

## The Phenomenon of Cultural Violence Behind The Literary Work, The Study of Comparative Literary Model

Sylvie Meiliana  
sylvie\_surya@yahoo.com  
sylviemeiliana@gmail.com

### Abstract

This paper aimed to describe cultural violence in literary works. In this research, the problem was to reveal the customs that tended to display violence, whether physical, psychological, or sexual violence. This social phenomenon occurred in Japan and Indonesia. In Japan, there was a tradition of Giesha and in Indonesia, there was a tradition of Ronggeng. This research used descriptive qualitative method with content analysis technique done by taking the flow model, that was data reduction, data presentation, and draw the conclusion. The analysis used sociological theory and comparative literary model. The sources of research data were taken from two novels, *Memoirs of A Geisha* by Arthur Golden and *The Dancer* by Ahmad Tohari. As a historical novel by American author, *Memoirs of A Geisha* was published in 1997. Told in first person perspective, the novel was a fictional story of a geisha working in Kyoto, Japan, before and after World War II. The Dancer or ronggeng was a type of Javanese dance in which couples exchange poetic versed as they danced to the music of a violin and a gong. Ronggeng was the main theme of Ahmad Tohari's novel "Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk" or "The Dancer". It was the story of a dancer girl in a remote village in Central Java. Ronggeng was closely related to Sundanese Jaipongan dance. The results of the study were as follows. First, the two novels revealed traditional female entertainers who were skilled at different arts. Second, both novels revealed cultural violence suffered by the artists. Third, the cultural violence could be physical, psychological, and sexual violence.

**Keywords :** *cultural violence, tradition, sociological theory, comparative literary model, literary works*

### Introduction

Culture is the characteristics and knowledge of a particular group of people, encompassing language, religion, cuisine, social habits, music and arts. "Culture encompasses religion, food, what we wear, how we wear it, our language, marriage, music, what we believe is right or wrong, how we sit at the table, how we greet visitors, how we behave with loved ones, and a million other things," Cristina De Rossi (via Zimmermann), an anthropologist at Barnet and Southgate College in London.

Culture consists of the beliefs, behaviors, objects, and other characteristics common to the members of a particular group or society. Through culture, people and groups define themselves, conform to society's shared values, and contribute to society. Thus, culture includes many societal aspects: language, customs, values, norms, mores, rules, tools, technologies, products, organizations, and institutions.

In his essay on social importance of customs, Pranav Dua (2016) described four roles of customs. (1) Customs regulated our social life. Customs acted as the effective mean of social control. Individuals could hardly escape their grip. They were the self-accepted rules of social life. They bound people together, assimilated their actions to the accepted standards and controlled their purely egoistic impulses. They were found among (4) Customs supported law. Customs also provided the solid ground for the formulation and establishment of law. the preliterate as well as the literate people. They were the strongest ties in building up a social order. (2) Customs constituted the treasury of our social heritage. Customs preserved our culture and transmitted it to the succeeding generations. They had added stability and certainty to our social life. They brought people together and developed social relationships among them. They provided for a feeling of security in human society. People normally obeyed them for their violation was always condemned and resisted. The children learnt the language spoken, and the occupation followed by their parents through the customs. The imprint of custom could be found on various activities of the members of society. (3) Customs were basic to our collective life. Customs were found in all the communities of the world. They were more influential and dominant in the primitive society than in the modern industrial society. Still no society could do without them. Customs were mercilessly imposed on the people in the primitive societies. As Malinowski wrote in the context of the study of Trobriand Islanders that "a strict adherence to customs...is the main rule of conduct among our natives..." In the traditional societies customs were like sacred objects and their violation cannot be thought of. Customs were so dominant and powerful that they could be called the "King of man". Shakespeare called it a "tyrant". Bacon considered it "the principal magistrate of man's life". People followed customs not just because they were traditionally enforced but very much because they were mixed with people's sentiments, feelings and personal obligations. (4) Customs supported law. Customs also provided the solid ground for the formulation and establishment of law. Customs became laws when the state enforced them as rules binding on citizens. Law divorced from custom was bound to become artificial. Such laws might often end in failures, as it has happened in the case of 'prohibition' in U.S.A. Customs consolidate law and facilitate its practice. If the laws were not supported by customs, they could not succeed. It was to be noted that

in the modern complex society customs were not enough to control the behavior of the people. Hence they were supplemented with various formal means of social control.

