

Domestic Violence in Lay People's Perception

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The purpose of the study was to document lay people's perception on domestic violence as reflected through their comments on a poster specifically designed for this study. The poster contained images and messages, which were targeted to prevent and stop domestic violence. The study involved two groups of men and women from two neighborhoods located in the inner city of Surabaya. Data collection was taken by using focus group discussion, which was analyzed, by using thematic analysis. The findings showed that domestic violence was still perceived mainly as a private or personal problem, which therefore require private or personal intervention. The findings were discussed using socio-cultural perspective on domestic violence.

Keywords: domestic violence, gender equity

Penelitian ini ingin melihat bagaimana masyarakat awam melihat dan memaknai persoalan kekerasan dalam rumah tangga (KDRT) yang terjadi di sekitarnya sebagaimana terefleksikan melalui komentar mereka pada poster yang didesain khusus untuk penelitian ini. Poster tersebut berisi gambar dan pesan yang bertemakan pencegahan dan penanganan KDRT. Penelitian ini dilakukan pada kelompok laki-laki dan perempuan di dua kampung di tengah kota Surabaya. Pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan metode diskusi kelompok terarah dan data diolah menggunakan analisis tematik. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa KDRT masih dipandang sebagai kasus domestik yaitu urusan internal rumah tangga ketika penyebab serta solusinya bersumber pada aspek internal keluarga. Temuan ini kemudian didiskusikan dalam kaitannya dengan tinjauan sosio-kultural terhadap persoalan KDRT.

Kata kunci : kekerasan dalam rumah tangga (KDRT), keadilan gender

In Indonesia, domestic violence is an ongoing social problem. The latest data from the Women National Commission (*Komisi Nasional Perempuan*) showed that among various types of violence against woman, domestic violence is the most common. It was reported that in 2007, there were 16.709 cases of domestic violence out of 22.512 cases of violence against woman. It means that domestic violence made up 76 percent of the whole cases in that year. In fact, it was reported that between January to April 2007, there had been 140 cases of domestic violence. It means there were about 35 cases each month or 1 case each day (Adiningsih, 2007).

Various institutions and organizations including government and non-government sectors have implemented numerous intervention programs to respond to the high prevalence of domestic violence. One such intervention is the passing of the national law of

Domestic Violence Eradication in 2004. However, as Adiningsih (2007) noted it, although the law has been passed, the cases of domestic violence remain high. It seems that the passing of this law had not been followed by significant changes. There is still a need to develop synergy amongst related institutions and organizations such as police department, hospitals, counseling organizations, legal aid institutions, mass media and educational institutions. This situation suggests that interventions to stop and prevent domestic violence will be more effective if it is not narrowly focused on victims or perpetrators of domestic violence.

Ideally, interventions on domestic violence should also involve all related individuals and organizations in the community to monitor, report and respond to domestic violence cases appropriately. However, there remains a gap between the ideal concept of intervention on domestic violence with how the case is generally viewed and responded in everyday life. For example, this gap is reflected on the idea to categorize any domestic violence as a crim-

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inal act. With the passing of the National Law of Domestic Violence Eradication in 2004, ideally every domestic violence act can be regarded as a form of human right abuse and therefore can be followed up with legal action. Ideally with the passing of this law, the community members are encouraged to be proactively involved in monitoring and reporting domestic violence cases.

However, contrary to this ideal concept, in everyday life, domestic violence still tend to be seen as a private or personal problem which therefore should be addressed only by individuals who are directly involved in the problem (Bukan Sebatas Kekerasan Fisik, 2008). It is this kind of gap that stimulated the idea of conducting this research that is aimed to document how domestic violence is seen and interpreted in lay person's everyday life. It is expected that the research findings may provide further information to bridge the gap between ideal concepts of domestic violence intervention with how the problem is experienced in everyday life.

In this research, people's perception on domestic violence was explored by giving the participants open ended questions about domestic violence. In addition, to enrich the exploration, we also presented posters to the participants. The posters were specifically designed for this study and contained a message about the need to consider domestic violence not only as a personal problem of the individuals directly involved in it but also as a community problem.

