



Understanding gender injustice in early marriage: Challenges faced by women

Devian Ayu Putri Efendi*✉, Sri Wahyuningsih**

**Faculty of Social and Cultural Sciences, Universitas Trunojoyo Madura, Indonesia
Email: devianayuputri25@gmail.com*

***Faculty of Social and Cultural Sciences, Universitas Trunojoyo Madura, Indonesia
Email: sri.w@trunojoyo.ac.id*

ABSTRACT

The form of gender inequality between women and men outlines the existence of female gender inequality, one of which is the phenomenon of early marriage. Therefore, the aim of this research is to determine the forms of gender inequality in women who commit early marriage. The research method uses a constructivism paradigm with a qualitative descriptive research type. The participants of this study consist of women who have entered into early marriages, while the focal point of investigation lies in discerning the various manifestations of gender injustice experienced within this demographic. Informants were purposefully selected, utilizing purposive sampling techniques to ensure comprehensive representation and depth in data collection. Data collection techniques use observation, interviews, and documentation. Data analysis uses data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions. The data validity checking technique uses source triangulation and member checking. The findings of this research underscore the intricate interplay between gender injustice and entrenched cultural norms within the context of early marriage, illuminating the perpetuation of traditions and cultural practices across generations. Specifically, the study reveals pervasive forms of marginalization, subordination, stereotype reinforcement, instances of violence, and the imposition of double workloads experienced by women who engage in early marriages. Gender injustice in women from early marriage views women as having a lower status compared to men. The latest finding is that education is the single most effective weapon in fighting gender inequality and reducing the rate of early marriage.

Keywords: Women, Gender Equality, Early Marriage.

✉ Corresponding author:

Email Address: devianayuputri25@gmail.com

Received: February 8, 2024; Accepted: March 7, 2024; Published: March 31, 2024

Copyright © 2024 Devian Ayu Putri Efendi, Sri Wahyuningsih

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.22373/equality.v10i1.22510>

ABSTRAK

Bentuk ketidaksetaraan gender antara perempuan dan laki-laki menarik garis besar adanya ketidakadilan gender perempuan, salah satunya terjadinya fenomena pernikahan dini. Karena itu tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk mengetahui bentuk ketidakadilan gender pada perempuan pelaku pernikahan dini. Metode penelitian menggunakan paradigma konstruktivisme dengan jenis penelitian deskriptif kualitatif. Subjek dalam penelitian ini terdiri dari perempuan yang telah melakukan pernikahan dini, sedangkan objek dalam penelitian ini adalah melihat berbagai manifestasi ketidakadilan gender yang dialami dalam demografi ini. Informan sengaja dipilih dengan menggunakan teknik purposive sampling, untuk memastikan keterwakilan yang komprehensif dan kedalaman dalam pengumpulan data. Teknik pengumpulan data menggunakan observasi, wawancara, dan dokumentasi. Analisis data menggunakan reduksi data, penyajian data, dan penarikan kesimpulan. Teknik pemeriksaan keabsahan data menggunakan triangulasi sumber dan member checking. Hasil temuan dalam penelitian menggarisbawahi interaksi yang rumit antara ketidakadilan gender dan norma-norma budaya yang mengakar dalam konteks pernikahan dini, yang menjelaskan pelestarian tradisi dan praktik budaya lintas generasi. Secara khusus, penelitian ini mengungkap bentuk-bentuk marginalisasi yang meluas, subordinasi, pengutan stereotip, kejadian kekerasan, dan beban kerja ganda yang dialami perempuan yang melakukan pernikahan dini. Temuan terakhir bahwa pendidikan adalah satu-satunya senjata paling ampuh dalam memerangi adanya ketidakadilan gender dan menekan angka pernikahan dini.

Kata Kunci: Perempuan, Kesetaraan Gender, Pernikahan Dini.

