

## THE IDEOLOGICAL MEANING BEHIND THE SHIFT IN WOMEN'S POSITION IN DOKA NIKISI'E VILLAGE

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### ABSTRACT

*Di'i Dhano* is a form of marriage system that follows the mother's lineage in Doka Nikisi'e Village. According to this system, a woman inherits all the property of the family in which she lives. However, this marriage system has begun to shift at this time. Even though the matrilineal structure and customary symbolism glorify women, authority, leadership and access to knowledge about customs, law, politics and technology are dominated by men. This research aims to reveal the causing factors and the hidden ideology of the shift in the position of women in the matrilineal marriage system in Doka Nikisi'e village. This research applies qualitative methods through participant observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation study. Data obtained is analysed critically by feminist theories, namely nature and nurture, liberal feminism, and psychoanalytic theory. The results of this study indicate that the factors causing the shift in women's position include internal and external factors. The hidden ideologies behind the shift in women's positions include patriarchy, masculinity, and power relations.

**Keywords:** *Di'i Dhano*, ideological, meaning, women's position,

### INTRODUCTION

East Nusa Tenggara is one of the provinces in Indonesia located in the southeastern part of Indonesia. East Nusa Tenggara Province has a variety of tribes and cultures. Each tribe has different customs and cultures, with these differences, making East Nusa Tenggara rich in culture, including the marriage system. Each tribe has different stages, processes and ideologies of customary marriage. In Indonesia, two general meanings of marriage have developed, namely marriage with conventional meanings and modern marriage. Viewed from a woman's point of view, marriage is something that causes various social consequences and becomes a social obligation that must be carried out (Duval & Miller,

1985). Society recognizes the purpose of marriage, including for the most important biological reason, which is to continue offspring. Marriage is not only about women and men who will become husband and wife, but also about the roles and positions of both partners for the creation of harmony in a family (household). Marriage has the aim of creating a serene family, full of happiness, which is decorated with mutual love, affection and love between both parties (Khoirudin, 2002:3).

Marriage is a transition or life cycle from the level of adolescent life to the level of family life of everyone in the world. Viewed from the point of view of human culture, marriage is a regulator of human behaviour related to their sex life, namely sexual behaviour and sexual relations. In addition to regulating sexual behaviour, marriage also has various other functions of human cultural and societal life. First of all, marriage provides provisions for rights and obligations and protection of the results of sexual relations, namely children. Marriage also satisfies man's need for a soul mate; meet the need for property, prestige and class of society; and the maintenance of good relations between certain groups of relatives is often also a reason for marriage. From this understanding, marriage is more functionalistic, deliberately carried out by humans so that humans can meet their needs so that humans are able to place themselves in their respective functions and roles in a marriage (Koentjaraningrat, 1992:93).

Doka Nikisi'e village has a marriage system that is so thick. ie. "*Di'i Dhano*" (a form of marriage that follows the mother's lineage), the woman becomes the heir to all family property in which the woman lives. From this form of marriage, the husband becomes a newcomer in his wife's house or known as *ana ngodho mai* (the husband comes, lives and works in his wife's house). As an immigrant, the husband does not count as a member of the house and has no rights to all the property in his wife's home. The one who has the right is his wife, while the arrangement is taken care of by his wife's brother. Doka Nikisi'e village still carries out this tradition in accordance with the ancestral heritage, where we can see this in every *Sa'o* (traditional house) in Doka Nikisi'e village. *Sa'o* consists of two *Sa'o*, namely *Sa'o Saka Pu'you* and *Sa'o Saka Lobo*. *Sa'o Saka Pu'u* is seen as the main origin of a tribe, where *Sa'o Saka Pu'u* is also the home of the oldest woman in the tribe, which is usually marked by miniature *bhaga* (a kind of small house as a symbol of female ancestors). *Pu'u* itself means principal, or source which in this context refers to the source of life, namely from the female body. While *Sa'o Saka Lobo* is marked by a male ancestral symbol in the form of *Ata* or wooden statue ornaments holding spears and machetes.

