

Gender awareness and patriarchal relations on *merariq kodeq* culture in Ampenan Mataram

Kesadaran gender dan relasi patriarki dalam budaya merariq kodeq di Ampenan Mataram

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Abstract

Early marriage is still a central issue in Indonesian society, including in Ampenan, Mataram, West Nusa Tenggara. This study aims to reveal gender awareness and patriarchal relations in *merariq kodeq* culture in Ampenan Mataram. Sylvia Walby's patriarchy theory is used as a tool to analyze. This study uses a qualitative research method with a phenomenological approach. Subject of this research is women who are married for the first time and are under 19 years old. The results showed that *merariq kodeq* occurs through a long process of Sasak tradition that still survives today. The tradition also has implications for the emergence of patriarchal relations in domestic life. This study concludes that patriarchal relations in early marriage perpetuate domination not only in the private sector but also in the public sector. Patriarchal relations are also the root cause of domestic violence.

Keywords: awareness society; early marriage; family matchmaking; *merariq kodeq*; patriarchal culture

Abstrak

Pernikahan dini masih menjadi isu sentral yang berkembang di masyarakat Indonesia, termasuk juga di Ampenan, Mataram, Nusa Tenggara Barat. Studi ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap kesadaran gender dan relasi patriarki dalam budaya *merariq kodeq* di Ampenan Mataram. Teori patriarki Sylvia Walby digunakan sebagai alat analisis. Studi ini menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif dengan pendekatan fenomenologi. Subyek penelitian ini adalah perempuan yang baru pertama kali menikah dan berusia di bawah 19 tahun. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa *merariq kodeq* terjadi melalui proses panjang tradisi Sasak yang masih bertahan sampai saat ini. Tradisi tersebut juga berimplikasi pada munculnya relasi patriarki dalam kehidupan rumah tangga. Studi ini menyimpulkan bahwa relasi patriarki dalam pernikahan dini melanggengkan dominasi tidak hanya di sektor privat namun juga di sektor publik. Relasi patriarki juga menjadi akar masalah kekerasan dalam rumah tangga.

Kata kunci: kesadaran masyarakat; pernikahan dini; perjodohan keluarga; *merariq kodeq*; budaya patriarki

Introduction

The province of West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) has many cultures that are still preserved today, one of which is the culture that still exists, namely marriage (*merariq*). However, in reality, today's marriage culture mostly occurs among those who are immature, both physically and psychologically. One of the sub-districts in Mataram City, precisely in Ampenan Utara Sub-district. Early marriage is called *merariq kodeq* and still occurs today. The NTB Child Protection Service recorded that 1,870 children applied for marriage dispensation throughout 2021-2022. Based on data from the Ministry of Religion for the NTB Region, from 2019 to 2020, there were 4,623 couples getting married early. Most are in Central Lombok Regency with a percentage of 14.29%, Sumbawa Regency at 7.32%, Bima Regency at 6.81%, East Lombok Regency at 6.78%, North Lombok Regency at 6.61%, West Lombok was 4.12%, Dompu Regency was 3.21%, Bima City was 2.93%, Mataram City was 1.74% and KSB was 0.68%.

Referring to Law no. 16 of 2019, the age limit for marriage between men and women is the same, namely 19 years. In contrast to the marriage law, the ideal marriage age according to the National Population and Family Planning Agency (BKKBN) is 21 years for women and 25 years for men. This does not violate the new age limit for marriage that has been set because it is above 19 years. Looking at this data, the reality is that there are locations in NTB, namely Ampenan District, Mataram City where people still engage in early marriage. Based on data, the 2019-2021 Ampenan District Health Center report regarding the number of pregnant women under the age of 19 is around 50 people or 0.5%. Looking at the data which is not too high, but of course it cannot be used as a measure to see the actual conditions in the field.

