

Causes and impacts of domestic violence against women: Cases in Indonesia

Penyebab dan dampak kekerasan dalam rumah tangga terhadap perempuan: Kasus di Indonesia

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Abstract

Domestic violence against women is still a common phenomenon in Indonesia. Data from Komnas Perempuan 2021 showed from 8,234 cases of violence against women handled by its partner institutions, 6,480 cases (79%) were happened at home. 3,221 cases of them (50%) are violence against wives. This article aims to uncover the causes and effects of domestic violence against women in Indonesia, what specific patterns are implicit in these causes, expressed by both perpetrators and victims, that could lead to a particular theory of domestic violence, and what perpetrators do to victims and what the consequences are. Using data gathered from 27 informants and 86 online news, this research finds that there are various causes of domestic violence. These causes lead to specific pattern that strengthen the use of social theories, in particular control, resource, exosystem and social isolation theories. Various forms of domestic violence done by offenders from light to heavy hits using bare hands or other tools. The impact of domestic violence can range from injury to death of the victim.

Keywords: domestic violence; violence against women; women victims

Abstrak

Kekerasan dalam rumah tangga terhadap perempuan masih menjadi fenomena umum di Indonesia. Data Komnas Perempuan tahun 2021 menunjukkan dari 8.234 kasus kekerasan terhadap perempuan yang ditangani lembaga mitranya, sebanyak 6.480 kasus (79%) terjadi di rumah. Sebanyak 3.221 kasus diantaranya (50%) merupakan kekerasan terhadap istri. Artikel ini bertujuan mengungkap penyebab dan dampak kekerasan dalam rumah tangga terhadap perempuan di Indonesia, pola-pola spesifik apa saja yang secara implisit terlihat pada penyebab-penyebab tersebut, baik yang diungkapkan oleh pelaku maupun korban, yang dapat melahirkan teori tertentu mengenai kekerasan dalam rumah tangga, serta apa yang dilakukan pelaku terhadap korban dan bagaimana akibat yang ditimbulkannya. Dengan menggunakan data yang dikumpulkan dari 27 informan dan 86 berita online, penelitian ini menemukan bahwa penyebab kekerasan dalam rumah tangga bermacam-macam. Penyebab-penyebab tersebut mengarah pada pola tertentu yang memperkuat penggunaan teori-teori sosial, khususnya teori pengendalian, sumber daya, exosistem dan isolasi sosial. Berbagai bentuk kekerasan dalam rumah tangga yang dilakukan pelaku mulai dari pukulan ringan hingga berat dengan menggunakan tangan kosong atau alat lainnya. Dampak yang ditimbulkan dari kekerasan dalam rumah tangga adalah cedera hingga kematian korban.

Kata Kunci: kekerasan dalam rumah tangga; kekerasan terhadap perempuan; perempuan korban

Introduction

Women, in general, are vulnerable from violence, even at their homes. Domestic violence still becomes a common phenomenon in the world. WHO considers it as “a violation of women’s human rights” (WHO 2021). Violence against women at homes are mainly received from their husbands or intimate partner. UN WOMEN, for example, reports that “Most violence against women is perpetrated by current or former husbands or intimate partners. More than 640 million women aged 15 and older have been subjected to intimate partner violence in 2020. Similar phenomenon also presents in Indonesia, as showed by Komnas Perempuan. In 2020, there were 8,234 cases of violence against women handled by its partner institutions. 6,480 cases (79%) of them were happened at home. 3,221 cases (50%) are violence against wives, done by husbands (Komnas Perempuan 2021). These facts strongly reflect imbalance power between men and women, between couples (Bonnes 2016, Vyas & Jansen 2018).