In Sa'o there is a sacred part namely One where this place can only be mourned by a woman who is considered a symbol of the womb, while men can only sit on *Teda K isa*, while *Teda Mo'a* is a place for guests and other extended family members, Marriages carried out by deliberation of all clan members and between two tribes are highly desirable in custom, because in the end it is not just bringing a girl together with a man, but uniting two big families. If something untoward happens, such as a husband and wife quarrel, divorce and others, then all family members feel responsible to resolve it and bear all the risks. The meaning and significance of marriage in the Doka Nikisi'e society can be read in the keywords used during traditional weddings. One of the keywords used is *Buri Peka Naja, Bei Ube Logo* (buttocks have touched the floor and buttocks are leaning against the wall). *Buri* is butt, sensitive to touch, *Naja* means *Pelupu* which is the floor of a traditional house. This *Buri* is a symbol of men, *Naja* is a symbol of women who become future wives. The *Logo* is the back that becomes a male symbol. While the *Ube* is a traditional house board wall as a symbol of the woman who is the future wife who is the owner of the house and the owner of toughness and safety of life.

Therefore, for the people of Doka Nikisi, *e, Ine* (mama or mother) is a sacred and precious figure for them, both in position, status, and decision making. However, the division of roles between men and women must be done fairly. Both women and men should complement each other, not dominate each other. The matrilineal kinship system, placing women in important positions in a family, gave her the opportunity to become the head of the family who was fully responsible for her family members. While women are busy with the internal affairs of the family, external or outside the household affairs for the benefit of the family are left to their mother or brother. But over time, this marriage system began to shift, although the matrilineal structure and customary symbolism glorified women, but authority, leadership and access to knowledge about custom, law, politics, technology, dominated by men. This happens because men feel they have participated in the *Be'o Sa'o* ceremony. The *Be'o Sa'o* ceremony is one of a series of wedding ceremonies that must be followed by men where before a man enters the *Sa'o* (house) he must carry a buffalo as a symbol that he has fulfilled the requirements in accordance with customary law in the village. When men have met these requirements, their position will be equal to women and all their brothers. This is then exploited by men by using the power of 'Nature' attached to them, coupled with patriarchal ideology and masculinity that exists in men, so it is often seen where men sit together and discuss an issue alone while women cook and serve food.

## **METHODS**

This research uses qualitative methods with a cultural studies paradigm. Data collection in this study using critical ethnographic methods is considered relevant in examining phenomena related to the research topic, namely analysing and exploring hidden factors such as ideology and power that affect a society and trying to unlock hidden agendas behind a reality. Data collection techniques are conducted through, in-depth interviews, with informants who have been determined through purposive techniques; observation, which is the process of observing the research setting without any deliberate effort to intervene; and documentation, which is capturing things in the form of images, videos, sound recordings, and written notes that are considered important to support research data (Kriyantono, 2015:66).

This research was conducted in Doka Nikisi'e Village, Jerebu'u District, Ngada Regency, and East Nusa Tenggara Province. In this study, of course, researchers have a reason why Doka Nikisi'e Village is used as a place for research, this is because the selection of Doka Nikisi'e Village is based on the consideration that the people of Doka Nikisi'e Village are adherents of the matrilineal traditional marriage system line which is so thick and in addition, this village is one of the traditional villages in Ngada Regency that still maintains its customs including the marriage system.

Data sources in this study consist of two, namely primary and secondary data sources. Primary data sources are obtained through interviews, observations, and field recordings, while secondary data sources are obtained through relevant reading materials from various sources such as books, writings or research reports related to the topic studied, including demographic data. Data analysis process is carried out through three stages, namely data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion. Researchers tried to explain that Doka Nikisi'e Village is one of the areas in Ngada Regency which until now still adheres to the matrilineal kinship system. This can be seen from the process and stages of traditional marriage activities. Female descendants have the right to inherit land, houses, and groups. After marriage, a man will become part of his wife's family, and the children of both spouses' marriages will live in his wife's house. Students in this class were considered capable of answering the questions posed through the questionnaire due to their involvement in face-to-face tutorial classes, both as active and passive participants. The research method used is descriptive which is intended to determine and describe the existence or absence of an effect imposed on the subject under study which is carried out factually and carefully (Sakaran and Bogie, 2017).

Data collection activities are carried out by distributing questionnaires containing a list of questions that have been compiled according to the events in the online tutorial class, which are then distributed to respondents. In accordance with the method used, namely descriptive, the analysis technique used is descriptive analysis. How to analyse the results of filling out the questionnaire is through the stages of collecting, compiling, explaining, and interpreting the answers to the questionnaires that have been distributed.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **a. The Causing Factors of a Shift in Women's Position**

There are two factors that cause a shift in the position of women in Doka Nikisi'e Village, the first factor is an internal factor which is a factor that comes from within a person or the individual himself. These factors are usually in the form of attitudes and traits inherent in a person are things that cause changes that come from within society both individually and collectively or community groups. Related to the shift in the position of women, various potential cultural changes including matrilineal marriage culture can experience shifts and changes. Changes and shifts in tradition in marriage are changes in cultural values from bad values to good or vice versa.