As people normally obeyed the customs for their violation was always condemned and resisted, they also obeyed the violence happened on the name of culture. Galtung (1990) described cultural violence as any aspect of a culture that could be used to legitimize violence in its direct or structural form. Symbolic violence built into a culture did not kill or maim like direct violence or the violence built into the structure. However, it was used to legitimize either or both. The relations between direct, structural and cultural violence were explored, using a violence triangle and a violence strata image, with various types of casual flows. Examples of cultural violence were indicated, using a division of culture into religion and ideology, art and language, and empirical and formal science.

Cultural violence referred to aspects of culture and social life - exemplified by religion, ideology, language, art, law and science - that could be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence, making direct and structural look, or even feel, right - or at least not wrong. (Galtung, 1990)

By using the comparative literary theory, the analysis was focusing on cultural violence in Japan and Indonesian cultures. The research data were two novels, *Memoirs of A Geisha* and *The Dancer*. In these two novels, cultural violence was reflected both in Asia (Japan) and southeast Asia (Indonesia). The cultural violence analyzed was in three categories, they were physical violence, psychological violence, and sexual violence.

Comparative literature is the study of common features in the literatures, cinema, and other forms of cultural production from more than one culture. It can focus on a genre, a period or a theme, or it can focus very broadly on the materials of literature itself—structure, rhetoric or language. We live today in a global society where languages, literatures and cultures intersect and interbreed, and that is why it is important to broaden our scope, to understand the many distinct ways in which peoples understand the world.

Comparative literature is to say that it is a comparison between the two literatures. Comparative literature analyses the similarities and dissimilarities and parallels between two literatures. (Bijay)

## Cultural Violence in *Memoirs of Geisha* and *The Dancer*

Advancement of Woman In-depth Study on All Forms of Violence against Women Report of The Secretary-General (1974) explained that violence against women was not confined to a specific culture, region or country, or to particular groups of women within a society. The different manifestations of such violence and women's personal experience of it were, however, shaped by many factors, including economic status, race, ethnicity, class, age, sexual orientation, disability, nationality, religion and culture. In order to prevent violence against women, the underlying root caused of such violence and the effects of the intersection of the subordination of women and other forms of social, cultural, economic and political subordination, needed to be identified and addressed.

While some cultural norms and practices empowered women and promoted women's human rights, customs, traditions and religious values were also often used to justify violence against women. Certain cultural norms had long been cited as causal factors for violence against women, including the beliefs associated with "harmful traditional practices" (such as female genital mutilation/cutting, child marriage and son preference), crimes committed in the name of "honor", discriminatory criminal punishments imposed under religiously based laws, and restrictions on women's rights in marriage. However, the cultural based of other forms of violence against women had not been adequately examined, at least in part because of narrow conceptions of what constituted "culture."

Culture was formed by the values, practices and power relations that were interwoven into the daily lives of individuals and their communities. Social behaviour was mediated by culture in all societies and culture affected most manifestations of violence everywhere.

Cultural justifications for restricting women's human rights had been asserted by some States and by social groups within many countries claiming to defend cultural tradition.

The ways in which culture shaped violence against women were as varied as culture itself. For example, the phenomena of "date rape" and eating disorders were tied to cultural norms but were not often labeled as cultural phenomena.

The role of culture as a causal factor for violence against women therefore had to be investigated within diverse cultural settings, taking into account the many ways in which the concept of culture was used.

