

## WOMEN'S DISOBEDIENCE: THE WIFE AGAINST HER HUSBAND IN THE FAMILY INSTITUTION IN THE LOMBOK COMMUNITY, EAST INDONESIA

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### *Abstract*

*This article focuses on why wives are disobedient to their husbands in marriage institutions in Lombok, East Indonesia. The wife uses the moral tradition as a counter-hegemony to shackle the structure of injustice in a patriarchal culture. Moral tradition is a unique method used by wives in Lombok called ngerorot. This research uses a qualitative approach to examine in-depth socio-cultural events, especially resistance using ethnographic research methods. Informants and research subjects have the right to be called selection criteria search. One of the criteria is that they are divorced Sasak women. Qualitative data analysis. The results of the study show that six factors cause women to carry out sexual development, namely, Affair, domestic violence, irresponsible husband, extensive family interference, and economic problems. In addition, family institutions do not support moral obligations because husbands reject their wives and even cancel their marriage commitments. And injustice is related to the distribution of responsibilities and rights in family life. From several aspects, this will lead to disappointment, anger, resistance, and open protest, and the wife fights for her rights through a recognized norm in society, namely "Ngerorot."*

*Keywords: Women's Disobedient, Wife Against, Husband, Family*

### **Introduction**

Statistically, the number of divorced widows and widowers has not yet fully calculate. The difficulty lies in many divorces that have not been processed through formal institutions. The community's response to this problem is not essential because matchmaking and Divorce are God's affairs, and if they divorce, the marriage has finished. In Islam's teachings, a wife fights her husband normatively, and Divorce is not allowed because God hates this act. In fact, many people do it, even many wives rebel, fight, and run away from their homes, as happened in the phenomenon of avoidance relationships (Stephen K. Sanderson, 2010) dan ngerorot (Syafruddin, 2014).

Research on women's resistance to the same topic has previously been carried out largely. Nugraha (2021) researched Women's Resistance

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toward Patriarchal Domination; this study looked for a correlation between women's character and the resistance to patriarchal domination experienced by women, that women's resistance is based on upbringing and the social environment in which these women live. Zaiful, Roslinawati, and Surahman (2020) conducted research on the Resistance of Wana Posangke Indigenous Women in Maintaining Cultural Identity. Its danger toward social legacy has pushed the native ladies of Wana Posangke to complete obstruction developments to secure and keep up with a collective social character. This implies that development exercises that compromise the presence of social legacy urge the craving to secure and keep up with social legacy. Amarilisya (2020), taking the theme of Resistance to the Marginalization of Women in Islam: Critical Discourse Analysis on Mubadala. Id, it investigated the talk of contemporary Muslim ladies' protection from the minimization and taming of Mubadala. Id site. Utilize a subjective exploration technique with a media message examination approach, specifically Norman Fairclough's essential talk investigation; the aftereffects of this study show that Mubadala. It addresses the underestimation of ladies as a talk that is in opposition to orientation values in Islam. This internet-based media additionally gives a counter talk that men are likewise liable for homegrown work. Rostiyati, Aquarini Priyatna (2017). Punk Women: Cultural Resistance to Normative Gender (Case in Cijambe Ujung Berung Village). The study's results revealed that in the punk aesthetic, they seek to remove themselves from the culture of domination and prescribed normative orientation. They are out of the patriarchal center and against the ideas of femininity. Hanani S (2014) researched Women's Resistance to Refugees (Study of the Presence of Women in Mount Sinabung Refugees, Karo District, North Sumatra). This study tries to uncover and dissect the issue among evacuee ladies brought about by the emission of Mount Sinabung in North Sumatra. The outcomes showed some opposition made by ladies during the clearing; among them is protection from addressing the issues of womanhood, for example, to get unique requirements for ladies, protection from discharge disappointment, and financial aspects. This opposition emerges thus rather than the convenience is not ladies' issue in dealing with catastrophes, and regularly needed to remember issues looked at by these ladies. However, from some of the results of this study, no one has discussed the phenomenon of resisting self-avoidance as a form of a wife's defiance against her husband to protest that the wife is unwilling to submit or obey her husband's will.

