Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) towards Early Marriage Women's Causality in East Lombok

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Abstract--- Early marriage is always attributed to low education, skills, and income, as well as poverty. However, this is a problem that leads to the violation of women's basic rights and needs attention from relevant authorities. Some women enter into early marriages due to the unrealistic expectation that their welfare might improve. This study aims to determine the causes of early marriage with various strategic aspects in East Lombok, including ethnographic surveys, in-depth interviews, and analysis of CDA. The research found that early marriage is perceived as a normal phenomenon in society. This makes the society a structure that perpetuates various forms of discrimination with adverse consequences for women in gender relations.

Keywords--- CDA, Early Marriage, Causality

I. INTRODUCTION

The concept of women's early marriage causality is related to the existence of strategic aspects that were never predicted. Neglecting the fundamental rights of young women and the collective obligations to fulfill their basic rights leads to distortion of the perception of early marriages, especially on the socio-economic conditions. Essentially, the family's socio-economic background, low education and skills, inadequate employment, labor costs, and low income are positively related to early marriage. This correlation appears reasonable since development is associated with prosperity. This study does not use the concept of correlation, which tends to determine the relationship between one condition and another in a certain assumption.

Robbins in the Indonesian Development Forum (IDF) stated that there is a direct link between the level of education of women and the opportunity to get decent work and achieve an adequate level of welfare [1]. This is because correlative thoughts tend to manipulate variables to support a hypothetical framework. Mill, in the System of Logic, refers to this perception as too reductionist in finding the root of the problem[2]. In some cases, Robbins's standpoint can be justified if the facts are consistent, and women with low income and education get married at an early age. However, the underlying social conditions and neglected aspects of humanity have not been exploited. The discussion should be based on the causality of aspects that can never be predicted against early marriage and harms the wellbeing of women.[1]

The choice of the concept of causality was based on utilizing the existence of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) offered by Fairclough with Dialectical Relational Approach/DRA; van Leeuwen with Social Actors Approach/SAA;

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Dick with Socio-Cognitive Approach/SCA; and Wodak and Meyer with Discourse-Historical Approach/DHA. The early marriage causality of women in this study is seen as text. It is a social context full of cultural meaning that can be explained, traced, and related to other aspects [3]; [4]). Accommodating the views of Geertz and Derrida, that the causality of early marriage is a text full of meaning and can always be explained, this study aims to find causal aspects that facilitate early marriages. Causality is related to the text, discursive, and visible social reality. This helps to understand how early marriage is related to dialectics, historical aspects of social conditions, and the construction of logic based on reality. As a text, the understanding meaning is assisted through understanding functional grammar and the interpretation of language symbols [5].

In case the early marriage does not consider a relational phenomenon between the decision to get married and the level of education, it leads to low welfare. The accelerated program for increasing women's capacity is always guided by data on early marriage and low education, leading to lower living standards. The Gender Watch East Lombok, in collaboration with "Kapal Perempuan Indonesia," indicated that there was a positive relationship between education level and welfare. The proposed course of action is the establishment of rural women's schools. Since 2019, the institution has established several schools that focus on increasing women's capacity after the cases of early marriage. It is yet to discover the fundamental cultural phenomenon attributed to the causality of early marriage [6]. Since it is a cultural phenomenon, early marriage is also a text. According to Bachman-Medick, early marriage, as a cultural phenomenon, should be understood as a cultural reality in social space [7]. As a cultural reality, some signs and symbols represent someone's culture or text and their interpretation. It is easier to gain understanding through Derrida's explanation in the Deconstruction Method, which stipulates that text is a reality through language, and reality itself is text [4].

In early marriage, some signs and symbols can be understood as lingual texts. According to Halliday [8], language signs and symbols are interpreted as text and social contexts in Functional Grammar. Systematically, texts are related to lexical forms and meanings, transitivity, active-passive relations, use of nominal word classes, choice of taste, and atmosphere. Early marriage as a text is also understood through the attraction between discursive texts, and social reality using the design of critical discourse analysis or CDA. Fairclouch stated that CDA is related to three things, including object analysis, which involves producing and receiving objects, socio-historical conditions, and circumstances that surround them [9]. Technically, these three things can be introduced through descriptions, interpretations, and explanations. Through these technical objects and agendas, early marriage texts produce causality 1) in the form of text position; 2) whose interests are served by the position of the text; 3) whose interests are not served; 4) involving the consequences of the position of the text, and 5) where the process occurs. The position of the text relating to early marriage is seen to be discursive and influences actions in social reality back and forth or before and after actions in social reality. The position of the text or its view shows that there is a party that benefits, and consciously or unconsciously lead to action. Although there are those benefiting by a text, at that time, there are also other outside parties outside harmed. The consequences of the text and actions emerge, both for the beneficiaries and the victims. The social relations that build the construction of the meaning of the position of the text and the consequences for both parties describe the social context provided there is a local setting of social reality.

