POLITICAL SCIENCE AND HISTORY

NATIONALISM

PAST AS PROLOGUE

Bruce Elliott Johansen • Adebowale Akande
Editors

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Chapter 7

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN INDONESIA AND AOTEAROA (NEW ZEALAND): MAKING SENSE OF DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES

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ABSTRACT

Indonesia and Aotearoa New Zealand hold very different ranks in the United Nations Human Development Programme assessments, where Indonesia is classified as a medium development country and Aotearoa New Zealand as a very high development country. Yet despite their socio-economic differences, one in three women in each country experience physical or sexual intimate partner violence over their lifetimes. In this chapter we aim to deepen understandings of domestic violence through discussion of the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of our countries alongside studies of women's attitudes to gender norms and experiences of intimate partner violence. We consider both expected and unexpected differences and similarities in women's accounts of their experiences and provide suggestions for further research.

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia and Aotearoa New Zealand are both island nations of the Asia-Pacific region with different colonial histories, populations and economies. Yet despite their

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socio-cultural and historical differences, the lifetime prevalence of sexual and physical violence towards women is remarkably similar: one in three Indonesian and New Zealand women will experience physical or sexual violence in their lifetimes (Biro Pusat Statistik, 2017; Fanslow, Robinson, Crengle and Perese, 2010).

Our interest exploring the similarities and differences of gender-based intimate partner violence in our countries arises from recognizing stereotypes about the relationship between women's experiences of domestic violence and the socio-economic conditions of the countries in which they live. Through the United Nations Human Development Index (HDI), Aotearoa New Zealand is categorised as a very high human development country and Indonesia as a medium human development country. Since we have visited each other and taught each other's students, we have been exposed to assumptions about the development ranking of our respective countries. In Indonesia, postgraduate students were surprised to learn that women in Aotearoa New Zealand experienced any violence from their intimate partners because they assumed high status human development would be a protective factor against IPV violence. In Aotearoa New Zealand, students were surprised to learn that divorce was very accessible for women in Indonesia because they assumed that lower-status human development involved greater restrictions on women's choice to end a marital relationship. As we have worked together, we have become increasingly sensitive to misunderstandings and misrepresentations of domestic violence against women based on the development status of our countries.

We aim to deepen understandings of gender-based domestic violence in our different national contexts by re-examining findings from previous qualitative studies that thematically analyze women's accounts of their experiences of intimate partner violence (IPV) in Indonesia and Aotearoa New Zealand (Hayati, Eriksson, Hakimi, Högberg and Emmelin, 2013; Morgan, Coombes, Te Hiwi & Gray, 2007). To contextualise our analysis, we begin by reviewing demographic information, national initiatives to address domestic violence and studies of women's attitudes to gender norms in Indonesia and Aotearoa New Zealand. Insights from our analysis open up new pathways for research that takes account of women's experience across and within diverse settings.

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES: INDONESIA AND AOTEAROA (NEW ZEALAND)

The Human Development Index (HDI) was developed to provide indicators of a country's development that take account of the well-being and capabilities of the people as well as economic indicators (United Nations Development Programme/UNDP, 2017). HDI indices are based on aggregated data of life expectancy, education attainment, and

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per capita income. Since they simplify human development across these domains, the UNDP also provides indices of gender inequalities (GINI) that take account of differences in the status of men and women within countries profiled for HDI. Indonesia and Aotearoa New Zealand hold very different ranks in HDI, with Aotearoa New Zealand ranked 13 in the world for human development, while Indonesia is ranked at 113. Aotearoa New Zealand and Indonesia also achieve very different scores for gender inequality (0.158 and 0.467 respectively). Table 1 below comparisons of country profiles on HDI, GINI and other relevant indicators of wealth, population wellbeing and gender equality.

Table 1. Comparison of country profiles

	Indonesia[a]	**NZ[a]**
Population[a]	260.581.000	4.565.000
Population density and settlement[a]	43/km2 52% urban	17/km2 82% urban
GDP[a]	Agriculture 13% Industry 43% Service 43%	Agriculture 6.6% Industry 23% Service 70%
HDI rank[a]	113 (medium)	13 (very high)
GINI rank[a]	125 (lower middle income)	26 (high income)
GINI index & rank[a]	0.467 (105)	0.158 (34)
Labor force participation[a]	F (50.8%), M (84%)	F (62.6%), M (75%)
Women's seat in national parliament[a]	12%	31.4%
Intentional homicide rate[a]	0.5/100.000	0.8/100.000
Lifetime prevalence of IPV (physical and/or sexual violence)	1 out of 3 women [b]	1 out of 3 women[c]
Current prevalence of IPV (physical and/or sexual violence)	1 out of 10[b]	1 out of 20[c]

[a] Sources: Human Development Report 2016 (UNDP, 2016); World Statistic Pocketbook 2016 (UN, 2016).
[b] Source: Indonesia Statistical Bureau Survey on Woman's Life Experience (2017).
[c] Source: Fanslow et al. (2010).
[d] Source: New Zealand Crime and Safety Survey (2014).

The huge gap in socio-economic wellbeing and gender disparities in the countries' development apparently do not mitigate similar numbers of lifetime prevalence of violence against women. In both Aotearoa New Zealand and Indonesia, community and Government organisations have been making concerted efforts to develop and integrate responses to intimate partner violence across different sectors for more than two decades.

Women's Attitudes on Gender Norms

After Indonesia gained independence from Dutch colonialism in 1945, Women's involvement in political life was strictly limited by the new order regime (1967 – 1998).

