

## Women resistance to early-age marriage in *Wadon Ora Didol*: Critical discourse analysis

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### ABSTRACT

**Background:** *Wadon Ora Didol* is a documentary film highlighting women's resistance to the problem of early marriage. The rise of early marriage in Indramayu is a serious problem regarding the exploitation and objectification of women. This is actually related to the traditions and culture of Indramayu, thus, it is giving rise to a feminist-based resistance movement against these traditions. **Purpose:** This article aims to analyze and describe the resistance carried out by women against early-age marriage in the film *Wadon Ora Didol* through critical discourse analysis of Sara Mills. **Methods:** It uses a descriptive research approach, with primary data collection through documentation on selected scenes and relevant literature studies. Data findings were analyzed using theories of resistance and feminism. **Results:** There is women's resistance in the film *Wadon Ora Didol*, which is identified through two positions: first, as the subject of resistance displayed by demonstrators and their efforts to revise laws of marriage; second, a slight object position through scenes showing the exploitation and objectification of women. Dominantly, *Wadon Ora Didol* proves that women are the main actors who are constructed to be able to fight, be independent, and be free to express and convey criticism of the problem of early-age marriage. This film also presents women who are responsive to caring about the fate of other women, both domestically and publicly, so that all individuals are equal and have their rights to freedom. **Implications:** These findings provide social criticism of the importance of women's rights in society, as well as their struggle for existence in feminism. It is hoped that the results can provide other aspects to increase public awareness to be more responsive to social problems and exploitation of women, especially regarding early marriage.

**Keywords:** Women's resistance; early-age marriage; critical discourse analysis; child marriage; representation of media

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## INTRODUCTION

Marriage is a strong and eternal physical and spiritual bond between two human beings, with love and obligation, as well as a form of passing on offspring for humanity. The marriage bond is an important thing in life because, through marriage, a person can achieve more balance in life. Syalis and Nurwati (2020) explained the reality of the existence of living creatures on Earth, which consists of two types, namely women and men. Therefore, marriage is a bond in the life of a man and a woman which is lawful and approved by Allah SWT in order to obtain happiness and prosperity, including in the interest of having godly offspring.

Referring to the principles of marriage stated in Marriage Law No.1/1974, one of the critical aspects is the maturity of the prospective bride and groom (marriage age). A good marriage limit has been set for women 21-25 years and men 25-27 years. This age is the determining limit because, at this age, the female reproductive organs are physiologically well developed and strong, capable of giving birth to offspring and are physically mature. Meanwhile, for men, this age means that their psychological and physical conditions are considered to be strong, so they are able to support family life psychologically, emotionally, economically and socially (Jamaluddin, 2016). However, the fact is that in Indonesia, there are still a number of

cases of early marriage (child marriage). Many people marry at a young age, both at the level of Indigenous communities and the general public, including those of school age (students). On the other hand, there are many risks that couples who marry early must face, such as in terms of health, economic, emotional level, and psychological aspects.

The increase in cases of early marriage is a problem in social life and education which currently needs to be overcome correctly. Data regarding early marriage in a number of developing countries generally tends to vary. In 2020, the highest rate of early marriage occurred in South Asia at 70%, and the lowest rate in Southeast Asia at 30% (Suyanto et al., 2023). With existing data on cases of early marriage, Indonesia is ranked 2nd in ASEAN after Cambodia, with the highest marriage rate in Southeast Asia and 7th in the world with the highest number of child marriages (Sanisah et al., 2022).

Besides Indonesia, the problems related to early marriage also occur in several other Asian and African countries. A number of previous studies have explained findings regarding trends and problems that arise as a result of early marriage, for example, talking about child marriage and intimate partner violence in India (Verma & Choudhury, 2024); the prevalence of early marriage in Nepal (Bhattarai et al.,

2022); the phenomenon of early marriage in Iran (Mirzaee et al., 2021; Hosseini & Asadisarvestani, 2022); the impact of early marriage in Pakistan (Shabbar & Manzoor, 2022); the spatial distribution and determinants of early marriage in Ethiopia (Alem et al., 2020); and the sexual and reproductive health factors in early and forced marriage in Uganda (Loutet et al., 2022).

In 2021, Komnas Perempuan recorded that the Religious Courts granted 59,709 cases of early marriage. This dispensation has had an impact on reducing the number of cases of early marriage compared to 2020, namely 64,211 cases. However, this figure is still considered high compared to 2019 which amounted to 23,126 cases (Pranita, 2021). In East Java Province, for example, early marriage often occurs in the Tapal Kuda area, such as Pasuruan, Probolinggo, Bondowoso, Situbondo and Madura. In some of these areas, the rate of early marriage has even reached 20,15% (Suyanto et al., 2023). Related to this, one of the other regions in Indonesia with high rates of early marriage specifically occurs in Indramayu Regency, West Java Province.

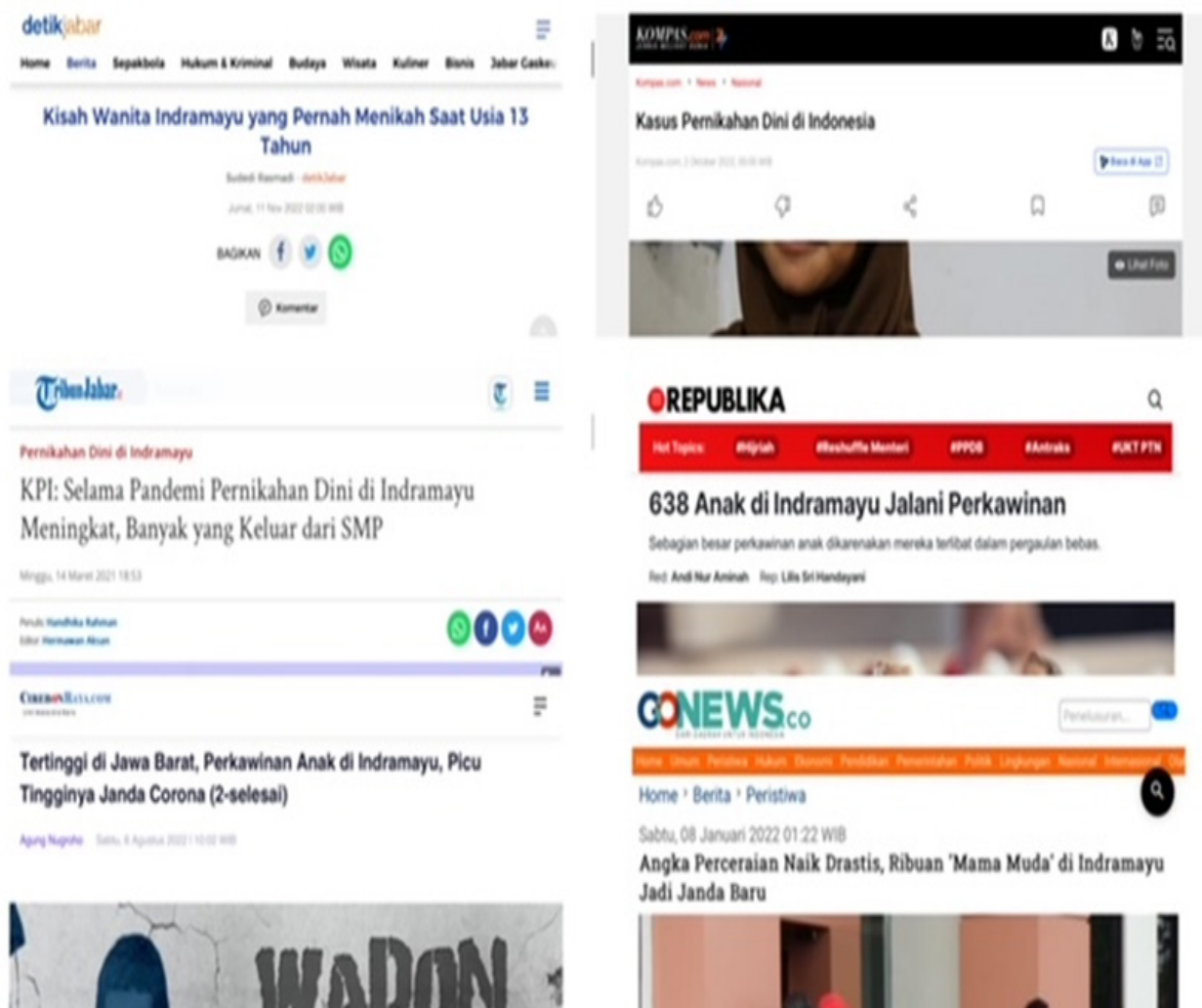
According to Kompas.com (2022), this statement is supported by analytical study data from the Indonesian Women's Coalition (2019). In their study *Girls Not Brides*, they stated that 1 in 8 underage girls in Indonesia had