Domestic violence is a serious problem in developing countries (Kuskoff & Parsel 2020, Ningrum & Mas'udah 2021, Saud et al. 2021). Policy makers are trying to find solutions to this social problem (Etherington & Baker 2016). Gender-biased values and norms and poverty are also factors causing domestic violence (Koenig et al. 2006). Alejo (2014) also stated that domestic violence causes physical damage to mental and emotional health. In Bangladesh, women choose to live with domestic violence, to maintain family integrity, even though they often experience violence (Bellow et al. 2015). Previous studies found that domestic violence perpetrated by husbands was generally mental and physical (Kwiatkowski 2018, Bradbury-Jones & Isham 2020, Das et al. 2020). Domestic violence is caused by the husband's desire to maintain his power in society (Parkinson 2017, Fajardo-Gonzalez 2020, Haque et al. 2020). Women who marry at a young age are more at risk of experiencing domestic violence (Semahegn et al. 2019).

This research aims to look at causes of domestic violence against women in Indonesia in the year 2020. This year has been a very monumental for Indonesia as the COVID-19 pandemic hits the country. Of course other countries have been experiencing this pandemic too, but for Indonesia with its large population, the impacts are quite hard. According to Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS 2020), as per August 2020, unemployment rate in Indonesia was 7.07 percent. This is 1.84 percent increase compared to August 2019.

COVID-19 was announced by the government as firstly arrived in Indonesia on the 2nd of March (Nugraheny & Rastika 2020). In its survey for 2,285 male and female respondents *Komisi Nasional Anti Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan (Komnas Perempuan)* on April and May 2020, it was found that 80% of women with income less than five million per month stated they received more violence in pandemic times. In general, they experienced psychological and economic violence (Kholisdinuka 2020, Yulianingsih 2020). Escalation of violence against women is also seen through Online Information System of Protection of Women and Children (SIMPONI PPA) made by KPPPA. Since 14 March to 22 April 2020, there are 105 cases of violence against women, 67 of them are domestic violence (Sari 2020).

There are three research questions raised to lead this research. First, what are the causes of domestic violence against women in Indonesia in the year 2020. The causes here are the reasons used by the violence actors to justify his violence actions to the victims. Second, are there any specific patterns implicitly seen in that causes stated by both the offenders and the victims that can lead to certain theory of domestic violence, particularly on factors affecting domestic violence. Third, what do the offenders do to the victims and how are the consequences for the victims.

Research Method

This study employed a qualitative method. Qualitative method is used in order to “construct rich description and/or explanatory frameworks” (Butler et al 2021), to understand the domestic violence phenomena deeply. This study used two sources of data. The first is taken from many women victims of domestic violence. There are 27 informants. The second is data taken from online news. The news' texts were read thoroughly to find data. In this case, the data or information provided by the online news is similar to that of transcript of interview. The different between the two is if in the interview the data is gained directly from informants, in online news, the data is provided by reporter of the online news.

There are three online news used to find related news to the topic of the research. That online news is Kompas.com, Detiknews, and Liputan6.com. That three online news are reputable online news that covering their reports from all regions in Indonesia. Therefore, the news on how domestic violence happened around the country provide valuable data to find out the causes and impacts of domestic violence in Indonesia. Certainly, other data such as those of KPPPA and Komnas Perempuan are also accountable resources.

As mentioned before, data were collected from 27 female informants who experienced domestic violence. This data was obtained by conducting in-depth interviews. More data were gathered from 86 news from the three online news. They show that there are various causes of domestic violence: economic, social, sexual, psychological factors. It is also clear that the intention of men to control women, showing their power to women, becomes important matter. Traditional values particularly patriarchy play a vital role. These causes of domestic violence leading us to correlate those factors into theories of domestic or

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family violence. The causes of violence as gathered from the informants as well as reported by the three online news can be linked to social theories of family violence as proposed by Hyde-Nolan & Juliao (2012), that include four theories: control, resource, exosystem and social isolation.

Result and Discussion

In this section, several things related to the study of causes and impacts of domestic violence against women, will be discussed in more detail. The first sub-chapter will focus on explanations regarding the causes of domestic violence. Next, explanations relating to specific descriptions of domestic violence. Meanwhile, in the last point, the discussion focuses on the impacts of domestic violence to victims (women).

