

# The Issue of Teenage Girl Marriage in Indonesian Films: Analysis of the "Yuni" Film Reception

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## ABSTRACT

The film titled "Yuni" talks about a young girl named Yuni who experiences pressure from her society to get married. Despite gaining international recognition through awards at prestigious events, this film has attracted various discourses on social media. This research aims to examine the audience's meaning of the film "Yuni", especially for women who have married in their teens. This is phenomenological research that focuses on the experience of the audience as individuals. The research method uses Stuart Hall's reception analysis with the concept of encoding and decoding, and uses the stereotype concept of Richard Dyer as an analytical tool. This research uses in-depth interviews, observations, and literature studies. The results show that the audience's meaning is in a position of dominance and negotiation. A dominant position occurs through scenes which show that married teenage girls are victims of a still-strong cycle of patriarchal systems and we will limit the options to develop themselves for experience after marriage. The negotiating position occurs in scenes that show stereotypes related to women must be smart in matters of kitchens, wells and beds.

**Keywords:** audience research, film reception, gender studies, teen marriage, gender stereotype

## ABSTRAK

Film berjudul "Yuni" membahas tentang remaja perempuan bernama Yuni yang mengalami penekanan dari lingkungannya untuk menikah. Meskipun mendapatkan rekognisi internasional melalui penghargaan di ajang bergengsi, film ini menuai berbagai diskursus dalam media sosial, utamanya di kalangan warganet Indonesia. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menelisik pemaknaan audiens film "Yuni", utamanya perempuan yang telah melakukan pernikahan di usia remaja. Penelitian ini adalah penelitian fenomenologi yang berfokus pada pengalaman audiens sebagai individu. Metode penelitian menggunakan analisis resepsi Stuart Hall dengan konsep encoding/decoding, serta menggunakan konsep stereotip dari Richard Dyer sebagai pisau analisis. Pengumpulan data dalam penelitian ini menggunakan wawancara mendalam, observasi, dan studi pustaka. Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa pemaknaan audiens berada pada posisi dominan dan negosiasi. Pemaknaan pada posisi dominan terjadi melalui adegan yang menunjukkan bahwa remaja perempuan yang menikah merupakan korban dari siklus sistem patriarki yang masih kuat dan pilihan untuk mengasah diri remaja perempuan setelah menikah akan terbatas. Pemaknaan dalam posisi negosiasi terjadi pada adegan yang menunjukkan stereotip terkait perempuan harus pintar dalam urusan dapur, sumur dan kasur.

**Kata Kunci:** kajian audiens, analisis resepsi, film Yuni, gender, pernikahan remaja

## **INTRODUCTION**

The issue of teenage marriage in Indonesia is a timeless discussion topic that often gets brought up from time to time (Djamilah & Kartikawati, 2015; Fitriyani et al., 2017; Suhariyati et al., 2019). Various studies have been conducted in regards to the issue of teenage marriage, either from preventive efforts (Muntamah et al., 2019; Partini et al., 2020), the factors that cause teenage marriage (Fitriyani et al., 2017; Suhariyati et al., 2019), to the impact of teenage marriage (Djamilah & Kartikawati, 2015). The film "Yuni", which was released at the end of 2021, is an Indonesian film that highlights the issue of teenage marriage as its main topic and brings up the issue of teenage marriage, causing it to be a widely discussed topic. This film reaped various achievements both nationally and internationally (Nainggolan, 2021).

In the film "Yuni", the titular character Yuni is told as a young girl who is smart and has a big dream, which is wanting to pursue her studies to college as high as she can. One day, Yuni is proposed by a man she doesn't know. She rejects the proposal and ends up being the talk of the people around her. Not long after, a second proposal from a different person comes and Yuni yet again rejects it as she prefers to prioritize her goals. As a result of this, she is haunted by the myth that if a woman refuses two marriage proposals, she will never marry.