1. INTRODUCTION

The existence of a developing patriarchal order makes women experience gender inequality in society. This position places women in a different social role than men (Mutiah, 2019). In reality, it shows that the role of women from the perspective of equal rights and their position with men has developed (Abidin, 2017). The phenomenon of early marriage is a social phenomenon that occurs as a result of gender inequality. This unique phenomenon occurs in Banyubesi Village, Tragah District, Bangkalan Regency. There are more women in Banyubesi Village than men; therefore, the phenomenon of early marriage that occurs creates many forms of major injustice experienced by women. Of course, this greatly influences the development of women's lives in Banyubesi village.

Table 1

Population by gender in Banyubesi Village, Tragah District, Bangkalan Regency 2017.

No.	Gender	Population
1	Man	931
2	Woman	962

(BKKBN, 2017)

Banyubesi Village is the smallest village in Tragah District, Bangkalan Regency, Madura East Java. The majority of Banyubesi village youth continue their education at

Islamic boarding schools. The existence of high religious knowledge makes the people of Banyubesi Village believe that marriage must be carried out immediately so as not to cause negative things. Parents think that instead of approaching the act of adultery (dating) and doing negative, indecent things, the marriage should be performed even though the age does not meet the legal requirements.

Another factor is that the education rate in Banyubesi Village is relatively low; only elementary school (SD) graduates. The low education factor is because the Banyubesi people choose marriage over education. The Banyubesi people struggle to obtain proper employment due to their poor level of education. Because they lack a diploma, they can only work in the rice fields, which their parents passed down from generation to generation, resulting in a high rate of early marriage in Banyubesi Village.

Table 2
Population according to education level.

No.	Education Level	Population
1	Separated School	358 People
2	Passed Elementary School	446 People
3	Passed Middle School	63 People
4	Passed High School	47 People
5	Passed D3	-
6	Passed S1	7 People

(BKKBN, 2017)

Based on data from 2022, East Java province has the highest rate of early marriage, with 10.4% higher than the national average. Meanwhile, the number of applications for early marriage dispensation in East Java Province is the highest in Indonesia, reaching 15,337 cases, or 29.4% of national cases. This information was provided by Femmy Eka Kartika Putri as Deputy for Coordination of Quality Improvement for Children, Women, and Youth of the Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Culture (Wahyu, 2023).

Other data was obtained from Bangkalan Regency, Madura, which is one of the areas that has a fairly high rate of early marriage compared to other areas in East Java. Head of the Women and Children Protection Division, Women's Empowerment and Family Planning Agency (BPP and KB) in Bangkalan, East Java Province, said that the ideal number of early marriages set by the government is 5%, but in Bangkalan in 2017, the number of early marriages was 17%, or 1,541 of the number of marriages, which was 9,064; in 2018, it reached 17%, or 1,756 of the number of marriages, namely 10,331, exceeding the ideal number that had been set (Madura, 2019).

After COVID-19, the number of early marriages in Madura reached 830 cases in 2020; this was conveyed by the Secretary of Bakorwil Pamekasan Mohyi, S.Sos, M.Si, in his written statement on December 7, 2023, at the Bakorwil Pamekasan building (Wahab, 2023). Head of the Population Control Division, Counselling and Mobilisation of the Bangkalan KBP3A Service, Nur Latifah, said, In 2021, 1,366 people will have early marriages in Madura. Meanwhile, in 2022, there will be 1,650 people. One of the factors causing the high rate of early marriage in Madura is the economy and family support, because many Madurese

people think that if their children are married, they will reduce their financial responsibilities (Basri, 2023).

The existence of gender inequality in women who commit early marriage states that women have dual roles, such as the theory put forward by Michelle et al. (Jannah, 2022), which states that dual roles are a concept of cultural dualism, namely the existence of views in the domestic and public environment or space. Basically, a dual role is defined as two or more roles that are carried out at the same time. This means that women have a dual role in the domestic role, which is related to a woman's roles as a wife for her husband, a mother for her children, and a manager of the household. Meanwhile, the public role is related to workers, community members, and community organisations.

In certain opinions, Banyubesi village women are only companions for their husbands when they are in the family, whose job it is to look after the children, cook, and serve their husbands. This assumption stems from the fact that women in early marriage who work are considered lowly and unable to take care of the children, thus causing disputes between husband and wife in the family to often occur. Women who are not allowed to work to earn a living and must focus on managing the family are unable to develop themselves in social life. Apart from that, it is also important to pay attention to the parenting patterns applied by women who marry early to their children. At an early age, of course, there is emotional instability. So there are often arguments and minor disputes in the household. At a young age, it certainly becomes a problem in itself; they have to try to control their own emotions and how they provide good parenting.