The causes of domestic violence

This study finds there are many causes of domestic violence. From informants who have been interviewed, the causes are quarrels, emotional instability, egoistic, unemployment, patriarchy, and forced to have sex. Linking these causes into broader context, there are three factors instigating the violence: the personality of both men and women in the marriage, economic, and socio-cultural factors. Domestic violence caused by individual factors is experienced by WIT as shown in the interview excerpt. the condition of marriage based on contract marriage and lack of knowledge of the husband’s personality causes the emergence of awareness of the incompatibility between the two. Finally, WIT is fully regulated by the husband which causes domestic violence. The conditions experienced by WIT are in line with the report of the National Women’s Life Experience Survey conducted by the Ministry of Women’s Empowerment and Child Protection in 2018, where the increasing intensity of quarrels between husband and wife causes physical and/or sexual violence to increase. Likewise, women who often attack their husbands first are also at greater risk of experiencing physical and/or sexual violence compared to those who have never attacked their husbands/partners first.

“My husband and I are in a contract marriage. When we were dating, we were fine, there wasn’t even a problem, maybe a difference of opinion that could be resolved by talking to the two of us. Then we decided to have a contract marriage. After being married for a long time, there are a lot of husband traits that don’t suit me. For example, I am also working, although yes, the work can be said to be uncertain. Her husband wants to be served continuously, without wanting to understand my condition. There are times when I need time for myself and my friends. My husband doesn’t allow me to do that. So, I rebelled several times. Every time I rebelled I was beaten, kicked, slapped.” (Informant WIT).

According to KPPPA (2018) the second cause of domestic violence is partner factors ranging from infidelity, not earning a living, and narcotics. The survey results showed that couples who did not provide a living contributed 1.36 times more to experience physical or sexual violence. Followed by a partner who uses narcotics, the risk of experiencing domestic violence is two times greater. The highest cause is that couples who have an affair are 2.48 times more likely to experience domestic violence. Not much different from the report of the Ministry of Women’s Empowerment and Child Protection of the Republic of Indonesia, the domestic violence experienced by ROS informants was caused by a husband who was often drunk. ROS had to experience physical violence and even almost got a sharp weapon wound even though he had given understanding to his husband.

“I was often beaten, slapped, forced to have sex, almost even my husband used a sharp weapon and injured me. It was all done because when he came home drunk, he was angry, it was not clear. I have often given understanding to my husband to reduce the habit. But never listened to, on the contrary, I was the one who got yelled at by my husband. He said I didn’t understand my husband’s condition.” (Informant ROS).

The third cause of domestic violence is economic factors. The report shows that women from households in the poorest 25% group have a 1.4 times greater risk of experiencing physical and/or sexual violence by a partner than the richest 25% group (KPPPA 2018). This indicates that couples or families who have a low economy on average have an impact on the level of household welfare. This condition is in line with what was experienced by DEW, where the husband does not meet the needs of the family, on the contrary, often asks for money forcibly for personal needs.

“I’m already annoyed with my husband’s behavior. How can I not work hard all this time to meet the needs of children and families? Meanwhile, my husband does not have the passion and willingness to look for work. My husband works, but not regularly, only if there is a call. Family needs are many, let alone children’s needs, children’s school needs, not for daily meals. In fact, often neighbors who help, families who help. I am often annoyed with my husband for not providing for the needs of the family, I have to provide for myself. On the contrary, my husband often forces me to give money for his own needs.” (Informant DEW).

The last cause of domestic violence is socio-cultural factors. The existence of equality in the family is the key in stopping domestic violence. The role of each family member determines decision making, and noble values including the values of gender equality and justice are instilled. These values must be communicated at the beginning of the formation of a family, namely at the level of marriage. When communication is established, family resilience will be built. This statement is in line with what is experienced by YAN where a very strong patriarchal culture causes the emergence of a very strong domination from the husband. YAN’s movement is limited both in terms of social activities to physical activities such as forced sex.