The causality of early marriage in the view of the CDA as Janks is easily constructed through the Dialectical Relational Approach (DRA) model, Social Actors Approach (SAA), Socio-Cognitive Approach (SCA), and Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) [10]. The existence of these four CDA models works together in understanding the causality of early marriage. According to DRA text, early marriage builds people's reasoning and knowledge about the subject-object relationships that occur in related events. Unconsciously, the relationship and identity of the subject-object in the causality of early marriage show an ideology instilled by related social events. Furthermore, the presence of ideology help in the construction of the meaning of through control by one party to another party (subject to object). SAA understanding leads to the construction of the meaning of causality of those benefitting, though disadvantaged by the early marriage text. This understanding, without questioning the subject's position, appears exclusive or inclusive in the overall context of early marriage. Pronominal designations, passive construction, associations, or heroic and good designations to the subject help in the construction of meaning in building the causality of early marriage based on SAA. In building the construction of causal unity in early marriage texts, understanding is also enhanced by SCA. It facilitates the understanding of the background to the origin of the text of early marriage. This understanding is relatively the same as Janks' perception of the position of the text in the context before and after it. Only SCA is more emphasized on the aspect OF reasoning that underlies the origin of a text. The text of early marriage is a strict relationship between thoughts and actions in social reality. Through SCA, the affirmation of the theme or message conveyed through early marriage texts in the induction and local context in which social reality is portrayed can be understood. Understanding the construction of the meaning of the causality of early marriage depends on the historical text and social reality, as shown in the DHA model. The model explains the historical aspects of early marriage texts referring to personnel (subject-objects), nature, character, and form of depiction to subject-objects, models of depiction (exclusion-inclusion), viewpoints used for labeling subject-objects, and intensive or less intensive disclosure without reducing the meaning from early marriage texts. Therefore, the four CDA models work together in constructing the meaning of the causality of early marriage texts in East Lombok.

II. METHOD

As an interdisciplinary work, this study brings together various methods from related sciences [11]. Data on early marriage was collected from 54 respondents using ethnographic survey methods. Respondent data related to age, education, occupation, and reasons to get married early. The data is supplemented with the respondent's narrative text through in-depth interviews. Early marriage data as texts are interpreted and explained using all approaches in CDA, including Dialectical Relational Approach (DRA) Social Actors Approach (SAA) Socio-Cognitive Approach (SCA), and Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA). Analysis of the causality of early marriage is divided into four substances, specifically the position of the text or people's views on the reality of early marriage, groups with interest in the reality, the form of consequences, and the context of reality. To facilitate the achievement of objectives through the four substances, data, processes, and results of the analysis are laid out in the following process sequence.
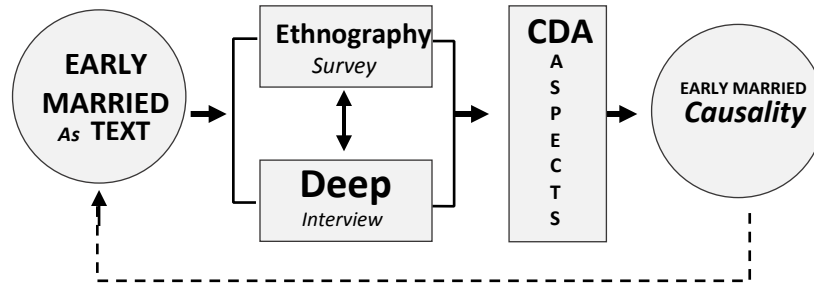
Figure 1. Data Analysis Chart

Social relations, according to Janks, are critical in finding the intended forms of causality. This study focuses on early marriage as a text in a social context.

III. RESULTS

Data related to age and education at marriage, husband's economic and employment conditions, and reasons for marriage were obtained through ethnographic surveys and in-depth interviews of 54 respondents.

Survey Data 1: Age and Latest Education at Marriage

Of all respondents surveyed, 77% (54 people) were married at the age of 1 5-16 years, 14.81% under 15 years, and 7.40% above 16 years. Based on educational psychology, respondents were supposed to be in junior high school, or even in the lower level education (elementary). A few of them were sitting in high school, as shown in figures 2 and 3.
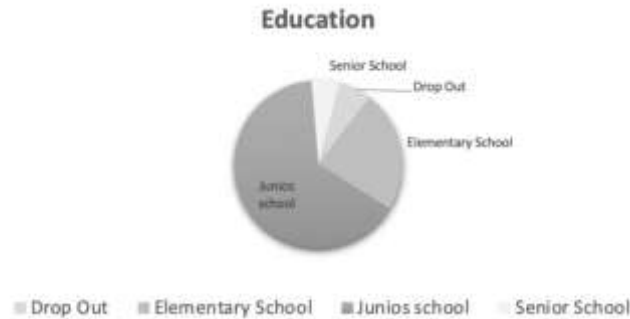

Figure 1. Age of Marriage

Figure 2. Education

One informant was a second child of 3 siblings, all living with their grandmothers. A couple claimed to have known each other since middle school, and another one was married at the age of 19. One is widowed with a 9-year-old child or 3rd-grade elementary school. The following quote shows a confession from one of them.