Sasak community in Ampenan District, Mataram City. When carrying out a wedding, you are required to go through several monumental sacred processions, one of which is called *selarian*. The Sasak people interpret *selarian* as a form of bringing girls secretly with or without the consent of guardians or parents. This is interesting because for the Sasak people, *selarian* is not a crime but a custom that must be preserved. Meanwhile, *selarian* can increase early marriage (*merariq kodeq*). The Sasak people emphasize that *merariq kodeq* is intended for marriages that are not old enough in accordance with statutory regulations. The term *merariq* comes from the Sasak language, there are several opinions regarding the origin of the word *merariq* (Tim Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan 1995), including; *selarian* which means running, namely a man carrying a girl secretly. This meaning developed into the term *merariq*, which is an action carried out in bringing a girl secretly to the house of her future husband's family. Another opinion, Lukman (2008), said that *merariq* comes from the word *arik* which means younger sister. After marriage, a husband usually calls his wife *arik*. Therefore, *merariq* linguistically means marrying a girl to become a wife and then being called *arik* by her husband in their daily household. There is also an opinion that says that *merariq* comes from two words, *mara* which means to "datanglah" and "ri" which means self. So *merariq* means to bring oneself or surrender oneself, namely the surrender of two living creatures of different types to live together.

During its development, the meaning of the word *merariq* expanded. Initially *merariq* was only a term for the act of taking away a girl with the intention of marrying her. However, subsequently the term *merariq* was used widely to refer to the entire series of marriages in the Sasak traditional community. Meanwhile *selarian* is one of the processions in *merariq*. For greater clarity, you can look in more detail at the procession of implementing the *merariq* tradition, there are at least eight stages that go through, namely: (1) *midang*, the process of a man visiting a woman's house to approach (*beberayean-midang*); (2) *selarian*, namely taking women secretly. The women are then hidden in the houses of male relatives (*bale penyeboan*); (3) *selabar and mesejati*, namely the steps taken by the man to notify the bride's village head that he has brought one of his residents to marry; (4) *mbait wali*, namely inviting the guardian to get married; (5) Islamic marriage contract (*akad*); (6) *mbait janji*, namely deliberation to determine the implementation of *ajikrama* or *sorong serah*, which is the culmination of a series of stages of marriage; (7) *ajikrama or sorong serah*, namely a symbolic procession to give offerings; (8) finally *nyongkolan*, namely the convoy of the bride and groom who come to the ceremony venue on foot accompanied by traditional Sasak music, *gendang beleq* or *kecimol*.

As for the origins of *selarian* that developed in Sasak society, there are two opinions. The first opinion (Tim Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan 1995), *selarian* is authentic Sasak culture. This culture has existed since Sasak ancestors long before the arrival of Balinese culture and the arrival of the Dutch. Niewenhuyzen, a Dutch researcher, stated that *selarian* culture has similarities with Balinese culture. The second opinion (Tim Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan 1995), says that the Sasak community is a culture that comes from outside Lombok and is not the original culture of the Sasak community. This opinion generally comes from religious figures and is also supported by some Sasak people. In 1955 in Bengkel, a village which is one of the centers of Islamic activities in West Lombok Regency, Tuan Guru Haji Saleh Hambali abolished the tradition of elopement because it was considered a manifestation of Balinese Hinduism and was not in accordance with Islamic teachings.

Tuan Guru Haji Muharror also believes that the culture of elopement is one of the Sasak cultures which was formed by Hindu culture. According to him, this is natural because the Sasak people were dominated by the Balinese Hindu kingdom for a long time (Putra et al. 2023). The erasure of this tradition can also be found in several villages which are centers of Islamic activities in Lombok such as Pancor, Kelayu, Rempung and others. The same opinion was confirmed by Salam (1992), the *selarian* tradition on the island of Lombok was influenced by Balinese Hindu culture.

John Ryan Bartolomev in his book *Alif Lam Mim Wisdom of the Sasak People* also supports the second opinion. Citing the results of Clifford Geertz's analysis in his monograph *Internal Convention in Bali* of 1973, Hildred Geertz in his writing *An Anthropology of Religion and Magic* which was published in 1975, and James Boon in his book *The Anthropological Romance of Bali* of 1977, Bartolomev strengthens his opinion that the parallel tradition received influence from Bali. Based on this, there are similarities between Sasak and Bali in terms of tradition and language.