There were two reasons behind the idea of presenting a poster to the participants as part of data collection method. The first reason was related to the theme that became the message of the poster. The poster was promoting the importance of considering domestic violence as a communal problem instead of individual problem. This idea was deliberately chosen because applying a community-based approach on the intervention of domestic violence is one of the ideal concepts in this area (Gridley & Turner, 2005).

Most of international policy on domestic violence asserts that interventions to stop and prevent domestic violence require fundamental changes of values and social behaviors that often have been deeply rooted in the community's daily practices (Michau, 2005). As it is asserted in the Declaration on the Elimination of all forms of Violence Against Women, in order to eradicate domestic violence, a comprehensive approach includes legal, political, administrative

and cultural interventions involving community members in general is needed (Michau, 2005).

By presenting posters containing messages about the importance of community-based approach on domestic violence intervention, they are expected to draw comments from the participants which enabled, this research to explore how this ideal concept was perceived and experienced in everyday life. The second reason to present a poster as a discussion stimulus was to deliver the message better as it was visualized through text and pictures.

By identifying common perceptions on domestic violence, as well as specific comments on the idea of community-based approach intervention, this research was expected to explore the gap between the ideal concept of domestic violence intervention and lay people's perception and experiences. The findings were expected to inform efforts targeted to stop and prevent domestic violence by outlining intervention themes which are more relevant to people's daily perception and experiences. Especially, findings that might inform those who are involved in designing public campaign on eliminating domestic violence. Public campaign by using a mass printed media like poster is one of the most widely used interventions as it can reach a community as a whole. Therefore, this research might provide information about campaign themes that are more relevant with people's daily perception and experiences.

Domestic Violence

In the national law of Domestic Violence Eradication, article 1, 2004, domestic violence is defined as any act to others especially toward women which cause either physical, sexual, and or psychological damages and or domestic negligence including threats targeted to deny one's freedom (Katjasungkana, 2005). It is mentioned in the definition that women is a group, which experience most of domestic violence. It may explain why the term of domestic violence is generally associated with the term violence against woman. Although the two terms are commonly used interchangeably, each has its own definition. Domestic violence is referred to the specific context of household setting in which either a man or a woman may become a victim or perpetrator. Katjasungkana (2005), further explains that the definition of domestic violence includes not only violence cases involving a couple as it is generally perceived by common people. Domestic violence includes any act directed toward:

[“...husband, [wife], children (biological, adopted, foster cared & any other) and any individuals in the house who has a kinship connection either because of biological heredity, marriage, nurturance, or any other guardian roles, who is/are permanently living in the house and or any individuals who is/are working for and living with the family (article 2, the national law of Domestic Violence Eradication, No. 23, 2004), cited in Katjasungkana, 2005, p. 10]

The Use of Public Campaigns as a Medium to Raise Community Awareness of Domestic Violence

The publication of posters targeted for promoting the elimination and prevention of domestic violence is one form of public campaign. Generally, public campaigns are targeted for raising public awareness on certain social issues. Besides using poster, public campaign can also be in a form of audio campaign (radio), audio-visual (television, internet), or in other printed forms like flyers or brochures. Putting in a wider context, the use of poster as a medium to raise community awareness of domestic violence is part of community education (Partnership Against Domestic Violence, 2001). Community education includes many forms of activities ranging from public campaigns targeted for general audiences to those that are targeted for specific groups or individuals.

Gibbons & Paterson (2000) based on their research about public campaigns targeted on promoting the elimination of domestic violence in Australian mass media.

They have identified five potential themes as a campaign focus in order to raise community awareness of the urgency of domestic violence. Those five potential themes were:

Criminal sanctions. Emphasize publications of information about criminal sanctions of being a perpetrator of domestic violence.

Community intervention. Emphasize publications of information about the importance of community members' involvement to monitor and report any act of domestic violence happened in the neighborhood.