"I was forced into marriage while in the second-grade junior high school. I am the fifth of nine siblings, living with my stepmother after my parents divorced. Apart from being quarreled when going to school by my stepmother, my half-brother also disturbs me. I knew my husband on his way to and from school. He often hung out on my way to school. I was once invited to his family's house in another village and managed administrative duties for his business in Kalimantan. I did not know his intentions, but two months later, he asked for my hand in marriage. Initially, I refused because I was still in school. I do not know why I accepted when I invited a second time. My parents said yes when their family offered take care of our marriage. Although my biological mother disagrees, I am already in my husband's family".

Based on in-depth interview information, the marriage decision was motivated by the desire to escape from the pressures of poor economic conditions. The case shows that apart from economic pressures, respondents also did not have adequate information about the conditions they were likely to experience in marriage. This issue is attributed to lack of a harmonious home, some living in large in large households, and others in nuclear families. Also, the excerpt show they are not part of the discussion that determines their decisions. Under these conditions, the reason for the marriage decision lies in the hope of getting out of economic difficulties.

At the time the information was collected, more than 50% of the respondents had children, as shown in figure 3. Families with 2-3 children would have very challenging economic conditions and health problems at present. Women plagued with early marriage are included in the category of victims of sexual violence since their reproductive organs are not biologically ready. McDermott stated that victims of sexual violence due to gender discrimination since the beginning of the 20th century were almost equal to the number of victims of world war [12]. Therefore, political policy interventions are needed to reduce the harmful effects of gender discrimination.
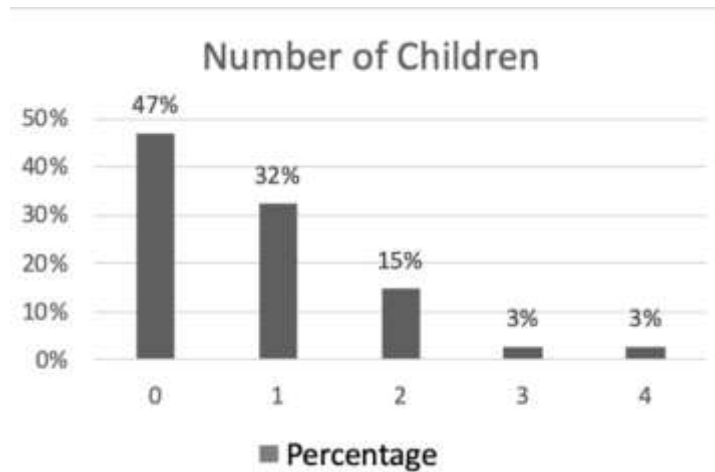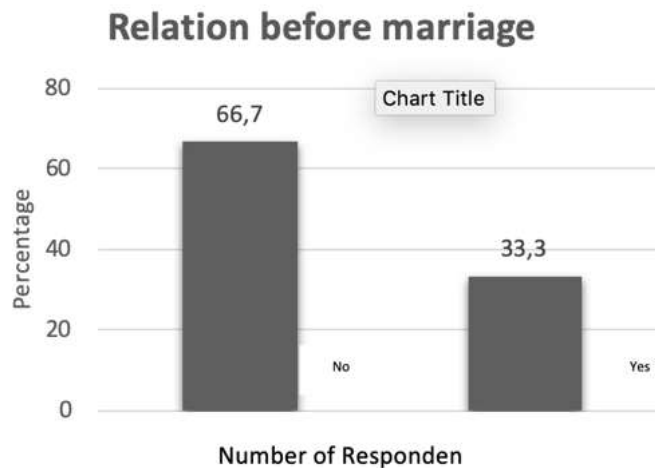
Figure 3. Number of Children

Figure 4. Relation before marriage

Based on figure 4, most respondents (66.7%) claimed not to date before marriage. They claimed only to know issues of dating from age mates. Their recognition is strengthened by the frequency of their meetings which are rarely held officially at home because of their living conditions. Also, 33.3% claimed to be dating, and several times met at their official residence. Others entered into marriage because they felt pressured by the socio-economic conditions experience, living with relatives, and inadequate housing. The learning process and other forms of education are not conducive enough since supervision and guidance are not optimal. This motivates the urge to get married either by agreement or through an invitation out of the house officially declared couples.