## **Literature Review**

This article explores the phenomenon of women's disobedience as a wife through Gramscian thought, which is famous for the theory of

hegemony and counter-hegemony (Md. Al-Amin Md. Masum Sikda, 2016. Souvik Lal Chakraborty, 2016). Chris Hardnack, 2019). This theory is used not to test a theory but rather to be seen as a perspective to study and examine the phenomenon of *ngerorot* as a symbol of women's rejection as a wife against husbands' hegemony. Husband's hegemony may be dominant, but it will never be total because it always faces challenges. If the concept of patriarchy is considered hegemonic in society, this will still be challenged and will never be considered a fixed and standard system. Furthermore, it is also necessary to explore the existence of counter-hegemony alternatives (counter-hegemony) that emerge from the class that is controlled, which is a lower (exploited and subordinated) social group that can fight back (Simon 2000. Siswati E 2018. Ali, Z 2017), or it could just be instrumental resistance (Nadya Fhebrianty, Roswita Oktavianti 2019. Nani Amriani, Darman Manda, Suardi 2015) in which Camara calls it as the concept of violence that provokes violence, injustice causes a rebellion by the oppressed with the sole aim of winning a more just and more humane world (Hadi S, 2020).

Questions that arise and inspire the author to study *ngerorot* as a form of wife's resistance in the social institution of marriage, why wives resist their husband's power, and why they abandon obedience to men's power as husbands. To answer this question, two theoretical concepts try to explain it. First, explain the phenomenon of obedience from the view of moral authority as the basis of social relations. The second is based on an explanation of the existence of structural imperatives that determine the actions and behavior of women as wives, including resistance to the power of men as husbands. From the perspective of moral authority, resistance occurs due to moral savagery. This problem occurs because it is influenced by: 1) social coordination or power, that resistance occurs when a community feels power no longer fulfills essential moral obligations. 2) The dimensions of the division of labor. Resistance occurs because of a failure to deal with social inequality, which results in moral outrage that takes the form of open or hidden protests. 3) The problem of the distribution of resources is that equality plays a role in social security because every member of society is constantly faced with limited resources. Failure to fulfill this obligation results in social resistance (Hikam, 1999; Ciabattaari Teresa, 2001). Carol Hay (2011) is called *The Obligation to Resist Oppression*.

In addition to that, every society has a "natural morality" that pre-existed with social influence but does not necessarily have the advantage to solve the problem; natural morality is not solely a consequence of social habits and conditions (Chloe Kovacheff, Stephanie Schwartz, Yoel Inbar and Matthew Feinberg, 2018). "moral nature," can provide an impetus for the development of moral rules, moral anger, and perceptions of injustice (Matúš G & L'ubor P, 2013).

With natural morality, individuals agree to create a "social contract" and legitimize existing social formations to be developed (Hikam, 1999. Celia E. Deane-Drummond, 2019). Alternatively, Berger and Luckman (1990) called the "universe of meaning" a kind of shared knowledge owned by a community that is different from other societies, is a social product, and helps create social order. To carry out resistance, marginalized, exploited, and subordinated groups such as women are wives (Ahmad S, 2020). They use institutions and cultural symbols to fight against the hegemony of male power as husbands. Such as gossip, strikes, demonstrations, and self-avoidance. This becomes a weapon for the weak, such as women (wives), to carry out moral curses and open disobedience (Amarilisya, A, 2020. Hanani, S, 2014).

## **Research Method**

This study uses a qualitative approach to show people's lives, behavior, social movements, and kinship relations (K. Hammarberg, M. Kirkman, and S. de Lacey, 2016). Bogdan and Taylor (1993) stated that this approach creates and compiles essential concepts not found in other approaches. To study in-depth socio-cultural events, namely resistance using ethnographic research methods. This research's essence is to deeply understand the process and meaning of events in the socio-cultural environment (Spradley, 1997. Haradhan K. M, 2018). For researcher to avoid subjective bias, the researcher uses an emic perspective. Researchers describe social events from the point of view of people, local community members, informants, and research subjects through optional or criterion-based selection. The most crucial data collection tools are observation and interviews. Two main reasons underlie researchers for using interview techniques: (1) Interviews enable researchers to explore what is known or experienced by a subject studied and what is hidden deep within them (explicit and tacit knowledge). (2) Through interviews, one can ask subjects and informants about transient things relating to the past, present and future and collect data on typical group informants (traditional, religious, and community leaders) and on subjects (wives) who commit disobedience and Divorce. When the interview took place, the researcher tried to understand local knowledge, used as much empathy as possible and understood something locally. To test the validity of the data, the researcher conducted triangulation in the form of data sources, namely data from multiple sources (such as research subjects and community informants in general); data collection methods through observation, interviews, and documentation.