“I’m not allowed to work with my husband, maybe because my husband doesn’t want to be beaten. I just do homework every day which is actually not me once. I was working before this marriage. I feel like my life is missing something. There must be a feeling of boredom if you stay at home too long. But my husband often doesn’t allow me to go out, even if I may, I’m sure I’ll be asked the reason and many more. On the one hand my husband is often forced to have sex. And I also often have to do it, I am not comfortable until I once rebelled against my husband, when my husband forced me to have sex.” (Informant YAN).

Meanwhile, the online news reports show that various actions of violence done by men, from light to heavy one, using bare hands or certain tools. In three cases which are in Surabaya, Pekalongan, and Tapanuli Tengah, as reported by Detiknews, the offenders of domestic violence even burn the victims, live. The consequences of violence ranging from light to heavy injuries. Those that were burned by their husbands in Surabaya and Pekalongan were dead. There are 13 more cases of domestic violence that have happened in many districts around Indonesia end with the death of the victims. The findings also imply that women are still vulnerable from domestic violence, reflecting the consequences of imbalance power between women and men in domestic sphere. Pandemic COVID-19 in the year 2020 has caused the increasing number of domestic violence against women.

As mentioned previously, domestic violence is a world phenomenon. According to WHO (2021), about one in every three women worldwide has experienced some kind of violence from their intimate partners. Globally, the percentage of women who have experienced violence from their intimate partners in the form of either physical or sexual, ranging from 20% in Western Pacific to 33% in South-East Asia countries. Certainly, domestic violence is one of serious problems in society.

Domestic violence basically can be done by every member of those living in the same household, such as husband to wife and vice versa, parents to children or vice versa, or employer to employee who live at the same house. In Indonesia definition of domestic violence is stated in part 1 article 1 of the Law No 23, 2004 on Penghapusan Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga-Elimination of Domestic Violence: *Kekerasan dalam Rumah Tangga adalah setiap perbuatan terhadap seseorang terutama perempuan, yang berakibat timbulnya kesengsaraan atau penderitaan secara fisik, seksual, psikologis, dan/atau penelantaran rumah tangga termasuk ancaman untuk melakukan perbuatan, pemaksaan, atau perampasan kemerdekaan secara melawan hukum dalam lingkup rumah tangga*-domestic violence is an action done to somebody particularly to woman, that causing misery or suffering of physical, sexual, psychological, and/or abandoning household including threatening to conduct action, coercion, or plundering independency against law in the scope of household. Furthermore, in part 1 point article 2 of the law, it is stated that: Scope of the household in this law includes husband, wife, and children, those relatives who become members of the household because of have blood ties, and those who work in the household who stay in that household.

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Many researches have been conducting to look at domestic violence, in many countries by many researchers. Those researches investigate the issue from many sides, such as single or multiple factors in explaining the causes of domestic violence (Kusanthan et al. 2016, Abd Aziz et al. 2018, Setiawan et al. 2018, Vyas & Jansen 2018), effects of domestic violence to the victims or their children if they have any (Alejo 2014), law enforcement on domestic violence (Baron 2018), treatment or healing processes for the victims of domestic violence (Andersen et al. 2012), comparative study on domestic violence in one country and another, in one region of a country with another (Bott et al. 2012), statistical data on domestic violence (Chitashvili et al. 2010), and theories on domestic violence (Jati et al. 2019, Maniccia & Leone 2019).

Researches on factors related to domestic violence are certainly most relevant to our research. Study of Setiawan et al. (2018): "*Faktor-faktor yang mempengaruhi kejadian kekerasan dalam rumah tangga dan pelaporan pada pihak kepolisian*"-Factors influencing domestic violence and report to the police, is an example. In this study, Setiawan et al. raises a single question what are factors contributed to domestic violence as reported to Integrated Service Centre SERUNI, Semarang Police Headquarter. In order to answer the question, they use combination between quantitative and qualitative research methods. Quantitative data are gathered from cases reported to the police. They analyse the data using statistical method. Qualitative data are collected from interviews they conducted to the victims of violence. They contacted the victim through the police. The police officers connect the researchers and the interviewees. Interview was conducted when the victims of violence have agreed to participate in the research. The research found that economy is the most significant factor in influencing domestic violence by husband to their wives. Other factors that they also investigate namely affairs with another man and woman, number of children, social, and cultural are not really matters.