Apart from that, other factors that trigger conflict in early marriage are incompatibility, poverty, a lack of awareness, and a lack of knowledge about the realities of married life. This causes their offspring to become victims of early marriage. The phenomenon of early marriage makes women experience gender inequality in the marriage process (Higher Population Council, 2017; Mrayan & Obeisat, 2021).

Research conducted by John Tanamal, Adm. Study Program STIA State Said Command, and Lodewyk Nahuway, STISIP National Sociology Study Program with the title *Early Marriage and the Marginalisation of Nuaulu Women* (2022 Public Policy & Business Applications Journal), shows that there are two main cultural factors that influence the occurrence of early marriage, namely that the Nuaulu community tends to consider women to be the lowest position in the tribe and the Nuaulu people are not highly educated. This influences their way of thinking and encourages early marriage within their tribe. Meanwhile, because they are marginalised by situations such as when girls are labelled as dowries, they are considered capable of earning money to help their parents by getting married.

From the explanation above, regarding the existence of gender injustice for women in early marriage, the aim of the research is to find out, explore, and analyze the forms of gender inequality in women who commit early marriage.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Theoretical Framework

The dual role theory put forward by Michelle et al. (Jannah, 2022) states that dual roles are a concept of cultural dualism, namely the existence of views in the domestic and public environment or space. Basically, a dual role is defined as two or more roles that are

carried out at the same time. This means that women have a dual role in the domestic role, which is related to the roles of a woman as a wife for her husband, a mother for her children, and a woman as manager of the household. Meanwhile, the public role is related to workers, community members, and community organisations.

Women in a marriage certainly have several roles, namely women as housewives (domestic) and also women as breadwinners (public). The following is an explanation regarding cultural dualism presented by Michelle et al. (Jannah, 2022):

- a. The role of women as housewives (domestic). The role of women in a family is that of wife and mother of their children, as well as manager of the household. Women in the domestic role are tasked with keeping their families peaceful and happy, and there are also duties in taking care of the household such as cooking, washing, and looking after and educating their children, including serving their husband's biological needs.
- b. The role of women as breadwinners (public). Women's role as breadwinners is associated with economic factors and family needs. Women act as breadwinners to help their husbands, but in reality, many women earn a living to meet their daily needs due to the husband's lack of income in his family. Thus, women are encouraged to become breadwinners due to low family economic factors.

2.2. Conceptual Framework

2.2.1. Gender Inequality

According to Fibrianto (2016) and Iqbal and Harianto (2022) gender is defined as a difference in social attributes between men and women that is constructed by society and is dynamic in nature. Based on the gender context, women are still in an intimidated position in society; there is a tendency to limit women's movement in the public sphere, making it impossible for women to develop freely like men.

Forms of gender injustice, according to Khotimah (2009) and Iqbal & Harianto (2022) include marginalisation, subordination, socio-cultural stereotypes, and low levels of education for women. This injustice is caused by patriarchal culture, which has been a tradition passed down from generation to generation in society. This triggers discrimination against women. Of course, the inequality that occurs is the impact of culture itself, which continues to develop, even though in the current era of development there should be no gender inequality that occurs considering the equal freedom that women and men must have.

2.2.2. Early Marriage

According to the World Health Organization (WHO), early marriage is a marriage between a couple or one of the partners who is still categorized as a child or teenager under 19 years of age. According to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), early marriage is a marriage entered into officially or informally before the age of 18 years (Latifa, 2019).

According to Al Ghifari (2008) and Desiyanti (2015), early marriage is a marriage carried out at a teenage age; in this case, a teenager is aged 10–19 years and has not yet married. According to Romauli (2009), early marriage is marriage carried out on women under 16 years of age and on men under 19 years of age.