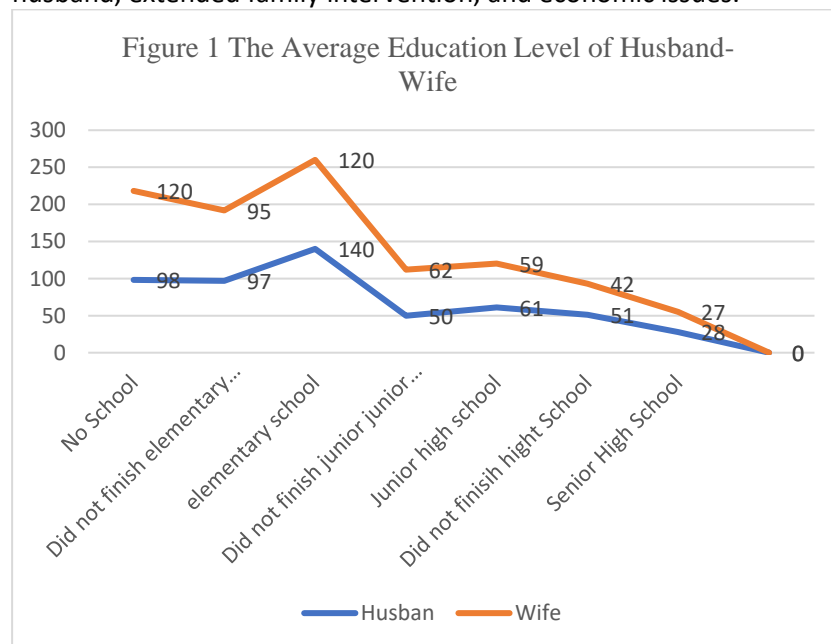
Data processing and analysis were started by classifying data and formulating categories of identical or considered identical symptoms. Muhadjir (1989) started by unifying the units, adhering to two principles, namely, heuristic and can interpretation without additional

information. The process of data analysis is carried out in the following stages. All collected data from interviews and observations would become field notes. As long as the subjects and research informants did not object, all conversations were recorded using a tape recorder. Data analysis and interpretation still consider the emic perspective (Numa Markee, 2017). This means that the analysis and interpretation did not only classify data from atomistic research subjects but also compared it with holistic data sourced from other people (Nicholas Walliman, 2011), what Burt called a structural perspective, actors or subjects, in addition to showing personal actions and also having to compare with the views and conditions of other people (Ritzer & Goodman, 2004).

## Results and Discussion

### A. Causes of Women's Disobedience

This study conducted interviews with 525 divorced women. This research has identified the educational level of women who commit disobedience to their husbands; 22.8% never attended school, did not finish elementary school, 18% and 22.8% only finished elementary school, as seen in figure 1. This study also found that the main factor in the occurrence of a wife's disobedience against her husband was because of their existence; Affair, domestic violence, irresponsible husband, extended family intervention, and economic issues.



#### (1) Domestic Violence

Empirically, domestic violence toward wives resulted in wives disobeying their husbands in 98 cases, or 18%, in which the violence can be symbolic or physical. The manifestation of symbolic violence can be associated with attempts to define the reality of life by the dominant

community group, namely men as husbands (Tomi Arianto, 2018. Suardi, Andi A, Jumadi, 2020) or what Galtung (2002) calls cultural violence, namely violence in which cultural aspects, namely symbolic areas of existence such as religion and ideology, language and others, can be used to justify or legitimize physical or symbolic violence. In this study, violence that befalls women as wives can take the form of physical violence or symbolic violence. For example, symbolic violence can be experienced by a woman who is not old enough to be forced by her parents to marry someone she does not like. It can also occur because a husband has an affair and remarries so that he hurts his partner. Meanwhile, physical violence can be exemplified by the results of an interview with a research subject who said, "It makes me groan from home and ask for a divorce because my husband tortures me like; strangled, and threatened to stab me."