married before the age of 18. This research is even stronger with support from the 2017 BPS Indonesian Demographic and Health Survey (SDKI) data, which shows the percentage of women who have been married aged 20-24 years under the age of 18 with a total of 25.71% (Pranita, 2021).

Based on data from the disaggregation of residential factors, the prevalence of early marriage among girls in rural areas is higher than in urban areas (Sanisah et al., 2022). Geographical location has quite an influence on the number of marriages, with the trend of child marriage rates being two times higher in children living in rural areas compared to children living in urban areas who experience delays in getting married.

Many rural areas in Indonesia have records of child marriage cases, including Wonogiri, Central Java, with 21 cases and Ponorogo, East Java, with 191 cases in 2022. The factor causing the increase in cases of early marriage in Wonogiri and Ponorogo is caused by promiscuity by perpetrators. It impacts early pregnancy, which means the child has to be married off or married by accident (MBA), thus giving rise to many marriage dispensations (Al-Alawi, 2023).

One of the rural areas with a high number of child marriages in Indonesia is Indramayu. It is located in the West Java district, which



Source: Gonews.com (Effendy, 2022), Tribunjabar.id (Rahman, 2021), Cirebonraya.com (A. Nugroho, 2022), Detik.com (Rasmadi, 2022), Republika.co.id (Handayani, 2022), Kompas.com (Harruma, 2022).

**Figure 1** Capture various news from online portals

is located in the northern part of West Java Province, which directly borders the Java Sea. It is located on the line 107°51'-108°36' East Longitude and 6°15'-6°40' South Latitude. The total population in Indramayu 2020 reached 1.871.149 people; many languages are used in communicating, such as Indonesian, Indramayu Javanese, and Sundanese (Indramayu and Priangan) (BPS, n.d.).

Even though geographically Indramayu is located in West Java Province, which in fact is the land of Pasundan, some Indramayu people speak typical Indramayu Javanese, residents seven call Basa Dermayon, a dialect of Javanese which is almost similar to the Cirebon dialect. In Indramayu, child marriage has a long history because it has existed since ancient times. It is related to the culture of the Indramayu people,

who view children, especially girls, as assets who can then be married off to rich people to improve their status and economic life.

The high number of cases of early marriage in Indramayu Regency has also attracted public attention and has become a hot issue to discuss. Many mass media reported this incident, starting from the chronology, the number of marriages carried out, and even the factors that influence the increasing number of early marriages in Indramayu. All aspects are exploited to make news material. Related to this, researchers gathered through a number of news portals that reported about early marriage in Indramayu in Figure 1.

These figures above have been collected through several online news portals, namely Gonews.com (Effendy, 2022) and Tribunjabar.id (Rahman, 2021), Cirebonraya.com (A. Nugroho, 2022), Detik.com (Rasmadi, 2022), Republika.co.id (Handayani, 2022), and Kompas.com (Harruma, 2022). These portals explain how the rate of early marriage in the Indramayu area is said to be high, even the highest in West Java. This is influenced by the high rate of early marriage, especially at junior high school age, and it has an impact on the high number of widows during the pandemic.

Apart from the news portals above, many mass media outlets, including film, clearly depict the reality of this phenomenon. Various

films have been produced by correlating several aspects of life such as early marriage and prostitution, for example in the film *Girl Lost* (2018) about a 13 year old girl who has to survive as a prostitute; the films *I am Najoom* Age 10 and *Divorce* (2014) about forced marriages of 10 year old girls; and *Wadon Ora Didol* (2022) which describes the widespread traditions of early marriage, cash money and child prostitution in Indramayu.

*Wadon Ora Didol* specifically about the practice of child marriage, which still occurs in the Indramayu area, especially in Lelea and Arahane subdistricts. The film is a collaboration between Watchdog and Pamphlet Generasi, released in July 2022 via the Watchdog YouTube channel. Depicting the effects of child marriage, which is said to be one of the things that encourages child prostitution (Documentary, 2022b).

Watchdog Documentary itself is an audio-visual production house or documentary film studio. Founded in 2009 by Andhy Panca Kurniawan and Dandhy Laksono, both of whom are journalists by profession. Watchdog has produced at least 165 documentary episodes, 715 television features, and at least 45 commercial and non-commercial video works that have received various awards (Documentary, 2022a). *Sexy Killers*, *Asymmetric*, *The End Game*, *Kinipan*, and *Wadon Ora Didol* are various



films produced by Watchdog Documentary that have been able to attract the attention of the Indonesian people. One of them, *Wadon Ora Didol* was produced because it raised the real social issue of early marriage among children in Indramayu Regency, West Java.

*Wadon Ora Didol* tells about the existence of a “*luru duit*” (looking for money) view among the people of Indramayu, which places girls as having to earn and earn money to help the family’s economy (Documentary, 2022). Apart from that, there is the term “hanging marriage”, which has the same meaning as today’s arranged marriage, for 10-year-old children to undergo hanging marriage with each other. This phenomenon is what makes the people of Indramayu use girls as a means of making money to help the family economy by marrying off to men who are richer and have a higher rank.

Ironically, the money-grubbing culture is carried out by the practice of prostitution because of the lack of skills or expertise among women. The perpetuation of the tradition of forced marriage of children at a young age to men chosen by their parents who have a higher and better economic status in order to improve the welfare of the family is why the documentary film *Wadon Ora Didol* was produced.

The *Wadon Ora Didol* film-making team investigated by tracing the location of a well-

known place of prostitution practice in the Indramayu, which is known as a prostitution area, namely, Cilegeng Indah, which involves minors, as well as involving women who are perpetrators of prostitution. The people of Indramayu do not mind the age of marriage; the most important thing is that they have a partner and compatibility between the two families, so the family immediately determines the wedding date for the couple.

Traditions that are maintained by placing women as second only to men, traditions that require women to “voluntarily” give up their entire lives to serve the man who is their partner and traditions that seem to force women to bury all their dreams at the door of marriage. Even though women also have the same rights to make their dreams come true, even though they already have a husband, women can carry out activities outside the home, but their obligations as a wife must be remembered.

The high divorce rate in Indramayu causes women’s welfare levels to decline, as a result they have to rack their brains to make money to survive. The lack of skills makes them easy to fall into bad relationships and freely plunge into the world of prostitution. Most of the prostitution practices revealed are mostly young women or underage girls.

In Indonesia, prostitutes are considered a taboo job, so they have a bad image in society.

