issues are considered important and how the issues are understood by the public (McCombs & Shaw, 2017). Thus, the trend of child marriage content on TikTok cannot be separated from the process of framing media to social reality.

This phenomenon is also seen in the counter content produced by institutional accounts, such as the TikTok account @kemenpppa, which actively educates the public about the dangers and impacts of child marriage. The case of child marriage in Central Lombok that has been in the public spotlight shows that there is a tug-of-war on social media between efforts to protect children's rights and social support for the practice on the basis of customs, culture, or moral pressure. As emphasized by the Minister of PPPA, Arifah Fauzi, the practice of child marriage is contrary to Law Number 16 of 2019 and Law Number 12 of 2022 which categorizes forced child marriage as a form of violence. However, the rampant debate on social media shows that there is still a gap in public understanding of the long-term impact of child marriage, especially on women.

Representations of local culture, such as the marriage of the Baduy Tribe since the age of 14 which circulated on TikTok (2024), further emphasizes the complexity of the issue of child marriage in the digital space. This kind of content often presents young women as a symbol of obedience to customs, chastity, and family honor, without raising the aspect of vulnerability they experience. Women's representation in this context tends to place them in passive and subordinate positions, and obscures issues of children's rights, education, and reproductive health. Therefore, the trend of child marriage on social media, especially on TikTok, is an important phenomenon to be critically studied to understand how women are represented, how values are normalized, and how social media contributes to shaping public perception of child marriage practices in Indonesia.

Previous studies have examined child marriage from various perspectives, such as its impact on education and health (Agustina Tresendi Ndala et al., 2024; Sari et al., 2024), the role of social media in shaping adolescent perceptions (Pebriandy et al., 2023; Syarifuddin & Fauziah, 2021), as well as the normalization of child marriage through religious and cultural narratives (Raharjo & Febriana, 2022; Sulaiman, 2020). However, most of these studies have not specifically analyzed the representation of women in TikTok content about child marriage with a systematic representation study approach. Thus, there is a significant research gap: there has been no study that comprehensively examines how women are represented in TikTok's content about child marriage and how such representation shapes public perception, especially among teenagers as the dominant users of the platform.

Based on the background and identification of the above research gaps, this study has three main objectives: to analyze the representation of women in TikTok content about child marriage using the framework of Stuart Hall's representation theory, to understand how social media shapes public perceptions of women and the practice of child marriage, and to identify patterns of representation that normalize and criticize these practices. Theoretically, this study enriched the literature on digital communication and gender studies through the analysis of women's representation with the Systematic Literature Review approach, examined the relevance of representation theory and social construction in the context of short video-based social media, and identified the dualism of the role of TikTok as a space that can strengthen and oppose child marriage. Practically, the research findings can be an input for the government

and the Ministry of PPPA in designing digital campaigns to prevent child marriage, for community organizations and children's rights activists in developing communication strategies on TikTok, for educators and parents in improving adolescent digital literacy, and for content creators in producing educational content that supports gender equality and protection of children's rights.

METHOD

This study used a meta-analysis research method. Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA 2020) was used in this study. Compliance checklists are provided in databases Including PubMed, Web of Science, AccessMedicine, ScienceDirect, EMBASE, PROQUEST Research Library (including ABI/INFORM), Web of Science, and Scopus, comprehensive searches are conducted in all electronic databases "palliative" "care" "well-being" "psychological" "patient" are some of the key phrases used in search strategies. Studies published between 2018 and 2025 are the focus of the search.

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

The inclusion criteria in this study are:

1. Journal of women's representation of child marriage published in 2018–2025.
2. Original research that has been peer-reviewed.
3. Scientific articles that discuss social media, related to child marriage, women's representation, gender, or social construction in digital media.
4. Articles that use communication, media, gender, social, cultural, or digital studies approaches that are relevant to the research topic.
5. Articles are available in Indonesian and English and can be accessed in full text.

The exclusion criteria in this study are:

1. Studies in the form of case reports, opinions, proceedings, theses, theses, dissertations, or book chapters.
2. Articles that are not original research or do not go through a peer review process.
3. Research that does not address women's representation, TikTok content, or child marriage issues.
4. Articles that only discuss social media in general with no connection to child marriage or women's representation.
5. Articles that are not available in full text or have data that is not relevant to the focus of the research.