Another example is study of Kushantan et al. (2016:3) "Factors effecting domestic violence among married women in Zambia". One of the two aims of their research is to "analyze the extent of domestic violence (Physical, Emotional and Sexual violence) experienced by married women". In order to achieve this aim, they analyse data from Zambia Demographic Health Survey (ZDHS) which was taken by Central Statistical Office of Zambia in 2007. The ZDHS included women experience on domestic violence. Using quantitative approach, Kushantan, Mwaba, and Menon applied two ways to analyse the data: First, they used cross tabulation between two variables: socio-economic and sexual health as independent one and physical, emotional, and sexual violence, as dependent. Second, they used Logistic Regression Analysis in order to categorize factors that influence the domestic violence, either physical, emotional, or sexual. Their research concluded that physical, emotional, or sexual is connected closely with wealth, duration of marriage, residential of participants of the survey. In other words, there are many aspects that can influence actions of violence, including age, wealth, religion, duration of marriage, education, employment status as well as place of residence.

Both study of Setiawan et al. (2018) and that of Kushantan et al. (2018) shares similar purpose with our research, that is to look at factors contributed to action of violence in domestic sphere, violence acted by husbands to their wives. But they are different in the method used to collect data, as well as to analyse them. As mentioned previously qualitative approach is used in this research. Besides doing interviews and analyse the data from those interviews, this research also analyses 86 news gathered from online news reported by Detiknews, Kompas.com, and Liputan6.com. Before concluding what are the big factors scoping the violence actions, the causes or reasons stated by the perpetrators were firstly elaborated. Later, the relevance of those causes or reasons to the bigger factors were dug, whether the factors are economy, social, psychological, or others as explained by the experts on the issue.

Jackson (2007), in Encyclopaedia of domestic violence stated that "There is no one causal explanation of domestic violence: however, there are numerous factors which may help explain these unjustified acts of violence". Jackson continues by saying that feminist theorists are those of the earliest that put concern on the issue. In this Encyclopaedia Jackson mentions 24 theories to explain factors of action of violence in domestic sphere.

Hyde-Nolan & Juliao (2012), in their chapter, "Theoretical Basis for Family Violence" categorize the theories of factors influencing domestic violence into four branches: psychodynamic theories, social theories, cognitive/behavioural theories, and family and system theories. Each of the branches contains several theories. Psychodynamic theories of family violence consist of object relation, attachment, and violence as trauma theory. Social theories include control, resource, exosystem, and social isolation theory. In addition, cognitive/behavioral theories consist of social learning, behavioural genetics, reactive aggression, learned helplessness theory. Last but not least, parts of family and system theories are family system, family life cycle, and microsystem factor theory. The microsystem theory divided into intrafamilial stress and dependency relations theory. Certainly, in our research, in order to get conclusion, we will draw lines between the causes we have found from the online news to the theories stated by the scholars.

Specific description

As stated before, to answer the three research questions, besides interviewing informants, the data also gathered from three national online news: Kompas.com, Detiknews, and Liputan6.com. Some interesting points can be drawn as shown on the way the online media reporting the domestic violence that occurred in many areas of Indonesia. Typing KDRT 2020 in the searching box of Kompas.com, within less than 40 seconds, it appeared that there are more than 19.000 news on the topic, reflecting big concern of this online news on the issue. However, only 10 screens of the news shown on the screen then 10 news are available on every screen. Therefore, there are 100 news on the topic. All the news then was red one by one to find the domestic violence that done by a husband to his wife.

After searching and reading those 100 available news, there are 16 news matched to the criteria. Other news are about domestic violence done by father or mother to their children, report on seminars or opinion of certain organization or an expert on domestic violence, and reports on domestic violence in other years. The structure of the news are not in sequential dates, therefore the date of the news should be looked at carefully. Otherwise, news from other years, other than the year 2020 might be unintentionally used. Whereas the focused of the study is the year 2020. From the searching box of Detiknews, there are 212 news on domestic violence. All the 212 news are given in 24 screens. Nine titles of the news are available on every screen. Those news are structured in sequential dates, make it easier to look at the year 2020. All the titles should be red carefully in order to find the right news that fulfil the criteria because many news are not from the year 2020. There are 66 news matched the criteria.