In fact, becoming a prostitute is sometimes a forced choice because there are traps or crimes committed by a group of people organized in human trafficking. However, there are also reasons to become a prostitute due to urgent needs, even though you have a high level of education, so the level of education cannot be used as a moral measure (Yanto, 2016).

Reported on Ayosurabaya.com, the Indramayu Religious Court recorded the number of requests for dispensation to marry minors in 2017 as many as 291 people, 2018 as many as 292 people, 2019 as many as 302 people, 2020 as many as 761 people, 2021 (January-May) as many as 140 people. Based on this data, the number of child marriage practices is not decreasing, but is actually increasing every year (R. D. Putri, 2022).

In 2022, as many as 572 children applied for marriage dispensation, 564 requests were granted. In 2023 (January-May), as many as 108 children will ask for marriage recommendations (Mustajab, 2023). The story of Rasminah, who married when she was 13 years old, together with Endang Wasrinah and Maryanti, submitted a judicial review to the Constitutional Court. To call for the age limit for child marriage in Indonesia in 2017, and then in 2019, the judicial review was granted by the MK (R. D. Putri, 2022).

Based on the problems above regarding

child marriage, Rasminah wants to change this tradition with Rasminah's strong determination. Accompanied by the perceived injustice, awareness and strength emerged for Rasminah to demand her human rights through criticism and proposals submitted to the government.

The figure of Rasminah in the film *Wadon Ora Didol* depicts a woman who is not only a figure of emancipation but also has a revolutionary spirit. Rasminah tries to elevate women to get equal rights, in a condition that is not easy for Rasminah to endure. The existence of this gender gap triggered efforts to prove Rasminah and other victims to show their existence as subjects who have the right to freedom and happiness in life.

Resistance to the tradition of early marriage only arose occasionally. It was processed over a fairly long period of time. Women, as subordinate parties, need information or knowledge, an accumulated problem base, and sufficient energy and authority as social and cultural capital before taking a stand to fight back. Apart from that, triggers are needed that are relevant to the developing discourse as a point in the resistance process (Taqwa, 2011).

The resistance movement initially came from the perception that women could be oppressed and exploited and were considered second-class creatures. So, they took up resistance, which they believed was

a step toward ending the oppression (B. A. Nugroho, 2019). There is a critical response to discriminatory treatment of women, one of the aims of its presence is to demand equal rights and interests of women. Therefore, awareness emerged, which was represented in *Wadon Ora Didol* through the figures of Rasminah and her colleagues as women activists who fought for the fate of women by criticizing the tradition of early marriage, thus indirectly giving birth to a movement related to feminism.

In order to specifically bring out the description of the struggle of Rasminah and her colleagues in relation to the resistance carried out, one of the tools in the analysis of the related text is a lot of discussion about women, minorities, discriminatory behaviour and marginalization, this refers to discourse analysis from Sara Mills (1994). Sara Mills emphasizes the existence of the concept of discourse –and critical discourse, one of which is regarding feminism and a number of its reviews, with a focus on emphasizing and constructing how women are presented in texts, both in relation to written, audio or audio-visual texts. In particular, women are shown in various ways through film texts, both on a positive and negative level. However, the phenomenon is not uncommon in that women tend to be presented in a negative way in film texts, synonymous with sexist statements and becoming sex objects

(Mills, 1998).

Eriyanto (2001) further explains that Mills' analysis is more focused on how the actor's position appears in the text, who is the subject of the story, and involves how the audience and writer or, in this research, the filmmaker and audience are, presented (A. Putri & Nurhajati, 2020). Then, from this, the researcher was interested in using Sara Mills' theory of critical discourse analysis to be implemented as a basis for analyzing the film *Wadon Ora Didol*.

The film *Wadon Ora Didol* was chosen as the research object because it indirectly provides an overview of the positioning of parties in fighting for social problems related to early marriage. This has subsequently had an impact on the widespread and commonplace existence of child prostitution and the large number of HIV cases in Indramayu. These social problems have a common thread with each other because they have a causal relationship to the phenomena that occur in Indramayu.

Reviewing how women are portrayed in this film, it appears that there is a basis for the exploitation of women, children and sexual relations, which depicts the objectification side of women as victims. On the other hand, this film is interesting to study because it also shows the forms of protest and criticism that emerge as the main spirit in the struggle of women and those who support them, both when they have to clash



with society's social construction regarding traditions and culture based on patriarchal power in society. Indramayu. Therefore, Sara Mills' critical discourse is considered suitable for examining and analyzing the representation of women and children as part of the objects exploited in society, as well as being an analytical tool for dissecting the struggle against and resistance to the gender inequality depicted. Operationally, this research limits and examines the content of meaning constructed in the film *Wadon Ora Didol*. The aim is to describe and identify cultural resistance to early marriage in Indramayu.

In order to formulate the novelty and originality of the article, the author has identified several previous researches in relation to providing a mapping of the importance and interest of the issues discussed so as to provide novelty in the academic and methodological realm. In this case, a number of research or scientific writings have been identified as comparisons and references by the author, including research on the deconstruction of the meaning of feminist values and women's resistance contained in the film *Mother* through Sara Mills' critical discourse by Pratiwi, Susilowati, Rusdiana, & Rohmatika (2021); research on gender equality regarding female figures in the context of Javanese tradition by A. Putri & Nurhajati (2020); an

article from Nuriyatur & Rifa'i (2022) about postmodern and radical feminism in the film *Tanah Jahanam*. The three researches above are deemed capable of providing additional references in writing this article, especially when discussing women's resistance efforts linked to the context of feminism as well as resistance to exploitation, marginalization and subordination of women and children in cases of early marriage in Indramayu due to beliefs in traditions and culture of the community which also form a strengthening part.

The representation of women's resistance and resistance shown in the film can be seen from the form of women's resistance to their alignment with nature. Furthermore, this context can be seen through a number of research studies that talk about women's ecofeminism in documentary films. One of them is a scientific article from Budi Utami Putri (2017) about ecofeminism and counter-hegemony to fight environmental destruction in the Kendeng area in the film *Samin vs Semen*. Apart from that, there is also research that takes the subject of the documentary film *Our Mother's Land* written by Bella Cintya dan Anggi Triandana (2022) regarding women's resistance to corporations destroying nature through Norman Fairclough's critical discourse, Lulu' Nur Raihan Supriyadi (2022) about Sara Mills' critical discourse regarding the representation of ecofeminism

in the film *Tanah Ibu Kami*, Monalisa Agnes Pamela Simanjuntak dan Fitriana Lubis (2022) through her writing about the relationship between women and nature in a review of ecofeminist studies in the film *Tanah Ibu Kami*.

Other depictions of women's ecofeminism are also explored in other types of films, such as research Resky Apriliani Basnapal dan Roro Retni Wulan (2019) through her writing about ecofeminism in the film *Marlina The Four Act Killer*; oppression of women and nature through an ecofeminist perspective in the film *Maleficent* written by Pondaag, Akhsaniyah, & Dugis (2017); and ecofeminism in the film *Nona Kedi Who Never Saw a Miracle* by Farobi Fatkhurridho dan Suma Riella Rusdiarti (2022).

Apart from films, previous research on women's resistance is also visible in several other articles, such as writings by Puji Retno Hardiningtyas (2016) about the resistance of Papuan women in *Roman Isinga* by Dorothea Rosa Herliany, research from Wildan (2014) regarding the model of female resistance in the novel *Perempuan Berkalung Sorban*; and Ery Agus Kurnianto (2016) in his writing about women's resistance regarding the discourse of the queen of the household in the short story *Intan Paramadhita*. These studies tend to focus on the representation and construction of resistance depicted through written texts from several literary texts in the form of romances,

novels and short stories. They basically provide a representational picture of the exploitation of nature along with the oppression of women. Thus, it is necessary to dismantle the relationship between men who are considered to have dominant power and women as subordinate parties.