**Cultural violence occurred when a person was harmed as a result of practices that were part of her or his culture, religion or tradition.** Cultural violence included, but was not limited to: Committing "honor" or other crimes against women in some parts of the world, where women especially might be physically harmed, shunned, maimed or killed for; Falling in love with the "wrong" person; Seeking divorce; Infidelity; Committing adultery; Being raped; Practicing witchcraft; and, Being older. Cultural violence might take place in some of the following ways: Lynching or stoning; Banishment; Abandonment of an older person at hospital by family; Female circumcision; Rape-marriage; Sexual slavery; and, Murder.

*Memoirs of A Geisha* was a historical novel written by an American author, published in 1997. The novel was the fictional story of a geisha working in Kyoto, Japan, before and after World War II. Spacey (2015) described Geisha were professional entertainers who were well versed in Japanese aesthetics. They helped to keep alive Japan's cultural traditions. Geisha were found all over Japan but their customs differed widely from one place to the next. The Geisha of Kyoto, known as Geiko represented perhaps the most sophisticated and elegant geisha culture. In Kyoto, there was a regimented training system for Geisha. Geisha were subject to much misunderstanding, exaggeration and myth. They were a mystery even to the Japanese. Perhaps they were even a mystery to each other. Life as a Geisha differed widely from one geisha house to the next.

The day-to-day life of Geisha included activities such as: (1) Makeup and Kimono. Geisha and Maiko had a difficult fashion routine that involved complex makeup, hair styles and kimono. It took Geisha a considerable

amount of time to get ready each morning. (2) Okiya Relationships. Geisha were under contract to an Okiya (geisha house). The Okiya was run by a proprietress who the Geisha would call Oka-san (literally: mother). A Geisha had to maintain her relationships and status within the complex social mesh of the Okiya. (3) Networking. Successful geisha knew a great number of people. In many cases, they would be friends with business and political leaders. This keeps the customers flowing to the tea houses despite high prices. (4) Traditional Games. Geisha might be invited to visit a tea ceremony club or to entertain the guests of a luxury ryokan. These events weren't strictly female-only but tended to attract mostly women; They were usually in the afternoon and might involve a performance and traditional games. (5) Rehearsals. Geisha might be involved in several performances at theaters and festivals throughout the year. They would typically need to practice for these several months in advance. (6) Festivals. Geisha were well linked to the cultural life of Kyoto. They were involved in the big festivals in the city. If they were not performing, they might attend with a patron. (7) Tea Ceremony. Tea ceremony was an important cultural activity in Japan that was focused on the aesthetics of preparing, serving and appreciating tea. Geisha were well versed in this art. It was one of their core disciplines. (8) Dealing with Photographers. Geisha were a symbol of Japan who were quite photogenic. They had a semi-celebrity status that attracted throngs of photographers both Japanese and foreign. (9) Ochaya. Geisha entertained customers at Ochaya. The word Ochaya meant "tea house" but they were essentially restaurants and bars. Ochaya were amongst Japan's most expensive spots for an evening of drinking. Geisha acted as hostesses at the Ochaya pouring drinks for guests and entertaining them with song, dance, games and conversation. (10) Private Parties. Geisha were often hired to host private parties at ryokan or restaurants that had private rooms such as kaiseki establishments. (11) Event Hostess. Geisha also hosted large events with hundreds of guests. They might also perform for large groups of tourists. (12) Posing for Photographs. Geisha were surprisingly gracious to accept polite requests to pose for a photo. They usually tilted their head a little in photographs. (13) Training Maiko. Within an Okiya, Geisha formed a military-like hierarchy with ranks and badges. Trainee Geisha known as Maiko were mentored by senior Geisha in everything from tea ceremony to social skills. As a Maiko achieved milestones in her training she was allowed to wear different hairstyles. The color of her shoe straps would also change. The last way to see a Maiko's status was in her collar. Her collar would turn from red to shades closer to white. When she was a full Geisha she could wear a white collar. (14) Geisha Performance. Geisha worked hard. They sought an aesthetic ideal that almost faded into the past. Performances were where they shone. (Spacey, 2015)