According to Hollean (in Hatmah, 2018), early marriage is often caused by insufficient financial problems; parents ask the parties for prerequisites. If a man's family wants to marry

his daughter, and finally, parents think that if their daughter marries, the family will have less responsibility to pay for it. This, of course, often causes conflict in the future; many couples get married early but are unable to maintain harmony in their household.

3. METHOD

This research uses a qualitative descriptive approach, namely research whose results are descriptive data obtained by collecting facts from natural conditions as a direct source with instruments from your own research. The resulting data is in the form of descriptive data using observation, interviews, and documentation methods, so that later facts will be collected from the conditions that occurred in the field during the data search.

The data obtained primarily will later be analyzed by researchers. The object of this research is the form of gender injustice among women in early marriage. The subjects in this research were women involved in early marriage, and several related agencies, namely the Tragah District Religious Affairs Office (KUA) and the Banyubesi Village Government, provided support for improving the researcher's data and information. In addition, the researcher took samples or subjects using the purposive sampling method, which is a research method in which the sample is determined deliberately by the researcher according to the characteristics determined by the researcher. Data collection techniques use observation, interviews, and documentation methods.

For data analysis techniques, use the reduction method, data presentation, and conclusion drawing. Data validity checking techniques use source triangulation and member checking. The use of source triangulation techniques is used as a method of checking and collecting data through related sources to prove the validity of the information obtained. Member checking was also carried out by the researcher, who asked the informant to recheck the words that had been conveyed.

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Based on research conducted by researchers, the results regarding gender inequality in Banyubesi Village, Tragah District, Bangkalan Regency, can be explained as follows:

4.1. *Forms of Marginalization of Women in Early Marriage*

Madurese women who marry early experience gender inequality in their marriages. This is caused by differences in treatment between women and men due to a social system that always places men as the main priority. This kind of patriarchal order makes women marginalised and even experiences injustice in society (Mutiah, 2019).

The results of research conducted by researchers through interviews with informants showed that there was a prohibition on the husband working. The husband believes that his wife is a weak and uneducated woman, so she should stay at home rather than have to work hard. This prohibition by the husband demonstrates that women who marry early are marginalised or impoverished.

"I used to work on the side by selling cakes around, but in the end I stopped selling. Yes, because my husband forbade me to work, he said just take care of the housework, don't worry about it, just earn a little money, even though I want to help, it's enough for the children's snacks and personal snacks." (MA, Interview, October 25, 2023)

The statement made by Informant MA shows that when the wife works, the income she earns is only a small amount; it would be better if she just sat quietly at home and took care of the household. Even though working on the side can certainly lighten your husband's burden too, This form of prohibition results in women who marry early being marginalised in terms of work; of course, they will always wait for money from their husbands for their daily needs.

"In the past, I was selling vegetables around, sis, I was selling while taking my children around the village. But my husband was angry every day, so in the end I didn't sell anymore." (S, Interview, October 25, 2023)

The statement made by Informant MA shows that when the wife works, the income she earns is only a small amount; it would be better if she just sat quietly at home and took care of the household. Even though working on the side can certainly lighten your husband's burden too, This form of prohibition results in women who marry early being marginalised in terms of work; of course, they will always wait for money from their husbands for their daily needs.

In connection with research conducted by Khayati (2019), it was stated that women who work have reasons for wanting to improve their family's standard of living. The reason for being persistent in working is because the husband does not have a steady income. Sometimes spending money is used for gambling. The existence of economic problems also makes it impossible for women to just keep quiet and finally decide to work.

Furthermore, research conducted by Damayanti (2016) states that prohibiting wives from working is part of the act of domestic violence (KDRT). This is stated in Law No. 23 of 2004 Article 9, paragraph 2, concerning neglect, which also applies to anyone who causes economic dependence by limiting or prohibiting decent work, either inside or outside the home. This is clear evidence of how the wife's prohibition from working is part of the marginalisation of women who marry early. In the absence of educational support, it will certainly be difficult to find employment.

4.2. Forms of Stereotypes of Women in Early Marriage

The results of the research that has been carried out, finding stereotypical forms of female gender inequality in early marriage, are presented as follows:

Table 3.

Forms of stereotypes of women in early marriage.