The same procedure is also applied for finding related news from Liputan6.com. First, type words KDRT 2020 in its searching box. Second, read all the titles appears on the screen to find suitable articles. Unfortunately, there is no information on how many news we can get. All the news related to the topics are listed in chronological list. But there are more news other than the year 2020. Interestingly, instead of putting the date on the title of the news, Detiknews mentioned number of day, month, or year when the news were published. For example, it is mentioned 16 days ago, two months ago, one year ago in every title of the news. As a consequence, estimating which news are from the year 2020 is a must. At last the total numbers of articles red are 73 news. But only four news are in accordance with the criteria.

Searching the relevant news from those three online news to get more data on domestic violence results in 86 news. However, it does not directly mean that there are 86 of domestic violence occurred in the year 2020 in Indonesia. A case of domestic violence was sometime reported up to four times by an online news. In particular when the domestic violence action is very shocking for the readers. For example the domestic violence did by a husband to his wife and son in Pekalongan. He killed his wife and son by burning them and himself. His wife and son were dead. Five days later, he was also dead. This domestic violence case was reported four times by Detiknews in 29 August 2020, 30 August 2020, 31 August 2020, and 3 September 2020 (Bernardi 2020a, 2020b, 2020c, 2020d). Detiknews reported three times actions of domestic violence done by a husband through burning his wife in Surabaya. The victim was heavily injured by the fire. Detiknews reported the process of the sentence to the offender given by the court three times: 5 February 2020, 26 February 2020, and 18 March 2020 (Baihaqi 2020a, 2020b, 2020c).

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In total, from 86 news on domestic violence reported by those three online news, there were 56 cases. In the case of a member of parliament of Bojonegoro who cracked his wife's arm when the wife lent their kitchen tools to a friend, two of the three online news (Detiknews and Kompas.com) have reported the case. Different from Detiknews and Kompas.com, Liputan6.com reported more cases on domestic violence among Indonesian celebrities and well-known persons. Of four cases reported by this online news, one is domestic violence done by a police chief of Kotawaringin Barat to his wife. Another is on domestic violence by an actor to his wife who is an actress.

From the 56 cases of domestic violence collected from the three online news, the reasons the offenders given to justify their actions are quite varies. In general there are three main reasons: jealousy comes from husband or wife because of the present or accusation of the present of another person in the couple's marriage, bickering for non-specific reasons, and the wife asks for alimony. Other reasons are the wife asks for divorce, the wife refuses to have sexual intercourse, disappointing from wife because the husband hit their child, hallucination of the wife, the husband was fired from employment, temperamental personality of the husband, and the wife said humiliating words. Table 1 informs the causes or reasons given by the perpetrator of domestic violence and number of cases for each reason.

Table 1.
Causes of domestic violence by husband and number of cases

Causes	Number of domestic violence
Jealousy because either husband or wife has an affair with another person	15
Bickering for non-specific reason	13
The wife asks for alimony	7
The wife asks for divorce	4
The wife Refuse to have sexual intercourse	2
Hallucination of the wife	2
The wife refuse to meet parent in law	2
The husband was fired from employment	1
The wife said humiliation words	1
The wife lent kitchen tools to a friend	1
The wife miscalculates money	1
There are ants in the food	1
Disappointment from wife because offender hit their child	1
The wife refuses to come back to her husband after separating	1
Not stated	4
Total	56

Source: Data is tabulated by author

From Table 1, it is clear that from 56 cases, there are 15 types of domestic violence done by husband to wife reported in the three online news. Jealousy because of the present of another person in the marriage becomes the major cause or reason for conducting violence action by husband, 15 of the 56 cases (27%). It is followed by bickering for non-specific reason, 13 of 56 cases (23%). Other reasons are quite interesting to be examined further, such as lent kitchen tools for friends or there are ants in the food founded by husband when he wanted to eat. The causes seem to be just a trivial and accidental matter.