Selarian in the sense of running away or stealing girls from the supervision of their guardians and their social environment has been formed as a cultural heritage passed down from generation to generation for the Sasak community in general. Some people believe that running away or taking girls away from the supervision of their guardians, bajang or Sasak youths is a way to prove their manhood, as well as courage, seriousness and a picture of responsibility in future family life. This contemporary cultural phenomenon in the Sasak community has become a belief for the community to carry it out as proof of a man's courage to his future wife. There are several reasons behind the people of North Ampenan carrying out early marriage (*merariq kodeq*) because of the conflict they received from their parents regarding the relationship they were having, so cohabitation was chosen as a way out. The next reason is the woman's ignorance that she was taken away by her partner (Raden Muhamad Rais, Interview of *Merariq History*, Ampenan Utara, 29 May 2021).

In a narrower context, the traditional tradition of the Sasak tribe is that a marriage must be carried out by bringing the woman from her parents' house without the knowledge of her family. This applies not only to marriages that parents do not know about or do not approve of, but also to marriages that are approved by their parents. The reason is the feeling of shame on the family, if the child is given voluntarily to a man for marriage. So, the way that is considered honorable, according to the Sasak people, is to take away the woman they want to marry. This is a symbol of the struggle carried out by men in fighting for love and proof of their seriousness in building a household. Husbands feel that they are in a higher position than wives, which has implications for husbands acting superior in the household (Olson & DeFrain 2003). This will of course affect the relationship between husband and wife in the household.

Based on reality and data, this research seeks to reveal the awareness of women and men about early marriage (*merariq kodeq*) in Ampenan Mataram. Studies on early marriage (*merariq kodeq*) have been carried out by previous researchers from a religious perspective. This study will be conducted in a different location from previous studies. This study is interesting because it examines early marriage (*merariq kodeq*) sociologically which has never been done by previous researchers in relation to how *selarian* culture can influence early marriage (*merariq kodeq*) in Ampenan Mataram which is still widely done today.

Research Method

This research uses a qualitative approach. This research method uses a qualitative approach. Qualitative research methods are research methods used to examine the conditions of social objects. In qualitative research (Moleong 2005:11), researchers present research results in a qualitative descriptive manner, namely the data collected is in the form of words, images and not numbers. This data can come from interviews, field notes, photos, personal documents, archives and other official documents. Location This research focuses on the North Ampenan sub-district in Ampenan District. Ampenan Utara Subdistrict is one of 10 (ten) subdistricts in Ampenan District, Mataram City. This research looks at women who

commit early marriage when they are first married under the age of 19 and their husbands and community figures who know the reality of early marriage (*merariq kodeq*) who live in Ampenan Utara Subdistrict, Ampenan District, Mataram City.

The data analysis technique in this research begins with writing down all transcripts of interviews and observations. First, the researcher will display the data from in-depth interviews and observations in transcript form so that it can be interpreted. Transcripts were made according to conversations between researchers and informants, as well as real conditions in the field. Then the researcher categorizes the transcript, which aims to make it easier for the researcher to group the answers so they can answer the research focus. Finally, the researcher carried out an analysis of the data from the transcripts on the theory chosen by the researcher. This is done to determine the conformity of reality with the theory that explains it. Based on the results of this analysis, researchers will be able to make research conclusions.

Results and Discussion

Based on the early marriage data above, the results of research on awareness and patriarchy in early marriage (*merariq kodeq*) in Ampenan Mataram can be described as explained into several sub-discussions, including: (1) Family matchmaking that occurs in early marriage; (2) Relatives' experience history; (3) Partner influence early marriage; (4) Awareness and patriarchy in early marriage (*merariq kodeq*) in Ampenan Mataram.

Family matchmaking that occurs in early marriage

Marriage for those who do it must have good physical and psychological readiness for both partners. Marriage not only unites the lives of two individuals but unites two different personalities in one household relationship. Of course, this becomes a problem if the couple getting married are those who are not old enough (*merariq kodeq*), according to the research results, the informant MIS stated "I don't know about the marriage regulations, they were discussed at school but I forgot. At that time I got married when I was 17 years old. At that time I was still in middle school." Likewise, another informant stated, "I was 15 years old when I got married, I only graduated from elementary school." (Informant FAS).

