



Hiduik Mamakai and Early Marriage: A Means of Gender Identity for Gambir Peasant Women

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Abstract

We want to explain about the lifestyle philosophy of "hiduik mamakai" to the gambir farming community in Minangkabau. The philosophy of hiduik mamakai is the basis for the Minangkabau community of gambir farmers towards the occurrence of early marriage. The philosophy of hiduik mamakai is a view of life regarding the existence of matter used for the pleasure of life. This philosophy also developed as a basis for the Minangkabau community of gambir farmers in carrying out social activities, one of which is marriage. The philosophy of hiduik mamakai has a correlationality to the phenomenon of early marriage in the Minangkabau community of gambir farmers. Some cases of early marriage in gambir farming communities are initiated by the idea that stability can be obtained through marriage even though they are not at the right age or mentality. This is because there is a belief that after marriage there will be a "safe realm" for women to be able to live a lifestyle of "hiduik mamakai". The results of this research indicate that there is a correlational relationship between early marriage and the philosophy of "hiduik mamakai." The philosophy of "hiduik mamakai" is one of the influencing factors, although it is not the sole cause of the phenomenon of early marriage. The causal relationship between these two domains is correlational, not causal. There is no guarantee that the disappearance of the "hiduik mamakai" philosophy will reduce the rate of early marriages. What occurs is that the concept of "hiduik mamakai" philosophy affects the phenomenon of early marriage in a mutually correlating relationship. While it is not the only factor, the philosophy of "hiduik mamakai" is an integral part of the lifestyle of the Minangkabau Gambir farming community. This is because the income of the Gambir farming community is enough to put the economic system on a stable life.

Keywords: Hiduik mamakai, gambir farmers, early marriage, lifestyle and gender identity.

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INTRODUCTION

Early marriage cases are common and are considered commonplace. This view is further strengthened if the perpetrators or targets of early marriage are women (Sari & Puspitari, 2022). Various factors will be strengthened as a logical reason that women are lucky to marry at a young age. In addition, the view that says that no matter how high the education is, in the end the main domain of women is the kitchen, well and mattress is an inherent view in Minangkabau society. This is not surprising because women are expected to be the "means" of tribal heritage and descendants and must protect the heirloom property, so it is fitting that women's identity is formed in such a realm.

Another view that requires Minangkabau women to get married is the "kanai di adaik" philosophy. Minangkabau women who are married will be considered part of the customary system. So there are many privileges that women get after marriage. Even in some divorce cases, what widows are expected to do is to remarry (Jelly, 2019). So the identity and position of women in society is always associated with marriage. This shows how

important the position of marriage is in shaping women's identity in society. This also applies to women in the gambir community in three nagari in Minangkabau. In addition to a fundamental view of marriage, space is also built for gambir women to shape their identity with a material-based lifestyle, namely "hiduik mamakai". The "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle is considered a means for gambir women to build their gender identity. At the same time, the community also makes the "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle a means for them to make women identify themselves in such a way.

Gender identity can also influence a person's lifestyle in society (Atikah Ishmah Winahyu, 2020). Individuals choose lifestyles, interests, or activities that match their gender identity constructed by society (Kiranantika, 2022). Women in the gambir community consider that the "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle is women's "clothes". This encourages early marriage to occur for various reasons in order to shape their gender identity formed by the gambir community. With a lot of income if the harvest and quality of gambir are good, women have a consumptive lifestyle.

The problem is that when income decreases due to bad weather or poor gambir quality or because the price of

gambir drops, the lifestyle with the "hiduk mamakai" pattern is still carried out by women. The means to shape their identity are numerous in everyday life. When one person starts shopping or living a consumptive life, then other women will also follow suit. In the end, many borrow money from middlemen, use their savings or go into debt, all of which will be paid back during the gambir harvest. They are not afraid to go into debt because they are sure that the gambir harvest will definitely bring financial benefits to them. The thing to do is to work hard to process the gambir, then the money will be returned. Based on this phenomenon, it can be said that in addition to identity, the "hiduk mamakai" lifestyle will also perpetuate the culture of poverty in the gambir community.

Gender identity is not static, but develops over time. The process involves various factors such as individual reflection, social experiences, and interactions with local society and culture (Indriyany et al., 2021). During this process, women gambir farmers can reflect on, accept, or challenge or even break the chain of existing gender norms. This should not be passed on to the next generation because it will bring

disruption to other factors such as education, family quality, child quality and so on.