*The Dancer or Ronggeng* was a type of Javanese dance in which couples exchange poetic verses as they danced to the music of a violin and a gong. Ronggeng was the main theme of Ahmad Tohari's novel *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk*, which told the story of a dancer girl in a remote village in Central Java. Ronggeng was closely related to Sundanese Jaipongan dance. The dancer was celebrated as a very popular cultural artifact in public life, particularly in Java. This tradition was originally part of a sacred ritual, which ultimately became a performing art, but tended to be viewed negatively. In a historical context, the dancer was originally seen based on cultural concept and evolved into culturally sacred profane. Negative reception of ronggeng was not only uttered orally but also embodied in the written tradition. (Yulianeta, 2013)

Ronggeng was one of most popular folk dancing and cultural artifact which had undergone many development in Indonesian history. Ronggeng was performed by a female dancer who was dancing and singing at the same time. The dancer wore a dance outfit similar to the gambyong dancer's costume. She wore batik, shawl, tank top, without kebaya, a traditional cloth. On her shoulder was hanging a piece of sampur. Sampur was a shawl that she would give to her male dancing partner. This kind of performance had been famous since ancient Java era in which a ronggeng was performing dancing in any condition, especially ronggeng dance. Ronggeng as magic sympathetic practice was well known by people who lived in the area of field rice farming. They considered it as a mimetic of sexual practice. The more erotic the dance, the more power they would receive from the sky and the earth. This meant the sky was capable at forming environment that also performing sexual intercourse by falling rain from the sky to the earth. They believed that as well as focusing the transmission of the power from the mythical world. Therefore, the fertility ritual was still largely done by society until nowadays. (Yulianeta, 2013) Furthermore, Surur (2003: 12) said that when ronggeng was performed, it became the center good to come, or even tahajjud (one of people power as slametan, ritual to express thankful to god), hajatan (ritual for hoping something Islamic pray) for santri, an Islamic student. Ronggeng was considered to possess magical power and very meaningful to society.

As professional entertainers who were well versed in Japanese aesthetics and helped to keep alive Japan's cultural traditions, Geisha became a victim of cultural violence. Geisha suffered from physical violence, psychological violence, and sexual violence. In this case, cultural violence as any aspect of a culture was used to legitimize violence.

In Indonesia, ronggeng was the center good to come as it was considered to have magical power and it had an important role in society and it was also a cultural artifact. But the ronggeng also had to suffer from cultural violence, namely physical violence, psychological violence, and sexual abuse.

UN General Assembly (1993) in the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, Article 1 stated "For the purposes of this declaration, the term "violence against women" meant any act of gender-based violence that resulted in, or was likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life". Article 2 stated "Violence against women would be understood to encompass, but not be limited to, the following: (a) Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family, including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non spousal violence and violence related to exploitation; (b) Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced

prostitution;(c) Physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the State, wherever it occurred.”

### **Physical Violence**

Based on General Assembly (1974), Physical violence involved intentionally using physical force, strength or a weapon to harm or injure the woman. **Physical violence occurred when someone used a part of their body or an object to control a person's actions.** Physical violence included, but was not limited to: Using physical force which results in pain, discomfort or injury; Hitting, pinching, hair-pulling, arm-twisting, strangling, burning, stabbing, punching, pushing, slapping, beating, shoving, kicking, choking, biting, force-feeding, or any other rough treatment; Assault with a weapon or other object; Threats with a weapon or object; Deliberate exposure to severe weather or inappropriate room temperatures; and, Murder.

In the novel *Memoirs of a Geisha*, Arthur Golden tried to show the physical abuse that suffered by the woman character who came from poor family. She was sold to become a geisha. The physical violence could be clearly seen in the following events.