Women were co-opted into a 'soft' nationwide organization called *Dharma Wanita* (Women's Dedication), with socially authorized roles as their husbands' companions and caregivers of their children, in line with the Marriage Law No. 1/1974, which states that although husband and wife have equal rights within the marriage, husbands are the heads of household and wives are responsible for household routines. The ideology was "family harmony," where women were responsible for maintaining harmonious family relations (Sitepu, 1996). Deeply rooted in a mixture of Javanese tradition and Islamic teaching, the ideology presented an 'ideal woman' who was submissive and obedient to her husband (Hakimi, Hayati, Utari and Winkvist, 2011). These days Dharma *Wanita* is no longer mandatory for women civil servants.

The traditional British Christian colonial gender norms in New Zealand also regarded women as most suitable for obedience to their husbands, submissiveness, responsibility for the care of the family and domestic duties (Morgan and Weatherley, 2016). These norms were disruptively imposed on Māori women during the process of colonization (Mikaere, 1999).

However, Aotearoa New Zealand led the world in legislating for women's suffrage in the late 19th Century and by the mid-20th Century the second wave feminist movement had significantly influenced social expectations for women's equal rights and particularly their participation in the workforce. Women's attitudes to gender norms in Aotearoa New Zealand vary considerably by ethnicity, yet among all ethnic groups only a minority of women (< 50%) endorse traditional gender expectations of women's and men's roles in the family.

Table 2 shows how women in Indonesia endorse traditional norms for men and women in intimate relationships, while New Zealand women are seemingly less traditional. Even so, the majority of women in both countries agree that there is no justification for men to hit their wives and women have the right to refuse sex when their spouse asks for it.

Table 2. Comparison of women's attitudes on gender norms within intimate relationships

Gender norms intimate relationships:	**Indonesia** [a]	**NZ**[b]
Good wife obeys husband	*Majority agrees (58%)	Majority disagrees (86%)
Women obliged to have sex with the husband	Majority agrees (81%)	-
Men should show who is the boss	Majority agrees (83%)	Majority disagrees (93%)
Men justified to hit wife for any reason	Majority disagrees (55%)	Majority disagrees (98%)
Women's right to refuse sex for any reason	Majority agrees (59%)	Majority agrees (83%)

*Majority means >50%.
[a] Item from the WHO Multi Country Study on domestic violence questionnaire.
[b] Source: Hayati et al. (2011).
[c] Source: Fanslow et al. (2010).

> I didn't tell anyone…I didn't want to. I wanted to try and make it work and yeah, so I didn't tell anyone. And I used to have bruises and stuff, but I used to cover up for him a lot. I used to make excuses for him and I used to blame myself like; "if I didn't do that, then he wouldn't hit me" and; "oh, maybe it is my fault and I'm the crazy one." (NZS7)

Strategies of submission and silence have been identified in research into men's coercive control over their partners where patterns of psychological, sexual and/or physical violence occur over extended periods of time (see, for example, Stark, 2007). Rather than conceptualising IPV as a series of discrete incidents of harm, the concept of coercive control takes account of accumulating harm. It also draws attention to the relationship between the social norms of masculinity and femininity that intersect women's expectations of relationships and their experiences of intimate partner violence. Women in both of our studies reported experiences of living under their partners' control that seemed to transcend the boundaries of our socio-cultural differences.

Conclusion

Our aim in this chapter was to draw on research we had each conducted in our countries to address misunderstandings based on assumptions about the relationship between women's experiences of intimate partner violence and the economic or human development status of the country. While there is strong evidence that prevalence of IPV is higher in some countries that have lower HDI ranks (WHO, 2013), the lifetime prevalence rates for IPV against women in Indonesia and Aotearoa New Zealand are similar. By examining the accounts of women in our studies, we have found similarities we expected, such as the health consequences of stress related to IPV and mothers' actions to protect their children. We have also identified some unexpected similarities, such as humiliation involved in financial abuse, and differences, such as the ways our participants talked about sexual violence.

The small samples of our studies were designed to provide rich and detailed accounts of specific women's experiences and they are not intended to draw broader inferences. The comparison between women's accounts in our two studies has drawn our attention to areas that would be fruitful for further international research collaborations. How women experience coercive control and sexual violence in our two countries is one such area of further study. There were also areas that we did not explore in this paper that would benefit from further research. For example, given the differences in Indonesia's criminal law against domestic violence and Aotearoa New Zealand's family law, further comparative research on women's experiences of police intervention and court processes would be helpful in understanding how different institutional responses are effective in our specific locations. Another example is the experience of spirituality as a source of

strength and resistance. These experiences were evident in the Indonesian study but did not emerge in the Aotearoa New Zealand study. Perhaps this is a consequence of the research questions that the studies addressed, or their locations, or the particular samples. Yet it may also be a significant factor in the social differences influencing the context of IPV in both countries. The complex role of religion and spirituality in relation to violence against women is gaining increasing attention globally (see for example, Johnson, 2015; Meadows, Kaslow, Thompson and Jurkovic, 2005; Nelson, Wang and Haagenson, 2017) and will be an important future direction for research aiming to understand and end IPV against women.

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" No-one writes, or thinks, with the same passion, fearlessness and accessibility as Bruce Johansen, a figure who has been speaking truth to power on global environmental and indigenous issues for over forty years. You're going to scream at this work that nationalism is not all bad, but you'll also learn much more than you ever expected and finish it determined to make changes and learn more. Enjoy!" Professor Joy Porter, PI Treatiedspaces.com, Leverhulme Major Research Fellow and Lead Editor with Dina Gilio-Whittaker and Clint Carroll of the Cambridge University Press series, *Elements in Indigenous Environmental Research*.

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