Gender identity is strongly influenced by social norms and roles constructed by society. Society constructs certain expectations of individuals based on their gender. This influences how individuals feel, act and identify themselves (Hana & Nara, 2021). In this case, gambir farmers try to reconstruct how women should feel, how they should act. The most important thing is how women identify themselves as part of society. Women gambir farmers feel that they must identify themselves according to what is expected by their surroundings, namely by becoming consumptive women, living a life of extravagance in order to be considered part of a shared identity, namely the "hiduk mamakai" lifestyle.

The thing to watch out for is the effect of identity formation itself is a material-based mindset and a consumptive lifestyle (Thamrin & Achiruddin, 2021). A consumptive lifestyle is a way of life that focuses on excessive consumption of goods, making purchases of goods that may not be needed, and pursuing a material-oriented lifestyle and consumption that is not in accordance with needs (Purnamsari & Arifiyanti, 2020). Consumptive lifestyles

can have a negative impact on finances, leading to debt, financial stress, and financial instability (Oktafikasari & Mahmud, 2017). This consumptive lifestyle is in line with the "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle philosophy that occurs in the gambir community in Minangkabau. The "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle is used as a means of gender formation for women gambir farmers in West Sumatra.

Gender identity formation can affect various aspects of life, including one's behavior, appearance, preferences and lifestyle (Trismaya, 2019). Individuals often seek ways to express their gender identity in their daily activities and choices (Geleuk, 2020). This makes women neglect other factors that are considered not supportive of their identity formation in society. As a woman, society considers that getting married and enjoying life is part of gender identity itself (Darmayanti et al., 2020). As a result, many girls get pregnant out of wedlock because they think marriage is the solution to their actions (Sari & Puspitari, 2022). Girls are exposed to the values of this "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle from an early age, so they think that getting pregnant out of wedlock is normal. Good things are also

believed to happen even if they marry early, namely the space for the creation of their identity formation as part of the "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle.

METHOD

The data collected came from three different research locations in the Minangkabau gambir community. The data collection method was collected by conducting interviews and observations of informants. Living with informants will help researchers understand the lives of informants and know the patterns of relationships established by informants in their daily lives (Darmalaksana, 2020). This method is really useful in understanding the philosophy of the "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle that exists in the gambir community in three nagari in Minangkabau society.

Data collection methods are interviews and participant observation. According to Bungin in (Sugiono, 2013), these two methods are the most appropriate way to obtain qualitative research data because they are directly related to informants. These two methods complement each other's shortcomings in the data collection process. Data regarding the philosophy of "hiduik mamakai" in the gambir farming community is sometimes

difficult to obtain through interviews so that the method widely used in this study is participant observation. A lot of data about the philosophy of "hiduik mamakai" is obtained by observing the lifestyle of informants. In addition, conversations about the philosophy of hiduik mamakai are mostly obtained during indirect interviews, so living and observing the lives of informants is a must for obtaining these data.

Data on early marriage in the gambir farming community in Minangkabau sometimes escape the observation process because there are some taboos that cannot be discussed. Most informants avoided and covered up the fact that they had an early marriage. If the conversation was about early marriage, sometimes informants diverted stories about the materials they had obtained in life. This requires the foresight of the research team to find out and obtain data on how old the informants were when they got married.

Matters regarding the discussion of early marriage are even deliberately covered up by falsifying the age at the time of marriage (Sari & Puspitari, 2022). These things can be obtained by knowing the age of the child, the age of their parents when they married their

children and how long they have had their own house. In coastal communities, married couples are not encouraged to have their own house after marriage. There must be a one-year gap before they move out of the female parent's house. So for one year the newlyweds will still live in the female family's house. This is different from the gambir community in the "darek" area. After marriage the newlyweds are expected to live in their own house.

Gender identity theory is a concept used to understand how individuals construct, identify, and express their gender identity (Indriyany et al., 2021). Gender identity is based on how individuals feel, identify themselves, and are seen by others in the context of gender (Nurohim, 2018). This theory understands gender as something that is not only determined by biological factors, but also influenced by social, cultural, and psychological constructions (Kiranantika, 2022). In this case, women gambir farmers build their identity in various ways, one of which is by prioritizing a lifestyle based on the philosophy of hiduik mamakai. With this philosophy, women gambir farmers identify their identity by entering the realm of early marriage. The "space" created by early marriage provides access for women to manifest their identity as part of living

with the philosophy of *hiduik mamakai*. This gender theory emphasizes how the view of women gambir farmers must be seen in social construction, namely by gaining a place in custom and society. The view of society that prioritizes stability as a result of a material-based lifestyle, causing early marriage to be the right space to be used as a forum for forming the identity of women gambir farmers. This is why the rate of early marriage is quite high in several gambir-producing nagari in West Sumatra.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. The philosophy of *hiduik mamakai* and its relation to gender identity in early marriage families

The values held by the gambir community in three different villages related to lifestyle have the same pattern, namely material-based. This value is manifested in the actions of the gambir farming community who have a philosophy of enjoying the "*hiduik mamakai*" lifestyle. The value of this philosophy is so broad, not only at the level of lifestyle, but has become the view and perspective of the community in interpreting their lives. so that when they perform social actions or activities,

the value of this philosophy becomes an integral part.