The film "Yuni" raises various discourses on social media regarding the issue of teenage marriage that it represents. Discussions and reviews related to the film "Yuni" is widely discussed, one of the main discussion topic being the stereotypes raised in the film, specifically about women and marriage (Giswandhani, 2022; Hidayah et al., 2022; Komariyah et al., 2022; Nurmala et al., 2022; Qoirunisya' et al., 2022). The audience's interpretation of these stereotypes also varies. Some interpret it as a form of real representation of the patriarchal system which is still going strong at present, as well as the stereotypes about young girls in rural areas who have high aspirations (Giswandhani, 2022; Hidayah et al., 2022). Others's interpretation benign that many teenage marriages are carried out because of conservative Islamic perspective which considers that it is better to marry young than to be trapped in promiscuity and commit fornication, as what happened to Yuni's character. (Nurmala et al., 2022).

At its core, the film "Yuni" provides a reflection of the patriarchal system in Indonesian society which has formed a certain general view regarding young women and marriage: that it is best for women to be married and have children (Andini, 2021 in *narrativenewsroom*). This general view is also supported by religious factors that have shaped the norms and standards of moral values in society: that getting married at a young age is better than committing the sin of fornication. In the end, the film "Yuni" voiced that this general view has confined and installed particular standards for the form of "ideal women" in Indonesian society, especially those who live in rural areas. Therefore, the practice of teenage marriage is still commonplace in Indonesia.

Instead of focusing on the audience of the film "Yuni" who is incredibly different from the reality shown in the film, it is important to focus on the audience with similar reality of Yuni's character; that is, a woman who married in her teens. Therefore, the question reviewed in this study is: how do women who got married in their teens interpret the messages contained in the film "Yuni"? This question becomes significant, especially taking into account that the film "Yuni" raises particular stereotypes that are close to the lives of women who marry in their teens.

A film is a set of images which is a representation of the reality of human life (Dyer, 2013). Furthermore, film is a space to elevate stereotypes that exist in society, which are often things that are widely agreed upon and believed to be true (taken for granted) (Dyer, 2012). At the most extreme level, stereotypes can be believed by the parties concerned, which can then lead to self-oppression as well as displaying behaviors in accordance to these stereotypes, which of course only serves to confirm the initial beliefs of the stereotypes. In Indonesia, stereotypes related to women and marriage are thick with the notion that a proper place for a woman is "a kitchen, a well, and a bed"; which places and limits the movement of women in the domestic sphere. The persistence of these stereotypes cannot be separated from the role of Indonesian films and media and the way they represent women.

In reviewing the audience reception of the film "Yuni" which is considered close to the reality shown in the film, Stuart Hall's encoding/decoding concept is an appropriate entry point,

due to its attachment to the socio-cultural background of each audience which can result in different ways of interpreting the message (Hall, 2012; Shaw, 2017). In the communication process itself, there are two critical points in influencing the success of communication. These are encoding and decoding, which are efforts to produce and reproduce messages through coding (Hall, 2012; Shaw, 2017). In the process of interpreting a message conveyed through the media, an encoding-decoding process takes place, in which information from a medium -in the context of this research is a film- is conveyed to the audience and the audience carries out the process of interpreting the message from the film.

When the audience carries out the process of interpreting the message, there are often differences in meaning. The process that occurs in Stuart Hall's encoding/decoding communication model shows that the giving of meaning becomes a general symbol both verbal and nonverbal, making it so that it can be understood by the recipient which is then reproduced by the recipient of the message (Hall, 2012; Shaw, 2017). Therefore, these two processes will have different meanings because the sender and recipient of the message may have different backgrounds and perspectives. Furthermore, a person's socio-cultural condition greatly influences the way they interpret messages; as a result, that the same message could be interpreted differently by different individuals.

The process of encoding is based on several factors, namely what message will be conveyed, who will receive the message, and in what form the message will be delivered. On the other hand, the decoding process is the process of receiving and comparing messages (Hall, 2012). This process must have a meaning that drives the creation of effects, is entertaining, provides instructions, with complexity or perception, emotion, ideology, cognitive or behavioral consequences. There are three possible positions of the audience in decoding media messages, which are the dominant hegemonic position, negotiation, and opposition (Hall, 2012). In a dominant hegemonic position, the code operates by allowing no differences in the meaning of a message. In a negotiating position, meaning in the dominant ideology is accepted, but with exceptions to particular aspects. In an oppositional position, the recipient of the message gets a different meaning from the intended message.

