

## Gender Role Inequality in Marginalized Households

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**Abstract.** Gender inequality remains a pressing social issue, particularly in the division of roles between men and women. Among marginalized communities, gender relations are further complicated by intersecting social and economic pressures. This study examines gender role inequality within family life in the Aqu Ada Community, Kupang, employing a qualitative phenomenological approach. Data were gathered through in-depth interviews with 9 participants and analyzed using Caroline Moser's gender analysis framework. The findings reveal that women experience a double burden, balancing work outside the home with full responsibility for domestic tasks. These inequalities are entrenched by strong patriarchal cultural norms. Economic hardship further exacerbates gender disparities, while male dominance in household decision-making contributes to negative consequences for women's well-being. The study highlights the emergence of awareness and dialogue among couples regarding the need for more equitable role-sharing, signaling the potential for gradual transformation in gender relations within marginalized contexts.

**Keywords:** *Inequality, gender, relations, scavenger village, economy*

**Abstrak.** Ketimpangan gender masih menjadi persoalan sosial yang hingga kini terus menjadi perhatian terutama dalam pembagian peran antara laki-laki dan perempuan. Pada kelompok marginal, dinamika relasi gender menjadi lebih kompleks karena tekanan sosial dan ekonomi. Penelitian ini membahas ketimpangan peran gender dalam kehidupan keluarga di Komunitas Aqu Ada, Kupang, dengan pendekatan kualitatif fenomenologis. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam terhadap 9 informan. Teori analisis gender dari Caroline Moser digunakan sebagai kerangka analisis. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa perempuan menanggung beban ganda di mana harus mengerjakan pekerjaan publik dan seluruh tanggung jawab domestik. Situasi ini diperkuat oleh norma budaya patriarki yang kuat. Kesulitan ekonomi memperburuk ketidaksetaraan ini, dan dominasi laki-laki dalam pengambilan keputusan menyebabkan dampak negatif pada kesejahteraan perempuan. Temuan kunci dari penelitian ini adalah munculnya kesadaran dan dialog di antara pasangan mengenai perlunya peran yang lebih adil.

**Kata kunci:** *Ketimpangan, gender, relasi, kelompok pemulung, ekonomi*

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## **Introduction**

Gender inequality continues to be a pressing social issue, rooted in long-standing social constructions that dictate how men and women should behave. Men are traditionally associated with strength, rationality, and public roles, while women are confined to nurturing and domestic responsibilities (Jauhari & Thowaf, 2019). This division has created a social hierarchy that undervalues women's contributions within the domestic sphere, perpetuating unequal access to power and resources (Gani, 2019).

Although more women now enter the workforce, societal norms still assign domestic work primarily to women, resulting in a "double burden" for working women as they balance professional and household duties (Indriani & Sugiasih, 2016). Men, in contrast, are pressured to fulfill the role of sole breadwinner, reinforcing rigid gender roles (Hasibuan, 2017; Abidin et al., 2018).

This study explores how such gender role inequalities manifest in marginalized scavenger communities, particularly in the Kelompok Pemulung Aqu Ada. The economic reality in this community necessitates the involvement of both husbands and wives in scavenging activities to support their families. However, traditional norms often place the responsibility for domestic work squarely on women's shoulders, exacerbating their double burden.

Using a qualitative approach, this research aims to understand how gender roles are divided within households, how inequalities are perpetuated in daily life, and what implications these have for family members if left unresolved. The findings aim to support a more equitable sharing of household tasks and enhance cooperation between spouses, ultimately contributing to family well-being. Theoretically, this study enriches cultural and social psychology by illustrating how cultural norms shape gender identity and behavior in marginalized settings.

The analysis is grounded in Gender Theory, Role Theory, Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory, and Moser's Gender Analysis Framework. Gender

Theory emphasizes that gender roles are socially constructed and subject to change over time (Astina, 2014; Muthiah & Hubeis, 2017). Role Theory highlights how societal expectations influence individual behavior, explaining role conflicts such as the double burden experienced by women balancing caregiving and paid work (Sarwono, 2014). Bronfenbrenner's theory situates these dynamics within interconnected environmental systems, showing how macro-level ideologies like patriarchy shape individual experiences (Crawford, 2020; Härkönen, 2007).