Based on the explanation above, to see how women are shown in the context of minorities and exploitation on the basis of emerging social disparities, one analysis that can be specifically used as an analytical tool for film text data is critical discourse. The context of critical discourse is usually used to explain abuse of power, aspects of domination, persuasion, ideology, and injustice, which tend to be displayed implicitly through news texts (Sobur, 2001).

Several studies in critical discourse also examine the aspects of discourse that emerge based on the use of language, both in spoken and written form (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Eriyanto, 2015). Text analysis at the discourse level, which is growing in social practice, links the dialectical relationship of certain discourses with aspects that refer to existing situations, institutions, and social structures (Eriyanto, 2015). The implementation techniques in this critical discourse also illustrate the existence of an ideological culture.

An example is when discourse creates social

practices that are unequal between existing social classes, then there will be domination of the majority group over the minority group. In practice, this occurs between social classes, which refer to men and women, giving rise to an imbalance in the power of the majority group (men) over the minority (women). More clearly, critical discourse analysis will help discuss how the position of the text can play a role in describing social and gender inequality, which is then constructed. It can be reviewed through the critical discourse analysis, which starts with the existence of actions, underlying context, historical aspects, power (domination), and the basic ideology outlined in the text (Eriyanto, 2015). Thus, this research aims to determine and describe resistance to early marriage in Indramayu in the film *Wadon Ora Didol* based on the critical discourse analysis model of Sara Mills.

## RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach through descriptive research methods. The descriptive approach aims to provide a detailed description (describe) of a message or text and certain scenes and their characteristics (Eriyanto, 2001). Researchers analyze the phenomena that occur in films and do this by processing research data in the form of words, images or recordings. Apart from that, the aim

of qualitative research is to explain phenomena in as much detail as possible through data collection (Bungin, 2006).

The paradigm used in this research is a critical paradigm, including critical discourse analysis. Using a discourse analysis perspective, texts are not only interpreted as something neutral. With the selection of groups positioned by the storyteller, the events presented to the audience are present in the perspective of the storyteller's interests. This discourse analysis aims to determine the main actors in the film who are identified as subjects, and then the selected objects become samples that display related scenes. This research aims to accurately and systematically describe the facts and characteristics of the objects studied.

The data collection technique in this analytical research was obtained using the following efforts. First, the documentation method is carried out by observing the film *Wadon Ora Didol*, then taking pictures (captures or screenshots) of a number of scenes that have been selected and understanding them according to the needs of the research (James et al., 2009). Second, a literature study was carried out to collect the various data needed. This literature study was carried out by reviewing several secondary references relevant to the focus and research problems.

The unit of analysis used in this research is

text in the form of scenes in the film of *Wadon Ora Didol*, which the researcher interprets as being able to show the existence of resistance to early marriage in the film for analysis. Researchers will take a number of scenes that show the existence of resistance and resistance to early marriage as well as attitudes and actions taken in dealing with the phenomenon of rampant prostitution in Indramayu.

Data analysis was specifically carried out using Sara Mills' critical discourse analysis knife. Mills examines media texts through a number of elements, namely, reading the text in the subject-object position and reading the text in the writer-reader position. Subject and object positions attempt to explain how events in the text can be seen based on the perspective of who sees the event. In this case, who will be positioned as the subject of the story and who will be the object of the story becomes part of Sara Mills' analysis to reveal the positioning of the characters on the issues raised in the text. Does each actor or related social group then have the opportunity to actively display their presence in the text, or is it instead displayed and constructed by other actors or social groups. Meanwhile, for the author-reader context, this position provides an overview of how the audience is shown and brought towards the author's point of view in representing the meaning of the text. It is related to the direction

in which the writer's thinking can construct the text he creates, as well as identify himself.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

*Wadon Ora Didol* is a documentary genre film by Edy Purwanto and specially produced through collaboration with the Women March Community, Watchdog and Pamphlet Genarasi (Rahman, 2022). As a director, Edy intends to show the phenomenon of widespread early marriage or child marriage, which has an impact on the many practices of child prostitution (young women) that occur in Indramayu society, West Java. The term *Wadon Ora Didol* means that women are not for sale. This title simply provides a brief overview of the story that women are basically not for sale in the context of any interests, including in the realm of marriage. These events and phenomena have occurred for a long time, so they seem to have become traditions and habits in society. This film is specifically dedicated to voicing the issue of early marriage as a sensitive issue that tends to be covered up by some parties, and is even considered normal by the local community. On the one hand, the problem of early marriage should certainly be able to become a social problem that is of concern to many parties, and society should support the victims, not ostracize them, especially providing equal rights for children in Indonesia, both in the

social, educational, economic and so on fields (Rahman, 2022).

*Wadon Ora Didol* shows clearly how the practice of early marriage and child prostitution is widespread in Indramayu society through a number of factual evidence and data. In this case, the terms “*luru duit*” (looking for money) and “*kawin gantung*” emerged, which then made the tradition of early marriage widespread in Indramayu society (Documentary, 2022b). *Wadon Ora Didol* highlights several female characters, namely Rasminah and Gemma, who are very lively and prominent and are represented as women who are dominant in voicing their ideas and persistent in explaining every life process they have gone through, especially in relation to the phenomenon of early marriage in Indramayu.

Women are reconstructed in a series of images and texts in the film of *Wadon Ora Didol*, in which there are statements from the actors indicating that in the Indramayu area, there are cases of exploitation of women, especially underage girls, with the main focus being on early marriages which give rise to problems regarding prostitution and child trafficking. In this case, exploitation is believed to be a form of taking unfair advantage (Zwolinski, 2015), so that it is capable of giving rise to coercion or violence against the party or object that is subjected to it.

How the context of exploitation and violence is presented through film is inseparable from the potential of film as a media tool that becomes a link in conveying narratives, stories and myths from a number of people (Kolker, 2008; Ruangnapakul, Yusof, & Hamid, 2018). Moreover, for the context of myth, this is even considered real and socially natural when obtained through film (Partridge, D., & Hughes, 1998; Ruangnapakul et al., 2018). In relation to this exploitation, many scenes of violence in films will depend greatly on the unique cultural factors that surround them, religious differences and ethnic backgrounds, which can influence the emergence of violence against women (Nayak et al., 2003). It also happens inside in other different media representations, especially in advertising; women tend to be described as incompetent individuals. It's related to the description of their social roles as wives, housewives, objects of sexuality, or just additional (complementary) aspects (Kordrostami & Laczniak, 2022).

Exploitation in the film is shown in transactional and structural forms. Structural exploitation is the creation of rules or norms by a powerful institution or person that unfairly benefits one group and harms other groups. Meanwhile, transactional exploitation is formed in the relationship between job owners and workers. Regarding on this matter, the form

of exploitation is conceptually related to the emergence of social power. It is referred to by Keltner, Gruenfeld, and Anderson (2003) as the ability to control other people's lives (giving rewards or punishment to others). Power which is born socially will give rise to different consequences for each person. Someone who has power will be considered more capable of persuading other people based on their views and perspectives (Briñol et al., 2017).

The existence of structural exploitation of women is exploitation that is not based on economic gain. On the basis of this exploitation, prostitution has become a discussion point of view that has received feminist criticism. In prostitution, the profit obtained from the perpetrator is not economic profit but sexual satisfaction. Feminism further states that women who become sex workers or prostitutes, basically do not appear because they choose and like that work.

It can be based on Rosemarie Tong (1998), which states that if a capital owner employs a worker and the worker needs money, then the worker has the potential to continue working for the capital owner, even though the worker is exploited. The experience of a woman who sells herself to a man is a reflection of the relationship between workers who really need it and the owners of capital who employ it. Thus, prostitution by women is a form of exploitation.

