

Understanding Domestic Violence in Indonesia Through a Play A Story of Wounds

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ABSTRACT

The number of domestic violence is 50% out of violence against woman cases in Indonesia. This condition is intriguing to analyse. There must be a reason behind rising number of crimes related to inequality of women position in the society. One of the ways that can be used to reflect on this subject is through theatre. It is a work of art that can be used to discuss and inspire a necessary social change or social agenda. Therefore, applying textual analysis method on *A Story of Wounds*, a play by Jessie Monika, I would like to find the reasons behind that inequality to find the core problem of domestic violence as portrayed in ASoW. I utilize Bourdieu's capital, habitus and field theory to prove that inequality between the wife and the husband, the deeply rooted patriarchy values create imbalance power that open opportunity for domestic violence toward women.

Keywords: theatre, domestic violence, habitus, capital, arena, patriarchy

INTRODUCTION

In Indonesia, news related to domestic violence can easily be searched through online news portals. *Liputan 6*, *Suara.com*, *Detik.com* have a special page that groups news related to domestic violence. It is either a good sign or a bad one; that people now realize that domestic violence is a crime and be more open about it, or the media is more open covering and exposing domestic violence cases, or number of cases rise significantly than before. Domestic violence becomes part of the family picture in Indonesia. Based on Indonesia National Commission on Violence against Women report on March 5th, 2021, there were 3,321 violence cases towards women and statistically, 50% of it were domestic violence (Komnas Perempuan, 2021). The number of percentages is high, and it might be an indication of malfunction relations in the marriage institution or imbalanced power relation in marriage in Indonesia. Therefore, I am triggered to focus on this issue in this article. Research found that domestic violence is generally done by a dominant person with the closest relationship to the victim, and in the Indonesian context, a husband or life partner is a potential perpetrator of domestic violence (Syawitri & Afdal, 2020). The forms of domestic violence in Indonesia included wife trafficking, physical

abuse that caused death, and also psychological abuse that can happen verbally on day to day basis (Fitriyani, 2018).

Gadis Arivia, an expert in gender studies stated that domestic violence is a criminal act that is difficult to uncover because it is personal and other people are reluctant to interfere (2006). In line with what she stated, more efforts are needed to uncover these crimes because they occurred in the private sphere. Both perpetrators and victims can view this as a domestic affair and thus it is taboo for outsiders to interfere. As a result, there is a pressure of shame culture, that it is inappropriate for other people to know about domestic violence happening in a marriage and it stops the victim from telling others about the abuse/crime a woman has experienced. This makes domestic violence not only affect the victim's physical condition, but also mental conditions such as self-confidence and security (Syawitri & Afdal, 2020). Thus, it is possible that the reported cases are only the tip of the visible iceberg.

Studies based on second wave feminism position and communicate women as victims in viewing these criminal events (Sulistiyani, 2012). Women are put in a position of helplessness. This perspective can have an impact on the weakening of women's perception of their position and can affect their mindset, that women are indeed powerless. Meanwhile, third wave feminism sees women as parties who have the power to be an agent, to fight against the rules that constrain them and take control of their lives. Although critics say that another impact of third wave feminism is the commodification of women, women have more opportunities to take control of themselves (Hains, 2009). These two views approach the position of women in a binary opposition sense. I argue that domestic violence and the position of women in life and in domestic sphere to be more specific, is more complex. Power imbalance in domestic sphere as the result of patriarchal hegemony causes men's domination toward women and thus, enabling verbal and physical abuses. One of the solutions to solve this problem is through education.

An education to create a habitus that can accept equality between men and women is the key to stop domestic violence, and one of the forms of education is through theatre. As stated by McKenna (2014), theater is a work of art that can be used to discuss and inspire a necessary

social change or social agenda. Petra Little Theatre (PLT) is one of the campus theaters which, since 2013, has written and produced original productions (New Play Development, 2013). Although the script uses English as it is under English Department at Petra Christian University, the themes and issues are about various social conditions that needs to be highlighted and challenge the status quo in Indonesia. The theatre's ability to discuss and put a performance into the realm of imaginative narrative opens a space for creativity to be used. A critical attitude is aroused to seek answers and possibilities in seeing and addressing this issue. The presuppositional conditions offered by the theatre can also create a sense of security to dissect this topic of domestic violence although there are also those who see that art can only offer discourse. However, I believe that the art world can raise the social awareness among art workers and the public and form a cultural agency for those involved, including the audience (Lally, E., Ang, I., and Anderson, 2011).