Domestic violence is a form of human rights violation, and reduces the victim's contribution to the family, society and country. Domestic violence experienced by women is a form of gender inequality in the family. This study shows that domestic violence is still prevalent and the number has increased from year to year due to the strong patriarchal culture in society. Women are vulnerable to violence because

women are considered the second sex. This study reinforces the findings of Mas'udah (2022), where domestic violence can occur in all classes, both lower class, middle class and upper class. In fact, career women who have higher education can also become victims because of the strong patriarchy in society.

Impacts of domestic violence to victims (women)

This study found many impacts of domestic violence on women, including: (1) death; (2) severe injured; and (3) mild injured. The impact of domestic violence was felt by TIA, when the informant found out that her husband had had sexual relations with another woman. TIA asked for a divorce, but the response they got was minor injuries because the husband was angry and hit her many times. "I found out from a friend, then I immediately told my husband. I spoke well, but my husband on the other hand shouted and hit me many times. My husband brought up my mistakes." (Informant TIA).

At a different level, the impact of domestic violence is experienced by MID, where when asking for a divorce because they do not support the family, the husband commits physical and sexual violence. Physical violence is carried out even in front of children, both without and with objects. To bind the MID, the husband also forced sex several times

"I was beaten with my hands, sometimes even things that were close at the time were also hit on me. Bruises are common on my body. Sometimes my husband asks me to have sex. What makes me sad is when the children see me being beaten. I'm still small but have to see such actions. My heart is hurt..." (Informant MID).

Data from online news showed the impacts of domestic violence i.e. death, severely injured, and mildly injured. Table 2 explains the effects of domestic violence on the victims. It is very important to be elaborated to know the danger that women can get in the home, from their close ones, and husbands.

Table 2 explained that of the 56 cases of domestic violence 14 (25%) end with the death of the woman. It is an outrageous phenomenon, as it reflects the uncertain life that women can have from their husbands, who are supposed to love them. The 56 cases happen in many areas in Indonesia both in big cities such as Jakarta, Surabaya, Medan, Bandung, Makassar and in small cities such as Dompu, Luwu, Sidrap, Garut Pekalongan, and Jombang. In total, 56 cases took place in 39 cities in Indonesia.

From the news reported in Kompas.com, Detiknews, and Liputan6.com, that the causes of the domestic violence, the reasons used by the actor of violence are quite various. Sometimes, the trigger causes are trivial. It is quite surprising, that the trivial cause leads to a very heavy domestic violence that causing the death of the wife. For example, a husband in Jambi that hit his wife with a piece wood, resulting the death of the wife just because the wife did not give 20,000 rupiah (around US \$1.50) in cash to her husband. The victim said that she did not have that amount of money (Almunanda 2020). The same amount of money (Rp 20.000) asked by a wife to her husband in Poliwali, whether the husband knows where the money as she misplaces it. What happens then is the husband hit the wife with bare hand, make her get injured heavily and need to be hospitalized. The husband got very angry, he assumed his wife condemning him like a thief.

Through searching and reading thoroughly to all the 86 online news, it is found that there are 15 causes or reasons given by the offenders to justify their violent actions to their wives. Drawing lines between these causes with the theories argued by scholars on the issue, it can be seen that the 15 causes are related to several bigger factors. Based on the 15 types of causes said by the offenders we see that social theories of domestic violence as stated by Hyde-Nolan & Juliao (2012) are very relevant. Hyde-Nolan and Juliao explained that social theories of family violence is theories that are based on "processes that are created via interactions with others in one-to-one relationships or in larger group". They divides social theories into four: control, resource, exosystem, and isolation theory.