*External factors* are factors that come from outside a person or individual. This factor includes the surrounding environment including the closest people. External factors are aspects that come from outside that influence the occurrence of changes in a phenomenon. External factors are behind the occurrence of social changes and the environment around society that comes from outside the community, such as physical environmental conditions and cultural influences of other communities. Related to the shift in the position of women in the Doka Nikisi'e Society, external factors that can cause dynamics or changes in both the form and function of a culture every society always changes, both slowly and quickly. Especially in today's modern times, humans are never satisfied so they always try to find new things that usually come from the addition of existing ones, the influence of existing reductions, acceptance from outside or creating what does not exist into existence. This is what causes changes in various areas of life which means changes in the field of culture (traditional culture) which is also included in the marriage system. *Internal factors* related to the shift in the position of women in Doka Nikisi village, consist of economic difference factors, education difference factors, *Pasa* marriage (*belis*) factors, matchmaking factors, customary law inheritance factors, and nomad factors.

External factors related to the shift in the position of women in Doka Nikisi'e village are globalization and technological development in relation to the matrilineal kinship system in the Doka Nikisi'e community. The influence of globalization can make social changes as well as cultural change. Changes in culture include all parts, which include art, science, technology, philosophy and others. However, these changes did not affect the social organization of the community. The scope of cultural change is broader than social change. However, in practice in the field the two types of change are very difficult to separate (Soekanto, 1990). Changes in a tradition of marriage in society occur along with the influence of globalization and other cultural influences. These changes automatically shift the values of traditional marriage customs in a society that undergoes changes. Every society always experiences changes, both slow and fast. Especially in modern times, humans are never satisfied so they always try to find new things usually from additions that have existed, the effect of reducing existing acceptance from outside or creating the non-existent into existence. This is what causes changes in various areas of life which means changes in the field of culture (traditional culture) which also includes traditional marriage ceremonies.

Globalization is also synonymous with modernization and technological progress, this technological advancement does have a significant impact on the way of life of the community, including in the married life of the Doka Nikisi'e Community. On the side of knowledge and convenience, there are many positives for the community. But on the other hand, not a few negatives that can threaten the sustainability of family life and the position of women in the matrilineal kinship system In the Doka Nikisi'e society. Globalization has also made changes with the entry of patriarchal culture into the Doka Nikisi'e society where men in the Doka Nikisi'e society the existence and position of women as something that shackles, the values attached to women make women cultural subjects. Women seem to be faced with a world that is poor in choices, women do not have as much access as the dominant. It is the existence of women that gives birth to patriarchal culture.

*Sikab* is weak in women who have been able to strip so many symbols of themselves. This oppressive condition will then give birth to various liberation of women and feminism to post-feminism. The influence of globalization and patriarchal concepts like this, will make the position of women in the matrilineal marriage system in Doka Nikisi'e village, will be secondary. The practice of patriarchy culture experienced by men in Doka Nikisi'e village, will affect the perspective of the husband, where the husband is defined as a person who has a certain role and position in the family, such as supporting,

protecting and wise in planning the family (this definition seems to give a limit that husbands are not better women, this is certainly contrary to the concept of marriage in the Nikisi'e Doka Society).

According to Sumarwan (2011), lifestyle is often described by activities, interests, and opinions. A person's lifestyle is usually not permanent and changes quickly. A person may quickly change the model and brand of his clothes because it adapts to his changing life. Lifestyle changes in the Doka Nikisi'e community indirectly make the emotional relationship between the nuclear family also changes, especially about the role of men and women in Sao (traditional house). Between husband and wife there is often a struggle for position which causes children often do not have enough time to meet properly, quantity as well as quality. Each of them is busy with their own world, family is no longer a priority, differences of opinion occur more often, finally many choose to be single parents. There is a change in values, which initially uphold the values of marriage little by little tend to change towards secular and all-permissible. This often happens because of a lack of understanding of the values in the correct and basic marriage system.