Determining decisions in the household is related to the education that both partners have so that they have sufficient knowledge to be able to face the vagaries of life. Of the education possessed by women who married at an early age (*merariq kodeq*) in North Ampenan, none of the eight subjects studied went on to a higher level. It is known that they are 15-17 years old with primary to junior high school education.

This is in accordance with the research results of Marphatia et al. (2020) that "compared to women with low education, educated women are more likely to delay marriage and childbearing by 20 years. Apart from that (Judiasih 2018), the main causes of child marriage can be poverty, educational and economic barriers, tradition and religion. Suyanto et al. (2023) Early marriage also makes girls more vulnerable to violence, discrimination and abuse, and prevents them from fully participating in the economic, political and social spheres. The education they have can influence the knowledge possessed by women and their parents who marry at an early age (*merariq kodeq*). Women who marry at an early age (*merariq kodeq*) have low educational status, both in the family and in the environment where they live. Women enter into early marriage (*merariq kodeq*), one of which is because of arranged marriages carried out by their families according to research results that, "Previously, the family already knew the close family. At first I didn't want to, but I was in an arranged marriage from the start so when I found out everyone was happy." (Informant FAH).

Sasak women have known about early marriage (*merariq kodeq*) since they were small, on average from elementary to middle school age, even though they don't understand yet, early marriage is close to their lives through the experience of family, relatives and friends who have had early marriage (*merariq kodeq*). In accordance with the results of Sherly Lianto Lau research (2023), women with lower secondary education have a probability of 10. They are 561 times more likely to marry early than

women with at least a high school education. Meanwhile, women with primary education are 50.105 times more likely to marry early than women with at least secondary education. Women who have never attended school are 94.418 times more likely to marry early than women who have at least a high school education. Low levels of education correlate with early marriage, and low levels of education can encourage early marriage.

Kohno et al. (2020), many couples who marry at a young age drop out of school before getting married. When you graduate, there are not many opportunities to improve your knowledge and skills. This will have an impact on their attitudes and outlook on life. People with low levels of education often do not care and accept early marriage. In contrast, parents with a high level of education often do not accept early marriage. Bawono et al. (2019), couples who marry early will not instill the importance of education in their children, so their children tend not to receive relatively quality and affordable education. On the other hand, people with a higher level of education will tend to avoid early marriages in their families. The parties who provide an introduction to early marriage (*merariq kodeq*) are parents and close family who directly provide concrete examples of early marriage by prioritizing early marriage and being open and agreeable when teenagers enter into early marriage.

Getting married at an early age (*merariq kodeq*) has been a culture that has been passed down from generation to generation. Low knowledge also makes people easily follow existing culture without filtering information for their lives. The influence of the environment without looking at the impact felt by women. When a circle of playmates get married, it becomes an act of imitation that is carried out continuously by looking directly at the example of their closest friends. Habits that are often carried out make these actions normal to be carried out without paying attention to the positive and negative influences, thus making it easier for teenagers to enter into early marriage (*merariq kodeq*).

Relatives' experience history

Awareness of early marriage (*merariq kodeq*) is also obtained from the history of the experiences of relatives, parents, family and playmates. Families tend to instill the understanding that early marriage is a good thing that needs to be maintained continuously. This is in accordance with the results of research by Kohno et al. (2020) that "Parents and grandparents teach young women that marriage at an early age is a good thing, even decision-making regarding marriage is not based on the partner's wishes but is focused on family decisions. In this case several informants stated.

"A lot of people get married here, right, so I saw that my friends wanted us to get married. The environment is just normal. "On average, my friends get married after graduating from junior high school." (Informant EPA).

"Acquaintance via cellphone. His brother-in-law introduced him to him. If you're dating here in middle school, that's normal. He often plays at home. by telephone then after a month he came to the house." (Informant FAH).