Control theory in domestic violence is based on the intention of the individual to seek and maintain his/her power over his/her inferior. In this case, the violence happens because the actor of violence, the husband wants to maintain, to show his power to his wife. Resource theory focus in looking the

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relationship between wealth and domestic violence. When husband has more property than wife, he may feel secure and easy to control the behavior of his wife. But when he has lesser wealth than his wife, he also does not want to be controlled by his wife. His unsecure feeling because of lack of capital make him easy to conduct violence action. Exosystem theory looks at stressors that embedded in the life of the actor of violence than cause him to act violently. In this theory, violence might be a "possible stress response" that showed by husband, the perpetrator of the violence. Finally, social isolation theory has been acknowledged as a combination between stressor and life events of an offender of domestic violence. Isolation from community create more space for the happening of violence actions.

Table 2.
Impacts of domestic violence to victims (women)

Causes	Effect to the victims			Total
	Death	Severe injured	Mild injured	
Jealousy because either husband or wife has an affair with another person	6	2	7	15
Bickering for non-specific reason	5	1	7	13
The wife asks for alimony	1	-	6	7
The wife asks for divorce	-	1	3	4
The wife refuses to have sexual intercourse	1	1	-	2
Hallucination of the wife	-	1	1	2
The wife refuses to meet parent-in-law	-	1	1	2
The husband was fired from employment	-	-	1	1
The wife said humiliation words	-	-	1	1
The wife lent kitchen tools to a friend	-	-	1	1
The wife miscalculates money	1	-	-	1
There are ants in the food	-	1	-	1
Disappointment from wife because offender hit their child	-	-	1	1
The wife refuses to come back to her husband after separating	-	-	1	1
Not stated	-	2	2	4
Total	14	10	32	56

Source: Data is tabulated by the author

Looking closely with the 15 causes of domestic violence as reported by the three online news it can be seen that each factor may be related to the four theories included in the social theories. For example, asking for alimony can be related to resource theory. However, it can also be linked with control theory that the offenders wanted to show their control over their wives. They feel humiliated when they are not given the money they asked or whether they are accused as thieving money from their wives. A cause for the happening of a domestic violence might not be explained from one single independent theory only because if it is detailed further, its relevancy with other theories might be seen.

Conclusion

The data gathered from 27 informants and 86 articles of the three online news show that domestic violence against women is still a common phenomenon in Indonesia. This study finds many causes of domestic violence i.e: violence caused by the personality of women, violence caused by partner factors, violence caused by economic factors, and violence caused by socio-cultural factors. From the 86 news read and analysed, there are 56 trials of domestic violence happen across the country done by 56 perpetrators. Certainly, all the actions of violence have impacted the life of 56 women. It surely give certain impacts to their children and relatives if they have any of them. House seems to be unsafe place for women because of the actions of violence.

This research has answered the three research questions proposed. First, as reported by Detiknews, Kompas.com, and Liputan6.com, in the year 2020, there are 15 causes or reasons given by perpetrators of domestic violence to their actions. Those factors are Jealousy because either husband or wife has an affair with another person, bickering for non-specific reason, asking for alimony, asking for divorce, refusal for having sexual intercourse, hallucination, refuse to meet parent-in-law, fired from employment, saying humiliation words, lent kitchen tools to a friend, miscalculating money, there are ants in the food, disappointment from wife because offender hit their child, refuse to come back to him after separating.

Second, 15 causes that stimulate the happening of domestic violence taken by the offenders, can be linked with umbrella theories. In this research it is used social theories proposed by Hyde-Nolan and Juliao which are divided into four theories: control, resource, exosystem, and social isolation theory. Although an event of domestic violence may not come from one single trigger factor but multiple, the big portion might come from certain theory. The 15 causes of domestic violence as stated in the online news those four theories of social theories are very relevant.

Third, question on what do the offenders do to the victims and how are the consequences for the victims can be seen in the tabulation of data that made. Offenders did a lot of actions to them such hurting them using bare hand, using certain tools such wooden block, helmet, hammer, knife, or machete. They even burn their wives, even though the causes sometime are trivial. Consequently, of the 56 victims: 14 are dead, 10 are severely injured, and 32 got mild injury. The domestic violence certainly has to be stop. It is a humiliation of women's human rights. Further research is necessary to elaborate more cases of domestic violence. Therefore, more women can be secure.

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