The Moser Framework dissects inequality through four components: triple roles (productive, reproductive, and community), practical versus strategic needs, access and control over resources, and time allocation (Alie et al., 2023). Findings indicate that while economic necessity pushes both genders into scavenging, domestic responsibilities remain women's domain due to entrenched stereotypes. As a result, women face time poverty and heightened stress, underlining the persistence of gender inequality in marginalized contexts. In conclusion, despite shifts in economic roles, traditional gender norms within the Aqu Ada community perpetuate inequities that burden women disproportionately. Addressing these issues requires culturally sensitive interventions that challenge stereotypes and promote shared domestic responsibilities, fostering greater gender equity even in marginalized settings.

### **Method**

This study used a qualitative method with a phenomenological approach, which focuses on human life experiences (Syahrizal & Jailani, 2023). Phenomenological studies describe the general meaning by a group of individuals based on their life experiences related to a particular concept or phenomenon (Creswell, 2019). The research was conducted in Aqu Ada Community, located in Pasir Panjang, Kupang City, East Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia. The study involved 9 informants, consisting of 4 men and 5 women. Informants were selected using a purposive sampling technique based on the following criteria: (1) Married couples

residing in Aqu Ada Community; (2) Both partners work as scavengers or engage in other jobs; (3) Aged between 20 and 50 years old; (4) Have children aged between 0 and 15 years.

Table 1.

*Participant Information*

<b>Name</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Job</b>
FN	F	Trader
IT	M	Office worker
TAM	F	Housewife & waste sorter
RP	F	Washerwoman
SS	M	Scavenger, laborer, motorcycle driver, odd job worker
MS	M	Scavenger, breaker (manual demolition worker)
MRR	F	Housewife & waste sorter
BK	M	Scavenger
AP	F	Scavenger, trader

The data collection technique used in this study is in-depth interviews. Caroline Moser's gender analysis theory is used as the analytical framework. The Moser Gender Analysis Model includes four main components: gender roles analysis, gender needs, access and control, and time allocation (Chotim & Al Jannah, 2021). The data obtained were analysed using the descriptive phenomenological analysis method.

### **Result**

The data collected through the in-depth interview process, then analysed using the phenomenological descriptive analysis method (Creswell, 2019) through 6 stages: (1) identifying significant statements or meanings from each transcript, (2) arranged in data horizontalization,(3) clustering into meaning units or themes, (4) textural description to understand what phenomena participants experience, (5)

structural description to see how phenomena can occur, (6) combines textural and structural descriptions. Based on the analysis process that has been carried out, 4 themes and 12 sub-themes were found: (a) Marginalization of roles in the domestic and public spheres: domestic role, public role, women's double burdens, division of duties in the home; (b) Gender bias and power hierarchy in the family: authority differential, disharmony in family relationships, time management; (c) Socio-economic factors leading to limited decent life expectancy: personal expectations and needs, social and economic factors; (d) Impact of gender inequality: poor quality of life, emotional well-being, domestic violence.

### **Discussion**

This research aims to understand the dynamics of role inequality and the division of roles within families in the scavenger community and how gender role inequality is formed and sustained in everyday life, using a qualitative phenomenological method. Based on the analysis, an interesting aspect of this study, as revealed by the results, is described below.

#### **Women's Double Burden and Men's Perception of Domestic Work**

The findings show that women in the Aqu Ada community face a heavy double burden. They are not only involved in productive work outside the home to support the family's economy, but are also responsible for completing all domestic tasks. Female informants FN and RP described the exhaustion they experience. RP expressed her sense of injustice regarding the division of labor at home.

*"Our responsibility as a mother is like that, the responsibility of the household.... I come home (from work), if there are vegetables there, I work, I don't sleep. Only after finishing all the chores do I sleep once." (FN)*

*"(compared to my husband) I do more work.... Sometimes I feel my work is more tiring than my husband's. The husband sometimes just looks after the children, while we, mothers, take care of everything from waking up until night. Sometimes they rest, but we mothers never rest.... If the boss calls and tells me to go wash somewhere, I will*

*go. While he comes back home and continues resting, while I go back to work again."*  
(RP)

These statements indicate that women not only carry out productive roles (working to earn income) but also reproductive roles (taking care of the household and family), both of which require significant time and energy. This situation aligns with the concept of triple roles (Moser, in Chotim & Jannah, 2021), where women bear dual burdens often unrecognized as equal to men's work.