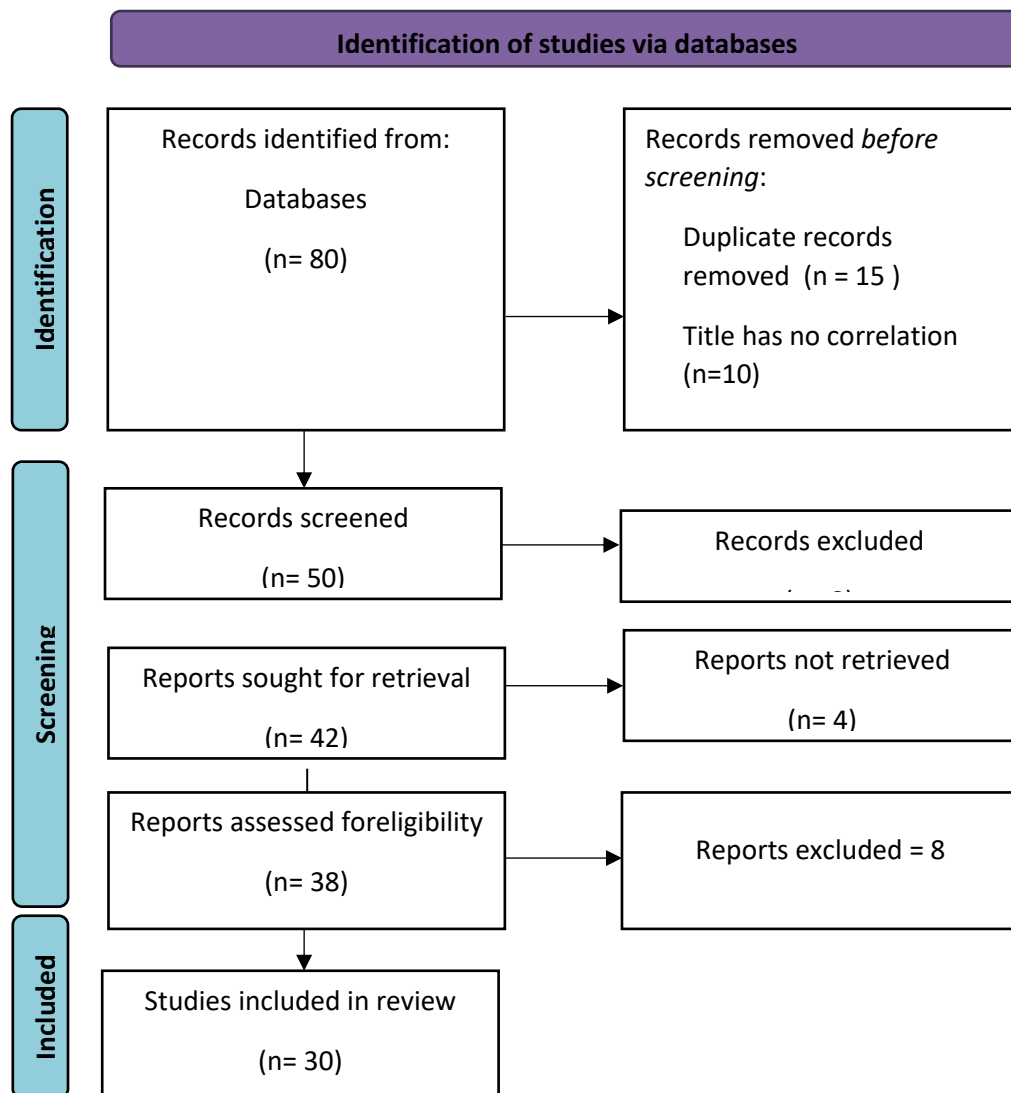


Figure 1. PRISM

Source: Primary Data, Processed (2026)

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The following are the results of the analysis

Table 1. Research Results

Researcher	Types of Research	Research Results
Raharjo & Febriana (2023)	Narrative Review	Research shows that social media is the main means of spreading the narrative of child marriage through a religious approach. Although many accounts support child marriage, the audience's response on social media shows debate and criticism related to mental and economic readiness, as well as its impact on women's and children's rights.
Wahyuni et al. (2018)	Narrative Review	The results of the study show that social media functions as a public discussion space on the issue of child marriage. The majority of content and public opinion tend to reject the practice of child marriage because it is considered to have a negative impact on education, health, and gender equality.