Several case studies have revealed another determining factor "Endogamy rules", (Batool et al. 2023), The custom of endogamy forcing everyone to marry within their group. In Pakistan, endogamous marriage is possible is carried out on the basis of social groups and levels. Caste refers to a social class stands out from others by its inherited position, career or money. Same research from (Fatmawati et al. 2023), sociocultural factors moderately (61.7%) influence early marriage, where genetic traditions still exist. Economic factors are at an average level (75%) affecting early marriage. There was always an arranged marriage with his brother because the property he owned did not belong to anyone else.

The experience gained from a less harmonious family makes these teenagers look for attention and affection from someone other than their parents to find peace of mind that they have not been able to find. The loss of the father and mother figures that they long for is a strong influence for women to marry at an early age without first thinking about the impact they will have. In Latin America (Naved et al. 2022), as in South Asia and other contexts, social expectations of women dictate that they should be

modest, innocent, chaste, attentive, passive, self-sacrificing, and family centered; The exercise of these so-called “virtues” would support their family’s reputation and honor. In many contexts, it is believed that a girl’s sexuality should be controlled to protect her and her family’s reputation and honor. Pacheco-Montoya et al. (2022), describes this so-called “marianismo” and its consequences in Honduras, noting that “girls’ transition to adolescence can make adults anxious, causing them to over-control the problem “sexual problems of girls”.

Many girls are forced into marriage (Jejeebhoy 2022), by their parents or guardians, but reports from a number of countries including India, Ethiopia and Nepal show that girls are increasingly being allowed a say in their marriage and with ai (arranged marriage). Women are free to decide to marry or live together with men (self-arranged marriage) (Baird et al. 2022). More and more young people oppose child marriage and pledge to their parents to delay their own marriage. Edmeades (2022), child marriage for boys increases with employment and dropping out of school; the earlier a boy leaves school and begins earning a living, the sooner he marries.

Based on the research results, there were three subjects who admitted to getting married at an early age because they saw the experiences of their peers and the advice to marry from their parents. The experience of friends and family being happier and more peaceful after marriage became a reference for her to get married early (*merariq kodeq*).

Partner influence early marriage

Sasak women reveal their background in early marriage (*merariq kodeq*) because they are influenced by their future husband. They are still young women and lack knowledge about a good marriage and moreover, they are influenced by their playmates so they easily decide to get married. This is related to the existence of patriarchal relations (Salam 1992), a set of institutions in Ampenan Mataram have the view that women are under patriarchal control in various arenas of life, starting from family life, religion, mass media, and education. Walby said (2014) that every institution plays a role in labeling masculinity and femininity in all social relations. Sasak women enter into early marriages (*merariq kodeq*), at a young age they need attention and affection but they don’t get this from their parents. Having feelings of being alone and having no role models in their lives has a bad influence on teenagers, especially at that age. unstable and still needs direction in determining goals, so that when they find the person they have always dreamed of, it will be easy to follow their instinctual desire to get married early (*merariq kodeq*).

This is in accordance with research (Axinn & Thornton 1996), “Children of divorced parents are more likely to have a more positive attitude towards cohabitation”. “When they leave home, they are two to three times more likely to cohabit” (Cunningham & Thornton 2007). especially if their parents divorced during their adolescence (Amato & Booth 1997). Parents and families almost unilaterally and ubiquitously arrange early marriage – and they draw on cultural values to justify their decisive roles. But, with early marriage being illegal, they must proceed discretely not to alert authorities – legal departments, police, the courts, education officers, teachers, etc. – and, primarily, the girl-child herself or her friends. A legal officer at Addis Zemen Woreda (South Gondar) explains.

“As people become aware of the legal repercussions, many parents are also getting creative to evade the law and marry-off children. Now, they use social events like Mahèber, Zèkèr or birthdays as covers. This has made modern day early marriage practices largely clandestine and illusive. Detecting or reporting it is becoming difficult.” (Informant FAG).

“My father arranged everything. He told me who I will marry and where I will live afterwards. I never knew the person before and the first time I saw him was when we went for medical. They said he was 20 at the time but he looked much older to me.” (Informant FAS).