This case indicates that in the space of family life, the dominant group of men as husbands is the primary agent of violence. This can happen because, in Sasak, men as husbands are human beings who have power and are the head of the family. Here, the husband has authority, makes decisions, and has influence over the wife because socio-cultural, religious, and legal norms in the structure of a patriarchal society support them. The two forms of violence (symbolic and physical) are pretty effective means of dominating women's groups as wives and are even helpful in strengthening the dominance of men. The group dominated (wives), either because of their class position or gender issues, is powerless to deal with it. According to Johnson (1986), these situations occur because the domination of individuals (women as wives) by husbands as superordination in the family is much stricter and harsher than domination by the state.

## (2) Extended family Intervention

Within a husband-wife relationship, various roles can be played by third parties. Third parties take advantage of the ongoing conflict between husband and wife for personal interests. Conflict cannot separate from the intervention of one or both members of the husband and wife group with a third party, or it can also be caused by competition for support from a third party. The role of the third party deliberately generates conflict between members of the husband and wife group to benefit from their incompatibility (Johnson, 1986. Damayanti, 2013).

In Sasak community, the pattern used for those who have just married is 'nyodok' (staying over in the husband's in-laws' house). This study found that nyodok caused many unfavorable problems between in-laws. The relationship between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law does not take place symmetrically, namely the strong authority within the patrilineal family environment which can affect the loss of independence and freedom. In this position, a daughter-in-law loses rights and authority. The situation of women like this will depend on

other people. The position of women can be likened to that of the direction of their life controlled by their husbands and in-laws.

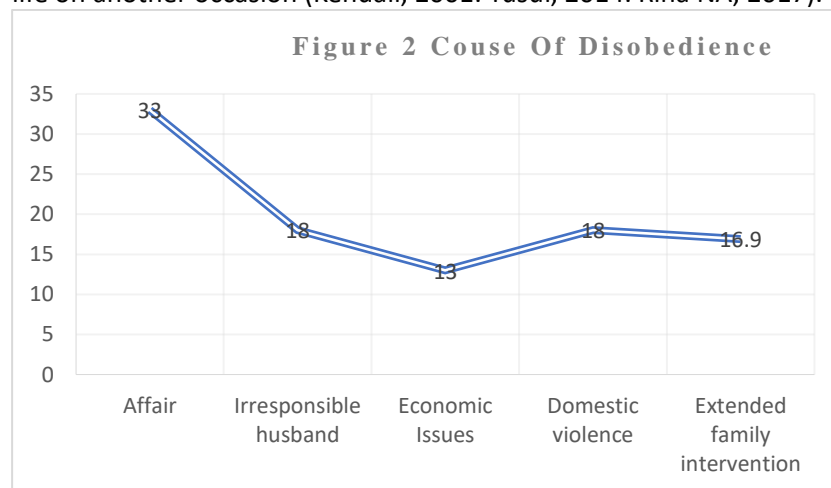
From several cases regarding the tradition of nyodok culture or patterns of patrilocal residency, this intervention occurs because of a third party who 'divides and conquers' who always intervenes in the problems of the in-laws, which the in-laws unknowingly will be able to cause a rift in the relationship between the couple who are currently living (Husband and wife). In-laws can play this role from the husband's side or the husband's close family. This is done because there is a possibility that the daughter-in-law (wife) can only carry out some of the roles that the mother-in-law has framed in the house of obedience (nyodok) or because the daughter-in-law needs to follow the desired social strata background. Their marriage (son-in-law with her child) is not approved or desired beforehand, and they (parents) are forced to accept it while carrying out the due diligence process because marriage in the Sasak community is not preceded by an engagement process as occurs in people who recognize the institution of the proposal (Hilmam R and Hamdi, 2016). In Saadawi's perspective (2001), the concept of nyodok is similar to the concept of a house of obedience (bait at thaa), which occurs in Middle Eastern friends who expect total obedience from a daughter-in-law to their husband and parents-in-law. This problem has caused a loss of self-confidence and freedom of action for a son-in-law because decisive intervention and domination will cause hidden resistance. In this case, information and understanding have been obtained that the domination and intervention of third parties towards sons-in-law caused many contradictions, both in the husband-wife relationship and the relationship between wife-in-law and other families (extended family).