Survey Data 2: Husband's Economic-Employment Conditions When married

Out of 54 respondents, 52.90% were affected by low economic conditions, yet 100% of their husbands were not working.

"I was married when I was in grade II in middle school; obviously, I was not working. Marriage arrangements were discussed according to the ability of the husband's family, but later I realized he was not working regularly.

Occasionally he left work to accomplish other family-related duties. Sometimes he could be invited to work outside the village. However, he could not stand such tasks due to scarcity of water".

The above excerpt shows that the economic condition of the respondents after getting married was deficient. It is precisely the low economy that leads to the decision while still very young or under the minimum age of married women. They believed that getting married to the economic burden can be overcome by their respective husbands. However, a husband who was expected to support the family's economy did not have permanent economic resources but had odd jobs with minimal wages. Likewise, respondents also experienced, when looking for and obtaining work, what they got was low-paid jobs because that was a job that suited minimal skills.
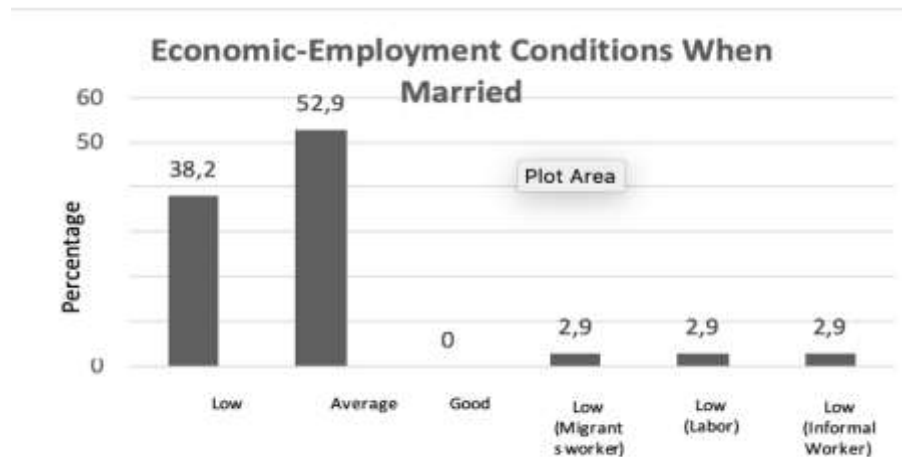

Figure 5. Economic-Employment Conditions When married

According to information in figure 5, 52.9% of the respondents had better economic conditions before marriage. Another 38.2% claimed they had poor economic conditions while rest were in a very critical state. This condition is attributed to a lack of economic independence, making them live with other people. They can only afford basic needs, such as meals. Marriage decision is motivated by several things, including feeling bored, depressed, and always in a state of inadequacy.

Another respondent claimed that the family's economic condition was poor. Parents worked as farmers to meet their daily needs. Even though parents worked as farm laborers, they could still meet their daily needs.

"Hilmi is born by tobacco farmers who manage their land. Likewise, her husband's parents are migrant workers. Another informant, Nufus is the second child in a family of 3 children. She is a victim of parental divorce, with a mother working as a migrant worker in Saudi where is married. She has been brought up by his grandmother since she was around four months old. When entering grade 5, Nufus's nurturing responsibility was taken by her aunt, which gave her some independence. It seems that she was raised not only as a fulfillment of "moral values" but also to alleviate the domestic work of the aunt. This is because she was taught and acquainted with domestic affairs. The economic condition of the family, especially of the women, was sufficient, affording both clothing, food, and shelter. The same condition applies to the husband, who comes from boasting, WajagesengMiddle of Lombok".