In this research, the concept of 'teenager' or 'adolescent' becomes a significant concept to review. Adolescents are someone who has experienced a transition both physically, intellectually and socially. It can be said that adolescence is a period of transition from children to adults with an age limit of 10 to 20 years, which is shown through physical, psychological and social maturity (Aristantya & Helmi, 2019; Santrock, 2011). A person's maturity cannot actually be seen using age as a basis. However, research published in the journal *Lancet Child & Adolescent Health* states that the present social and biological changes have extended the age of adolescents, from 10 to 19 years old, to 10 to 24 years old (Sawyer et al., 2018).

## **RESEARCH METHODS**

This study is a research with constructivism paradigm. The constructivism paradigm assumes that the truth of a social reality can be seen as a result of social construction, and the truth of a social reality is relative (Eriyanto, 2012). This study will look at and analyze the construction and meaning of messages by the audience with the aim of dismantling the meaning of stereotypes related to women and marriage that appear in the film "Yuni". Therefore, a qualitative approach in the phenomenological tradition is applied in this study, because it is considered capable of fulfilling the research objective of seeing the audience's life experiences through the process of interpreting messages. In addition, the research method used is reception analysis based on Stuart Hall's encoding/decoding concept (Hall, 2012).

The phenomenological tradition focuses on individual experiences through their own standpoint (Griffin et al., 2018). This became the basis for the authors to choose three people as informants in this study, with the aim of obtaining data depth and adhering to the realities of life experienced by the informants. The three informants are women who have married in their teens (under 21 years) and have watched the film "Yuni". In order to protect the informant's personal data, the informant's name was disguised in coded form.

**Table 1**  
**Informant Profile**

Informant code	Age at marriage/age when the study was conducted	City of origin/city of residence
Informant A	20/21	Bantul
Informant B	18/21	Wonogiri
Informant C	20/22	Kulonprogo

Source: research data, 2022

The socio-cultural background of the audience is an important aspect in Stuart Hall's reception analysis (Shaw, 2017). Therefore, the three informants in this study were specifically selected with the same religious and ethnic backgrounds, which are Muslims and Javanese. This election is based on the majority group in Indonesian society.

Data collection techniques were carried out by means of in-depth interviews with the three informants. When this research was conducted (December 2021), the film "Yuni" was being shown in cinemas, so researchers could not display screenshots of the scenes referred to in this study. However, the scenes reviewed in this study will instead be described in detail in Table 2 below.

**Table 2**  
**List of Scenes in the Film "Yuni"**

Scene code	Scene Description	Representation portrayed
#1	Yuni was proposed to by a man she didn't know, in that scene Yuni said that she had not made a decision whether to accept or not, because Yuni wanted to continue her education to college. Then one of the neighbors said that it was taboo for a woman to refuse a proposal, it was better to get married soon, otherwise her match could be at a significant distance.	Shows that the majority of teenage marriages occur because they are trapped in a cultural circle or cycle that carries out and normalizes teenage marriage.
#2	There is a playmate Yuni finally dropped out of school because she was busy taking care of children. Another scene shows that Yuni gets a scholarship offer, but the scholarship is only for unmarried women.	There is limited space for self-improvement for young women when they are married, because they have to take care of their children and family.
#3	The scene in film 'Yuni' shows that there is a group of mothers who are neighbors of Yuni's grandmother saying that women don't need to go to school for long because the important thing for women is to be smart in the kitchen, well and bed.	Stereotypes about women having to be good at the matters of kitchen, wells and beds have existed for a very long time, when technology was not advanced and opportunities for women to get an education were still very limited. But now this stereotype is still being perpetuated by women who have experienced this situation.

The data analysis technique was carried out by making a dialectic on the polyvocality of the three informants, by finding similarities and differences in their arguments. Therefore, the presentation of the results and discussion of this research is conveyed in the form of storytelling which contains excerpts from interviews with informants.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this study, the first step was to analyze the data, then interpret the results of the interviews that had been conducted before. The data in the form of results from the interviews were then transcribed. Afterwards, the data was categorized based on the themes that emerged in the meanings and interpretations carried out from the research subjects. The second step was the

themes that emerge and then analyzed by considering the process of meaning, individual characteristics, ways of meaning, as well as the social and cultural context surrounding the process of meaning. In the third stage, the themes that emerge from the findings of the data are then grouped into two groups of meanings, namely dominant hegemonic position and negotiated position. In this chapter, the researcher will discuss the results of the research by dividing them into two sub-chapters, which are The Interpretation of Teenage Marriage and The Interpretation of the Stereotype "What is important for women is to be smart in matters of wells, kitchens, and beds". The division of these sub-chapters was based on the discovery of data by researchers in regards to the dominant meanings and negotiated meanings.