### (3) Irresponsible Husband

This study found some cases, namely around 18% of those interviewed, ngerorot was caused by husbands running away from responsibility. Many husbands go abroad to neighboring countries (Malaysia), leaving their children without adequate living expenses. In addition, many husbands leave their wives because they marry in other places or areas, so the first family needs to take care of. With a double burden borne by a woman (wife), then a series of private tasks awaits; serving husbands, conceiving, giving birth, and taking care of children and husbands and households; generally, this work is done by a wife from getting up in the morning until at night, of course, it will expend energy and thoughts (Samsidar, 2019. Ainul LA, Neli ZA and Yullianti, 2020). Moral accountability cannot be accounted for by the husband, as experienced by the research subjects. She was left by her husband, who was earning money in the neighboring country of Malaysia. The husband's departure promised to last only two years and turned out to have been gone for ten years. During that time, the letters and money for living

expenses with his son never came; in the case of friends of the same generation who left, some of them have returned to their hometowns. Waiting for so long made their patience run out, so the wife dared to negate, that is, to go against the flow by leaving their parents-in-law's house to do affirmation, namely to rejoin their parents. To their parents, they expressed their intention to separate from their husbands. Not long after the wife joined her parents, it turned out that the father-in-law gave a letter from Malaysia that said he would divorce his wife. Her husband divorced her only through words in which her parents conveyed the word of Divorce to her parents.

This responsibilities neglect and the occurrence of conflicts in the family that cause ngerorot indicate that intimate relationships have led to feelings of hostility in which any stressful events will increase the intensity of hostilities; it might even be very harsh and dangerous for a relationship. (Johnson 1986. Poloma, 1987). The loss of the husband's responsibilities, and conflicts that lead to ngerorot, indicate that the husband-wife relationship that has been lived so far is full of unpleasant feelings, especially experienced by the wife (patriarchal society). Suppressed feelings of hatred and hostility have already piled up. The explosions could no longer be controlled, and the breakdown of relations occurred. Ngerorot and Divorce are instruments that can be used and understood by them (women as wives) to determine the direction of their next life because Divorce has both negative and positive aspects. This means that the failure of an unpleasant first marriage becomes a valuable lesson to move on to the next married life on another occasion (Kendall, 2001. Yusuf, 2014. Rina NA, 2017).



**(4) Affairs**

The problem of infidelity and the husband's desire for polygamy is a factor that significantly influences the occurrence of ngerorot and Divorce, as many as 33%. This happens because, in the Sasak community, there are cultural behaviors that indirectly support the



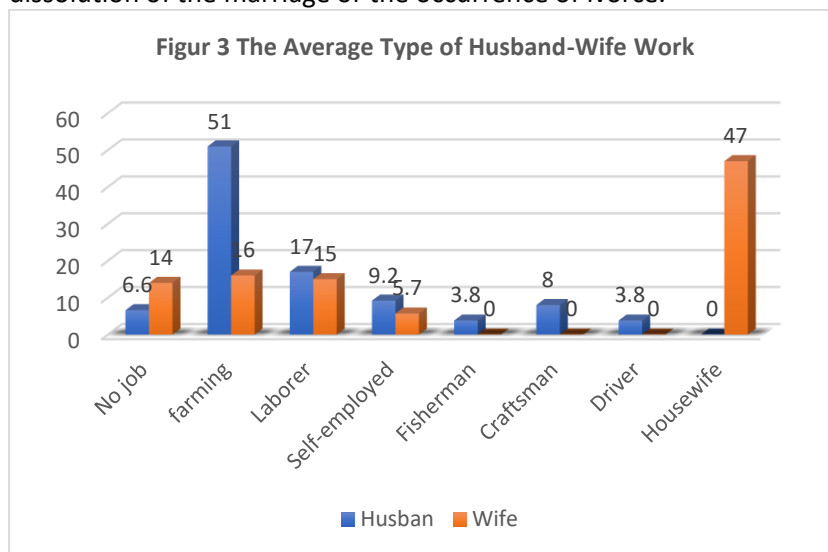
occurrence of infidelity; it can be a driving force for the occurrence of polygamy, and if the husband does it while the wife disagrees, then conflict and ngerorot will occur (Hariyanti, 2008 ). That cultural behavior is known as midrange . In the Focus group discussion forum, many participants blamed the cultural behavior of midang. They said, "The dominant causes of ngerorot and Divorce come from men (husbands). For example, husbands often do midang and traditionally are still allowed to do midang. Even though midang is not necessarily married, the wife does not want another woman to be her rival. This could also cause ngerorot and Divorce, which makes his wife angry." This data provides information and understanding that midang can also contribute significantly to the occurrence of ngerorot, and Divorce because, in other aspects, it reflects social values that demean other human beings (woman subordination). As midang allows every man (boyfriend, married man, and widower) to visit girls or widows in their homes, problems arise and become counterproductive because the social institutions of midang are often abused by married men so that other parties are harmed, namely the legal wives of these men. A man (husband) who is dissatisfied with his wife can do midang, if his wife may know or be told by someone else. For example, the husband goes out every night and comes home late at night, while the wife does not accept this action. This situation can be the seed for conflict or conflict in the household because the husband has deliberately violated the core values of marriage or unity as a husband and wife, which will encourage Divorce (Hutson A, 2001).