Things related to this philosophy spread to various life behaviors. What we want to see is how this relates to early marriage and the formation of gender identity in it. The "*hiduik mamakai*" view in the lives of the gambir community has a long relationship with their experience of gambir distillation activities over the years. In the community's view, their financial needs will always be met as long as they work hard. Gambir provides all that as long as they are willing to work and slog, they will definitely get results. Even if the price of gambir reaches its lowest point, their financial needs can still be met by gambir distillation. This has led to a lifestyle of enjoying life through material and other luxurious objects.

One of the means or platforms that is considered capable of realizing the *hiduik mamakai* lifestyle is marriage. Encouraged by the fact that marriage allows a person to have the economic independence to manage their own gambir distillery, marriage becomes the right means. The negative correlation of all this is that children or the younger generation are one of the elements that quickly absorb the value of the "*hiduik mamakai*" lifestyle. This has led to the younger generation

making material possessions and luxury goods the goal of their actions.

There are various means that can support them to develop this lifestyle. The information they get through social media and their social environment causes this philosophy to be embedded in their daily lives. The effect of this is that there is a lot of early marriage in the gambir community, which is taken for granted because marriage is considered to be the right means of ownership of material and other valuable objects. Even under certain conditions, marriage will increase the family head's enthusiasm to work hard, which will benefit women. At least this is the view of some parents who find their children married when they are not old enough.

The justification begins with the fact that comfort and stability can be obtained by their children when they get married. After marriage regardless of the age of the child, good things will follow because they will learn how to run it. Working hard and owning the resources of the gambir distillery will make their lives prosperous. The estuary of it all is the process of buying and owning possessions that will be the benchmark of the "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle.

Gender identity is also involved in the hiduik pattern of "mamakai tersebut". After marriage, the newly married couple will be required to work hard by their extended family. This is to gain a socially recognized status and position in the gambir community. In many cases, couples from early marriages are required to work hard to fulfill this need for social recognition, thus neglecting the quality of their relationships within the household.

There are many early marriage couples who quarrel because they are unprepared to deal with the demands of this lifestyle. Most couples who marry early do not go to school or drop out of school so the pursuit of the "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle becomes their main goal. Some early marriage families who have children also inherit this to their young children. There are many cases of early marriage families who are not prepared with childcare, only giving cellphones to their young children. Games and movies become their children's consumption when they are young. Early marriage fails to direct the mental development and health of their children in the right way. Most of the early marriage couples give valuable items to their children without supervision or direction.

The interesting thing to study is that all of these actions are a manifestation of the philosophical roots owned by women gambir farmers in the aim of shaping their identity. The identity formation they do in relation to the "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle is the main source in relation to gender identity. When a child fails to form their identity as a student and ends up dropping out of school, the new identity they can build is by marrying early. a great opportunity is also obtained by children to find a new identity after early marriage, namely ownership of property and luxury goods.

The identity that is built on the possession of these luxury goods is that as part of a hard-working family, their status and position as a small family who married early will be recognized in the community. Once again, the economic activity of gambir distillation provides this. As long as they work hard, they will earn money and they can enjoy a prosperous life. Failure of identity, either as a child or as a student, can be covered by the existence of valuable objects obtained after marriage. The new identity as a wife will be supported by the existence of valuable objects, having a husband who works hard and

earns a lot of money from the gambir distillery. The new identity will be built by having possessions and valuables. This becomes an unbroken circle that continues to the next generation. The view is that possessions form a new identity as part of social life.

The unique identity formation through the existence of these objects occurs for women in the gambir community. Ownership of valuables provides space for women to shape their identity in social life. This is because there is "competition" and "competition" for status and position that is considered "there" by the community. Women use the "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle as a means for each other to be recognized. The identity they try to build is that of a "happy wife", then the status of a "good mother and the position of a "woman who has a hard-working husband". All of these identities are used to erase previous failures as "school dropouts" or "women who married young". In addition, there are several means that encourage the formation of women's identity in living a lifestyle with the "hiduik mamakai" pattern.