### 1. The Interpretation of Teenage Marriage

Kamila Andini as the director of the film "Yuni" stated that the purpose of this film is to be able to educate and inspire the audience. The film "Yuni" is meant as a representation of the lives of women who live in a strongly patriarchal system. In the film 'Yuni', there are several scenes that show that she was forced by the circumstances of her environment to get married at a young age. This coercion comes from stereotyping that has taken root in her environment and is aimed directly at Yuni, if she chooses a choice that is out of the ordinary or that is considered normal by the culture in her environment. As said by the director of the film Yuni, Kamila Andini, in the results of an interview shared by the Instagram account @narasinewsroom on December 22, 2021, this film is about the case of teenage marriage, which is like a circle that keeps repeating itself because of the culture and environment that runs and normalizes it.

An informant who had been married since she was 18 years old and was 21 years old at the time of interview said that the issues raised in film 'Yuni' scene were true. Teenage marriage, especially in Indonesia, is still like a cycle that keeps repeating itself and is considered a comfort zone. Informant B said that in her family, it was normal for a woman to marry at a young age. Likewise in the neighborhood where women marry in their teens is not a problem as long as the couple know each other and are mentally prepared. In the family and environment where they live, Informant B rarely sees unsuccessful couples (the majority are happy). Informant B added that the scenes in film 'Yuni' contained reasons that caused Yuni not to feel what Informant B felt when she decided to get married.

*"Yuni might have refused the proposal because she doesn't know the candidate and doesn't want to be married, Mr. Damar is actually a somewhat feminine guy, maybe that's just not Yuni's taste... In the film Yuni, I think it's just that in her environment, there is a coincidence that those who marry young fail, it's complicated, it makes it difficult so that's what she thinks teenage marriage will be, it's different from my environment" - Informant B*

Similar to informant B, informant C also agreed that women who marry at a young age can be said to feel trapped by the situation; namely, the stigma and stereotypes that are already rooted as a result of the patriarchal system which still takes a prominent place in social life. Women who are in such an environment are forced to follow something that has become a social habit. If there are women who take different steps, it can result in bullying or social discrimination. Informant C said, when she watched the film 'Yuni', there were several scenes that she felt were related to what she felt, namely that there was coercion to marry at a young age from the environment. Informant C admitted that she married young because she was forced by her husband's grandmother, because in the neighborhood where she lives (Kulon Progo) the majority of women who have graduated from high school and even junior high school are married, especially if they already have a boyfriend.

*"There are plenty of people who have graduated from high school and even junior high school. Well, they just get married, because their parents tell them to get married, especially if they already have a boyfriend, that means someone already wants to marry you. My husband and I wanted to get married at 22, but people said that 22 was too old, so I agreed to get married at 21 instead." - Informant C*

Informant C said that the initial plan was that after getting engaged, she would get married after Eid al-Fitr (1 year apart). The plan could not be realized, because after 2 months after the engagement, the husband's grandmother said that if the engagement and marriage were too far apart, the family would be embarrassed and become a topic of conversation between neighbors. Therefore, Informant C and her husband had to prepare for their marriage 3 to 4 years later.

From another point of view, Informant A said that in Indonesia there are still circles or cycles in marriage in the world of teenagers, especially in rural areas. Nevertheless, Informant A admitted that she married not because of the environment but she felt that she had found the right person and received the blessing of both parents. The informant said that what Yuni's character experienced in the film 'Yuni' contained reasons that caused Yuni not to feel what Informant B felt, such as the situation when Yuni did not know the person who proposed to her. Informant A admitted that before marriage she and her husband had made an agreement regarding the dreams she wanted to achieve before marriage.