Social disapproval. Emphasize publications of information about social sanctions associated with perpetrators of domestic violence.

Consequences. Emphasize publications of information about the damaging consequences of domestic violence.

Help is available. Emphasize publications of information about the availability of supports in the community both for victims and perpetrators of domestic violence who wants to solve their problems.

Based on their research on numbers of domestic violence perpetrators, Gibbon & Peterson (2001) found that in the perpetrators' perspective the fourth and fifth themes are the most effective themes compared to the other three. Besides being differentiated based on its focus; a public campaign on the elimination and prevention of domestic violence can also be categorized based on the campaign targets or aims. It includes (Partnership Against Domestic Violence, 2001):

Community Awareness. Targeted to raise community awareness about the existence, causes, prevalence and consequences of domestic violence. Also, to raise public attention to urgently take actions to stop domestic violence.



Figure 1. Posters prepared by the Women Empowerment Agency and Women Empowerment Agency

Community Action. Targeted to encourage a community to continuously giving social pressures to domestic violence perpetrators and to promote a non-violence attitudes and behaviors as well as to encourage solidarity toward domestic violence victims.

Individual Action. Targeted to encourage victims of domestic violence to seek help and to encourage perpetrators of domestic violence to stop their acts.

Prevention. Targeted to support activities aimed to prevent domestic violence.

Public campaigns is generally aimed to disseminate certain information to targeted community groups so that it may change the community's knowledge, attitudes, beliefs and behaviors accordingly (Salmon & Murray-Johnson cited in Lederman & Stewart, 2003). Therefore, it is important to document targeted community groups' responses about evaluating the effectiveness of a public campaign program or theme.

A Preliminary Observation on Posters Targeted for Promoting the Eradication and Prevention of Domestic Violence

As part of our preliminary study, we collected several posters targeted to promote the eradication and prevention of domestic violence published by government and non-government organizations in Indonesia. The posters were available in internet and printed mass media. Based on our simple observation, we identified some common themes across the posters. The posters included three posters made by the Women National Committee in 2001, and one poster made by the Women Empowerment Agency of Surabaya's Local Government in 2007 published in national newspaper, *Jawa Pos*.

Below are the common themes we found in those posters:

1. Those four posters used home setting as a background.
2. Family member figures (e.g., a woman who may be perceived as a wife) became the main character in those posters.
3. The main message implied in the three posters was a campaign for not blaming victims of domestic violence and encourage the victims to step out from the circle of domestic violence.

It has been long discussed that domestic violence is not only a behavioral problem of individuals who are directly involved in it. Many other factors in a society are contributing in causing domestic violence, like law and patriarchy culture. This awareness has raised a notion that interventions on domestic violence need to be focused not only to perpetrators and victims of domestic violence but also to other elements in a community that directly or indirectly are contributing in the emergence or elimination of domestic violence (Gridley & Turner, 2005; Michau, 2005). It is this notion that becomes the base of this research to question whether the use of home setting as a background in those posters may strengthen the impression that domestic violence is a personal problem and therefore only the individuals directly involved in it should overcome the problem. Is this kind of framing hindering the emergence of awareness of the community as a whole who also has responsibility to the problem? This question that becomes the background of this research to explore of how lay people perceive the idea that domestic violence should be seen as a communal problem.

Our choice to frame domestic violence in this research as a communal problem rather than as an individual pathological problem was strengthen when we referred to the campaign of stopping domestic violence made by Refuge, a non-government organization in England (Refuge, n.d.). In 2003, this NGO launched a series of campaign poster targeted to promote a community approach in addressing domestic violence called "*Don't Ignore It*" campaign. The campaign was targeted to encourage community members for not ignoring domestic violence cases in their neighborhood. Figure 3 is the posters.

The posters were obviously targeted not only for individuals who were directly involved in the problem but moreover for those who witnessed the incidents. The posters were quite different with the three posters reviewed previously. Surely, the difference of socio-cultural context between England and Indonesia influence the different focus in their campaign. Thus by collecting lay people's perception on the idea of community-based intervention on domestic violence, the research findings might provide information on how socio-cultural factors affected the way people respond to such idea.