This can be seen through the reconstruction of women's roles in capitalism as well as resistance to the sexual exploitation of women. The perspective in feminist discourse is to show how texts are very likely to present female figures or characters. Women tend to be shown as those who are wrong, unfair, and bad in the text (Eriyanto, 2001).

It is relevant to the opinion of Bourdieu (2010), who discusses constitutive divisions in relation to relations and social orders that operate dominantly in society. This concept then determines how women and men are classified in the social sphere, where men are seen as responsible for public roles, while women, on the other hand, are given the task of managing the private (limited) sphere, such as household work, child care, and others (Teixeira et al., 2021). Moreover, women are also seen as needing authorization from men (their husbands or fathers) to carry out work in the public sphere because of their perceived incapability (Saffioti, 2004).

This understanding is related to the concept of patriarchy which is widely applied socially in several Asian countries with an Eastern cultural basis. This view of patriarchal culture further classifies women as an inferior group, where men are seen as leaders in society who determine how women's social roles are conceptualized about behaviour, intellectuals,



and communication processes in their daily lives (Haryanti & Suwana, 2014).

Women's resistance to forms of exploitation or inequality in the structure of society is closely related to currents and perspectives in feminism (women's resistance movement). The women's movement as an attitude of resistance, defiance and struggle in the form of disagreement with power can be emphasized to be related to Foucault's opinion regarding power which tends to take the form of resistance, especially in relation to social relations (Dosi, 2012; Adnani, Udasmoro, & Noviani, 2016). This concept is supported by Barker (2000), that resistance is the basis when one force meets another force, so this will be both defence and resistance to other forces from the party in power. Moreover, in other feminist perspectives, for example, the focus on women's rights tends to fight for freedom from acts of rape, strengthening awareness to stop acts of rape, or protection and self-defence for women. It's actually seen as "risk reduction" for women, but in reality, this context is actually seen as becoming contrary to traditional rules regarding gender roles for women (Ullman, 2020).

Referring to the thoughts above, women's efforts to carry out resistance are indirectly seen as a threat against men's power, just like efforts to fight and respond to the concept of patriarchy in society (Hunnicutt, 2009). At this level,

Hollander (2009) strengthens the perception that the social context should not show the existence of women as a representation of violence to oppose male violence (power). In short, resistance means the same as surviving, surviving by resisting and fighting with their own resources (Maghfiroh & Zawawi, 2020). This resistance arises as a response to injustice received by a person in relation to rules, stigma, stereotypes, and efforts to marginalize and subordinate women (Febrianto & Setyani, 2023).

As a result, resistance or self-defence carried out by women tends to be interpreted only as a form of violent response to pre-existing violence. This is relevant to the initial view of the concept of feminism, which was briefly assessed as a movement that sought to fight sexism and oppression. On the other hand, the concept of feminism should be more clearly explained and defined as a movement that aims to end sexism, especially for exploitation and oppression of sexism (Hooks, 2000; Biana, 2020).

The position of the subject in the film *Wadon Ora Didol* can be seen through several pieces of dialogue and scenes from the actors. The subject position provides an overview of how the character and the social group that supports him is then able to present himself actively from a dominant and main point of view, as

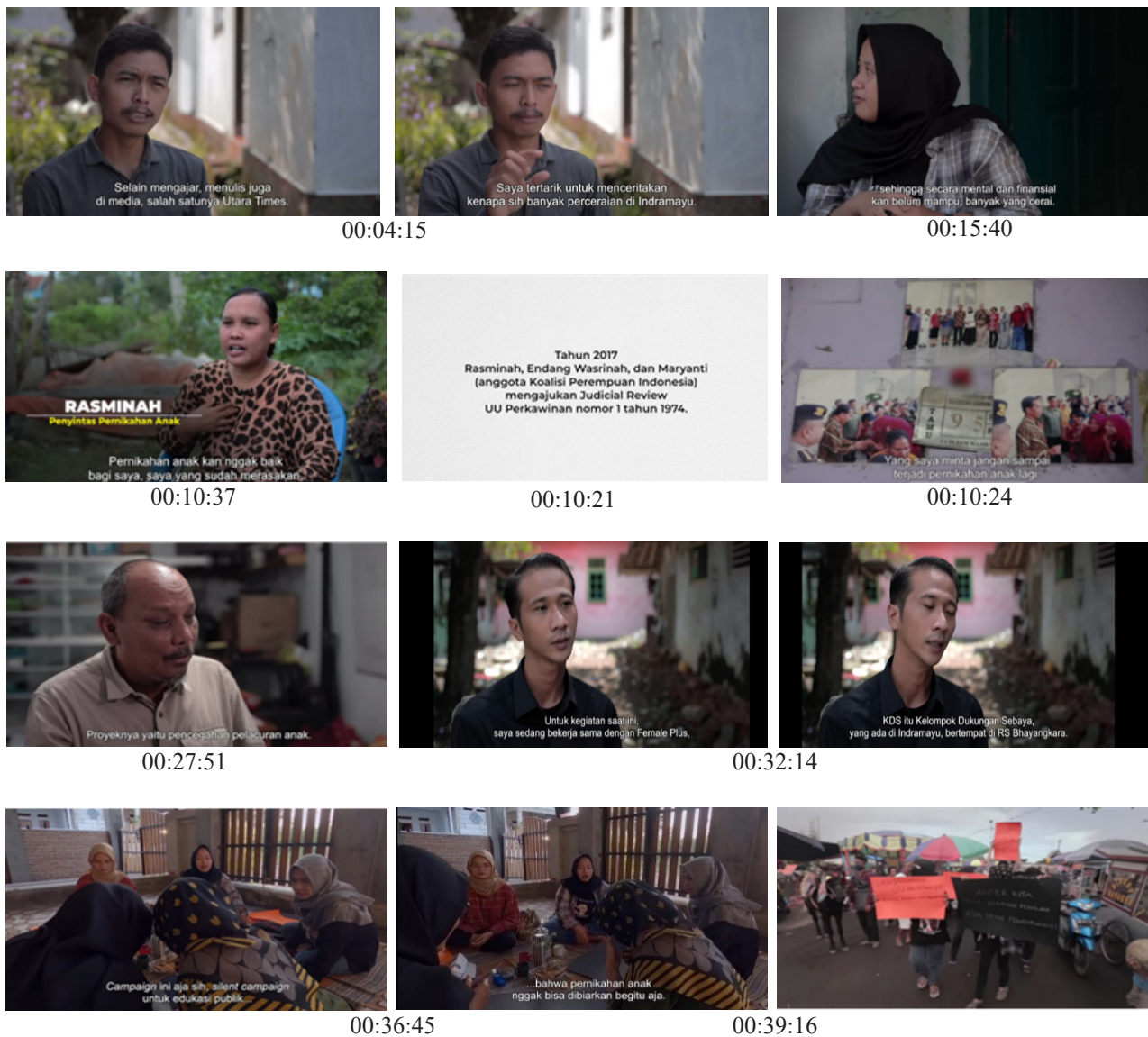
well as becoming the subject of the story in the flow of the existing text. In this research, the author found a number of scenes that were able to show the subject of the story, which means that there is an active point of view regarding the criticism and struggle from several parties in fighting the tradition of early marriage in Indramayu. Apart from that, the subject side of this story also provides an illustration of the extent to which some people are concerned about the widespread phenomenon of sexual exploitation of women and girls in Indramayu. Some scenes that can represent are.