Wandering has become a tradition in the Doka Nikisi'e community. Going abroad usually starts when they are not married, where the overseas men they do have basically been prepared gradually since childhood. Migrating carried out by men is considered an obligation to the fulfilment of the custom itself and it is a matter of pride for them, if migrating, especially they are successful in other countries. However, the existence of overseas carried out by Minangkabau men is basically caused by the position and role of men in matrilineal society, whether married or not, are family members who do not have strong power in family life both at his wife's house and at his mother's house to enjoy property, for example: to enjoy property from rice fields.

#### **b. The Ideology behind the Shift in Women's Position**

*Patriarchal Ideology.* Saadawi (2014), said that patriarchal culture places women as parties who must submit and live in subordination. In certain socio-cultural systems women are on the inferior side, or which means men show more dominating positions. Oppression, social pressure is an integral part of political, economic, social and cultural systems. Patriarchal culture adapts to the existing structures and systems in society, then creates injustices for women. The position of women in patriarchal society has been arranged to occupy an existing position. Women have been educated to be people with patriarchal society, so often they are not aware of the injustices that occur in their lives.



This can be seen in the customs in the family to the community. The position of women who are in inferior conditions also occurs in several regions in Eastern Indonesia. Especially for women who are pregnant and giving birth, must be in a state of seclusion for a certain period of time. Most maternal behaviour during the postpartum period is strongly influenced by the mother's cultural background. Meanwhile, in general, all cultures develop methods of safeguarding and achieving their own satisfaction in terms of maternal and infant care (Bobak, Lowdermilk & Jensen, 2004). In matrilineal marriages in the Doka Nikisi'e society, many moral and legal norms are double standards that give more rights to men than women, in addition to being based on patriarchy. Now, if one mentions the word patriarchy, it means a system that oppresses and degrades women, because men dominate control over women, over their bodies, sexuality, and work in both the family and society. The patriarchy that developed in the Doka Nikisi'e society is difficult to eliminate because it has become a hereditary culture. Women's work has always been associated with nurturing, men's work has always been associated with work. Males have the power to conquer, expand, and are aggressive.

The entry of patriarchal culture into Doka Nikisi'e society can emphasize the power of the father / husband in terms of dominating, subordinating and discriminating against women; namely the dominance of parents (especially fathers) over children, the dominance of husbands over wives, the glorification of virginity traditions, the inferiority of women, the difference in male and female stereotypes, and the suppression of female reproductive function. In this case, the male gets a more dominant position and role and position that does not see the woman as a being who has advantages.

The culture and views of the Doka Nikisi'e community that have been attached for a long time regarding girls who have to give in compared to men make gender inequality and position shifts more deeply embedded in the Doka Nikisi'e community, which compartmentalizes the roles of women and men. Parents in Doka Nikisi'e village generally still think that girls do not need to go to high school let alone go to college because in their opinion, even though girls' education is high, they will eventually return to the kitchen as well. Girls who can read and write are enough for them and can then be married. Parents do not consider the age of their daughter as long as she can cook and take care of her husband.

Regarding the position and position of women in the social life of society, Doka Nikisi'e patriarchal culture can influence people's mind-sets. Gender differences have given rise to various injustices, both for men and especially for women. Gender injustice



manifested in various forms of injustice, namely marginalization or the process of impoverishment, proves that work differentiation on the basis of biological differences and feminine-masculine cultural stereotypes, not only causes excessive burden for women, but also makes women more economically dependent. This economic dependence in turn gives birth to various acts of injustice, subordination, discrimination and oppression of women. Economics, subordination of unimportant assumptions in political decisions, the formation of stereotypes or through negative labelling, violence, long and more workloads and socialization of gender role ideology (Fakih, 1999:12-13).

*Masculinity Ideology.* The hegemony of masculinity that occurs in the Doka nikisi'e community is inseparable from the gender ideology constructed in the culture of each community group. The existence of a view of masculine gender dominance in Doka Nikisi'e village compared to feminism dominance is the reason for the shift in position in the matrilineal marriage system. Men are identified with public domain roles, while women are identified with role roles in the domestic area. this view is very developed in various cultures including the matrilineal marriage culture in Doka Nikisi'e village, this causes gender relations or even the position of women in Doka Nikisi'e village to be hierarchical and unequal.

The relationship between men and women is a never-ending theme. The term patriarchy is used to refer to male power, especially the relationship between men and women that takes place male domination over women which is realized through various media and methods (Candraningrum, 2013). The patriarchal system and masculinity that dominate the culture of society cause inequality and unfair regarding gender that affects various aspects of human activities. Men have a role as the main control in society, while women only have a role as the main control in society, but women have little influence or can be said to have no rights in general areas in society, both economically, socially, politically, and psychologically, one of which is marriage.