Figure 2. The “Don’t Ignore It” posters

Method

Research Design

The research applied a qualitative approach, therefore it was not aimed to pursue a generalization of the findings. The research will be focused more on finding key themes that represented the participants’ qualitative evaluation toward the research topic. Focused group discussion (FGD) was used as the data collection method. FGD was chosen as it enabled the research to collect richer data that might be difficult to be collected through individual interviews. As a method, FGD may provide richer data as this method can facilitate dynamic interactions between participants. It is assumed that the interactions may encourage the emergence of comments and arguments, which may not be emerged in an individual interview (Krueger, 1994).

Research Participants

The research involved two groups of participants. One was a female group and the other was a male group. Each group consists of eight to nine participants.

The FGD was conducted in the following phases: (a) The participants discussed their general knowledge and perceptions about domestic violence; (b) The participants discussed their comments on the poster specifically designed for the

study, which introduced the idea of community-based approach on domestic violence intervention.

FGD Question Guideline

1. General knowledge and perception about domestic violence
2. Knowledge and opinion about interventions of domestic violence
3. Comments and opinion on the appearance of the poster
4. Comments and opinion on the message embodied in the poster
5. General recommendations

Data Analysis

The collected data was analyzed by using thematic analysis method (Charmaz, 2000, 2003). Thematic analysis aims to identify general themes found in the data and to outline connections among the themes. The Themes represent the experiences and the interpretations of the participants, related to the research’s topic. The process of data analysis consisted of two phases, which were (1). Initial Coding (making word by word coding to identify key words relevant to the research’s aim) and (2). Selective Coding (creating an interpretative label for each key word or sentence or phrase found). The results of selective coding were then categorized into several themes. It is these themes which were reported as the research’s findings.

Data Collection and Findings

Research setting. Exposure to the research's location was done briefly through one community member from each neighborhood who became the contact persons of this research. We were aware to the fact that the research's location was not based on an direct observation in a certain period of time which became the limitation of this research. However, it did not mean that the research location selection was taken merely based on practical (convenience) considerations. Prior to the data collection process, we gathered information from the contact persons about the two neighborhoods to examine its relevance to the research's aim.

One criteria used to select the research's location was the average social economic status of the community members. Two neighborhoods the average social economic status of their community members is middle low. This selection was based on the assumption that they reflect knowledge and opinion of most people in general. We did not choose those who come from affluent communities because we assumed that their relatively high level of education might enable them to give opinions that were exclusively had by small number of well-educated groups in the society and therefore can be quite distant from the popular opinions.

We also deliberately chose our research location in a typical middle low neighborhood called *perkampungan* as it is the most popular residential area for many Indonesian. Therefore, we assumed that the social situation of a *perkampungan* may better represent the daily life of most Indonesian. Generally, in a *perkampungan* there is still relatively high level of social interactions among its community members compared to the recent booming of expensive residential area called real estate housing complex. This characteristic was suitable for one of the research's aims which was to explore community members' social responses to domestic violence cases that were occurred in their neighborhood.

Based on those considerations we chose two *perkampungan* as the research's location, which were Ngagel Rejo (male group), and Wonokromo (female group). Both are located at the inner city of Surabaya and each has a high level of density. Local members who come originally from the area and those who reside temporarily in the area from other parts of the city or even provinces made up the community members of the two locations. The physical characteristics of

the houses of the community members represent their average middle low economic status. Generally, their socio-cultural orientation is influenced by the East Javanese cultural characteristics called *Suroboyoan*. The data collection could not be taken in the same location for both groups because the limited period of the research gave us limited flexibility to match our research schedule with community's agendas in the two neighborhoods.

The characteristics of their community organizations were quite different. Local community organizations like RT/RW in Ngagel Rejo had more solid coordination and programs. One of the examples was the existence of Forum Kemitraan Polisi dan Masyarakat (Local Communities and Police Partnership Forum) in this neighborhood. This partnership played a significant role in this neighborhood in addressing the issue of domestic violence.