Several scenes in Figure 2-13 in *Wadon Ora Didol* (Documentary, 2022b) above lead to a representation of how some of the characters, Rasminah and Gemma, members of the Indonesian Women's Coalition, who actively express their refusal of the existence of early marriage in Indramayu. Supporting Rasminah and Gema, there are also male figures, namely Suryana, Gilang Kasmara, and Yono Taryono, who take part in the activities of social foundations and NGOs and contribute to media writing about their concerns actively about cases of child marriage and prostitution in Indramayu.

In the film *Wadon Ora Didol*, one of the subjects positioned as the subject of the story is Rasminah, a party who is subordinate to the rules that are formed in her social environment,

and Gemma, a woman of native Indramayu descent who feels she has to fight for the rights of young Indramayu women and confirms the truth about their criticism regarding practices early marriage and the rise of illegal prostitution. Apart from Rasminah and Gemma, male figures were also found, namely Suryana, Yono and Gilang. In cis-gender terms, they are not women, but in terms of thinking, competence and activities carried out, several of these male figures have also become active subjects in supporting the struggle of women—Rasminah and Gemma—over criticism made against the tradition of early marriage in Indramayu.

*Wadon Ora Didol* shows that forms of resistance emerge and tend to occur in conditions of hegemonic society, whether related to forms of structural power, social systems, culture, or other related fields. In the context of hegemony, the formation of ideological aspects will become a meaning that can represent power. It is not only interpreted as strong influence and domination but also a form of negotiation that creates consensus on constructed social meanings. In this way, a number of elements are created that oppose and compete with each other, giving rise to resistance so that the hegemonic side will tend to be unstable and experience dynamics. This statement is strengthened by Fairclough as a process of interpreting discourse as part of the social practices of society, interlocking,



Source: Documentary, 2022b

**Figure 2-13** A number of scenes were captured and showing the subject side of the story in the film of *Wadon Ora Didol*

defending and competing (Jorgensen, 2007).

The concept above provides a setting for the positioning of the storytelling subjects in *Wadon Ora Didol*. The actors (Rasminah, Gemma, Suryana, Yono, and Gilang) are figures who provide support to victims by resisting and defending the existing structure of society. As a form of validation and support, these actors show many facts behind the phenomenon

of exploitation of children and women in Indramayu through data available in the community, conducting campaigns, and helping in a number of sectors in which they are skilled and work.

Especially for Rasminah's contribution to this film as a woman who was married at the age of 13 and was married 5 times is valid evidence of how bad marriage traditions are, which

lead to the exploitation of women and Gemma as a millennial woman who is more aware of the backwardness of society's old-fashioned mindset so that His party felt they had to make a breakthrough to eradicate wrong mindsets and social stereotypes.

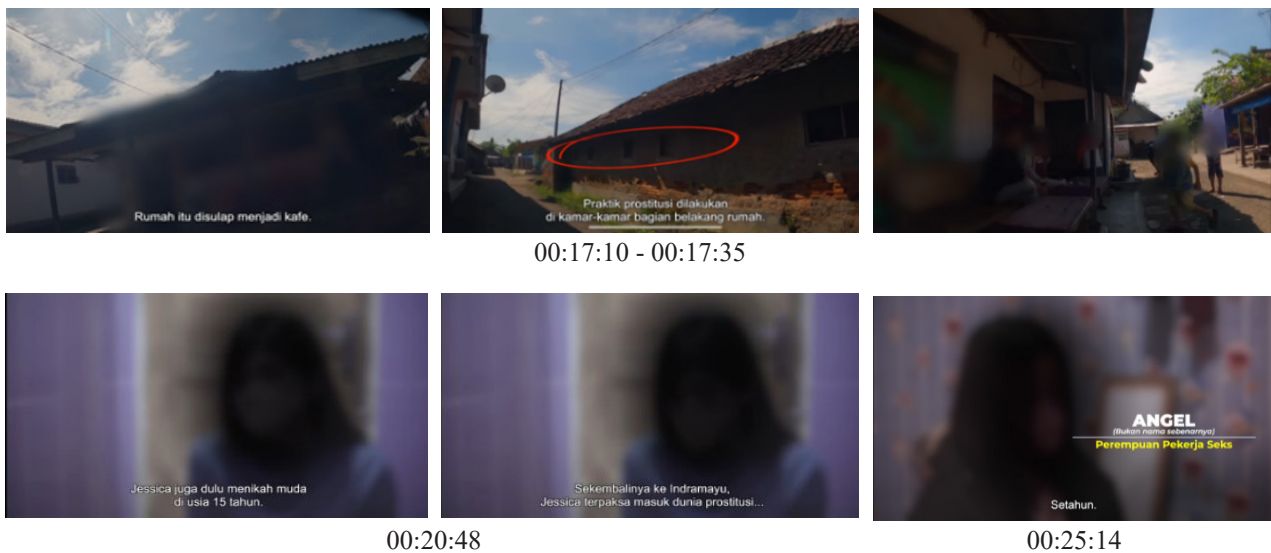
Rasminah and Gemma are constructed and represented as female figures who are aware and dare to fight to carry out a movement for change. Apart from that, a number of men in the film, represented by Suryana, Yono, and Gilang, embody the other social side (of the men) who are more sensitive and concerned about the problems of early marriage and prostitution, so they are also presented in the film regarding their efforts to provide support for participation, validation, and contribution of energy, as well as thoughts to call for and protect women.

Next, the widespread objectification of women, especially in relation to the social construction that exists in society, will indirectly trigger the emergence of practices of violence against women that seem internalized and institutionalized. In this case, it may be that society does not realize that violent practices have occurred and, at the same time, "forces" the social environment to confirm and approve of this. Just like what happened in cases of early marriage (child marriage), as well as the rise in cases of sexual exploitation of young women in Indramayu, resulting in the emergence of many

Commercial Sex Workers in the Indramayu area, this is also a concern that cannot be seen simply through just one gap, but must be reviewed from all related aspects. This problem cannot be separated from the clash in social compulsion that the economic conditions surrounding young Indramayu women are considered to be impossible and insufficient, even as if it requires them to fulfil their living needs through prostitution, and in their position, these young women are required to be able to earn income money to meet family needs (*luru duit*). Thus, understanding the case of child marriage and the rise of prostitution in Indramayu seems to be a case that will clash with each other and social conditions in society, including how the culture in there also plays a binding role even though it seems implicit.

Figures 14 until 19 in *Wadon Ora Didol* (Documentary, 2022b) describe several scenes that provide the illustration of the practice of child prostitution, which exists in Indramayu. However, these prostitution locations seem hidden from the outside environment and tend not to show how prostitution is practiced there. It is relevant to the identification process for the position of objects in the film, that is seen from several scenes and dialogues from the actors. Another actor whose presence is narrated by another actor (subject) means that he cannot be shown and depicted in a real way. This object





Source: Documentary, 2022b

**Figure 14-19** Several scenes showing the objects of the story in the film of *Wadon Ora Didol*

position is a depiction of the powerless party, the discredited party, the dominated party, the weak party, or the objectified party either from the perspective of others or from one's own perspective.

A number of scenes depict commercial sex workers, Jessica and Angel (in pseudonym), who explain the flow of events on how they got into the trap of working as prostitutes. In this case, Jessica and Angel initially seemed active and felt normal when talking about their profession. However, on the other hand, they also explained how they were ostracized, subordinated and humiliated by society for their work. In this case, even though Jessica and Angel appear to be neutral and normal, what is depicted through their statements actually emphasizes the subordination and marginalization of women who work in the realm of prostitution,

that they are considered weak and powerless to provide resistance to the family's economic conditions which forced them to enter the world of prostitution. Furthermore, this fact also illustrates the emergence of social behaviour regarding negative stigma, which is more dominant in the form of exploitation of women, especially when they are underage or children. The point of view from this object position is presented through the form of objectification and discrediting of women through various forms of exploitation that grow in societal traditions through the text in *Wadon Ora Didol*.