On the other hand, findings among male informants revealed a strong belief that housework is the wife's domain. Several male informants emphasized that they view domestic work as a woman's responsibility:

*"We Timorese people believe if the husband works and the wife works too, it cannot happen. The husband must work, the wife stays at home." (SS)*

*"What is the wife for? Washing dishes, cooking, washing clothes.... For housework, I'm sorry, it's not my job. I only know how to eat." (BK)*

SS even expressed sadness about having to work far from home, but still saw himself as the only legitimate breadwinner in the family:

*"Yes, except when working in construction, which requires staying overnight. The kids then ask, 'when is father coming home?' I kinda sad and remember them, working far away, but they still need food at home." (SS)*

He also explained that his dignity as a husband would be tarnished if his wife worked outside the home. He admitted a husband might help with housework only if the wife works in an office.

*"The mother's duty is to stay at home, not to work outside. (The wife) cannot (work outside). Better for the husband to quit his job. Unless both are civil servants and go to the office together." (SS)*

These views suggest a social construction placing men as the primary breadwinners and decision-makers in families, while women are seen as household managers. Within the Role Theory framework (Shaw & Costanzo, 1982), such views are formed through role socialization from childhood, where boys are taught to be

family leaders and girls are trained to manage the home. This phenomenon aligns with Fetterolf & Rudman's (2014) study, which found that even when women earn the same or more than their partners, they still bear more housework. This demonstrates that gender inequality in the division of domestic labor is not solely driven by economic factors but also deeply rooted patriarchal values.

Within Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Theory framework (in Crawford, 2020), these values are part of the macrosystem—cultural systems shaping societal perspectives on gender roles. These norms are then reflected in the mesosystem (family relationships), which makes women feel entirely responsible for housework even when they also have productive roles outside.

### **The Influence of Culture and Economy on Gender Inequality**

The division of gender roles in the scavenger community is profoundly influenced by deeply rooted cultural norms and the constrained economic conditions of families. In the culture embraced by most members of this community, the wife is perceived to have the primary duty of staying at home to care for the children and manage domestic chores, while the husband bears full responsibility for earning an income. Male informant SS and female informant MRR explained:

*"As Timorese people, if the husband works and the wife works too, it doesn't work. The husband must work; the wife must stay at home... If the children are still young, what can the wife do? Take care of the children or go out to work?" (SS)*

*"(Housework) is indeed the woman's responsibility because, from the start, culturally, it has always been the woman in charge of the household. For men, in my opinion, their main role is to earn an income, so the woman's primary role is to manage the home." (MRR)*

These statements reflect an internalization of traditional gender roles that have long been embedded within the macrosystem of society (Bronfenbrenner, in Crawford, 2020). These cultural norms shape individuals' perceptions regarding the duties and roles of each gender, positioning men as breadwinners and women as household managers.

However, the family's limited economic conditions often compel women to participate in work outside the home to meet the basic needs of the family. Female informant AP expressed this sense of compulsion:

*"He is responsible for himself, and I am responsible for the children.... It's so hard for us to eat. If we ask him, he says there's no money. Should we force him (the husband)? We can't, right?" (AP)*

Nevertheless, domestic work remains entirely the responsibility of women. After working all day as laborers, women still return home to cook, wash, and clean. This situation exemplifies the triple roles (Moser) that burden women with a dual workload, making them vulnerable to physical and mental exhaustion. Meanwhile, men in this community still largely adhere to the belief that housework is not part of their responsibility. Female informant FN also explained why she prefers to handle housework herself rather than asking her husband for help:

*"Yes. When the father comes home from work, he needs to rest. Sleep, because he's tired. Running here and there. Instead of making him come home and not rest, which could make him sick, who will take care of him?" (FN)*

These two statements illustrate how men's productive roles are considered more important than women's reproductive roles. The domestic work performed by women is rarely acknowledged as a tangible contribution; instead, it is often seen as a natural obligation of women. This phenomenon aligns with the findings of Fetterolf & Rudman (2014), who revealed that women continue to bear more housework even when they contribute financially to the family. This inequality is not solely influenced by economic factors but also by patriarchal values that position women as the primary caretakers of the home. In the scavenger community context, the harsh economic realities further reinforce this social construct, as women feel compelled to accept the double burden as part of their sacrifice for the family.

Moreover, the study also found that limited economic conditions push husbands to take on odd jobs or scavenging to make ends meet. At the same times, wives often have to skillfully manage household finances to meet daily needs. In



some cases, women are even forced to work outside the home while simultaneously managing household consumption. This situation creates gendered power imbalances because, despite women's hard work, decision-making in the family remains dominated by men.