This causes women to be put in subordinate or inferior positions. Restrictions on women's roles become discrimination (Agustina, 2018). Patriarchy is literally "fatherhood". While patriarchal culture is a concept used to describe male domination of women that takes place in the fields of social, economic, political, and cultural life. If simplified that the family is a social system, economic system, political system, and cultural system in small portions but carried out together or the smallest collective system.

The hegemony of masculinity in Doka Nikisi'e village occurs because the inclusion of women in public spaces opens up new discourses in their thinking. This also has an

impact on shifting perceptions about the meaning of marriage. Marriage began to be interpreted as the right to individual freedom. For single women, marriage becomes a social contract, which requires an agreement between both parties, without any intervention from the other party. Single women, who are actually women who have full autonomy and power over themselves, consider marriage to be a rational, personal choice and not determined by society. Thus the matchmaking system carried out by parents becomes irrelevant, because each individual has the freedom to determine and choose his life companion (Suhartami, 2002:29).

Masculinity is a very complex and ever-shifting concept. Masculinity can be presented as values that build male identity in society and also as a barrier about values that are not feminine. Like femininity, masculinity is cultural-bound and defined based on local conditions. Furthermore, Connell (2002: 5) states, masculinity is not singular, but diverse and closely related to socio-economic status. The most common and dominant type of masculinity is hegemonic masculinity which is characterized by the vital role of control over economic resources, such as work, and the importance of male control over women, especially in the domestic sector in the formation of male identity.

*Power Relations.* Power is something metaphysically legitimized to the state that allows the state to oblige everyone to obey, but according to Foucault, power is not something controlled only by the state, something that can be measured. Power is everywhere because power is one dimension of relations where there is relation, there is power. This power does not come from outside, but it determines the structure, rules and relationships from within and allows everything to happen (Foucault, 2000:144).

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The Doka Nikisi'e people generally recognize various layers of social levels or stratification in society. The uppermost layer of society is *Ga'e Meze*, the middle or middle layer is *Ga'e Kisa*, and the lowest layer is called *Azi Ana or Ho'o* (Sile et al, 2020). *Ga'e* means beginning, foundation, origin, cause or also means noble or noble. *Ga'e* in a

sociological perspective can be interpreted as a group or class of nobles who are influential and have an honourable position and power in society in this case is men (*ana haki*). In this marriage the power of men is absolute where we can see that it is the man who will have property and special rights in the traditional alliance, also take a basic part in the fellowship such as in the ritual of purification of the traditional house (*Ka Sa'o*), the purification of *Ngadhu-Bhaga (ka Ngadhu)*, and the thanksgiving ceremony for the opening of a new village (*Ka Nua*) this is certainly very contrary to the concept of *Ine Dongo sao* (mother who has) which means the lineage comes from mother.

However, this cannot be rejected by women in Doka Nikisi'e village because it is a characteristic and a reference in the marriage of the Doka Nikisi'e village community which is slowly changing. The existence of political factors in marriage and power relations that benefit men, can make the position of women in Sao can change. This change can be seen from the exogamous marriages that occur a lot today. Despite the changes, rang is still recognized as a culture passed down from generation to generation by *Ebu Nusi* (ancestors).

## **CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS**

The matrilineal marriage system in Doka Nikisi'e village has experienced a shift in the position of women caused by various factors, including internal factors and external factors. In these internal and external factors there are various problems, ranging from differences in education, economy, *pasa* marriage, customary law and other inheritance laws. This caused a shift in the position of the Doka Nikisi community, which was originally one of the areas in Ngada Regency that adhered to the matrilineal kinship system, finally after marriage, a man will become part of his wife's family, where the man will dominate the role and position in his wife's residence, and the children of the marriage of the two spouses will live in his wife's house according to the rules made by the man.

In the tradition of the Doka Nikisi community, although men are not entitled to family property in the wretched (tribe), their role in decision-making is very significant in the family of origin. This is because there is an ideology behind the shift in the position of women in the matrilineal marriage system in Doka Nikisi'e village, including patriarchal ideology, tendencies, and power relations, so that the role of men will be very important in making important decisions in the family, including those related to marriage, certain ritual provisions, inheritance division, division of roles for family affairs or customs and so on.

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