No.	Interview Quotes	Results	Information
1.	<i>"I used to have an arranged marriage with my parents, sis, it's a tradition here, I'm afraid of sin if I refuse. You can't disobey your parents' orders, sis. So, in the past I just obeyed when I graduated from elementary school and got married, I was afraid of burdening my parents too, I'm a girl."</i> (MA, 2023)	There are early marriages due to the tradition of arranged marriages.	The stereotype of women must always be obedient. Refers to obeying parents, by agreeing to parents' wishes in an arranged marriage and marrying at an early age.

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| 2. <i>"Back when I was working, my husband was angry, sis, my husband said that women are only in the kitchen taking care of the house, taking care of the children. Moreover, I'm still young so it's better to learn to cook with my parents, rather than being busy outside the house." (MN, 2023)</i> | There are disputes due to the wife's work. | The stereotype of women kitchen dweller. Referring to husbands who think that a woman's nature is to cook in the kitchen and take care of the household. |
| 3. <i>"My parents said at that time, sis, it's in the nature of women to give birth to children, that's an obligation, so just take care of the children with your husband, you'll be happy to support them, your job is just to clean the house anyway." (S, 2023)</i> | The existence of women's nature as mothers and wife. | The stereotype of women who produce children. Refers to the notion that women are machines that produce children and are responsible for taking full care of the children. |

(Researcher Interview, 2023)

Basically, the stereotype itself is defined as a label or stamp for a person or group with incorrect assumptions. Stereotypes of women certainly limit their space for movement. If stereotypes about women continue to develop, it will hamper women's movements. Therefore, women do not have the same freedom as men (Tsaniya & Prihandini, 2023).

The results of the first research found a stereotype that women must always be obedient. The role of parents who match their children at an early age makes children have to be obedient and follow their parents' orders. Women who marry early will help the family's economy and reduce their parents' responsibility for support. Women who marry early will make their parents very happy because their parents no longer need to pay for it. There has been a habit or tradition of matching children since they were small. When they experience their first menstruation, they are considered adults and must plan to get married immediately.

In accordance with research conducted by Tanamal and Nahuway (2022), it is stated that there is a tradition of matchmaking for girls. This is done from childhood. This happens because parents think that daughters should help ease their parents' economic burden, so many drop out of school and get married at an early age. The obedient nature that is labeled in women means that they do not have free space to express their consent in making decisions. Women's lives are as if they are driven by their parents, and they have to obey their parents' wishes and orders.

The results of the second research revealed a stereotype of women as kitchen dwellers. The statement that women are kitchen occupiers is very critical for women who are simply housewives with no income. They are highlighted as kitchen dwellers because they spend their daily lives at home cooking for their husbands and children. Stereotypes like this must be changed, because the fact is that currently many men enjoy cooking and have even become professional chefs. This shows that the task of cooking is not only carried out by women but also by men.

This is in line with the findings of a research article by Yovita et al. (2022), stating that there is a societal stigma about "women's affairs being limited to kitchen and household

matters, which is still closely attached to women's bodies. This stigma or stereotype arises because women are considered not to need to be highly educated if, in the end, they will definitely become kitchen dwellers.

The results of the third research study highlighted a stereotype of women as child-making machines. Married women are considered to have an obligation to have children. Therefore, husbands try hard to be able to produce children, while for women at a young age, of course, it is dangerous for women's lives to be able to conceive and give birth. Women are not given the right to consider delaying pregnancy at a young age, so women must carry out their duties to be able to give birth to children.

In line with research by Tsaniya and Prihandini (2023), it is stated that women are child-making machines, which is a form of depiction of patriarchal culture in which women experience negative labelling as child-making machines who must continue to be pregnant until they can give birth to a son. The prevailing patriarchal culture shows that boys are considered stronger than girls. This is clear evidence that men have the highest throne in a patriarchal cultural background. The spotlight that women have on getting pregnant and giving birth to children means that the purchase of child-printing machines is still attached to women. Therefore, it is important for society to understand that the role of women in the family is not only as a machine for producing children.