PLT's play-with-music entitled *A Story of Wounds (ASoW)* by Jessie Monika is one of the examples where a theatre performance can be used as a tool to bring individual experiences into the public sphere as one of the collective memories related to crimes within domestic violence (Pamungkas, 2018). In one of the interviews, Jessie Monika appealed to those who experienced it not to be silent, because "humans do not deserve to be treated like that" (Pamungkas, 2018). Through *ASoW*, the production team and audience got a chance to know and understand the existence of domestic violence which then triggered some of them to be the agent of change. The team consisted of 40 young people aged 19 – 23 years old. Borrowing Bloom's revised taxonomic theory, involvement in a production where a team produces a creative work is the most effective way of understanding a topic (Anderson et al., 2001) because in it is a process of understanding, planning, and producing something that resulted from the crystallization of that understanding. In line with Jessie Monika, Emily Abigail, who played the character Nina, revealed in her article in *Jawa Pos* that it is the inability of women to speak up and the inability of their environment to listen that can kill (Abigail, 2018). The entire production team was required to do personal research according to the role they take on. Their

involvement in this production opened their horizons for the existence of this problem as well as its causes and implications. The two male actors involved in this performance expressed the same thing in a discussion at the end of the production saying that joining this production made them see how domestic violence can damage women and how lucky they were to participate in this production before they got married. They became aware that they must listen and help when someone needs help. For female production members, they understand that if they seek help, there will be someone who helps. When this team of young people tries to present a performance, they also learn and debate about the topics being discussed.

PLT produced ASoW at three different locations and time and received interesting comments from the audience. ASoW was performed in 2018 and 2019 at Petra Christian University - Surabaya and Sanata Dharma University – Yogyakarta. This production gathers attention and support from many including the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Picture 1).



Picture 1. Publication of ASoW by National Commission on Violence Against Women in Twitter.

From the audience's perspective, ASoW opens a forum for this topic to be discussed and ponder upon. This production does use several forms for this matter: audio (music and words spoken by actors), visual (movements and gestures), and written (program books and social media posts). Indeed, ASoW theatre performances cannot solve the problem, yet it can be a trigger for a reflection, a debate that leads to awareness about domestic violence and its effects.



Picture 2: Screenshots from PLT Instagram account displaying audience opinion about ASoW.

Staging is a visual medium that can be used because amid the excitement of the audience watching the show, without realizing it, sympathy for the main character and self-identification in the story can arise and trigger thoughts and actions. There are strengthened understandings, appeals, opinions and even hopes expressed by the audience regarding the real social conditions in Indonesia regarding domestic violence (Picture 2). Art does then carry out its social function.

ASoW is set in the upper middle class Christian families with Nina as the main character. The audience follows Nina's journey and her struggle to find a way out from her violent and malfunctioned marriage. Since her father fell sick, Nina's family has received help from Ruben, who works in Nina's father's company. Thinking about Nina's future, her mother forces Nina to marry Ruben. Ruben comes from a devout and respected Christian family. Living with her in-laws, Nina continues to work as a painter. Nina and Ruben decided not to have children first, but this stance was not in line with Ruben's parents'. The family, through his mother, repeatedly reminds Ruben that he is the head of the family and should control his wife. Ruben fails to handle the pressure, drowns himself in alcohol, and creates a new pattern of marriage life: a pattern of abuse (Picture3). He becomes an abusive husband, verbally and physically, to show his family that he has power over his wife. Nina who is desperate and loses herself then finds help from her helper and brother-in-law. Through her paintings, Nina reveals the crimes committed by her husband and finally dares to save herself from a hellish marriage.



Picture 3: Nina (left) tried to calm Ruben (right) down in ASoW.