Women's means of identity formation through the "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle is greater than that of men. Although property ownership and financial

success are the main elements of male identity, it is women who build the "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle. The gambir community will respect men who have a lot of material or valuable assets, but still they are not the ones expected by the community to enjoy this. Men are considered to be the ones who must provide the "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle to women. Even if there are men in the gambir community in Minangkabau who spend their money excessively, it will be considered a bad or wasteful man. Conversely, if women enjoy the "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle, it will be a lifestyle associated with luxury and success.

Gender identity theory emphasizes that gender is not an inherent attribute or an attribute brought from birth. This theory emphasizes that gender is a social construction that is understood and accepted by society. Society considers men who live a "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle as bad behavior. Conversely, if a woman lives a "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle, it will be associated with prosperity and luxury. This means that the view of "masculine" or "feminine" in the gambir community in Minangkabau is very different. Because men are associated with masculinity, they are

expected to work hard to earn money by cultivating gambir. The opposite happens with the community's perception of femininity. Women are associated with luxury and beauty so it is appropriate for them to live their daily lives with a "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle. This has a positive correlation with early marriage. Women's identity attached to the "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle is considered a complementary part of their femininity.

2. The lives of gambir farmers: what gives rise to the philosophy of hiduik mamakai

A materialism-based lifestyle or in this case termed the "hiduik mamakai" philosophy is a view that implies that life is to be enjoyed. Hiduik mamakai is one of the views that the existence of objects around human life determines the quality of the human being itself. In the view of the gambir community in three nagari in Minangkabau, the concept of hiduik mamakai is an understanding that the goal of a prosperous life is to enjoy luxurious and valuable goods. Ownership of goods that are not in accordance with financial income is also considered as enjoying life because it encourages them to work even harder to earn money by distilling gambir.

This is what is reflected in the gambir community in three villages in Minangkabau. The life of gambir farmers is considered capable of making a lot of money if they work diligently. There is even a popular pameo in the gambir community that as long as they are still willing to work to distill gambir, they will continue to earn money. In addition, there is also the term gambir is money that flows. So the life of gambir farmers depends on how hard they work to process gambir, and the results or manifestations of their hard work are seen from the ownership of valuable goods.

Considerable income will be obtained if the price of gambir is high, so many gambir farmers work hard in the fields and places to process gambir, there are even conditions where gambir farmers do not go home for a week. This welfare results in a hedonic outlook and lifestyle in the gambir community. In gambir farming families, their lives refer to the tendency to pursue and display luxury goods, wealth, and social status through the ownership of valuable objects. This philosophy is passed down to the next generation. So that the identity built and created by women is to get married as soon as possible and have

a husband who farms and processes gambir. Many early marriages occur in the gambir community because they want to get a luxurious life after marriage by earning money through the activity of processing gambir. So that being a gambir's wife is a status, but at the same time this is also a gender identity that is built based on the established view of hiduik mamakai in the life of gambir farmers. Below are the means of the hyduik mamakai lifestyle view.

a. Possession of luxury goods.

Gambir farming families embrace a materialist lifestyle by desiring ownership of a large number of luxury items such as vehicles, precious jewelry, expensive furniture and sophisticated electronic devices. They buy new items to show that they are part of a society that lives by the philosophy of hiduik mamakai.

The early marriage that occurs in many gambir communities is due to the view that women must marry and get a decent life. This is found in many gambir communities in the darek area. Many gambir communities have nice houses and vehicles. Even on balai (market) days many women wives of gambir farmers go to the market with a lot of money. What is obvious is that many of these women wear nice clothes and beautiful jewelry in order to

show off that they have become part of the "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle. This has led to many of the daughters of gambir farmers dropping out of school in favor of marriage.

b. Gain social status.

Gambir farming families have a good life by directing their views towards the ownership of wealth and luxury objects. In addition, what is gained from living the "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle is an established social status in the community. Living the "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle leads to a consumptive and hedonistic lifestyle. The gambir community is very concerned with social status and tries to show others their financial success as gambir farmers. They can keep up with the latest trends in fashion, advanced technology and lifestyle to remain in an established status in society. This has led to many children dropping out of school and marrying early in the gambir community. Even children who drop out of school and are not good at reading are bought sophisticated gadgets by their parents. Ironically, they do not go to school and are not good at reading but they can use cellphones.

Many children think it is not important to go to school because they

are even better at using gadgets than their schoolmates. Many children feel that they do not need to learn skills or abilities to find work because they feel that they are able to work on the gambir inherited by their parents. Gambir farmers only need to take care and keep fertilizing the gambir plants, so the gambir plants will be able to last more than 15 years. More horrifying things happen in the formation of gender identity in girls. They even want to quit school, some even get pregnant out of wedlock and then marry young for the reason that they will be able to get a steady life through gambir farming.