Syarifuddin & Fauziah (2021)	Narrative Review	Research has found that social media has a major influence on shaping adolescents' perceptions of child marriage. Digital content that circulates is able to influence the mindset of adolescents related to relationships, marriage, and social norms in society.
Novianti et al. (2023)	Systematic Review	Research shows that increased use of social media and exposure to pornographic content contributes to an increase in adolescent sexual behavior leading to unplanned pregnancies and child marriage. Social media is considered to increase the risk of normalizing this behavior.
Damayanti et al. (2021)	Narrative Review	Research has found that social media influencers play a big role in shaping ideal expectations about young home life. Content that displays marital happiness makes teenagers interested in marrying young without understanding the risks and responsibilities of marriage.
Sulaiman (2020)	Narrative Review	Research shows that social media uses propaganda techniques such as bandwagons and glittering generality to build support for child marriage practices. Religious narratives are used to reinforce social legitimacy against young marriage.
T. Y. Sari et al. (2020)	Narrative Review	The results of the study show that the phenomenon of digital migration on social media encourages the formation of moral campaigns that support child marriage through certain religious approaches and social values.
Azizah (2024)	Narrative Review	Research has found that social media is able to build a religious-based collective identity that strengthens social pressure on adolescents to marry at a young age as a form of adherence to religious values.
Adji Pratama Putra & Agung Burhanusyihab (2023)	Narrative Review	The results of the study show that social media is the main medium in the normalization of child marriage through religious, cultural, and social approaches that portray marriage as a solution to adolescent problems.
Rafidah et al. (2024)	Narrative Review	Research shows that most Generation Z has a critical view of child marriage because it is considered to hinder education, career, and self-development. However, some others still support it based on cultural and religious values.
Tsani (2021)	Narrative Review	The results of the study found that social media content about young marriage featured more positive aspects such as blessings and household happiness, while psychological and economic risks were rarely discussed in depth.
A. N. Atika Sari et al. (2024)	Narrative Review	Research shows that adolescents who marry young often experience psychological distress, communication conflicts, and emotional unpreparedness that impact a high risk of divorce in the household.
Agustina Tresendi Ndala et al. (2024)	Systematic Review	Research has found that child marriage has a major impact on the education and career futures of adolescents, especially women, as many have to drop out of school and lose out on decent job opportunities.
Crisna (2023)	Narrative Review	Research shows that lack of sexual education, environmental influences, and social media exposure are the main factors driving the increase in child marriage among adolescents.
Pebriandy et al. (2023)	Systematic Review	The results show that TikTok influences adolescents' perceptions of getting married young through marriage romanticized content that ideally depicts domestic life without showing the real challenges.
Maula (2023)	Narrative Review	Research has found that social media uses persuasive communication strategies to build the opinion that marriage is a solution to promiscuity and adolescent social problems.