This article analyses the inequality in Ruben and Nina's marriage in connection with the capital and habitus they have, and the field created in the story. I found in my preliminary study that inequality is the cause of domestic abuse as portrayed in the marriage of the two main characters. Thus, I would like to find the reasons behind that inequality to find the core problem of domestic violence as portrayed in ASoW. The perspective that I use in analysing this topic is constructivism. Behaviour produced by the main characters are constructed by the cultural setting where they are living in. Cultural approach will be used to build my argument regarding the topic. One of the important icon in Cultural Studies is Pierre Bourdieu, a philosopher and sociologist from France whose one of his popular achievements is creating a theory of practice in social context (Harker et al., 1990). He focuses his work to regularities in the society to analyse it empirically so that it can be understood. Bourdieu believes that the position of an individual in the social space is not based on the class but based on the capital; the social space then becomes a field of capital. Therefore the key concept coming from Bourdieu are Habitus and Field in relation to capitals (Bourdieu, 2013; Harker et al., 1990; Wuriyani, 2020). Moreover, these two concepts intertwine with the concept of capital. Capital is a weapon of domination used by the oppressor. In his concept, Bourdieu categorizes capital into social, cultural, and economic capital. To help me analyse ASoW and answer the research question that I post in this article, I will borrow Bourdieu's Capital, Habitus and Field concepts. These

concepts helped me understand the nature of relation between Ruben and Nina that makes way for domestic violence to happen in their marriage.

METHOD AND THEORY

I applied textual analysis method, that is under interpretative culture in the qualitative research, to examine ASoW in this article. This popular method enables me to dive beyond the text to find the underlying “ideology and cultural assumption” of the research subject (Arya, 2020). Textual analysis started in the late 1970s in the communication field, yet this technique has become popular not only in Social Sciences but also in Humanities and other fields (Arya, 2020; McKee, 2003; Smith, 2017). By utilizing the method, I had the opportunity to gather possible information and read possible interpretations that a text can offer.

Text in this context is not only the written text but it is “something that we make meaning from” (McKee, 2003). Text may take many forms such as a drama, a performance, a picture, a habit; things that can be observed and give opportunities to the researcher to draw a meaning out of it. In my article, the text that I use is a combination of the drama (written words), and the performance (spoken dialogues and gestures). The reason for this was to include gestures of the actors that sometimes can deliver different meaning compared to the typed text. By so doing, I had a variety of data that complement or contrast one another and thus, enriched my understanding about the context and helped me make a solid analysis. The first step that I took was formulating a research question and created preliminary assumption based on common knowledge. The next step was analysing the dialogues and the performance from selected scenes by implementing Pierre Bourdieu’s Habitus and Field. This step allowed me to identify the causes of domestic violence portrayed in ASoW.

DISCUSSION

Capital Imbalance in the Marriage

ASoW is written based on the story of a domestic violence survivor. Therefore, I borrowed ASoW to analyse the causes of domestic violence and uncover the schemata that influence this crime. Domestic violence portrayed in the play occurs because the capitals that each main character have are unequal. Borrowing Bourdieu ideas, capital determines an agent's position in the society. He classifies and categorizes capital into two major groups, social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). This article is examining the domestic violence in ASoW by comparing Ruben's and Nina's capitals.

The first capital is social capital of Ruben's and Nina's. Social capital is about an agent's relation to other people, or the network/social circle. Therefore, the keyword to understand this capital is by paying attention to "the size of the network of connection that the agent can mobilize, and volume of the capital possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected" (Bourdieu, 1986, p.21). Ruben's and Nina's collective identity is the sign that I read as an indication of each of their position in term of social capital.