When Mr. Tanaka took her and her sister to Mrs. Fidget. The old woman began to examine her sister's face, not only with her eyes but with her fingertips. She spent a long while checking her nose from different angles, and her ears. She pinched the lobes a number of times. Then she proceeded to do the same thing to her. (Golden, 1997:24-25)

At the same time, Mrs. Fidget untied the peasant shirt her sister was wearing and removed it. She moved her bosoms around a bit, looked under her arms, and then turned her around and looked at her back. ... The old woman took her by the shoulders and seated her on the platform. Her sister was completely naked, ... , for in an instant the old woman had put her hands on her sister's knees and spread them apart. And without a moment's hesitation she reached her hand between the girl's legs. ... The girl had to have resisted, for the woman gave a shout, and at the same moment ... a loud slap, which was the woman smacking the girl on the leg ... The little girl gave a big sniff. She may have been crying, ... Then the old woman also did the same to her. (Golden, 1997: 25)

The next violence could be seen when the girl said “From the expression on Mrs. Fidget's face, I knew I should answer her or she might hurt me. But I was in such shock I couldn't speak. And then just as I'd feared, she reached out and began pinching me so hard on the side of my neck that I couldn't even tell which part of me hurt. I felt as if I'd fallen into a tub of creatures that were biting me everywhere, and I heard myself whimper”. (Golden, 1997: 33)

The girls not only got violence from the old woman but also from the man who took them to geisha house. He took a comb from his drawstring bag and began tearing through her sister's hair. She's certain he had to have hurt her, but she could see that watching the countryside pass by outside the window hurt her sister even more. In a moment her sister's lips turned down like a baby's, and she began to cry..., she did watching her sister's whole face tremble. (Golden, 1997:34)

The girl also got a violence from a geisha in okiya. This happened as she described “I felt as if a poisonous snake had come up and began to rub against me like a cat. Then before I knew what she was doing, she worked her fingers down to my scalp; and all at once she clenched her teeth in fury and took a great handful of my hair, and yanked it to one side so hard I fell to my knees and cried out. I couldn't understand what was happening, but soon Hatsumomo had pulled my to my feet again, and began leading me up the stairs yanking my hair this way and that.” (Golden, 1997:90)

The violence was also suffered by the Auntie as she told her “I wasn't such an unattractive girl when Granny bought me from my parents, but I didn't turn out well, and Granny's always hated me for it. One time she beat me so badly for something I did that she broke one of my hips.” (Golden, 1997: 78).

In the novel “The Dancer”, Ahmad Tohari tried to describe the culture of ronggeng in society. Based on the custom, a young woman could not become a ronggeng dancer without being possessed by the indang spirit. In the world of ronggeng, the indang was revered as a kind of supernatural godmother. (Tohari, 2003: 8) A respected elder of the village was musing over the behavior of his granddaughter earlier that afternoon. Unseen, he had been watching his granddaughter as she danced beneath the jackfruit tree, and he was convinced that she was possessed by ronggeng spirit. The the old man said to himself that Paruk Village without a ronggeng dancer isn't Paruk village. In his opinion, his granddaughter will bring back the true greatness of their village. He believed that the soul of Ki Secamenggala would chuckle, knowing there was a ronggeng in Paruk. The girl's grandfather was supported by the dukun who said “Those of us is this hamlet who are elderly don't want to die before seeing Paruk return to what it once was. I've been worried that ki Secamenggala might even refuse me a spot in the cemetery if I don't preserve the ronggeng tradition of this hamlet.”( Tohari, 2003:11-12).

Even when the girl was only eleven years old, she had been a ronggeng dancer for two months, but village custom dictated that there were two more stages for her to pass through before she could call herself a real ronggeng. One of them was a ritual bath, traditionally carried out in front of Ki Secamenggala's grave. (Tohari, 2003: 42) “Grandfather Secamenggala was just here. He danced with Srintil,” explained the grandfather. “That's right. His spirit entered your body. You wouldn't have been aware of it though. This means that our prayers this morning have been accepted by him. Srintil has been given his blessing to become a ronggeng.” (Tohari, 2003: 48-49) At the same time, the dukun embraced the girl so powerfully that the young girl gasped for breath. The girl groaned in pain, as if she felt her ribs breaking from the pressure of the dukun's powerful arms. Watching his granddaughter in pain, the old man slowly approached the dukun who was still holding his granddaughter in a tight embrace. He could see his granddaughter's bulging eyes as she struggled to breathe. He began to chant, softly and slowly, “Release the child, Grandfather Secamenggala. I beg you to release Srintil. Have pity on her, Grandfather. She's your own flesh and blood,” canted the old man over and over. ( Tohari, 2003: 47-48) This event clearly reflects the cultural violence as people do not considered it as a violence, they can accept it as a custom.