Teenagers visit their partner’s house until late at night by remaining silent and not returning home later than visiting hours at 10.00 pm. Then, if it is discovered that the two couples are still together past visiting hours, they will be married off as a sanction for violating traditional regulations. Marriage in

the Sasak Lombok community has its own characteristics. According to traditional Sasak law, marriage begins with bringing the prospective bride to the man's family's house with prior notification to the woman's parents or family (*selarian*). *Selarian* is carried out because of a habit that has been carried out for generations. To this day, the Sasak people still adhere to the customs and customs of marriage culture (*merariq*). As time goes by, changes occur due to developments over time and a lack of knowledge of Sasak culture. This situation was exploited by several parties to carry out their intention to marry young but by carrying out Sasak customs which resulted in a wrong interpretation of *merariq* customs.

Early marriage (*merariq kodeq*) is a series of cause and effect processes from various aspects. However, the wrong interpretation of culture that has been carried out for generations has contributed to the high rate of gender inequality and early marriage (*merariq kodeq*) in Ampenan. Patriarchal culture is still embedded in the social life of the Sasak people which influences the pattern of role division from an early age where women play roles in the domestic sphere while men play in the public sphere.

In accordance with this research that however, Arifin et al. (2020), women marry at a young age, they usually do not continue their education. Because when a woman is married, she has to take care of her household, for example, taking care of her husband, her children, and other homework, so it is challenging to continue her education. As well as the stereotypical thinking in Indonesia, the wife only lives behind her husband, education is no longer needed because the wife only stands by her husband. It causes women who marry at a young age to lose their educational fundamentals rights, which are very important for their future. Aside from that one of the driving factors that makes girls drop out of school is because they believe that women are good if married at a young age. The still healthy patriarchal thinking makes parents want to marry off their daughters immediately because education is no longer considered necessary because women will only follow, take care of their husbands, cook in the kitchen, clean the house, and other things that are still attached to the views of ancient people and village people to women with wife status.

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This is in accordance with patriarchal production relations in the family, society views women as only able to work in the domestic sphere. Parents enforce a very strict division of roles towards their children. Women are given priority to play roles in the house such as washing, giving birth, caring for children and serving their husbands well, while men are outside the home. This influences parents' views of female teenagers, where education is not that important for women. Even after marriage, women must be submissive to their husbands and always be objects. Women are given preference in getting married because they are worried that they will be considered less marketable or sloppy.

Child marriage has been an issue in Gambia for decades (Barrow et al. 2022), especially in rural areas, despite the global and national policies designed to restrict or forbid this practice. It primarily affects girls due to the patriarchal system of most Asian and African societies, especially in the Gambian.

Average Gambian parents withdraw their children from school early as 14 to send them into married life when they should be at school. These children are often manipulated or forced to get married by their parents, relatives, and in some cases, their friends. Even if these young girls may occasionally marry voluntarily at young age rather than as a result of pressure or manipulation, it is nevertheless a harmful practice because it violates their human rights. Due to patriarchy in cultural institutions, women are not given the opportunity to continue their higher education or hone their potential and abilities, where women's freedom is limited by one's status. The assumption that women are emotional or irrational causes them to be unable to show themselves as leaders. This gives rise to behavior that places women in second place.

Selarian is a series of wedding processions in Sasak tradition, if a woman is rushed by a Sasak man then the consequence is that the woman must get married. However, in cultural policy, if the two partners are still not ready to get married, they can be separated until they are really ready to get married, which in local terms is called "teen". However, in reality this is difficult to do and traditional leaders and environmental officials and their staff are witnesses to this happening wedding. Marriage officiating is carried out solely to avoid social sanctions that families and marriage partners receive, namely the disgrace they receive if they do not get married after the marriage process has been carried out. So that parents, traditional leaders, religious leaders and local environmental officials are the actors who legalize early marriage (*merariq kodeq*). To carry out the escape, the men prepare the steps that will be taken so that the parents do not feel suspicious about the planning of the escape which will be carried out in collaboration with friends to make it easier to carry out the escape. *Selarian* is used as a tool to achieve the desired goal, namely early marriage (*merariq kodeq*).