Husband Occoupation

Figure 6. Husband Occupation

From figure 6, 67.6% of the husbands were not working at the time they married. This is because both have not completed primary and secondary education, apart from the being of the same age. The difference in their age ranges from 4-5 years, and therefore it is logical if they do not have a permanent job. The rest (32.4%) claimed to be having jobs, though they are only construction workers, farm laborers, and migrant laborers a few moments after marriage. The reason for getting married is to overcome economic problems, but without a permanent job, even surviving is very challenging. It is indeed challenging to secure a decent job with adequate wages since the education level is very low, some dropping out of school. In case they become migrant workers with higher wages, they are still faced with the problem of time. This is because they need to share with the family because the process of becoming a migrant worker depends on the husband's parents.
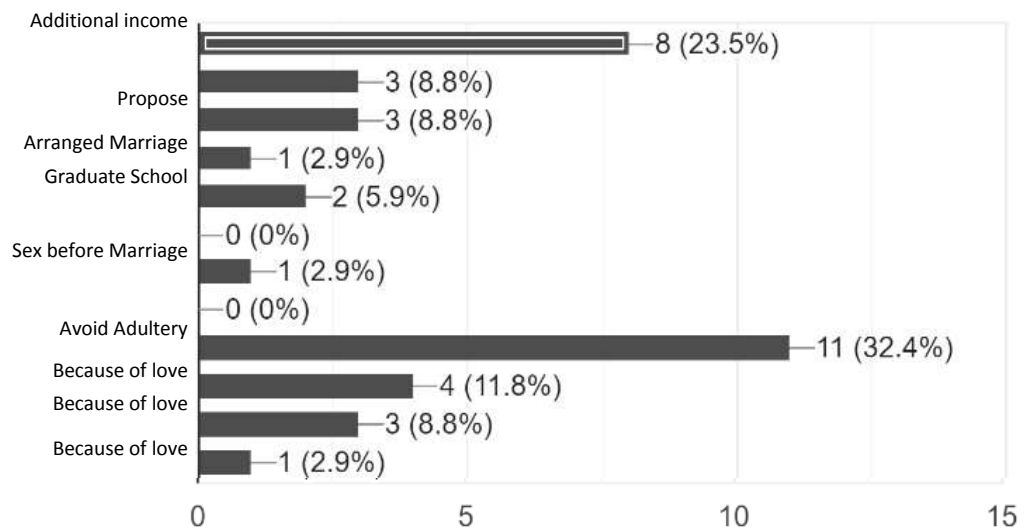

Figure 7. Reason to Marrie

Figure 7 shows various reasons for deciding to get married. Their reasons are very varied, starting from religious factors (avoiding adultery), alleviating the economic burden of the family, having graduated from school, loving each other, getting pregnant before marriage, being rushed by a prospective husband, fearing to lose a boyfriend, and own desires. Also, individuals might be at the age of secondary primary education but not yet physically and mentally ready to be parents with responsibilities such as pregnancy, childbirth, childcare, and caring for the family. In terms of responsibility, there were problems in the marital relationship between them, including the risks of divorcing. At the time of data collection, some respondents were widowed.

The age of the first marriage is often nine months, mainly due to indirect divorce because of in-laws. Divorce was desired by the husband's parents when he was working in Kalimantan. "We married without dating (met once), and after living together for a week, the husband went to work as a laborer in Kalimantan."

Another informant claimed

"Informants were married because they were pregnant." this is a respondent who has been staying with the grandmother since he was two years.

The others confessed:

"Informants eloping, parents objected and had a fuss between the prospective husband and her family." The husband of the 40-year-old informant married her as a 2nd wife. There were no tuition fees, and therefore she decided to get married. "My sister is in college, and she chose not to continue learning." The informant was not ready for marriage but had to decide to avoid losing his girlfriend.

Survey Data 3: Reasons for Marriage

According to data information in figure 8, 91% of the respondents make their decisions for personal reasons. Marriage decisions are made without consultations. Unfortunately, relevant consultation or complaint institutions regarding marriages limited.
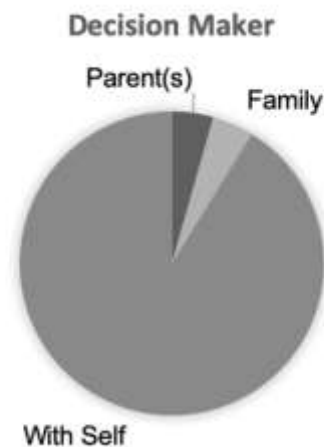

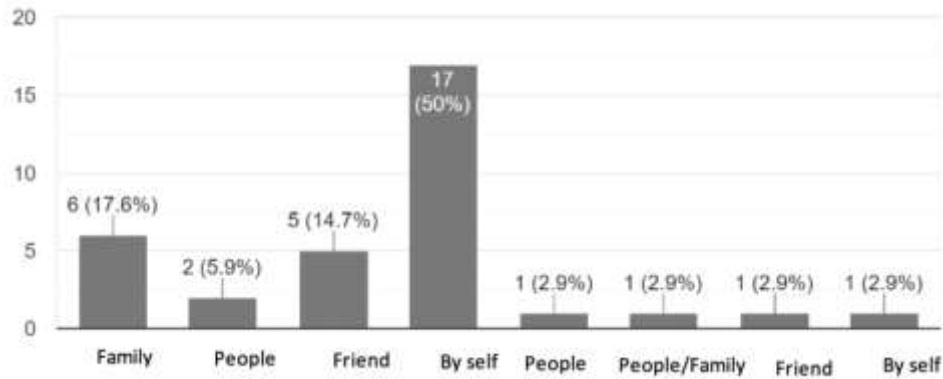
Figure 8. Decision Maker to Marriage

Figure 9. The four consulted when deciding to get married (person/institution)

The Religious Courts Office and Office of Religious Affairs are the only know formal consultation institutions. Both institutions offer consultation after a dispute occurs, apart from legalizing the marriage process. Based on the data in Figure 10, 50% of the respondents claimed not to be consulted. Some only sought advice from the family (17.6%), friends (14.7%), and other sources.