Cases of exploitation of women do not only stop at child marriage but continue to prostitution, which makes girls victims of early marriage become perpetrators of prostitution themselves. Cilegeng Indah is an Indramayu area that is a centre for prostitution; houses used



Source: Documentary, 2022b

**Figure 20-22** Scenes that represent the writer-reader position in the film of *Wadon Ora Didol*

as residences have been converted into places of prostitution with the packaging of cafes or stalls.

A hidden place, perpetuated even though it is located in a densely populated area with a high population of children, becomes a nightmare where children grow up side by side with the glittering world of entertainment, which will indirectly contribute to the good and bad quality of future generations.

One of them is Jessica, a young woman who was married at the age of 15, an age when playing and studying were the most enjoyable activities, but she had to marry an older man. Unfortunately, the marriage lasted for a short time and triggered a divorce, which made her choose to go as a migrant worker in Malaysia. The lack of skills and discomfort of living in an overseas country then made Jessica choose to return to her hometown in Indramayu and choose to become a prostitute.

Different from Jessica, Angel entered the world of prostitution at the age of 16 and persisted for more than a year due to the pressure of life's

demands and promiscuity. Lack of skills and the phenomenon of promiscuity, which, if we correlate the transfer of the function of the house as a place of prostitution to the condition of the child's growth and development environment, will affect the quality of the children in that environment. For this reason, the writer's readers' point of view in the film *Wadon Ora Didol* can be illustrated through the following scenes.

Figures 20 and 22 in *Wadon Ora Didol* (Documentary, 2022b) show an overview of the court process for early childhood couples who want to get married. This couple was forced to face the judge first because, in terms of age, they still needed to meet the standard marriage age. However, due to pregnancy reasons, the couple was ultimately approved for marriage. The judge and an early childhood couple are depicted as perpetrators who violated the legal rules stipulated by the government in Law Number 1 of 1974, which was later revised into Law Number 16 of 2019 concerning marriage. This article states that the marriage



limit for men and women is 19 years. This age limit aims to protect the health of prospective brides and grooms at a very young age. Apart from that, the authorities made these rules to monitor everything so everything runs orderly and smoothly.

In this dialogue, the author wants the audience to be directed to reality or reality, even though the central government does not provide, does not approve, and does not justify this reality. However, from the people who adhere to culture, from the existing reality, our society is brought into this problem. So, the village government, especially the religious court judge in the film, was forced to legalize the case of underage marriage.

This incident is actually inversely proportional to the efforts of some figures who are fighting against the existence of early marriage in Indramayu. The existence of local governments that seem to maintain this dispensation has indirectly contributed to the increase in cases of early child marriage. This context is becoming concerning and is shown through scenes that illustrate the reality gap in the film.

Departing from the text's expression of concern about cases of child marriage and exploitation leading to prostitution of women, which has never found a solution. The placement of women as main characters is

always interesting to discuss because it concerns women who exist in real life or reality and their appearance or presence in literary works. The injustices that women experience in life start from sex, education, and social culture and lead to their role in society and the public. The women in this film are women who fight against the customs and culture of their own homeland for the sake of living. Besides that, there is awareness of female victims and support from several communities who are more aware of this tradition.

The struggle of women as victims and other supporting figures will be able to open the eyes of many people because, in this story, there will be many characters involved, such as community institutions, reporters or journalists, the government, as well as society in general. Because the tradition of child marriage, exploitation of women and prostitution is an iceberg phenomenon which is only visible on the surface. There are many things and incidents that are not visible and many people do not realize that most of our society views the victim as the person who made the mistake.

The existence of actor resistance shown in the film *Wadon Ora Didol* is the core of this research. Researchers also found that there were several representations of resistance shown in the film. After the researcher carried out the analysis, the representation of this actor's

resistance refers to several forms of resistance carried out by women and the support of men in the equality that women want to change. The following is the resistance of actors or figures obtained by researchers:

First, women's resistance to obtain justice, women in the film are presented as brave women who call out injustice, do not give up easily, have strength, and have full rights over their lives. As well as having a strong determination to realize its existence against existing problems; apart from that, there is a response of rejecting and opposing the law of stigma, or stereotypes that subordinate and marginalize women. Women as objects do not need justification for women's powerlessness; they require positive actions or actions that show the resilience and strength of a woman wrapped in the aesthetics of femininity as an aspect of life.

There is a scene that illustrates that non-victim women can also fight back: "Women support women". The awareness and concern they have has led them to invite all components of society to be more aware and concerned about future generations. It can be seen through demonstrations carried out by a number of women amidst the boisterous activities of the Indramayu community, wanting to emphasize more firmly to parents and young people. About their existence as women who no longer want to submit to traditions that force them to be

weak, subordinate and marginal. Thus, they can be labelled as women who dare to fight and are able to live side by side and be equal with men according to their portion.

Apart from those who are fighting in the form of resistance for women's rights, this film was produced so that the public knows, understands and understands that currently, in other regions, there are still many women who have to fight for their rights as free and unbound individuals. Resistance is shown in the film openly, and the subjects even create a project with the theme of a silent campaign. The meaning of this demonstration does not mean carrying out a silent campaign. This silent campaign action exists as a form of community communication pioneered by Gemma to the government, which has been implemented in its entirety. However, there is an important role for political decisions in local government policy, which is less firm in making decisions, so cases have not been resolved, so the silent campaign is carried out as social protest communication is still ongoing.

The characteristic of this action is in accordance with its theme, namely silence or silence, where the demonstrators are quite silent and use posters as a conveyance tool as a form of nonverbal communication. Apart from that, there is a silent campaign as a form of expression when women speak without being

heard or ignored, so they choose to do it using writing.

Second, women as objects of exploitation, in the process of identifying women as victims in this film are presented as individuals who are weak, helpless, marginalized, subordinated, and there is sexual objectification for the pleasure of other parties which is not shown in this film. Women's powerlessness to fight back actually makes them worse off.

The definition of exploitation of women is the act of exploiting women to gain benefits for a group. Currently, equality between men and women is often treated with discrimination and exploitation. (Nahil et al., 2022). The exploitation of women in the film *Wadon Ora Didol* was identified by the actors Jessica and Angel, which included the exploitation of women's bodies and the exploitation of education. Angel is a female sex worker (PSK) who has been living in the dark night world for more than a year, selling her body to philandering men for money to make ends meet. In this film, Angel is shown to be aware that she is working as a prostitute.

This exploitation of women's bodies is based on a stereotype of women being positioned as powerless. The beauty of women's bodies is considered to be a victim of protracted persecution. This issue has never been considered a real problem worth

worrying about, because of the large influences surrounding it.

"Jessica juga dulu menikah muda di usia 15 tahun" (Jessica also married young at the age of 15), this dialogue shows that marriage at the age of 15 seems controversial, there is pressure on girls to get an education but it is buried because of a tradition of child marriage. The marriage that Jessica experienced was the same as the illegal act of a woman having to marry during her first menstrual period in order to be able to get married.

Apart from these cultural tradition factors, there are educational factors, as presented by Aulia (2019), in which the quality of parents influences the quality of their children. Parents with broad insight will actually encourage their children to experience youth and be able to develop optimally. In contrast to children who do not have a parent's role as a facilitator or guide, a child will only be swayed to find their identity and purpose in life. If they are not guided, the child will easily fall into the wrong company. This is relevant to a statement from James Emmanuel Kwegyir, which states that when you educate a man, what is actually created is an individual or the man himself. Meanwhile, when educating a woman, the person being educated is actually a family (nation) (Magdalene, 2022).