4.3. Forms of Subordination of Women in Early Marriage

Subordination itself is the subjugation or positioning of women after men (Widodo in Aulad et al., 2020). The form of subordination that occurs in women who marry early is the division of labour between husband and wife. A husband's job is to earn a living, while the wife at home takes care of household needs, including sweeping, washing dishes, cooking, and also looking after the children.

"When I was in an arranged marriage, I didn't want to, because I wanted to continue my studies. My parents, on the other hand, said that girls don't need to go to high school if, in the future, they will also be taking care of the house. So here the thinking is that men can go to high school because it provides them for work." (MN, Interview, October 25, 2023)

The statement presented shows that the role of women involved in early marriage in the field of education is subordinated because men are prioritised to be able to pursue higher education, while women are not. This is believed to be because women will ultimately only live as housekeepers, while men will work to earn a living. The gap in the positioning of women and men is clear evidence that the subordination of women involved in early marriage is still developing in society.

In accordance with the research article written by Tanamal and Nahuway, (2022), which shows the results that girls who marry at an early age definitely have not completed junior high school, The decision to marry at a young age shows gender bias (giving priority to one gender). Parents who have daughters believe that marriage is not necessary to pursue higher education. Therefore, the gap in rights experienced by women in the field of education is clear evidence that women's subordination is still developing today.

It can be concluded that the educational subordination experienced by women is a form of gender injustice among those who marry young. This is due to the perception that education is not important in managing the household. As a result, society must straighten out and pay attention to its mindset to reduce the existing rate of early marriage by pursuing a proper education up to at least a high school or vocational school level.

4.4. Forms of Violence against Women in Early Marriage

The results of research that has been carried out, finding forms of gender injustice violence against women in early marriage, are presented as follows:

Table 4

Forms of violence against women in early marriage.

No.	Interview Quotes	Forms of Violence
1.	<i>"When I first got married, sis, it was because I still couldn't control my emotions. I used to often get hit on the arm when we argued, but now I never do that again, sis." (MA, 2023)</i>	Physical Abuse
2.	<i>"Usually, when we have a fight, I usually hear harsh words, sis, it's also called household." (MN, 2023)</i>	Psychological Violence
3.	<i>"Most people usually fight when they don't have money and are tired of work. Yes, my husband gets angry when I ask for money to buy milk." (S, 2023)</i>	Psychological Violence
4.	<i>"When I first gave birth, I liked to cry, because my husband sometimes shouted at me. I look after the children, so sometimes I couldn't clean the house. So sometimes my children were left with my parents." (MA, 2023)</i>	Psychological Violence

(Researcher Interview, 2023)

The first study discovered several forms of physical violence faced by women throughout their early marriage. This is due to the unstable emotions of those involved in early marriage. This influences how they handle a problem; they will tend to use their emotional side through movement or touch in the form of beatings, whether small or large beatings. This is a form of outlet for their emotions, so women tend to become victims.

In line with research conducted by Umniyyah (2021), it was found that girls are the ones who are shackled because they do not get their rights as women. Women also experience gender-based violence. The violence experienced is in the form of physical attacks that occur in the household, including acts of torture against children. The torture carried out was only applied to girls; when girls were born prematurely, they were not given adequate breast milk and nutrition because only boys were considered valuable in the family. Unpreparedness in establishing a household tends to be influenced by age factors. This is because, at an early age, you cannot control your emotions, so your mindset towards raising children becomes uncontrollable.

The results of the second study found that there was psychological violence experienced by women in early marriage. At the start of marriage, there are often economic difficulties because the small income cannot meet household needs. This results in economic

disputes occurring, and in disputes, they often say dirty words that hurt women's feelings. Not infrequently, this makes women feel stressed and depressed. Disputes also occur again at the beginning of the birth of a child. Women are required to be able to serve their husband's needs, care for children, and carry out household duties simultaneously. This makes women tired and experience baby blues.

In line with research done by Yoosefi Lebni et al. (2023), it was found that women who marry early will experience depression and emotional stress. This is due to a pregnancy occurring, for which they are not yet ready. Another fact is that women choose to drop out of school, making them regret not getting a higher education. This incident triggered a number of challenges experienced by the woman carrying out this marriage. Due to the psychological pressure they experience, it is not uncommon for them to attempt suicide.