"The informant was proposed through his grandmother because parents were not currently living together. He asked for permission to marry from his parents. The PARENTS asked the prospective husband's family to come to apply, and the marriage procession occurred according to the customs. Parents assume their children will think more maturely after they are married".

The others confessed:

"Decision making about marriage is determined by the families of both parties. According to information from the mother-in-law, the informant was asked to drop out of school first and then marry her child because there was a concern, though not mentioned".
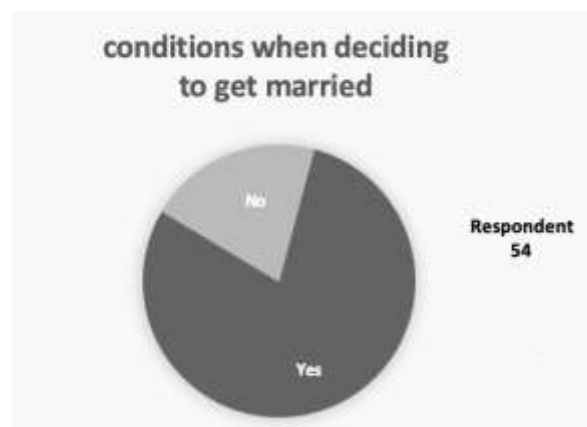

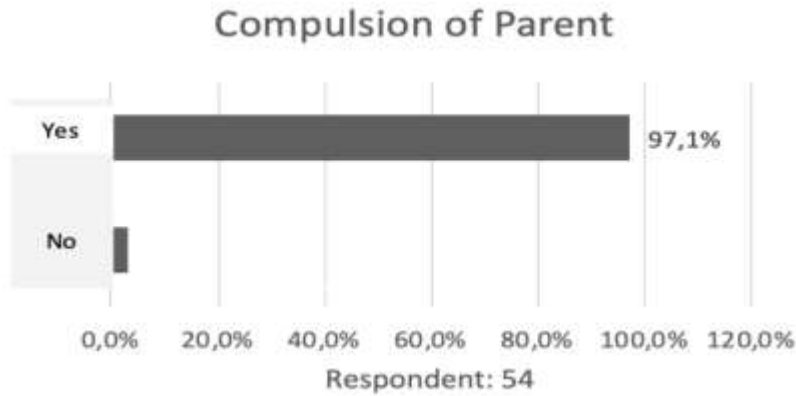**Figure10. Conditions when deciding to get married**
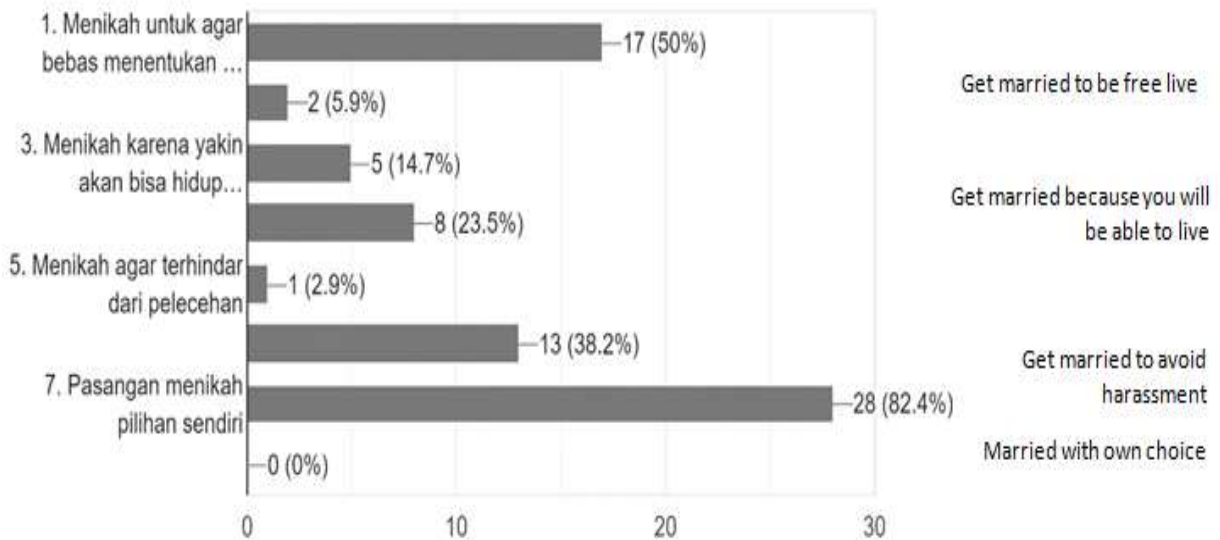
Figure 11. Compulsion of Parent