The act of going out together is carried out because there is opposition to marriage from parents or family so they dare to make the decision to go out together. Another meaning that parents are "angry" is that they are ready to take risks for their child's actions. This is done with careful consideration on the part of both men and women who are doing it together because if a daughter is openly asked to marry, the parents consider this as an insult to the daughter who is likened to an object or object.

Selarian is a form of attitude that uses customary legality as a tool to achieve desires. Several marriage processes become it's easy after doing all the work, such as having to agree to the guardian's approval so as not to violate customs and cause disgrace to the family. Furthermore, based on patriarchal relations in work with wages, the form of patriarchy is that it does not allow women to pursue better jobs and limits them to activities or jobs that are not good because they are considered less skilled. Sasak women are not allowed to work outside the home. If permitted, they are only allowed to work around the environment in jobs that are not very good, such as wrapping crackers or frying peanuts. They are also not allowed to leave the house alone without their husband's permission, but if this is urgent, they will be accompanied by a female family member. This places women in the second party's position, which has been done repeatedly for generations.

Apart from that, it is related to male violence. Domestic violence committed by husbands against their wives or children is known as gender-based violence, because women are subordinated in society, part of the process is due to gender status. Sasak women are considered weaker than men. Women seem to have limitations and accept whatever their husband's attitude towards them is because they are married. Women must be obedient and obey all orders and treatment that their husbands do to them. Even though this is a form of violence, women do not realize it and just accept it without resistance.

This study can be understood through the concept of Patriarchy by Sylvia Walby (2014) to see the life of gender relations in women who engage in early marriage (*merariq kodeq*) which is deemed appropriate, namely patriarchal relations in the household where women are given priority in playing roles in the house such as washing, giving birth, caring for children and serving their husbands well. while the men are outside the house. Meanwhile, the patriarchal relationship between work and life is that work does not allow women to pursue better jobs and limits them to activities or jobs that are not good because they are considered less skilled. Due to patriarchy in cultural institutions, women are not given the

opportunity to continue their higher education or hone their potential and abilities and there is a living environment that supports early marriage. As well as male violent relationships. Domestic violence is committed by husbands against their wives or children

This is in accordance with patriarchal production relations in the family, society views women as only able to work in the domestic sphere. Parents enforce a very strict division of roles towards their children. Women are given priority to play roles in the house such as washing, giving birth, caring for children and serving their husbands well, while men are outside the home. This influences parents' views of female teenagers, where education is not that important for women. Even after marriage, women must be submissive to their husbands and always be objects. Women are given preference in getting married because they are worried that they will be considered less marketable or sloppy.

Child marriage is one of the first fields of gender-related inequalities in which the perspective of social and gender norms has been implemented. Greene & Ellen (2019), The focus on gender norms in child marriage has reflected appreciation about how difficult it is for individuals to decide independently to get married later or for their children to get married later, even if they think it is the right thing to do. Patriarchal rules underlie most marriage systems, and understanding gender norms are crucial to explain and try to end the dangerous practice for girls in many parts of this world.

This study revealed that child marriage in the countries is mainly driven by several factors (Hardiani & Junaidi 2018), such as poverty, economic dependence, lack of education, and dowry in Bangladesh case. In addition, the author describes a child marriage rises by perpetuating violence in child marriage critically describing a child marriage as deviant practices of patriarchy. Overall, child brides play their respective roles as winners, survivors, or victims (Dewi 2018). The influences of cultural and solid perceptions of societies, differences in religious interpretations, and family honor are several factors that may play an essential role in the sustainability of children marriage practices

Conclusion

The life of gender relations among women in early marriage (*merariq kodeq*) is felt to be in accordance with patriarchal relations in the household where women are given priority in playing roles in the house such as washing, giving birth, caring for children and serving their husbands well while men are outside the home. Meanwhile, the patriarchal relationship between work and life is that work does not allow women to pursue better jobs and limits them to activities or jobs that are not good because they are considered less skilled. Due to patriarchy in cultural institutions, women are not given the opportunity to continue their higher education or hone their potential and abilities and there is a living environment that supports early marriage. As well as male violent relationships. Domestic violence is committed by husbands against their wives or children.

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