Self-objectification can also be interpreted

as objectification that occurs when other parties or people view them as objects to be used, not as humans. Self-objectification is a product of objectification, and is usually discussed in discussions of sex and gender. Furthermore, sexual objectification is the act of treating someone solely as an object of another party's sexual desire. Broadly speaking, it means a way of treating someone as a commodity or object without looking at their personality or dignity.

Third, men contribute to supporting resistance. The role of Suryana, Yono Taryono, and Gilang Kasmaran in supporting the fight against the cultural tradition of child marriage, which is promoted by women, including in efforts to play the role of men in supporting gender equality. Suryana, who works as an educator, has the desire to make a book that tells the causes of the many divorce cases in Indramayu. The simple things that Suryana makes will make children aware and able to think when they finish reading so that the role of future generations will be more careful in determining every stage of life.

Furthermore, Yono Taryono was identified by researchers as a supporter of the resistance because he provided a place for the victims above in accordance with the Vision and Mission of the Kusuma Bongas Foundation, namely a quality society capable of developing itself to help a change towards independence. Helping

individuals, groups, and governments to be empowered to obtain appropriate educational services and skills to improve welfare. From the explanation of the vision and mission, it can be clearly seen that Yono wants all Indonesian women, especially the Indramayu area, to return to health, live well and obtain their rights as human beings.

Lastly, Gilang Kasmara is a member of the peer support group (*Kelompok Dukungan Sebaya* or *KDS*) for PLWHA, who is at Bhayangkara Hospital, Indramayu. The aim of Gilang joining the KDS group is, of course, to tackle HIV/AIDS and provide support for people infected with HIV (PLWHA) and the families of patients. If we correlate Jessica and Angel as sex workers or working on-site. Prostitution, the risk of contracting HIV/AIDS is quite large. Therefore, Gilang's contribution as a KDS member in providing a place like Yono's as a facilitator was very useful. There is a role in which men can be identified as supporters of the resistance fought by women, as other subjects. Towards gender equality by eliminating the dominant system of patriarchy.

Talking about gender equality in films doesn't mean there will be conflict between men and women. But together, we fight for human rights in an effort to realize gender equality. Men have a role in sharing space and supporting women to develop and achieve the

greatest opportunities. The basis for gender equality is ensuring that women and men have equal or equal opportunities and opportunities to participate, are involved in access to development, receive benefits, and control development results.

The above belief can be achieved by changing the paradigm and mindset of men and society at large (public) to provide space for women. It can be realized if we work together. The three data findings that researchers have obtained regarding the depiction of resistance above refer to radical feminism. The view of radical feminism aims to dismantle the entire dominant system of patriarchy that exists in this world, so the target or focus is the system.

According to the Konde.co article, it states that radical feminism does not hate cis-gender male individuals, the paradigm of equating radical feminism as hating men is wrong, which means that there is an assumption that patriarchy and men cannot be separated. Philosophically and politically (Dhewy, 2022). The need for system renewal refers to the view of radical feminism, which is not just an effort to adjust a system that has gone through policy changes but also requires efforts to make more revolutionary changes through dismantling this unbalanced structure to change society's order. to be better. Radical feminism is often referred to as equality feminism, because it believes that all sexes are

equal and that any differences between the sexes culturally, socially and historically are built and enforced by patriarchy.

The implementation of the film *Wadon Ora Didol* with radical feminism is seen from the paradigm of marriage and family. Both are institutions that give rise to male domination which implements a patriarchal system that makes women oppressed and assimilates women as the personal property of men (fathers and husbands). It strengthens men's control over women's bodies, especially women's reproductive organs.

Therefore, this concrete step in radical feminism was taken by rejecting the institution of the family and the institution of marriage. Because marriage has so far been understood as a contract, the woman must swear to obey and submit to her husband. Apart from the institution of marriage, there are several other institutions that are also involved in controlling women's bodies, one of which is the state. It is done through laws in the public domain to limit activities, for example abortion or the use of contraception. Sexuality in marriage tends to only be seen in the systematic relationship of obtaining pleasure, pleasure in sexual relations (procreation) and there is a rejection of the idea of sexuality for recreational purposes or women's freedom to make choices about their bodies.

The perspective of radical feminism regarding issues of sexual violence, the culture industry, sexist films, prostitution and pornography also contributes to the objectification of women. Rosemarie Putnam Tong in her book entitled, "Feminist Thought: World Feminist Thought Map". Divides two main streams of radical feminism, namely radical-libertarian feminists and radical-cultural feminists (Tong, 1998).

The discourse in the film *Wadon Ora Didol* can then be said to lead to the exploitation of sexuality as a result of the rampant early marriages that occur in Indramayu. Many women (at an early age) are trapped in poor economic conditions so they have to become the "head of the family" who earns money predominantly. Apart from the choice that the burden on the family will disappear if the daughter is married off, this young Indramayu woman also seems to be permitted to earn money through any means, including working in the world of prostitution. Thus, the exploitation of young women is not only related to economic aspects but is also a form of coercion as objects of sexual exploitation of women. The phenomenon is that married women are considered only as a second class who can be controlled and can be divorced freely without causing problems.

Apart from that, on the other hand this problem is also impacted by the limited access

available to women, such as education, decent work, self-actualization, and even health. Thus, the social problem regarding early marriage in Indramayu ultimately does not only seem to stop at just an economic problem but can also have implications for other areas of life for women, so there is a need for a review of how the human rights of children and women need to be fought for well. It refers to an object position, that makes women as the objects of exploitation and prostitution. Andrea Dworkin stated that he believes that no female sex worker wants to become a sex worker because of choice, and there are always patriarchal dynamics behind this incident (Dworkin, 1993).

Radical-cultural feminism theory is used to analyze the resistance struggle of women (subjects) in placing themselves in a free marriage without the ties and constructions of society. The radical cultural attitude displayed in the film *Wadon Ora Didol* is resistance to a cultural system or tradition of child marriage (cash money, hanging marriage). Therefore, it can be interpreted that the cultural radicals in this research do not hate marriage and do not reject marriage. However, they reject, hate and oppose all aspects of their culture. There is no such thing as "luru duit", "kawin gantung" and girls as a means of making money to marry rich adult men, all traditions are eliminated in the radical-cultural view. In short, there is a



breakthrough in the culture of early marriage which causes a patriarchal system to grow out of marriage.

## CONCLUSION

The film *Wadon Ora Didol* is a documentary film resulting from investigative journalism reconstructed into film form. This film tells the story of women's resistance as victims and society who are aware of the negative impacts of child marriage, which has become a tradition.

Exploitation, prostitution and objectification of women's bodies are also shown in this film. Then, from Sara Mills' critical discourse analysis through subject, object and writer—audience, the researcher found 3 data findings, such as representation of women's resistance to obtain justice, women as objects of exploitation, and men's contribution in supporting resistance. Then, the resistance's form identified in this film are talk about conformist resistance and transformative resistance. So, dominantly and comprehensively, women in the film *Wadon Ora Didol* are positioned as subjects because women have the authority to change the cultural system that occurs in the Indramayu environment and throughout the world.

The existence of the 3 data findings above and their connection with radical-cultural feminism has become an analytical tool for breaking down the system of child marriage,

which occurs as a result of a culture that continues to be perpetuated by ignoring women as the weak party. In short, cultural radicals try to create a healthy environment for women by eliminating the tradition of child marriage, which leads to the exploitation of women.

It is hoped that the results of this research will be useful for academics in discussing issues related to women's resistance and feminism. Apart from that, practically this research is expected to be able to study women and films more broadly, so that, the filmmakers and audiences can be more sensitive, responsive and open to discuss and take an action for social issues relating to women and feminism.

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