4.5. Forms of Workload for Women in Early Marriage

The results of the research that has been carried out, finding forms of gender inequality for women in early marriage, are presented as follows:

Table 5

Forms of workload for women in early marriage.

No.	Interview Quotes	Result
1.	<i>"When my husband comes home from work, he wants the house to always be clean, sis, and food is available. Yes, that's why I'm prohibited from working, so I take care of the house, sis" (MN, 2023)</i>	Women's domestik role as spouses
2.	<i>"My husband prefers it if I just stay at home taking care of the children, without having to work outside. If I work, I'm afraid I'll neglect looking after the children, sis" (S, 2023)</i>	Women's domestik role as caregivers
3.	<i>"If I work to help my husband, sis, so I open a shop at home. If I sell at home, I can do it while taking care of the children and taking care of the house. Yes, even though it's quiet, it's good enough to make snacks for the children" (MN, 2023) (Researcher Interview, 2023)</i>	Women's public role as primary earners

(Researcher Interview, 2023)

The findings of the first research indicated that women play a dual function in domestic duties, specifically as wives to their husbands, mothers to their children, and household managers. Women who marry early face a significant workload; at a young age, they are expected to be competent to care for the family, such as cooking, sweeping, and washing. On the other hand, they must carry out their responsibilities to care for their children and serve their spouses. This doubles the workload for women because it must be completed simultaneously.

According to one particular research (Tuwu, 2018), women's household tasks are part of their job, which is very energy- and time-consuming. Even before dawn, household chores are started. Husbands are still rarely active in women's household tasks because most men are associated with being breadwinners. Women are subjected to intense domestic pressure from

a young age. Women will encounter mental illnesses in their homes as a result of physical and mental unpreparedness.

The findings of the second study revealed information regarding women in labor-related public roles (as breadwinners). Due to their low level of education, women who marry young find it more difficult to acquire career opportunities. Women who lack a diploma become relegated to waiting for their husbands' support.

According to research findings (Tuwu, 2018), women who hold public positions must nevertheless bear the weight of domestic responsibilities. Domestic duties are not seen to be economically profitable, hence domestic employment is not a productive job. Women who perform both public and household responsibilities will face challenges because they will have financial constraints, limiting their ability to actualize their dreams through a job. This is because women's roles in the public sphere are undervalued, and there is no appreciation for women's accomplishments.

5. CONCLUSION

Based on the objectives of this research, it can be concluded that this research shows the existence of a phenomenon of gender inequality in women who marry early. The results of the research show that there are five forms of gender injustice experienced by women who marry early, namely a form of marginalization in the form of work prohibitions. Furthermore, the stereotypical form of women must always be obedient; women as kitchen dwellers and women as machines producing the next child. Forms of subordination for women are not prioritized in pursuing education. Furthermore, there are forms of physical and psychological violence against women who marry early. Next, form a dual role domestically and publicly.

References

- Abidin, Z. (2017). Kesetaraan gender dan emansipasi perempuan dalam pendidikan Islam. *Educatif: Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan*, 12(01), 1–17.
- Aulad, N., Hadi, P. K., & Furinawati, Y. (2020). Diskriminasi perempuan dalam budaya bali pada novel Tempurung karya Oka Rusmini. *Widyabastra : Jurnal Ilmiah Pembelajaran Bahasa Dan Sastra Indonesia*, 7(2), 56. <https://doi.org/10.25273/widyabastra.v7i2.5943>
- Basri, A. (2023). *Sebanyak 1.650 Remaja di Bangkalan nikah dini*. Radar Madura. <https://radarmadura.jawapos.com/berita-kota/74919678/sebanyak-1650-remaja-di-bangkalan-nikah-dini>
- BKKBN. (2017). *Profil Banyubeseh*. Kampungkb.Bkkbn.Go.Id. <https://kampungkb.bkkbn.go.id/kampung/3578/banyubeseh>
- Damayanti, L. (2016). *Suami melarang isteri bekerja menurut undang-undang no. 23 Tahun 2004 tentang pkdrt dan perspektif hukum Islam (Issue 23)*.
- Desiyanti, I. W. (2015). Faktor-faktor yang berhubungan terhadap pernikahan dini pada pasangan usia subur di Kecamatan Mapanget Kota Manado (Factors associated with early marriage in couples of childbearing age at Kecamatan Mapanget Manado City). *Jurnal Ilmu Kesehatan Masyarakat Unsrat*, 5(2), 270–280.
- Hatmah. (2018). Gambaran kejadian pernikahan usia dini di Kecamatan Banjarmasin Selatan. *KTI Akademi Kebidanan Sari Mulia*, 15(2), 1–23.