Physical violence also can be seen when the wife of the dukun had massaged her in a way that had somehow destroyed her ability to reproduce. The dukun and his wife would have believed that they had to do this because the custom in Paruk dictates that a ronggeng's career would be finished with her first pregnancy. (Tohari, 2003: 93)

### **Psychological Violence**

Psychological violence included controlling or isolating the woman, and humiliating or embarrassing her. (General Assembly, 1974) Psychological violence included ‘threats, humiliation, mocking and controlling behaviours’. (United Nations Statistical Commission 2010). **Psychological violence occurred when someone used threats and causes fear in a person to gain control.** Psychological violence included, but was not limited to: Threatening to harm the person or her or his family if she or he left; Threatening to harm oneself; Threats of violence; Threats of abandonment; Stalking / criminal harassment; Destruction of personal property; Verbal aggression; Socially isolating the person; Not allowing access to a telephone; Not allowing a competent person to make decisions; Inappropriately controlling the person's activities; Treating a person like a child or a servant; Withholding companionship or affection; Use of undue pressure to: Sign legal documents; Not seek legal assistance or advice; Move out of the home; Make or change a legal will or beneficiary; Make or change an advance health care directive; Give money or other possessions to relatives or other caregivers; and, Do things the person doesn't want to do.

In the novel *Memoirs of a Geisha*, the psychological violence could be clearly seen when Mr. Tanaka had taken the girl and her sister from their mother and father, sold her into slavery and sold her sister into something even worse. After several months in Gion, Auntie told her “When you begin working as a geisha, you'll pay the okiya back for it, along with everything else you'll owe - your meals and lessons; if you get sick, your doctor's fees. You pay all of that yourself. Why do you think Mother spends all her time in her room, writing numbers in those little books? You owe the okiya even for the money it cost to acquire you.” (Golden, 1997:77) This was also explained by “the mother” when she said “Half a yen might have been more than you're worth. Well, I had the impression you were clever. But you're not clever enough to know what's good for you... I paid seventy-five yen for you, that's what I paid. Then you went and ruined a kimono, and stole a brooch, and now you've broken your arm, so I'll be adding medical expenses to your debts as well. Plus you have your meals and lessons, and just this morning I heard from the mistress of the Tatsuyo, over in Miyagawa-cho, that your older sister has run away. The mistress there still hasn't paid me what she owes. Now she tells me she's not going to do it! I'll add that to your debt as well, but what difference will it make? You already owe more than you'll ever repay.”(Golden, 1997:99)

The violence could also be seen after the ceremony. She was no longer known as Chiyo. She was the novice geisha Sayuri. During the first month of apprenticeship, a young geisha is known as a “novice” and cannot perform dances or entertain on her own without her older sister, and in fact does little beside watching and learning. As for the name Sayuri, “her older sister” had worked with her fortune-teller along while to choose it. (Golden, 1997:167) As an older sister, she managed the girl's future life starting from changing her name to be

Sayuri, told her how to attract men, managed her mizuage, and to have a donna.

Before the mizuage, the “mother” asked a young doctor to examine her. The girl felt so humiliated and exposed that she had to cover her face. But when she wanted to draw her legs together, she was afraid anything that made the doctor's task more difficult. So she lay with her eyes pinched shut, holding her breath.