*"If we surpass the husband, it means the husband has no dignity. If we still regard him as the husband, the head of the family, how can we rise above him?" (RP)*

*"Of course, the head of the family is the one who makes decisions. We just listen; whatever he says, we follow. As married people, we should respect each other, but the one who decides is him. Maybe if others think differently, I don't know, but for me, my husband is the one who decides... I just follow whatever he says. He's the head of the family; we can't rule over him." (TAM)*

Due to the extreme economic hardship, the aspirations of people in the Aqu Ada community are focused almost entirely on meeting basic daily needs such as food, water, health, and fulfilling household responsibilities. Money has become the primary necessity for meeting these day-to-day requirements.

*"As for my needs, getting money and rice. That's it." (MS)*

*"We need money for household necessities, food, water, family matters, and education." (FN)*

*"The needs are food and water. Food and water are crucial. If there's a blessing, maybe we'll buy one piece of clothing each." (TAM)*

Because they focus solely on meeting these basic needs, other needs such as security, social relationships, self-esteem, and self-actualization are neglected. This impacts the psychological and social well-being of family members (Sunarya, 2022). Constant economic pressure can trigger household conflicts (Jannah & Tohari, 2024). When hopes and realities do not align, frustration may rise, in some cases leading to domestic violence (KDRT) (Kanda, 2024). This occurred to female informant AP:

*"Sometimes he hits me, but I don't tell the children. If I told them, maybe he'd stop. But I'm afraid of chaos; we're old now. If we fought, people would come and gather around. I think about the children; they're already grown up." (AP)*

In Kelompok Pemulung Aqu Ada, social, cultural, and economic life factors are interconnected, reinforcing gender role inequalities and causing profound impacts on those who experience them.

### **Power Relations within the Household**

The findings of this study reveal that in the scavenger community, important decision-making within the family is still predominantly dominated by men. Men are regarded as the heads of households who possess the highest authority in determining the direction of family life, while women are positioned as supporters. Female informant TAM expressed:

*"Of course, the head of the family is the one who makes decisions. We just listen; whatever he says, we follow." (TAM)*

This statement reflects a power structure in which men are positioned as the primary decision-makers in the household. However, when women take over decision-making within the home, it often does not reflect gender equality but rather occurs because the husband has failed to fulfill his responsibilities to the family. As a female informant, AP shared:

*"It's just me (the wife) alone. I do everything; no one helps.... I'm the one who goes (if there is a family event). Even going to the village, I go alone. I use our children's money too. There was a December when he didn't give a single penny for transportation, nothing." (AP)*

In situations like these, women are forced to become fully responsible for the household due to the absence of male contribution, both financially and socially. This reflects a power relation system in which men are positioned as leaders and women as followers. Even when women work to help support the family's economy, their roles are still considered secondary, except in cases where the husband is irresponsible and abandons his wife. In several cases, women feel they have no right to challenge their husbands.

Women carry out productive roles by contributing to the family economy through informal jobs such as laundry work or cleaning the goods their husbands scavenge. However, their work is often not recognized as real employment because it is seen merely as an extension of their duties as wives. One female informant (MRR) even stated:

*"Because, as husband and wife, it's already said that a mother is a housewife. All these tasks are included in the housewife's duties." (MRR)*

This statement highlights the presence of gender stereotypes that blur the lines between productive and domestic work, rendering women's labor outside the home as unequal to men's labor. Beyond productive and reproductive roles, women also face limitations in their social roles within the community. Men are more frequently involved in family events or social activities because they are considered more appropriate representatives of the family. Meanwhile, women, although present, are often not regarded as having the capacity to contribute financially or to take leading roles. As explained by female informant MRR:

*"(In family events) there are needs, so it is the husband who should take the lead. If it's just the mother alone, I can't contribute (financially)." (MRR)*

This phenomenon demonstrates how women experience marginalization, or social exclusion, due to limited access to economic resources and their gender status. In Moser's framework, this is part of the "triple burden," where women must juggle productive, reproductive, and social roles simultaneously with very limited resources. Male dominance in the family is also evident in their tendency to underestimate the domestic labor performed by women. Female informant RP stated:

*"They don't even know what we mothers are doing in the house. We work & never rest." (RP)*

Male informant BK further explained the power imbalance between himself and his wife. He also noted that husbands and wives need to work together to sustain their daily lives:

*"Her decisions (my wife's) are only about managing the household for food and drinks.... If she wants to be angry, what right does she have? Angry where? If she does get angry, she still comes to the father (me).... From the start, we've known we are poor and don't have much. So we must unite. Whatever we do, we have to be of one heart." (BK)*

This perspective aligns with the concept of *invisible work*, where women's reproductive labor is neither visible nor valued economically or socially. These findings are consistent with Alie et al. (2023), who observed that women from low-income families experience subordination in decision-making and are often perceived as not having an important contribution, even though they carry out dual roles. Within Bronfenbrenner's theoretical framework, this pattern of relations is influenced by the macrosystem in the form of patriarchal cultural norms and the exosystem in the form of structural poverty, which makes it even more difficult for women to negotiate their roles.

### **Shifting Awareness of Patriarchal Culture**

In the Aqu Ada community, some husbands and wives demonstrate efforts to build more equitable household relationships. They have begun engaging in discussions to fairly divide domestic tasks, adopting a principle of mutual assistance according to each partner's capacity. This indicates an emerging awareness to break free from the patriarchal cultural patterns that place women as the primary bearers of household responsibilities. However, in daily practice, this awareness often remains unrealized. Social and economic pressures tend to push couples back into old patterns. Men are still considered the main breadwinners and, upon returning home from work, are no longer seen as obligated to help with domestic chores. Meanwhile, women are expected not only to care for the home and children but also to participate in income-generating activities to help meet the family's economic needs.

Within Moser's framework, this shift touches on the analysis of practical and strategic gender needs. Discussions between husbands and wives indicate that

women are aware of strategic gender needs, namely the desire to escape subordinated roles. However, in practice, they more often respond to practical gender needs, such as addressing immediate economic concerns, thereby continuing traditional roles that place a heavy burden on them.

This study also uncovers new findings not previously described by earlier researchers. While gender inequality remains dominant in the division of domestic labor, an interesting observation emerged: a shift in awareness among some informants. They have begun realizing that household chores can no longer be placed entirely on women, especially in situations where women are also participating in public roles, whether as workers or as helpers to complete their husbands' remaining tasks. This awareness is evident in the statements of several informants who have started to question traditional roles in the household. Some have begun opening space for dialogue with their partners to determine each one's responsibilities, even though, in practice, the division of labor has not yet achieved full equality. As informant BK explained:

*"At first, maybe because of the results we weren't getting, we had to find solutions. Maybe the wife stays home, and the husband goes out to work, but when he comes home, the wife continues the work. We discuss everything together as two people."*  
(BK)

This awareness also appears in the statement of IT, a male informant who acknowledged the inequality experienced by his wife but also highlighted his limitations in changing the situation due to economic conditions:

*"I feel sorry (seeing my wife take on double roles). But if the situation at that moment doesn't allow it, there's nothing we can do."* (IT)

Thus, this new awareness remains situational and adaptive but is still significant because it indicates the initial potential for a transformation of gender relations at the household level. Discussions as a process of joint decision-making mark the beginning of a mindset change, even though they are not yet accompanied by a truly fair division of labor. This change is limited to a small number of informants

but can be seen as an early sign of a shift in values within the Kelompok Pemulung Aqu Ada community.

### **Conclusion**

Gender role inequality in the Aqu Ada Community is a complex phenomenon where women experience dual marginalization in both domestic and public spheres. Despite contributing to the family income, they still bear the primary responsibility for domestic tasks, while men maintain dominance in decision-making. Economic hardship perpetuates this gap as the priority of survival overrides gender justice, leading to physical and emotional consequences for women.

However, a key finding reveals a growing awareness among some men about the importance of a more equitable division of roles. On the other hand, women are also proactively initiating dialogue to challenge traditional roles. Although this change is still limited, it indicates an initial potential for a transformation of values in gender relations, highlighting the crucial role of both genders in fostering change in marginalized communities.

### *Suggestion*

For policymakers, special attention should be given to the conditions of women in poor communities, particularly those experiencing a double burden, through skills training, employment access for men, and the development of community-based collective micro-enterprises that involve housewives. For the community it is important for husbands and wives to engage more frequently in open dialogue about their feelings and to pay closer attention to the fair division of household roles, including men's involvement in childcare and domestic tasks. For psychological study, this research offers opportunities for explores the lived experiences of poor communities regarding gender roles, emotional burdens, and psychological impacts, which can serve as the basis for cultural and gender-sensitive interventions, supporting the achievement of SDG 5 on gender equality.



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