Ruben is described as a person who is coming from a family that holds a respected position in their church. It is shown by his attitude toward the habit of going to the church on Sunday. He represents someone who abides to the social norm of being a devout Christian. Even though on Saturday he got drunk and beat his wife, on Sunday morning, he rises and shines and is ready to go to the church like what happened in Act I Scene 4 (Monika, 2018). The reason of his devotion is not about being a good Christian but the image of being a good Christian. He needs that image so that his position in his family and community is intact. This is an investment strategy for him to be respected in his family. To seek approval and recognition from his family, especially his father, he uses his obedience as an exchange currency for the recognition from his family. Being a good Christian also bring fame and glory to his name and his family which later can be economic capital to him. It shown from one of his reasons to go to the church is to have a meeting with the priest to renovate the church (Monika, 2018). Meanwhile in the same social circle, Nina, the daughter-in-law, cannot meet the expectation of the in laws. Not only is her mother-in-law belittling Nina's profession as a painter, but she also

fails to appreciate Nina's decision to postpone having a child. After Nina experiences the domestic abuse from her husband, she decides not to go to the church. It is read as Nina's incapability to play her role as obedient wife and to abide to the social norm of being a good Christian.

Ruben's good image in front of Nina's mother, Mrs. Purwa, win her trust. In fact, due to this image that he represents, Ruben relation to his mother-in-law is better than his wife relation to her own mother. He could make Mrs. Purwa believe and Nina hopeful that he is a "sweet lad" who is responsible and good candidate of a husband it is proven by the song Nina sang in Act 1 Scene 2 (Monika, 2018). While Nina relation to her mother was never smooth, again Nina and her perspective is contradictory with her mother's, in her family the one who can understand her is her father. Thus, it is more often for Nina to have a quarrel with her mother. Mrs Purwa disapproved so many things in Nina's life including the school she took, the job she had, the boyfriend she has. The first scene of Act 1 showed how unhappy Nina to see her mother even though it has been a few years not to see each other. The cold shoulder that Nina showed reflected through short sentences and phrases that she used in the dialog and how fast their conversation escalated to a fight. Nina, at the end of the scene, said "don't push your luck..." and she walked briskly to leave the stage (Monika, 2018). Therefore, in this context, Nina's capital, compare to Ruben's, in relation to Nina's mother is weaker.

Ruben also described as someone who is coming from a respected family in the eyes of the authority. When Nina is trying to report the domestic violence that she experienced, the authority is seeing Nina as the enemy of Ruben's family. In Act 2 Scene 3, when Nina reveals her objective to report her husband, the policeman who said "Mr Ruben Tanadi?" delivered the dialog in disbelief intonation and gesture. The policeman also said, "I don't think rape is the right word, Mam... besides, I've known him as a good man, Ma'am." (Monika, 2018, Act 2, S. 3.p 56). The policemen who is the figure of authority in this context is facing the victim of a crime, the power relation between these two is not at the same level, yet the one with bigger power fails to sympathize and try to listen and understand because he believes (feeling) that it is

impossible for a good person to commit such crime, he disregarded the physical evidences (reason) that Nina presented and decided to follow his feeling instead. It is only possible because Ruben's social capital is bigger than Nina.

Cultural capital by Bourdieu are categorized to embodied, objectified, and institutionalized state which can be an asset for an agent to buy position in the society (1986). Embodied state is the quality that an agent has, objectified state means the objects own by the agent and institutionalized means the authority, credentials and qualification that an agent has (Bourdieu, 1986). I am making a table below to show how Ruben surpasses Nina in this category of capital too.

	Ruben	Nina
Embedded state	Ruben's communication, managerial skills help him to be the leader in Nina's father company.	Nina's communication skill often brings her in a situation where she must quarrel with others to be understood.
Objectified state	Ruben is living in his parent's house where he grew up. He has more access and sense of belonging to the house.	Nina is living in Ruben's parent house. The quarrels she has with her in laws, and relationship that she has with her husband make things uneasy for her. Nina only feels safe in her studio that is only a room in the house.
Institutional State	Ruben's job as a manager comes with authority and credential in his community.	Nina's job as painter who stop creating new painting after marrying Ruben does not help her to get authority and credential in the community that she lives.

Through this table, Ruben's capital is indeed bigger than Nina's capital. Unfortunately, inequality is inevitable in their relationship which then make it possible for Ruben to abuse his power toward Nina.