Data Collection Preparation

One of the main preparation was the making of the poster used as discussion stimulus. In making the poster, we collaborated with *Visualcast*, a creative agency. We conceptualized the poster which was later produced by *Visualcast* produced it. During the production process, we collaborated extensively with *Visualcast* to ensure that the concept had been translated appropriately through the choice of the scene, model, caption, and its visual characteristics like font, font size and colors. Figure 3 and Figure 4 are the final appearance of the posters.

Data Collection

The first data collection was conducted in *Ngagel Rejo* (male group) for approximately two hours. It involved nine participants. Their ages ranged between 33 to 46 years old. All of the participants are married. The second data collection was conducted in *Wonokromo* (female group) for approximately one hour and a half. All of them were house wives. Their ages ranged from 24 to 55 years old.

Research Findings

In doing the data analysis, we combined the result of the two discussions and extracted the key themes out of them. Below are the brief descriptions of each theme:



Figure 3. Directed poster stimulus for group discussion version 1

General Knowledge and Opinions About Domestic Violence

Key themes described in this part were extracted from the participants' responses to the questions about general knowledge of domestic violence. Some of the questions asked in this part were 'What are your first impression whenever you come across the term domestic violence?'; 'In your opinion, how does domestic violence occur?'; 'In your opinion, how domestic violence should be addressed?'. Below are the key themes, representing the participants' responses:

Domestic violence caused by family internal problems. This theme reflected a general tendency among the participants to perceive domestic violence as a behavioral problem caused by relational problems between couples. Some of the relational problems mentioned by the participants were communication problems which could cause misunderstanding between couples, financial problems (a husband who neglects the



Figure 4. Directed poster stimulus for group discussion version 2

family's financial need, a wife who is very demanding), and personal characters (temperamental, childish, stubborn).

Solutions of domestic violence are in family's internal factors. As domestic violence tend to be seen as a problem caused by individuals' internal and interpersonal problems, therefore in responding to the question about intervention to domestic violence, most of the participants' opinion were focused on internal factors of a family as the source of solution. Among the internal factors mentioned by the participants were improving couple's communication skills, improving couple's personality qualities (such as try to be more patient), and improving couples' spiritual or religious life.

Domestic violence Dilemma: when is it personal?

And when should it be intervened? Although it was not directly asked, some of the participants' comments described dilemmas experienced when dealing with or discussing about domestic violence. The first dilemma

was their uncertainty to decide whether a violence act in a family need to be intervened by a third party, or considered as a private problem. *"I was once reported that a man in my neighborhood frequently beaten his wife. When I was about to intervene to this family, I got an information that this man usually beaten his wife whenever he was about to have sex with her. The information made me feel unsure whether should I respond to the situation"* The quote above was given by one participant who was once a neighborhood coordinator. This participant's quote is an example, which describes the dilemmas experienced by the participants.

Domestic violence dilemma: What can be categorized as domestic violence? The other dilemma shared by the participants was the uncertainty on the definition of domestic violence. They were wondering what sort of violence acts that can be categorized as a form of domestic violence. The confusion was expressed when there was different opinion among the participants about the definition of domestic violence. Some of the participants thought that domestic violence was any violence act, involving a couple (husband and wife). Meanwhile some of the other participants viewed domestic violence as any violence act, involving not only a couple but also any other member of a family.

Domestic violence: man is not always the perpetrator, and woman is not always the victim. This theme describes the research's finding which shows that most of the participants already had a non-stereotypical opinion on domestic violence. They viewed that both man and woman can be either a perpetrator or victim of domestic violence.

Cultural approach as the solution of domestic violence. The previous findings showed that the participants tended to see family's internal factors as a source of solution for domestic violence. In addition to that, this research also found that some of the participants argued that the most effective intervention for domestic violence was to ask the well-respected figures in a community, such as religious leaders or elders to be a mediator of the conflict. This opinion was based on the participants' judgment that people tend to listen better to persons who have higher social and cultural status.