In the novel “The Dancer”, Ahmad Tohari described the psychological violence that was done on the name of culture so people did not consider it as a violence. According to the tradition, the bathing ritual in the cemetery was not the last requirement for a girl to become a ronggeng dancer. The people of Paruk believed that the girl still had to fulfill one more condition before she could be a paid performer. (Tohari, 2003:49) It was believed that she was born to be a ronggeng dancer, a woman who was possessed by all men. The bukak klambu ritual that she had to undergo was an established custom in Paruk, and no one could change it. For the ritual, the dukun had decided on the particular right on which the girl was to lose her virginity. The dukun himself was required to spend money for the event. He sold three goats at the market, and with the money bought a new bed for her, complete with mattress, pillow and mosquito net. In this bed, the girl would be deflowered by the man who won the contest. (Tohari, 2003: 51-52)

The man who felt that he had bought the girl wouldn't respect her as for one night she would become an object he had purchased, and he could treat her as he likes. The girl was sold for a gold piece, she was not longer Srintil, she was the ronggeng of Paruk Village. The girl didn't fully comprehend the level of distress. She told her boyfriend that she was born to become a ronggeng dancer and for that to happen she had to go through the bukak klambu ritual. (Tohari, 2003: 61-62)

The wife of the dukun was just finishing preparing the girl, dressing her in a wrap-around batin kain and a new blouse, and arranging her hair in a chignon while her husband was performing a ritual to ward off potential rain. He had lit an incense burner and place it in a corner of the yard. In the same pot, he planted a water dipper with its handle in the ground. He threw old panties, brassieres, and other items of underwear onto the tiled roof of his house. Finally, he stood in the center of his yard with his face upturned to the sky. (Tohari, 2003:70)

The psychological violence could also be seen when the girl told her boyfriend that she hated to be bought and sold and commented that the requirements for becoming the ronggeng of Paruk Village were truly harsh. It was also reflected when the dukun's wife said to her “You've now received your reward in the bukak klambu competition. The two silver coins and the ox belong to my husband and me. You're satisfied, aren't you?” (Tohari, 2003: 77-78).

The girl had also begun to regard her apparent infertility as a frightening ghost that would haunt her for the rest of her life. She had heard stories about those ronggeng who never even reached old age because they had

succumbed to syphilis or other forms of venereal disease. Also she's chattering about babies and marriage was emotional, intuitive. Her desire to have a baby was brought on by her fear of old age. (Tohari, 2003: 93-94)

When her grandmother supported her to get married, the dukun threatened her by saying "Not if she weren't a ronggeng wearing the name Paruk Village on her sash, that is." "Be careful not to harbor ideas like that," The dukun warned. "Remember your duties as the caretaker and deputy chief of the descendants of Ki Secamenggala in this village. You're not permitted to place your personal interests above your responsibilities." He continued by saying "Since when have I ever hurt your grandchild?" What's more, who was it that gave Srintil the power to own nice things and all that jewelry? ..." (Tohari, 2003: 131) A ronggeng trainer usually wants to take care of every aspect of her charge's life, often even wishing to control her possessions. A ronggeng is often considered prime livestock by her guardian. Think of all the times people hold rituals or during the harvest season. A ronggeng has to perform every night. During the day she has to service the men. And the person handling the affairs especially those involving money, is the dukun. It is a pity for the girl while the dukun and his wife have become fairly wealthy. (Tohari, 2003: 133)

### **Sexual Violence**

Sexual violence included abusive sexual contact, making a woman engage in a sexual act without her consent, and attempted or completed sex acts with a woman who was ill, disabled, under pressure or under the influence of alcohol or other drugs. sexual violence (including rape, sexual assault and harassment in all public and private spheres of life); trafficking in human beings, slavery, and sexual exploitation; harmful practices such as child and forced marriages, female genital mutilation, and crimes committed in the name of so-called 'honour'; emerging forms of violations, such as online harassment, various forms of sexual abuse instigated or facilitated through the use of information and communication technologies, stalking, and bullying. (United Nations Statistical Commission 2010). **Sexual violence occurred when a person was forced to unwillingly take part in sexual activity.** Sexual violence included, but was not limited to: Touching in a sexual manner without consent (i.e., kissing, grabbing, fondling); Forced sexual intercourse; Forcing a person to perform sexual acts that may be degrading or painful; Beating sexual parts of the body; Forcing a person to view pornographic material; forcing participation in pornographic filming; Using a weapon to force compliance; Exhibitionism; Making unwelcome sexual comments or jokes; leering behaviour; Withholding sexual affection; Denial of a person's sexuality or privacy (watching); Denial of sexual information and education; Humiliating, criticizing or trying to control a person's sexuality; Forced prostitution; Unfounded allegations of promiscuity and/or infidelity; and Purposefully exposing the person to HIV-AIDS or other sexually transmitted infections.