The root of capital is economic capital and the other two capitals, social and cultural capital, then influence it (Bourdieu, 1986). In the Act 1 scene 1, one of the biggest reasons why Mrs. Purwa, Nina's mother, persuaded Nina to accept Ruben as her husband is because Ruben's role who help them economically by running her father business. This fact is being used also by Mrs Tamadi, Ruben's Mother, in Act 1 scene 3, when Ruben's mother forced her idea to urge the couple to have a child as soon as possible and that Nina does not need to work since Ruben can afford everything (Monika, 2018). All capitals at the end intertwined with economic capital. Cultural and Social capitals benefit the agent, at the end, in the perspective of economic capital, in this case, Ruben's cultural and social capital bring economic benefit/ capital for him too. To sum up, based on Bourdieu's concept of capital, indeed inequality happens in the main characters marriage. Nina's capitals are lower than Ruben's and it affects her bargaining position.

The Struggle of Habitus

According to Bordieu, in Rindawati, habitus is a cognitive structure that exists between the individual and his social reality (Rindawati, 2010). It is formed based on the experiences that occur between the individual and his environment. Comparing Nina and Ruben's relationship with their environment becomes very interesting to understand the schemata that Ruben has. Nina is described as a girl who is given the freedom, especially by her father, to have an opinion and pursue what she dreams of. Meanwhile, Ruben is described as growing up as the first child in an old-fashioned Christian family and obeys whatever his parents tell him to do, the oldest son who becomes the pride of the family (Monika, 2018). These two different parenting styles create different schemata in each character. Nina was educated to know what

she wants and knows how to get what she wants. Meanwhile, Ruben depends on what the father's will. The decision she made to marry Ruben was made consciously not for her sake but to save her parents. The habits of the two characters are different in seeing and interpreting their lives. Nina believes that everyone is equal and has their own opinion. Meanwhile, Ruben believes that there is a strong power relationship that governs everyone so that the opinion that is prioritized is coming from a more powerful being.

In the ASOW performance, Ruben's mother repeatedly reminded Ruben that he is the head of the family who has the right to govern his wife and the dogma given many times by figures who are more powerful than Ruben he considers to be the truth (Act 2, Scene 5, Monika, 2018). Habitus is also changing which seeks a compromise with the existing conditions. Ruben slowly changed and strengthened his paradigm that the wife must submit to her husband's wishes. Habitus manifests in thinking schemes. This will make a new contribution to build a new principle to bring out a practice in an individual (Rindawati, 2010). In other words, Ruben's habitus in looking at the positions of men and women in the husband-and-wife relation shows that the power relations they have are not balanced. Ruben considered himself more powerful than his wife and he accepted it as a new necessity and practiced it in his daily life. This is the reason of Ruben's abuse action when Nina could not submit to his will. Domestic violence occurs and is not seen as a crime but a necessity, because the husband has the right over his wife, and the wife must obey, so when the wife does not obey, the husband has the right to discipline the wife in a way that the husband chose.

Ruben's characterization is created by necessity, as the concept of habitus was initiated by Bordieu and reproduces a social order (Sweetman, 2009). Ruben needs approval from his parents and has a desire to be obedient to his values. This is triggered by the pressures given by her mother who also gets pressure from their social values and her husband. The domestic violence that happened was not only done by Ruben to his wife, it turned out that Ruben's mother also experienced domestic violence even though it was not physical violence. This can happen because the same value that they praise, namely that the husband is superior to his wife

so that the wife's obedience to her husband is a logical consequence of the husband-and-wife relationship. Based on the explanation above, this imbalance position causes domestic violence. Meanwhile, this imbalance in position can occur due to the rooted patriarchal ideology that positions men above women. This is what allows violence against women to be considered a logical thing to happen, not a crime.

If ASoW stops at depicting Nina as a victim, then this can be a sign that feminism in Indonesia has succeeded in taking an attitude of seeing women as victims. But apparently not so with ASoW. Nina amid her desperation gets help from a fellow woman who is a model for her painting (Monika, 2018). She helped Nina to remember who she was. ASoW ends with Nina taking center stage and taking off her wedding ring as a symbol of her decision to end her marriage to save herself (Epilog, Monika, 2018).