Nurmaida et al. (2024)	Systematic Review	Research shows that the digital campaign "Jo Kawin Bocah" is effective in increasing adolescents' awareness of the risks of child marriage through the delivery of interactive and educational information on social media.
Smash Bros. (2021)	Narrative Review	The results show that social media is used by conservative groups to frame marriage as a religious obligation and to form a gender view that supports early marriage.
Rosyidah & Damastuti (2023)	Narrative Review	Research has found that social media builds a religious-based collective identity through consistent narratives about relationships and marriage, thus influencing adolescents' views on child marriage.
Saputra & Amalia (2021)	Narrative Review	Research shows that uncontrolled exposure to mass media and social media increases the risk of child marriage due to easy access to sexual content and online romantic relationships.
Jayanti et al. (2025)	Systematic Review	The results of the study show that social media such as TikTok increases adolescents' online interaction which has the potential to trigger promiscuity, unplanned pregnancies, and eventually child marriage.
Dewi et al. (2023)	Narrative Review	Research has found that the development of digital technology and social media makes it easier for teenagers to establish romantic relationships online, which contributes to the increase in child marriage.
Squirt (2025)	Narrative Review	The results of the study show that women's representation in social media highlights more women's domestic roles as wives and mothers, thus indirectly legitimizing child marriage.
Ajala et al. (2023)	Systematic Review	Research has found that economic, cultural, religious, and social environmental factors influence the way young generations view marriage and marriage decisions at a young age.
Sabillah & Anecdotal (2024)	Narrative Review	The results of the study show that Generation Z is starting to view marriage as a big decision that requires mental, emotional, and financial readiness, rather than just following social trends in the media.
Putra & Amalia (2023)	Narrative Review	Research shows that digital media and social media have a great influence on the increasing rate of child marriage. Easy access to sexual content and lack of parental supervision make adolescents more vulnerable to involvement in relationships that lead to early marriage.
Dewi et al. (2023)	Systematic Review	The results of the study show that the development of digital technology has a significant impact on adolescent relationship patterns. Social media facilitates interaction and finding a partner online which then increases the potential for child marriage.
Maula (2023)	Narrative Review	Research found that social media content uses persuasive and emotional approaches to portray marriage as the ideal solution to adolescents' moral and social problems, thus influencing public opinion on child marriage.
Tsani (2021)	Systematic Review	The results showed that social media accounts that promoted early marriage displayed more positive aspects of domestic life without explaining the psychological, economic, and social risks that may occur after marrying young.
Putra & Agung Burhanusyihab (2023)	Narrative Review	Research shows that social media plays a role in shaping the normalization of child marriage through religious content that places marriage as a form of moral protection and a solution to adolescent promiscuity.

Source: Literature Review, Processed (2026)

Based on the results of a study from 30 journals that have been analyzed, it was found that social media, especially TikTok, has a very large influence in shaping public perception of child marriage and women's representation. Most studies show that social media is used as a means of disseminating narratives about young marriage through religious, cultural, and social approaches. Research by Raharjo & Febriana (2023), Sulaiman (2020), and Putra & Agung Burhanusyihab (2023) explains that content on social media often frames child marriage as a solution to promiscuity, maintaining morality, and a form of adherence to religious values. The narrative is strengthened through persuasive communication techniques, digital propaganda, and the use of influencers that are able to attract the attention of teenagers.

In addition, several studies such as Damayanti et al. (2021), Pebriandy et al. (2023), and Tsani (2021) show that TikTok content mostly displays the romanticization of young domestic life by portraying marriage as something happy, harmonious, and ideal. This content makes teenagers have unrealistic expectations of marriage because it shows more positive sides than real challenges in domestic life, such as economic pressure, communication conflicts, and the mental readiness of young couples. As a result, social media can influence teens' mindset to view child marriage as a normal and desirable trend.

The results of the study also show that social media plays a role in shaping social constructions about women. Utami's research (2025) found that women in social media content are more often represented as domestic figures who are ideal to be wives and mothers at a young age. This representation strengthens the patriarchal culture because women are judged based on their ability to take care of the household, not on their educational readiness, age, or psychological condition. In addition, Handayani (2021) and Rosyidah & Damastuti (2023) explained that social media is also used to build a religious-based collective identity that supports women's traditional roles in relationships and marriage.

On the other hand, several studies show that there is public resistance to the practice of child marriage. Wahyuni et al. (2018), Rafidah et al. (2024), and Nurmaida et al. (2024) explain that many social media users, especially Generation Z, are starting to have a more critical view of child marriage. They consider that marriage at a young age can hinder education, career, and self-development. Digital campaigns such as "Jo Kawin Bocah" are also considered effective in raising public awareness about the negative impact of child marriage on the health, education, and future of adolescents.

In addition to influencing perception, social media was also found to have a relationship with an increased risk of child marriage. Research by Novianti et al. (2023), Crisna (2023), and Saputra & Amalia (2021) shows that exposure to sexual content, lack of parental supervision, and uncontrolled internet access can increase adolescent sexual behavior leading to unplanned pregnancies and ultimately encouraging child marriage. Research by Agustina Tresendi Ndala et al. (2024) and A. N. Atika Sari et al. (2024) also found that child marriage has a negative impact on education, mental health, economic conditions, and the risk of divorce of young couples.