Figure12.Address needs

According to Figure 10, most 79% of the respondents said there was no problem with the issue of getting married. This is contrary to the in-depth interview, which showed that the marriage decision was motivated by the need to improve the financial conditions of the concerned individuals. This condition is by the family background, the number of households, and the source of income/family work. The following is the acknowledgment information from some informants

"A family is often promised to be given a large amount of dowry (gold and money) at weddings. Some are given money for buying pulses and snacks when they go out. There is also a new cellular phone bought, although not the expensive one. Sometimes the Eid is invited to the mall to buy clothes".

The others confessed:

"Before marriage, the family is promised gold and money of unknown amount as a dowry. It is true given gold and money, but the amount is small (while blushing). A week after marriage, the dowry money is used for other purposes, such as shopping. Also, the promised is often borrowed, and that can be so annoying."

This information shows that economic reasons are the main consideration for early marriages. There are also other reasons, such as lack of consultations and being left by parents.

Early Marriage Causality According to the CDA

Text Position

Based on three ethnographic survey data, early marriage as a text is positioned or considered a normal occurrence for several reasons. For instance, it does not violate socio-cultural ethics or the teachings of religion, and it is considered a hope of improving economic conditions. As a normal occurrence, it happens without complications in the community, which accepts it as ordinary social events. However, related parties, such as women's families, objected to the incident, but since the majority of people accept it, the victims are often unable to confront it. As a normal occurrence, binding rules are not needed in this regard. This is relatively the same as the condition of the Phalombe and Thyolo communities in Malawi [13]. Social rules do not regulate early marriage, and therefore it is considered normal. The unpredictable and unconscious causality of this incident is the loss of opportunities to continue with education and receive other basic rights. According to Sa'ud mentioned, 9-year basic education (6 years of Elementary school and 3 Years of Junior School) is a compulsory program implemented by the government and the community, including parents [14]. Also, there is basic entitlement of citizens that needs to be fulfilled, including the rights of children as victims of early marriage. The public's perception that early marriage is a common occurrence is the causality of the loss of educational opportunities. The same perception is common among the Ordu community in Turkey [15]. Early marriage among women in Urdu is driven by fears of parents that their daughters may be late in marriage. They encourage their daughters to get married even though it is not yet the right time. The problem leads to dropping out of school, not getting decent work, remaining unskilled and poor. For these reasons, affirmations are also made accessible to eliminate the bad effects. However, many do not think early marriage deprivation of basic human rights.

The number of early marriages for women will be reduced. At a minimum, collective awareness, understanding, and knowledge can help to retain the basic rights of other people. They help responsible individuals to perceive perpetrators of early marriages for women as victims of human rights violations. Such an attitude changes the pattern and agenda in determining development policies for the benefit of all. All parties responsible can focus on beneficial activities rather than being preoccupied with early marriage cases.

Advantaged and disadvantaged groups

Jones wishes to know the reason for the absence of critical discourse analysis[16]. The issue arises due to the existence of the analysis of the interview as a theory and method of understanding communication behavior that

cannot be revealed using conventional linguistics. The reality of women's early marriage cannot be understood as causality with a negative impact on civilization unless it is considered a text through the study of critical discourse analysis. The people that can benefit are the ones considering this phenomenon as a normal occurrence. For instance, they feel authorized to regulate the distribution of resources according to their interests. They also set the choice of work and the amount of income for it.

The above conditions may not favor the victims of early marriage, in this case, women. It is difficult to make choices and demand alignment because the conditions experienced are unfavorable. From the parents' perspective, early marriage leads to regret. A victim cannot continue with education since the bureaucratic culture does not accommodate this situation. Although there are still opportunities, the process of socialization makes it impossible. If deemed incompatible with these conditions, the only option might be to returns to parents with separation without divorce. Instead of returning to their parents, some chose to become migrant workers in various countries. In terms of education, women are very disadvantaged because of early marriage. According to Suleman, Hassandanialbedupk, and Yasmeen's study on factors hampering the success of secondary school education in Pakistan's Karak District, early marriage of women ranks fifth [17]. In the same case, the number of women dropping out of school at the level of primary and secondary education is far higher than men. A study on rural communities in India by Marphatia, Reid, and Yajnik established that apart from higher dropout rates, the risk of not finding a job is even higher among women [18]. Such social relations, of course, are like the binary position between two variables, with one being more dominant, stronger, and control compared to the other. The condition of victims of early marriage with no choices becomes common in the minds of people. Giddens calls it a pattern of deliberate structure for a particular purpose in its own group [19].