Is ASOW then categorized as third wave feminism or power feminism? Whatever name you want to put on, the theatre has successfully to demonstrate that it can be a tool to raise awareness of the inequality of husband-and-wife relations and condemn crimes in the form of domestic violence, it will be better than just a label because the feminist movement must be meaningful (Gamble, 2001). The ability of women to respect themselves and see themselves not as victims is one that can help stop domestic violence against women. As the saying goes, it takes two to tango, I also argue, to stop this crime, society and men need to review the importance and the existence of patriarchal ideology and power relations that are formed, which can harm not only women but also men themselves. Divorce that occurs not only sacrifices women, but also men. Likewise, women need to see and learn to respect themselves.

The Struggling Arena in ASoW

Ruben and Nina have habitus that can changed and based on the analysis above, the habitus interacted and transformed. It can be seen from the interaction among them in the field. A field is a social structure where the actors think, act, take position and interact, and then get the legitimation (Hilgers & Mangez, 2015). In this context the arena that I would like to focus

on is marriage. Based on the analysis above, Nina and Ruben are struggling in the marriage where inequality in terms of capital affects Ruben and Nina's habitus which then becoming the important factors in positioning the main character in the arena. In the middle of the play, with her lack of capitals, Nina fails to maintain her equal position in the marriage. She then trapped in a condition where she thinks becoming a victim of domestic violence is a consequence of being a wife to Ruben. She did not resist, it shows from Act 2 Scene 1 when Nina says "They (the wounds and the bruises) have been part of me now..." (Monika, 2018). It is different compared to the first condition of their marriage, when the two have equal relationship. Structured spaces of dominant and subordinate positions based on types and amount of capital (Rogers & Swartz, 1999). The influence of in laws and the oppression toward Ruben done by his parents who believe in patriarchy values forced them to use their capitals to fight and since patriarchy values adopted by Ruben then use his power to tame his wife by committing domestic violence.

Ruben got assurance not only from his family but also from the society who believe that she is lucky to marry Ruben and be part of Tanadi's family (Act 2, Scene 1, page 44, Monika, 2018). The social capital then is becoming a strong weapon to legitimize his position as a husband, and it also protect him from the crime he committed. The field is emphasising the stratification and domination, so that social arena is a field of production, appropriation, exchange of goods (Rogers & Swartz, 1999). In the marriage arena, domestic violence has produced due to inequal power between husband and wife as portrayed in ASoW. It is becoming an exchange good for Nina's disobedient so that domestic violence is seen as appropriate consequence.

However, arena is not a fix concept. The domination and legitimation are fluid it is a matter of influence or being influenced. The situation in Nina and Ruben's marriage then influenced by external actors. The actors get into the arena and turn to be the agents, they are Galuh, Nina's model, and her brother-in-law which then influence Nina's mother so that she

changes her attitude. So that Nina's capitals are stronger and able to support her to overcome the oppression that she experienced.

CONCLUSION

Using theatre as a tool to fight domestic violence in Indonesia can be done and has an impact on the actors and audiences of theatre performances. By using the concept of capital, habitus, and field from Bourdieu, I revealed that the dominance of patriarchal ideology is the source of the problems of domestic violence as portrayed in ASOW. However, the situation is not fix. The arena can be influenced by agents that can bring new capitals so that the struggling agents can get more capital to overthrow the dominance agent. In Indonesian context, women and feminist movements change. Indonesian women will not remain silent in inequality, other women and men can work hand in hand to stop domestic violence. Both parties, men and women, need to self-reflect to see the losses brought by this patriarchal ideology. From the ASOW performance, it seems that Nina can represent Indonesian women who are moving forward and taking positions as third wave feminist, realizing themselves as a survivor and realizing their strength and potential to get out of problems and dare to act to protect themselves. Pierre Bourdieu states in his book entitled *Masculine Domination* that domination can only be broken if political decisions are taken by considering all aspects and impacts of domination that occurs not only from the perspective of the masculine order but also the social order (Bourdieu, 2001). These changes will certainly have an impact on the position of men in society, the stronger men and society are guided by patriarchal ideology, the more disadvantaged they will experience. The patriarchal ideology has become a threat to all parties because if it continues to be the strong philosophy, it will lead to a flawed society.

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