Participants' Opinions and Comments About the Posters

This part describes the participants' responses to the posters, which were specifically designed as a discussion

stimulus. As it has been mentioned in the previous sections, the posters were presented to the participants to explore the participants' view on the idea of applying community-based approach in addressing domestic violence. In general, the participants viewed that community-based approach is not an effective approach to address domestic violence. They developed their opinions based on these arguments:

Domestic violence: the problem is not about who should make a report, but its report system. This point shows that regarding to the issue of domestic violence; the participants' experiences were not the same with the illustration described in the posters. The posters presented an idea that cases of domestic violence might be better and faster intervened if the person witnessing the cases had a willingness to report the cases to the relevant person in charge such as neighborhood coordinators (RT/RW) or police. Refusing the idea, the participants argued that the problem was not the lack of community awareness of community members to make report, instead the problem was on the unreliable report system available in the community. The participants were pessimistic that the relevant person in charge, such as police, would action appropriately and seriously the report made by general community members. In addition, they argued that whilst the community might have the awareness to report, they often do not have adequate knowledge and skills about processes and procedures in making the report.

An ideal poster targeted to stop domestic violence should contain. (1). Information about forms and consequences of domestic violence; (2). Information about negative consequences of domestic violence.

The participants had the tendency to think that it was not effective to use community based approach intervention as a theme in stopping domestic violence campaign posters. Instead, they argued that the campaign posters would be more effective if they were focused on (1). Providing information about forms and general consequences of domestic violence, (2). Providing information about negative consequences of domestic violence both for the perpetrators (such as legal sanctions) and the victims (such as trauma). They argued that the two focuses above would be more effective because they could (a) Educate lay people about types of domestic violence, (b) Prevent domestic violence by providing information about legal sanctions of domestic violence, and (c) Encourage sympathy and solidarity toward domestic violence victims.

Discussion

This study aimed to identify lay people's opinions on the idea that domestic violence better be framed as a community problem rather than merely addressed as an individual-pathological problem. This research's aim was achieved by involving lay people as the research participants. Two posters, which reflected a message about community approach to domestic violence, were presented to the participants. It is these participants' comments on those posters which were seen as a reflection of how lay people are responding to the idea of community-based intervention on domestic violence. This research however was not only aimed to identify the participants' specific responses to the posters. This research also tried to document the participants' general view on domestic violence. It was expected that understanding on the participants' general view on domestic violence might enable this research to put the participants' specific comments on the posters within a broader frame. It might enable the research to outline the possible explanations of where those specific responses on the posters were coming from.

The first theme, which emerged from the both data collections, was the participants' tendency to view and frame domestic violence as a personal problem which is caused by dysfunctions in the internal factors of the individuals who are involved in the problem. Some of the internal factors mentioned by the participants were poor quality in interpersonal communication, inability to establish mutual understanding, dishonesty, and emotional immaturity. The participants gave those opinions when they were asked about their impression whenever they came across with the term of domestic violence. They have the tendency to respond by mentioning comments indicating the causes of domestic violence. Among the factors mentioned by the participants as the causes of domestic violence, none were socio-cultural factors. Therefore, it becomes logical that the next theme found in the study was the participants' tendency to refer to internal factors of a family as the source for addressing domestic violence. Some of those factors were developing honesty, improving communication quality and building mutual understanding.

Theoretically, the type of responses given by the participants above reflects what is called as *individual pathology approach* (Partnership against Domestic Violence, 2001). Within this approach, domestic violence is seen as a result of personal dysfunction of the individuals who are directly involved in the problem. This kind of perspective justifies a view that interventions to

domestic violence need to be targeted to the individuals who are involved directly in the problem through therapies. The emergence of such view among the participants might indicate that socio-cultural factors may have not been considered or realized as the source of causes and interventions of domestic violence. The other possibility is that the participants might have been well aware of the contribution of socio-cultural factors as the source of causes and interventions of domestic violence, however they might not consider them relevant.