#### (5) Economic Issues

This study found that around 13% of research subjects provided information that the reason for doing ngerorot and Divorce was due to economic problems in the family (Safitri, 2019). This has to do with the low accessibility of education for married couples who run the household ark. About 63% of household heads (husbands) only had primary school education (elementary school, did not finish elementary school, and never attended school). From the aspect of work, the average of them (husband and wife), 33% as farmers, laborers, and those who do not have a job as much as 26%, and as housewives 23.8%. In addition, the data in this study found that 25% of marriages were less than one year old.

This data provides information on their average age of marriage, which is extremely short. A long-lasting marriage, logically, affects the readiness and high economic ground of the family, while jobs and income are insufficient to meet family members' needs. Economic problems, which are the reason for the occurrence of Divorce in society, are also influenced by the existence of a culture of early marriages. There is no mental and economic preparation, thus affecting the level of commitment of both parties (husband and wife's family), both

internal commitment (husband and wife) as well as external commitment from the two families (husband and wife's family). Moreover, each family is related by marriage ties, and each considers the family to be better and superior. Furthermore, accompanied by a marital relationship with a level of consensus and essential commitment between them is weak because, between one family and another family, they do not know each other or disagree with the marriage of their children. External threats lead not to increased cohesion but to apathy, and consequently, they are threatened by the dissolution of the marriage or the occurrence of ivory.



**B. Moral and Structural Authority of Wife Disobedience**

This section discusses and analyzes the narrowing of the wife's disobedience to the social institution of marriage. The first part will discuss the moral authority of the wife's disobedience to the husband's injustice in the institution of marriage. The second part will explain the structural authority of the wife's disobedience to patriarchal socio-cultural expectations. (1) Moral Authority of Wives Disobedience. The phenomenon of the wife's disobedience using traditional social institutions is a small hole that can best be understood, namely how the wife can reduce the pressure from the family institution under the husband's grip on the patriarchal social structure. Family institutions are built by many individuals who should be able to protect fundamental rights. However, in reality, the wife, as a moral agent who is constantly dealing with social institutions (society) as a moral institution, loses authority to create a mutual benefit in the family between the husband with his wife and with another family. The explanation illustrates that there has been a battle between the moral agent versus the moral institution, and it is predictable that the moral society (moral institution) will win. The domination and victory are not

because this moral is superior to the substance of human values, but rather due to the colonization of the world of life by the husband's power in society, with the existence of colonization also rationalizing the world of life by carrying out moral enlightenment under the umbrella of religious legitimacy which is misogynic and androcentric, resulting in social coercion that depersonalizes other human beings, namely women (Casado da Rocha 2002; Ritzer & Goodman, 2004; Haifaa, 2002; Beilharz, 2002). At the same time, social norms do not allow women to enter the public world on the same high and low basis as men (Virginia, 1989). This happens because, in society, there is a devaluation of femininity (Simone De Beauvoir, 2003. Agger, 2003). Injustice towards wives is a product of social structure. Wives' efforts to get out of injustice in society are more likely to support rather than stem injustice against them so that there is no balance of power and transfer of power (Casado Da Rocha, 2002) or Berns (2003). This will encourage Patriarchal resistance, namely an attempt in which domestic violence issues tend to release problems from gender considerations and attribute mistakes to gender factors. Even if women cannot comply with the wishes of men (husbands) who appear passive and silent, they can refuse conditions they do not like using self-avoidance or ignoring everything their husbands tell them to do. Forms of silent or covert rejection and resistance to the exploitation of husbands are more common than open.