As the position of the text, a woman's early marriage is seen as a normal event, even though there is much loss suffered. The surrounding community did not make even the slightest effort to change their thoughts and actions to reduce the adverse effects of such views. Also, it does not take the initiative to provide a consultation or complaints agency in the case of early marriage. There are no social sanctions against perpetrators and parties involved in the early marriage for women. In fact, due to customary and traditional reasons, such events are facilitated collectively through traditional rituals and local culture. Injustice in social relations is evident in the context of early marriage since women are victims of their relationships, both individually and collectively. The perception of early marriage as an ordinary event needs to be criticized with a new understanding that it leads to discrimination. The perception that early marriage is an ordinary occurrence is not based on truth, but a tendency to dominate certain groups through discriminating.

The consequences

The causality of early marriage is related to strategic aspects not predicted beforehand. This is due to the neglect of basic rights and forgetting their collective obligations. In case the causality is not predicted, practices that render early marriage a normal occurrence, neglecting public discussion and consultation makes early marriage a discourse that engenders various symbolic violence. According to Berhane et al., [21] and Taylor et al.[22], matchmaking institutions, especially for women, are equipped with various information and services about reproductive health and

family duties. Although eventually victims of early marriage remain disadvantaged, at least they have the basis for protection against severe discrimination. In developing countries, this phenomenon is still better than leaving it as a social dynamic that symbolizes violence symbolically. Bourdieu and Lardellier established that symbolic violence forces others to accept it, and even the victim may not recognize it [23]. The consequence of the causality of symbolic violence comes in the form of the non-recognition of the basic rights of women and the neglect of the collective obligation of society to fulfill their basic rights. The causality of disregard for rights and forgetting obligations results in various forms of prolonged physical and non-physical discrimination. Interview with respondents showed that after nine months, a victim of early marriage had to separate from her husband for various domestic reasons, such as not taking care of the household and poor financial conditions. The choice to separate is unexpected, as is the decision to get married at an early age.

Separating at a very young age is very unfortunate in the sociocultural view of people in Lombok. Oratorical and reflective questions arise, such as why one should choose to get married early and divorce at a relatively young age of marriage. The response to the question is often 'he married while young, certainly not without reason.' This reflective answer shows suspicion that the victim might not be a good woman in terms of ethics and religion. The victims are often described as 'bad women' which can be discouraging to them. Additionally, they may also be described as 'unqualified women, ' which also leads to other acts of discrimination, such as harassment.

Socio-Cultural Conditions Context

As a social phenomenon and reality in East Lombok, the beginning of early marriage cannot be ascertained. Today's community considers it a common occurrence with no consultation or complaints agency that mediates conflicts. The community is the institution that fosters discrimination against gender relations between men and women, rather than preventing or even prohibiting it. If this condition continues to be ignored, there is a high possibility of intensifying, leading to a second-class society. However, advances in the male gender, breed inequality in case discrimination against women continue. Inequalities of various forms towards gender relations always emanate from innate discrimination. With a view that is relatively similar to the perception of Tanzanians that discourage schools for women is inappropriate. This view is very discriminatory and facilitates early marriage and rather than encouraging them to continue with their education [25]. In the correlative view, low education due to early marriage is a common reality in society [26]. The local law that does not favor women, limited public access for women by analogizing it as a male treasure, suspicion of political access and various other discrimination against women are prevalent in today's society. It can be different in case a conscious thought on causality not predicted arises as a collective possession. The society needs to be highly sensitive to women's basic rights, especially at an early age. Marriage decisions should never be motivated by petty reasons, such as to improve the economic conditions of women. According to Ferreira and Kamal, through SDGs, women's basic needs should be increased in a parallel manner [27]. Muyaka stressed the need for government policies at various levels to achieve the goal of equality between men and women. If this is prioritized, the discrimination that tends to harm women can be eliminated [28]. The society can no longer be a structure that perpetuates discrimination in male-female gender relations.

IV. CONCLUSION

This study shows that early marriage in the Sasak community in East Lombok was an aspect of causality between it and the basic rights of women. The two causals have never been predicted before since early marriage is always perceived to be correlating with dropping out of school, low skills, limited employment, low wages, poor, and low welfare. This correlation between variables leads to affirmative agendas that solve the problem partially since it does not change the choice of actions and the consequences of marrying women. Also, early marriage as a text is seen as an ordinary event that canot interfere with norms in society. This view is deconstructive because women, especially victims of early marriage, are severely disadvantaged through various forms of discrimination. All consequences resulting from acts of symbolic discrimination by community groups emanate from women. In the long term, the community might become an informal structure that perpetuates discrimination in gender relations between men and women, including the absence of the consultative institutions or mediators for conflicts over cases of early marriage for women.

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