*"Women who get married at the age of 20 like me, need to be able to talk to their partners about their dreams before they get married, don't let them lose their dreams after marriage because their husband has other goals for her. For example, if after graduating she wants to work, but her husband wants her to stay at home. Such matters must be discussed beforehand in order for her to receive support too."* -Informant A

In several scenes in the film 'Yuni', it is illustrated that the choice to explore a woman's self will become narrow after getting married in her teens. There is a scene where Yuni's friend finally dropped out of school because she was busy taking care of her children. Another scene shows that Yuni has received a scholarship offer, but the scholarship only applies to unmarried woman. When she received the offer, Yuni was in the process of considering whether she would accept the third proposal from Mr. Damar or not. All informants in this study said that this was indeed felt by them after marriage. The options for women's self-exploration become limited after getting married in their teens; where adolescence should be a moment for teenage girls to seek experience and hone themselves.

Informant A said that before marriage she felt free to do anything and go anywhere as long as she got permission from her parents. After marriage, if she wants to do something or go out of town, there are burdens and worries that you will feel if you are separated from your husband, especially later if you already have children. Informant A said that after getting married, she missed the times when Informant A could do anything that could add to her experience. After marriage, Informant A admitted that it was not easy to get permission from her husband, because Informant A's husband did not like it when her wife was too busy in activities, especially those that did not support her goals.

*"So there is indeed a little less space for movement, but actually it can be communicated well... because marriage has consequences for 'taking care of' the house. At least we can manage time for our own life and 'home'."* -Informant A

Informant B said that the choices for self-improvement had indeed become limited, but from these limited choices a woman could still explore and be great with the existing choices. Married women at a young age result in limited choices to explore themselves.

*"It's difficult, right? There are only a few choices, but you can still work on those choices, in whatever field possible. If I see the film 'Yuni', she's already scared and the story still ended on a cliffhanger"* -Informant B

Informant C said that the choice to explore herself in the world of work also became limited when she was married. This limitation does not only come from her husband, but can also come from the family environment, the majority of which are in the same city. Informant C said that married women have the space to explore themselves depending on their husband's permission. After marriage, Informant C admitted that her husband gave her the freedom to work, as long as she remained in Jogja. This is felt to be in accordance with what is depicted in the film 'Yuni', when she wanted to explore herself through college but was hindered by the pressure from her environment to get married and did not need to study highly.

*"From the film Yuni, maybe what's explored is that she wants to go to college... To explore myself, I can only do it in Jogja, I can't leave my husband, he can't come with me if I work out of town. His extended family is in Jogja, his parents also live here and they cannot be left behind"* -Informant C

Stuart Hall said that the dominant meaning is when the position of the code that has been conveyed is generally accepted and can also be interpreted in general. This means that there is no difference in interpretation between the producer and the audience for a message. The meaning of the message as stated by Kamila Andini as the director is in the scene when Yuni is asked by her grandmother's neighbor about the proposal she received, in that scene Yuni says that she has not yet decided whether to accept or not, because Yuni wants to continue her education to college. Then one of the neighbors said that it was forbidden for a woman to refuse a proposal. It was better to get married immediately if there was a candidate, otherwise the match could be at a significant distance.

In interpreting the message in the scene which shows the reason for women to do teenage marriage because they are trapped in a circle of the patriarchal system, it is the dominant meaning that the researchers got in this study. All informants said this was a reality that occurred in their environment. In interpreting the scene, all informants said that these limitations were also felt by them after marriage. This is in line with the concept of dominant hegemonic meaning coined by Stuart Hall, namely the code operates by allowing no differences in the meaning of a message by the recipient.

As stated by Informant B, that in her family and environment, getting married at an early age is a very normal thing. He said that the depiction of culture in film 'Yuni' relates to the culture in her environment. Another thing was also explained by Informant C. Shee said that in her village this is still happening to this day. In fact, she admitted that she felt trapped by the situation when her husband's family forced her to get married immediately for fear of becoming a topic of conversation in her environment. Informant C also said that not only women who had just graduated from high school could get married, even children who had just graduated from junior high school had obtained permission to marry from their environment. This opinion was also confirmed by Informant A. Although the marriage she did was purely because she wanted to marry a man of her choice and was not forced by the culture in her environment, Informant A admitted that such a cultural cycle of teenage marriage still occurs today, especially in rural areas.

The opinions expressed by the informants affirmed that the majority of women who married in their teens were trapped in the cultural cycle in the countryside, where the patriarchal system was still deeply rooted in the social structure. Stereotypes or stigma that are often faced by young women in the context of marriage are still often felt and encountered.