This study found several indicators of the moral authority of the wife's disobedience which encourages ngerorot by taking an open space of confrontation. This is done because; of (a) The loss of the husband's authority as the head of the family. Her husband no longer fulfills essential moral obligations to the family, such as husbands running away from responsibility to provide for the family's needs, and wives are left to bear their burdens without any support from their husbands. (b) The wife no longer obtains or fails to meet the need for appreciation from her husband, such as being ignored and lacking affection. (c) There is no fair distribution of resources, so the wife fails to fulfill the need for a sense of justice. The husband cannot place proportionality between the family (parents) as a relation that is somewhat separate from the wife's life as a friend, colleague, and place of mutual exchange on joy and sorrow in sailing the ark of family life. Thus, women (wives) practice ngerorot as a form of accommodation from the existence of natural morals (traditional social institutions) that are used, so that it becomes one of the instruments to liberate women (wives) so that they can get out of the shackles of a marriage life that is full of lies and exploitation. (2) Structural Authority of Wife Disobedience. The perspective of structural authority views that disobedience can occur because of structural imperatives that determine all actions and behavior of women as wives (Hikam, 1990). This phenomenon by Coser

(1964) (Johnson, 1986) is called a cultural tragedy, meaning that the wife as a free individual will be confined by objective cultural forms, in which human creativity is suppressed and forced to comply with existing societal patterns. What happens to the various types of the wife's daily life is shaped by the macrostructure shaped by history and culture (Ritzer & Goodman, 2003). Structuralist Marxists call it the subjective death of women (Craib, 1986). Therefore, the oppression of wives stems from the fact that men's groups as husbands benefit directly from controlling, subduing, and oppressing women's groups. This oppression dominates life through repeated and routine social structures that have always appeared throughout history by focusing on patriarchal structures. In social practice, the dominant party, namely men, justifies oppression by translating these differences into an inferiority-superiority model (Ritzer & Goodman, 2003).

Furthermore, at the practical level, the social structure plays its role as a regulatory agency, which regulates human behavior by preparing procedures that provide patterns for human behavior, forced to run in channels considered proper and appropriate by a patriarchal society (Berger, 1990). So it is not surprising that in a patriarchal social structure, there is gender inequality which is marked by the dominance of men's power relations over women; the relationship between men and women in society is political, namely a relationship based on power structures. Within the family, a man is considered the head of the household. Within the family, he controls sexuality, work or production, reproduction, and women's movement. There is a higher and more powerful hierarchy of men and lower and dominated women. So that will give rise to hierarchy, subordination, and discrimination. Human dignity, such as women (wives), is very dependent on the existence of social permission in the macrostructure, namely society which Berger (1994) referred to as a matter of social permission. In this position, women cannot fully enjoy life independently because everything is governed by the external world outside of themselves (culture and social structure). Such as the solid cultural dominance that requires a daughter-in-law (wife) to live with her husband's in-laws in the social culture of nyodok or bait. Cultural behavior that provides opportunities for men to have love adventures in the midang culture and the existence of the merariq ye memaling marriage tradition which creates an unexpected marriage culture that does not provide opportunities for the extended family to make introductions and prepare for the arrival of a son-in-law new.

In this study, the dominance of men (husbands) over women (wives) in the Sasak Lombok community uses many cultural and religious symbols to give legitimacy to their actions. In society, for example, there is a growing religious understanding that neither a wife nor a husband can say seang (Divorce) to their partner because Divorce had already been

issued at that time. The word seang (Divorce) seems to have a sacred and taboo value, meaning that this word may not be uttered in any place, situation, or condition, whether severe or playfully directed at the wives and husbands because God will be angry. The word divorce is taboo because if it is spoken, it will result in Divorce.

Likewise, in society, many think that family matters are the husband's matters; even if the wives are beaten, there is no need to report it to other people because the husband is the head of the family and the wife is the property of the husband (possessive), while in religious teachings if the wife commits nusyud (disobedience) justified by a husband to give a warning even by hitting. Women (wives) do not have the right to refuse words to divorce from their husbands because, according to them, Divorce is the husband's right, and Divorce may occur if the husband has dropped the words for Divorce in the name of God. In society, many think marriage and Divorce are legal only according to religion, even though they are not formally recorded in the state register. At this level in the Sasak community, there is a mystification of norms and obscurity of what is happening (Berger, 1990) with the hope that all community members will behave according to local socio-cultural norms and values.