<http://repository.unism.ac.id/id/eprint/142>

- Iqbal, M. F., & Harianto, S. (2022). Prasangka, ketidaksetaraan, dan diskriminasi gender dalam kehidupan mahasiswa Kota Surabaya: Tinjauan Pemikiran Konflik Karl Marx. *Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Sosial*, 8(2), 187–199. <https://doi.org/10.23887/jiis.v8i2.52926>
- Jannah, S. N. (2022). Peran ganda perempuan sebagai ibu rumah tangga dan dukun urut. *Journal Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial*. <https://repository.uinjkt.ac.id>
- Khayati, E. Z. (2019). Pendidikan dan independensi perempuan masa kini. *Journal Staffnew Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta*, 11(2), 432–447. <https://doi.org/10.30863/annisa.v11i2.328>
- Latifa. (2019). Pengertian pernikahan dini. *Poltekkes Jogja*, 1(7), 1.
- Mrayan, L., & Obeisat, S. (2021). The lived experience of early marriage in Jordan: The perspective of adolescent girls and young women. *SAGE Open*, 11(3). <https://doi.org/10.1177/21582440211048895>
- Mutiah, R. (2019). Sistem patriarki dan kekerasan atas perempuan. *Komunitas*, 10(1), 58–74. <https://doi.org/10.20414/komunitas.v10i1.1191>
- Tanamal, J., & Nahuway, L. (2022). Pernikahan dini dan marginalisasi perempuan Nuauulu. *PUBLIC POLICY (Jurnal Aplikasi Kebijakan Publik & Bisnis)*, 3(1), 72–90. <https://doi.org/10.51135/publicpolicy.v3.i1.p72-90>
- Tsaniya, F. N., & Prihandini, A. (2023). Stereotipe perempuan yang dialami oleh tokoh Amina dalam cerita pendek Amina karya Shirley Saad. *Mahadaya*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1–9.
- Tuwu, D. (2018). Peran pekerja perempuan dalam memenuhi ekonomi keluarga: Dari peran domestik menuju sektor publik. *Al-Izzah: Jurnal Hasil-hasil Penelitian*, 13(1), 63. <https://doi.org/10.31332/ai.v13i1.872>
- Umniyyah, Z. (2021). Kekerasan berbasis gender : Belenggu patriarki terhadap perempuan dalam novel Tempurung karya Oka Rusmini. *Journal of Feminism and Gender Studies*, 1(1), 22. <https://doi.org/10.19184/fgs.v1i1.22323>
- Wahab, A. (2023). *Naik di masa pandemi, angka pernikahan dini Pamekasan turun di 2023*. rri.co.id. <https://www.rri.go.id/daerah/473396/naik-di-masa-pandemi-angka-pernikahan-dini-pamekasan-turun-di-2023>
- Wahyu, A. (2023). *Mendesak! Jawa Timur darurat perkawinan anak*. KEMENKO PMK. Mendesak! Jawa Timur Darurat Perkawinan Anak
- Yoosefi Lebni, J., Solhi, M., Ebadi Fard Azar, F., Khalajabadi Farahani, F., & Irandoost, S. F. (2023). Exploring the consequences of early marriage: A conventional content analysis. *Inquiry (United States)*, 60. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00469580231159963>
- Yovita, K., Dwi, A., Kristina, A., & Pardede, G. (2022). Stigma masyarakat terhadap perempuan sebagai strata kedua dalam negeri. *Seminar Nasional Ilmu Ilmu Sosial, Universitas Negeri Surabaya*, 01(01), 401–411.