In addition, the issue raised by film 'Yuni' about the limited space for self-improvement for young women when they are married is also in a dominant position. There is a scene where Yuni's playmate finally dropped out of school because she was busy taking care of her children. Another scene shows that Yuni has received a scholarship offer, but this scholarship is only for unmarried women.

In interpreting the scene, all informants said that these limitations were also felt by them after getting married. Informant C said that in the world of work she felt limited because she could not leave town. This is because it is impossible for her to leave the city with her husband, while her husband cannot follow her if she wants to work outside the city because she has a family to look after. Informant A said that she felt this limitation because she could not fulfill her desire to become a volunteer out of town and be active in campus organizations. This resulted in Informant

A only being able to hone herself in the academic world for now. In contrast to her situation before marriage, which only needed the blessing of her parents, but with the current situation, she has a husband to pay attention to. Informant B also admitted that she felt that this limitation had happened to her, but she said that women should still be able to hone themselves with the few choices available. Just as in cooking, a wife can hone herself to cook various kinds of food, both regional and international food.

Opinions given by all informants affirmed that their interpretation of the scene presented was in accordance with what they felt, related to the limited choices for self-exploration of married young women.

## **2. The Interpretation of the Stereotype “The most important thing for a woman is to be smart in the matters of wells, kitchens, and beds”**

As previously mentioned, there are scenes in film ‘Yuni’ that represent stereotypes that are still considered true by most people who live in rural areas, or it can be said that the environment is still trapped in a more patriarchal culture. Stereotypes about women do not need to be highly educated because what a woman needs when she becomes a wife is only limited to kitchen matters such as cooking and providing food for the family, well work, namely washing clothes and household furniture and also being in bed for matters of sexuality and producing children.

With regard to these stereotyped terms, the perpetrators of teenage marriage from a women's point of view say that for women, being smart in the kitchen, a well and a bed is indeed important, but that doesn't make it a very sufficient thing to fulfill. Such stereotypes are still considered true by elderly women who then pass this understanding on to their children and grandchildren.

Regarding these stereotypes, Informant C said that women who have to be smart in the kitchen, wells and beds are the right thing, but not enough. In the household, Informant C said that a wife must also be good at earning money so that she is equal with her husband and good at raising children. Being smart in the kitchen, well and bed may be considered sufficient by baby boomer women whose space for movement and opportunities to explore themselves when they were young were still very limited.

*“Being good at taking care of children is also important, I work out of the house to meet people who may be the same age and already have children, I can ask them how to take good care of children nowadays. If I learn from people in the past, we don't really connect because the era is different now (There is internet). I don't want to raise my children wrong” - Informant C*

What was stated by Informant C was in line with the statement contained in a research journal conducted by Mulyasih (2016) which said that mothers are the initial foundation for forming children's character, therefore being good at parenting is important.

Similar views were also given by other informants who said that these stereotypes are true and still relevant, but still need adjustments. These stereotypes have existed since time immemorial, since there was no internet and education is also still difficult to achieve, especially for women.

*“In my opinion, women really have to be smart in the matters of kitchens, wells, and beds. But nowadays it's already sophisticated, a lot of people can help us with our other activities, so it all comes back to time management. It's like I'm in college, but it's not full so there's definitely time for washing, sweeping, learning to use make-up and groom and so on. Plus I can still take care of my education and those three matters too” - Informant A*

This opinion was also supported by statements from other informants, who said that these stereotypes could still fit into today's logic, but adjustments were also needed. This shows that today is very different from the past. Supported by the development of sophisticated Internet



technology, it provides opportunities for women to become experts in other matters, apart from just kitchen, well and mattress matters. If a woman or a mother is smart, in the sense that she is an expert in various fields, it will make her family better and happier.

From the experience of informant B, said that the term "a woman who is important to be smart in the kitchen, a well and a mattress" as mentioned in film 'Yuni' is true for Baby Boomer Generation girls, who have very limited space when they are teenagers. If it is related to the situation experienced by today's youth who are Generation Z, this is still important but not sufficient.