3. The effect of hiduik mamakai philosophy on lifestyle

Cases of marriage at a young age, or what is commonly referred to as early marriage, occur in the gambir community in Minangkabau society. The community considers that marriage at a young age is not a problem. In fact, early marriage is considered a realm that can provide space to be able to have a hiduik mamakai lifestyle. This can be seen from the stable lifestyle of the community and the desire for stability with the main source of income as gambir farmers. Getting married at a young age is considered one of the right ways to get an established lifestyle. By

getting married as soon as possible, it will provide a space as soon as possible for women to get a comfortable and stable life. This is as expressed by an informant named Abdul Hamid (73 years old) who is *urang tuo kampuang* in nagari Sialang.

"ndouk jadi masalah tudo, kini ko dipacopek sajo hitam atau putih, dipajoleh bona ogak e miang. Kalau ndouk dinikahken, monjadi dulu bajak pado kobou, nah syarat syarat nikah ken ndak doh surek dari wali socaro agamo kito ken, syarat menikah adoh calon, adoh wali, adoh saksi dan adoh panghulu, itu sen nyo. di sah sajo menikahken anak kamonakan kito, dari pado tajadi yang ndok elok ke, bia tonang pulo hiiduik e. ndak ka porolu mamikian hiduik, dapek pitih dari loki sanang iduik anak kamonakan kito".

(Getting married at a young age is not a problem. It makes things clearer. It is clear that marriage is the right choice to prevent unwanted things. Marriage is the right way to prevent pregnancy that occurs before marriage. If the child wants to get married and already has a candidate, then religiously the child must be married because religiously the next requirement is the guardian, witnesses and marriage judge or marriage official. Religion never requires a document from the wali nagari. So it is legitimate to marry off the kemenakan child rather than unwanted things happening. After marriage, she will be able to live a quiet and established life. Our nephew's daughter will get money from her husband for her living expenses).

From the interview excerpts above, it can be seen that one of the goals of getting married at a young age is to avoid "social problems" and to get comfort and stability. In the case of stability, what is meant is the existence of objects or materials as a benchmark. Ownership of property and valuables is one indicator of a "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle. The existence of this philosophy increases in the social space of women's lives. Facilities such as maota, manyindia, and babalanjo provide a platform for the development of the hiduik mamakai lifestyle. This is reinforced by the assumption of parents who consider their children successful when they have various luxury items in their homes.

So that the existence of other factors such as education, the quality of children's nutrition or the quality of relationships in the household is neglected. With an established life from the economic activities of gambir farming, the community is oriented towards material ownership. This is evident in gambir farmers in the "darek" area because the income of gambir farmers in this area is quite stable, in contrast to gambir farmers in the coastal area which fluctuates. This is because the quality of gambir in the "darek" area is better than in the coastal area. In addition, the influence of weather and soil

fertility in the darek area is also better, so that the gambir produced is also of high quality.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion from examining the data collected is that the gender identity of women gambir farmers in Minangkabau is constructed by society. The constructed gender identity gave rise to the view that women should live their lives with the "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle. The philosophy of the "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle gave birth to a lifestyle based on materialism. All of these factors are closely related to the high rate of early marriage in the gambir community. This is because marriage is considered the right domain to build gender identity. What makes it closely related to early marriage is that marriage at a young age is one of the "solutions" to the failure of gender identity built by women in other domains. In this case, the domains in question are education, health and moral quality as a child. These three things fail to be a means of forming women's gender identity, so that early marriage is used by adolescents as an "escape" to build gender identity.

Cases of early marriage are common in the gambir community in Minangkabau society. The community considers that marriage at a young age is not a problem because financial needs can be met by processing gambir. The increase in the number of early marriages occurs due to the failure of identity formation in other domains, so marriage at a young age is considered a solution. The formation of gender identity as a wife of a gambir family leads to material possessions such as valuables, gadgets and several other materials. A lifestyle that prioritizes the ownership of these materials is considered a manifestation of the "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle philosophy. At the same time, the "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle is considered a result of gender identity formation. In fact, at the same time, the "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle is also considered as a benchmark for action in order to realize the gender identity of the gambir's wife in Minangkabau society. Of course in this case, the main driver of the emergence of the "hiduik mamakai" lifestyle philosophy was initiated by the high income of the gambir farmers. The irony is that the high income of gambir farmers combined with the lifestyle of "hiduik mamakai" leads to other factors such as the culture of poverty and the lack of quality of children's education.

The author hopes that these "other factors" will become an area of study for future researchers.

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