Discussion

The development of digital media today, TikTok is one of the social media that has a great influence in shaping people's views on women and the issue of child marriage. The content circulating on TikTok not only serves as entertainment, but also as a means of forming

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social meaning about how women should behave, live relationships, and determine their role in domestic life. Based on various studies studied, it was found that women in TikTok content about child marriage are often represented as ideal figures if they are able to carry out the role of wife and mother from a young age. Content that displays harmonious, romantic, and religious home life makes child marriage look normal and even attractive to some teenagers. This representation forms a social construction that women are considered "ready" to marry if they are able to meet domestic expectations, even though they are still in the category of children in terms of age, education, and psychology. This shows that social media has an important role in building public perception of women's identity and position in society.

In addition, the discussion of women's representation in TikTok content about child marriage cannot be separated from the influence of patriarchal culture and religious narratives that develop on social media. Various journals show that women in social media content are often placed as parties who must maintain family morality through marriage. Narratives such as "it is better to marry young than to date" or "pious women are women who are ready to become wives" are found in many TikTok content that discusses child marriage. This representation reinforces the view that women have the primary responsibility in maintaining the honor of themselves and their families, so that marriage at a young age is considered an ideal solution to avoid promiscuity. In this context, TikTok is a space for the reproduction of social values that place women in subordinate positions, because women are more represented based on their domestic roles than their rights to education, self-development, and freedom to determine the future.

TikTok content about child marriage also features a lot of romanticization of domestic life that affects adolescents' perception of marriage. Several studies show that social media influencers often share their experiences of getting married young by displaying a side of happiness, intimacy, and harmonious family life. Content like this makes teenage girls view child marriage as something happy and worthy of being a goal in life. In fact, various other studies show that child marriage has a great negative impact on women, such as school dropouts, psychological pressure, economic dependence, and a high risk of divorce. However, these aspects are rarely featured in TikTok content. As a result, women are unevenly represented because they are only shown as successful figures when they are able to live a married life at a young age without showing the real challenges that must be faced after marriage.

On the other hand, TikTok is also a space for resistance to the representation of women who support child marriage. A number of studies show that many social media users, especially Generation Z, are beginning to have a critical awareness of the negative impact of child marriage on women. Through digital campaigns, education, and public discussions, various content has emerged that rejects the normalization of child marriage and emphasizes the importance of education, mental health, and economic readiness before marriage. Campaigns such as "Jo Kawin Bocah" show that social media can be used as a tool to protect the rights of women and children by disseminating information about the risks of early marriage. This shows that TikTok is not only a medium that reinforces patriarchal culture, but can also be a space for struggle to build gender awareness and reject harmful representation of women.

The representation of women in TikTok content about child marriage shows that social media has great power in shaping social reality in society. Women in much TikTok content are

still represented through traditional roles as wives and mothers who must marry at a young age to meet certain social, cultural, and religious demands. This representation shows that social media is not neutral, but rather a space that produces and spreads ideologies about women and gender relations. However, in the midst of a strong narrative that supports child marriage, there are also community groups that use TikTok as a medium of education and criticism of the practice. Therefore, research on women's representation in TikTok content is important to understand how social media shapes people's perceptions of women as well as to see how women are positioned in the issue of child marriage in the digital era.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the discussion, it can be concluded that the representation of women in TikTok content about child marriage is still dominated by social constructions that place women in domestic roles as wives and mothers at a young age. TikTok content often displays the romanticization of early marriage through religious, cultural, and social narratives that portray ideal women as figures who are ready to get married and take care of the household from a young age. This representation indirectly strengthens the patriarchal culture and normalizes child marriage in society. However, on the other hand, social media is also a space for criticism and digital campaigns that reject the practice of child marriage and encourage awareness about the importance of education, mental readiness, and the protection of women's and children's rights. Thus, TikTok has a dual role, namely as a medium that can strengthen or oppose the practice of child marriage in the digital era. To address these dynamics, this study recommends that digital literacy initiatives be enhanced to empower young users especially women to critically evaluate romanticized representations of child marriage. Furthermore, content creators, civil society organizations, and policymakers should leverage social media platforms to expand evidence-based counter-campaigns. Finally, future research is encouraged to examine audience reception and the algorithmic mechanisms that influence the virality of child marriage content on TikTok.

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