*"In my opinion, statements like that are actually still relevant, but there should be adjustments to the current situation. That was in the past, maybe because women didn't have much room for movement and maybe they were forced by circumstances. For now it is still important, but if it's completed with the addition of being smart, the husband and family will also be happier"* - Informant B

The interpretation or meaning that is negotiated according to Stuart Hall is the meaning in the dominant ideology that is acceptable, but allows for cultural exceptions. This means that the dominant meaning can be adjusted by using beliefs and beliefs or culture to be compromised. In one of the scenes in the film, Yuni shows that there is a group of mothers who are neighbors of Yuni's grandmother, saying that women don't need to go to school for long because the important thing for women is only being smart in the kitchen, wells and beds. This sentence was made to Yuni who had just been proposed by a man, but Yuni wanted to continue her education in order to achieve her goals so she was hesitant to accept the proposal.

In interpreting the message, the informants were in a negotiating position, because these opinions came from ancient times before there were technological developments and learning opportunities for women. Informant B said that the current situation provides opportunities for women to be experts in many things, apart from just kitchen, well and mattress matters. If a woman or a mother is an expert in various fields, it can make her family better. Informant A, who is currently studying at university, said that matters relating to the kitchen, wells and beds are part of the consequences that must be carried out by women in marriage. However, these three things alone are not enough because technological developments are now sophisticated and can be used to do many things, apart from taking care of the kitchen, wells and beds. Informant C said that these three things were still relevant to the current situation, even though she felt she was lacking in kitchen matters, namely cooking. However, adjustments still need to be made, namely in terms of being good at working and taking care of children. Informant C said that when it comes to work, it is better to have a balance between husband and wife, in the sense that they both have income. And in taking care of children, it is better for women not to learn from their parents, but to share information with other women who are the same age as them. Because the environmental conditions are very different between ancient times and today.

All informants' interpretations of the stereotypes that were raised by film 'Yuni' regarding the most important thing for women being experts in matters of kitchens, wells, and beds, are in a negotiating position. The meaning of this scene is in line with Stuart Hall's concept, which is that the meaning is being negotiated. The meaning in the dominant ideology is accepted, but there are exceptions to the aspect. For example, it is accepted that a woman indeed needs to be good in matter of kitchens, wells, and beds. However, these three things are not the main factors that must be prioritized.

These negotiations were carried out in light of the differences in the state of technology and the opportunities afforded to women, specifically when this expression first appeared compared to now. In the past, the learning opportunities for women were very limited, because men were a priority for being smart, as they later would become heads of the household who would need to provide a living for their family. However, now women can also gain knowledge by utilizing internet facilities in numerous ways such as for reading books.

## CONCLUSION

The reception analysis of film 'Yuni' can be divided into two acceptance positions; the dominant position and the negotiating position. The dominant position is concluded through the absence of differences in interpreting the meaning of scenes that take place on the film "Yuni". The scenes show that the majority of teenage marriages occur because they are trapped in a cycle or cultural circle that runs and normalizes teenage marriage. Apart from that, the interpretation of the scene which shows that there are limited options for self-improvement for a woman after marriage is true. These limitations can be caused by the family, the consequences of getting married as well as permission from the husband.

The negotiating position is in the interpretation of the meaning that occurs in the scene of the film "Yuni" related to the presented stereotypes. The stereotype is that women must be smart in matters of the kitchen, wells, and beds. All informants agree that this is true. These three things are thought of as the consequences of getting married. However, this stereotype needs to be adjusted. Taking into account the fact that this stereotype has existed since the times when technology was not yet advanced and opportunities for women to get an education were still very limited. Technology is getting increasingly advanced and can now overcome the gap for women to become experts in various things.

Yuni is a victim of discrimination who is forced by her environment to follow the existing culture and then trapped in that cycle. From the results of this study it can be seen that in fact, there are still many teenage girls who are victims of discrimination in regards to their human rights. In fact, according to various studies, teenage girls who are already trapped in the teenage marriage cycle may not realize that they are trapped. This is because many of these girls assume that this is true and normal to happen. In conducting this research, of course, researchers still have many limitations. This is due to the short time available as well as the limited number of informants available. It is hoped that this study can be a starting point for further studies that will conduct research related to discrimination in human rights on the same or different object. It's because notably, there are still numerous other things that can be observed from the film 'Yuni', one of which is related to toxic masculinity in the character Yoga. Another study can also be done with the same focus as this study but using different informants, such as women who married as teenagers and whose marriages have lasted a long time.

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