The disclosure of the phenomenon of ngerorot as a form of wife's disobedience to the institution of marriage in the Sasak Lombok community can be regarded as a form of open protest which is the answer to conflict within the family the occurrence of moral savagery. This problem arises because of injustice and deviation from the commitment to married life. The institution of marriage can no longer sustain moral obligations, such as husbands daring to date (Sasak. Midang), committing violence, and remarrying. Ngerorot can also occur because of a social structure that does not give women (wives) the freedom to do things as they wish, which is not in favor of women, strong patriarchal socio-cultural constraints, and the absence of social protection that can guarantee family survival.

What Sasak women do with ngerorot can be considered a social invention that must be recognized and appreciated because doing ngerorot functions as a form of security from the tensions and conflicts caused by marriage itself, which Coser (1964) calls the safety valve phenomenon, meaning that ngerorot by women (wives) can be considered as a valuable tool to express feelings of dissatisfaction with the social structure and also as a symbol of the wife's rejection and defiance of the domination of a biased and unfair ideology, which only presents women as submissive wives and mothers that accept whatever it is from the husband.

Failure in these two dimensions (moral authority and structural authority) leads to disappointments and open disobedience and protest by taking the space of 'self-avoidance' or committing ngerorot,

even though women will suffer the consequence of Divorce from their husbands. Men as husbands use the patriarchal social structure and possibly religion to justify as a powerful means of dominating the wife. However, the wives may still refuse to do so by committing ngererot, as a form of protest against public or formal transcripts (Irwan Abdullah, 2003). However, what the wife does in the Sasak tribe community is still local. What Sasak women do with ngererot is a social invention that must be recognized and appreciated. Doing ngererot is considered a form of security for tensions and conflicts caused by marriage (Moose, 1997).

In contrast to the argument given by Goode (1991), which considers Divorce a "failure," it is biased because it solely bases marriage on romantic love. Couples bound by marriage have different wants, needs, passions, backgrounds, and social values, resulting in a lot of tension and unhappiness in the family. In a patriarchal family, there is no equal relationship between husband and wife, and marriage is a tradition and religious obligation, where there is obedience from the wife, which is more demanded than towards the husband, which Giddens (2002) called the empty shell family (shell institution).

The family institution that was established should be a tool for humans to achieve security, happiness, justice, and prosperity. However, in reality, it is the opposite. The family institution becomes an exploitative and cruel force that suppresses the rights of wives, shackles independence, and robs a sense of justice in a household or family. Ultimately, this institution becomes a barrier for its members to realize their goals. If this continues, open or hidden defiance remains a space that can best be understood: how a wife can reduce the pressure and cruelty of the patriarchal family structure.

## **Conclusion**

This study found that several factors cause wives to resist their husbands, such as husbands committing Affair, domestic violence, irresponsible husbands, intervention from the extended family, and economic problems. Disobedience by wives using traditional morals is an essential social finding because women as wives can get out of the shackles of patriarchal culture. This is done because, in the family, there is inequality in accommodating the interests of men (husbands) and women (wives). Many women suffer losses in life because family law is still understood from the male point of view. The wife's wishes also drive disobedience because essential moral obligations are not fulfilled in family life, and there is no fair distribution of resources within the family (moral authority). Husbands run away from the responsibility to provide for the family's needs, and wives are left to bear the burden and no longer receive respect from their husbands. This can happen because the existing social structure in society acts excessively as a

regulatory agency in carrying out the behavior of women (wives). Therefore, the dignity of women as wives is highly dependent on social permission (Social Structure). And what is done by women (wives) at least to get around the domination of men (husbands), even though it is not done in groups and is not driven within the framework of a specific container that can provide and raise awareness for women (wives).

#### Declarations

Statement of author's contribution: Syafruddin as the author and designer of the research, analyzed and interpreted the data. Ulfatun Hasanah, contributed to data tabulation, materials, analytical tools, and report writing.

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The authors declare no conflict of interest

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