There are some possibilities, which may explain the participants' tendency to focus on internal factors when explaining the causes and interventions of domestic violence. The first possibility is perhaps influenced by the most common information available in public, which is focused on the personal aspects of domestic violence. Perhaps, it is easier to find information about psychological analysis of why domestic violence happens, information about psychological consequences of being a domestic violence victim, or religious discussions about domestic violence. Meanwhile, information about the absence of gender equality perspective on the legal system is still rare.

The second possibility which the participants might have been well aware of is the weaknesses of the current social and legal system. As the participants have been witnessing for years that changing the current legal and social system seems impossible, therefore they rather regard them being irrelevant to be discussed. It was reflected in the other theme found in the study, which reflected the participants' comments on the posters used in the study. Most participants emphasized that the challenge of applying community-based approach in addressing domestic violence was not on the lack of community members' awareness and willingness to make report on domestic violence; rather it was caused by the absence of adequate report system in the community. Up to now, there has not been information available for general community members about procedures and processes of making a case report. In fact, some of the participants expressed their pessimism that adequate responses would be given by authorities toward any report made by general community members.

Considering such possibilities, most of the participants argued that interventions to domestic violence should be based on the improvements of family internal factors. In addition, some of the participants mentioned that another way to solve domestic violence is by applying cultural approach

such as the use of religious preaches to inform people about religious views on domestic violence. In the participants' account, this kind of intervention seems to be more realistic rather than intervention targeted to change the larger social factors such as reforming the legal system or the related authorities. Being pessimistic of socio-structural changes, the participants argued that, posters containing information about effects of domestic violence will be more well received than posters targeting general community members' to participate in making report on domestic violence cases.

Although the participants tended to focus their opinions about causes and interventions of domestic violence on family internal factors, there was no longer a victim-blaming attitude among the participants. Several years ago, a non-government organization in Indonesia disseminated a series of stopping domestic violence campaign poster, which was focused on the idea of stopping victim-blaming attitude. Stopping victim-blaming attitude was a relevant campaign focus. Due to the influence of patriarchy cultural system, there is a tendency to affirm men for acting violently toward women. This research, however found that the victim-blaming attitude has been dismissing. In general, the research participants believed that both men and women could be victims or perpetrators of domestic violence.

Another finding of this study was the identification of a dilemma faced by the participants when dealing with domestic violence cases. The participants questioned to what extent a domestic violence case should be intervened by a third party and to what extent it could be seen as a personal or private issue. Also, the participants questioned the definitions of domestic violence. They quired what sort of violence could be categorized as domestic violence. Most of the participants saw domestic violence merely as a kind of violence, which involved a husband and a wife.

In addition to all of the explanations above, it should be noted that the participants' opinions might also be influenced by the quality of the posters used as the discussion stimulus in the data collection process. Conceptually, the posters were designed to illustrate a tendency among general community members to ignore domestic violence cases, which are happening in their neighborhood. However, it seemed that the scenes chosen in the posters might not well represent the idea.

Recommendation

Based on the findings as described above, below are some recommendations:

The study found that domestic violence is still seen as a personal problems of individuals who are directly involved in the problem. Therefore, interventions to domestic violence tend to be seen as a matter of applying individual interventions or therapies. This finding showed that there was a need to disseminate an understanding that causes, interventions and preventions of domestic violence should not be focused merely on the individuals who directly involved in the problem, but also to the related socio-cultural systems of the community.

The study found that there was still inadequate knowledge and understanding about domestic violence among the participants who were a small representation of general community members. This finding suggested that there was still a need to disseminate general information about domestic violence which covered basic information such as definitions of domestic violence, criteria of interventions and intervention phases.

The study found that one of the challenges in encouraging a community involvement in making report on domestic violence cases was not on the lack of awareness among community members. Rather, on the absence of adequate information, which were accessible for general community members about systems, and procedures of making report. It is therefore, campaigns on elimination and prevention of domestic violence should be focused on the dissemination of information about procedures of making report and education about steps needs to be taken by general community members when they are making report on a domestic violence case.

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