On the name of Japanese culture, sexual violence happened in the novel "Memoirs of a geisha". When The girl was told about the tradition of mizuage. Her older sister told her that mizuage was "the first time a woman's cave is explored by a man's eel". (Golden, 1997:232). A man made a great deal of money in the pursuit of mizuage. The tradition of mizuage was a tradition when the girl before becoming a real geisha, her virginity was sold to a man who could pay a record amount. This tradition also happened to her old sister a year or two before, a doctor had paid a record amount for her older sister's mizuage. "At this time, it was a sum that Mother whose every thought was about money and how to get more of it. "Mameha's mizuage in 1929 actually cost more than mine in 1935, even though mine was Y11.500 while Mameha's was more like Y7000 or Y8000. Of course, none of this mattered back at the time my mizuage was sold. As far as everyone was concerned I had set a new record, and it remained until 1951 when Katsumiyo came along - who in my opinion was one of the greatest geisha of the twentieth century". (Golden, 1997: 279)

In Japanese tradition mizuage was not considered violence as the victims obey to do it as the girl said "Of all the important moments in the life of a geisha, mizuage certainly ranks as high as any. Mine occurred in early July of 1935, when I was fifteen years old. It began in the afternoon when Dr. Crab and I drank sake in a ceremony that bound us together. The reason for this ceremony is that even though the mizuage itself would be over with quickly, Dr. Crab would remain my mizuage patron until the end of his life" (Golden, 1997: 280).

When she was eighteen, Sayuri was told that she had to have a donna. It's the term a wife uses for her husband or rather, it was in my day as mentioned by her older sister. But a geisha who refers to her donna isn't talking about a husband. Geisha never marry. Or at least those who do no longer continue as geisha. (Golden, 1997: 147)

Sexual violence was also shown in the novel "The Dancer" by Ahmad Tohari in Indonesian culture. In the novel a gowok was a woman hired by a father for his son when he reached a marriageable age. A gowok provided lessons for the young man regarding matters of married life. These ranged from learning what was needed in a kitchen to how to treat one's wife with respect and love. While she was a gowok, the woman stayed alone with the young man and kept her own kitchen. The period of training was usually just a few days, at the most a week. The general understanding was that the most important duty of the gowok was to prepare a young man so that he would not disgrace himself on his honeymoon. Related to this was the delicate problem that arose if a young man refused to part with his gowok, even when he had a potential bride already picked out for him by his parents. The gowok's position was always tenuous because, customarily, she was a widow or divorcee, or a woman who otherwise offered herself for the task. Although there were in fact men who volunteered their wives as gowok, such cases occurred only in very rare circumstances. (Tohari, 2003:219)

On the name of culture, the dukun also did sexual violence to the ronggeng. The dukun's dancing became more and more sensual. Gyrating, he stepped closer to the ronggeng. First he left, then his right hand encircled her waist and, with surprising strength, he suddenly lifted her up high. Setting her down again, he lustily kissed her... the dukun continued to kiss the ronggeng, unperturbed by the dozens of pairs of eyes watching him. (Tohari, 2003: 47)

As a tradition, to become a ronggeng there was still the last ritual called bukak klambu - “opening of the mosquito net” ... Bukak Klambu was a type of competition, open to all men. What they competed for was the virginity of the candidate wishing to become a ronggeng dancer. The man who could pay the amount of money determined by the dancer’s trainer had the right to take his pleasure with this virgin. (Tohari, 2003: 51). The dukun also ordered the ronggeng to service as many men as possible without paying attention to taboo days while he became rich. Doubts were emerging about the idea of acting both as a ronggeng and a gowok. ... Everyone in Paruk knew that such thoughts diverged from custom, and so did the ronggeng. (Tohari, 2003: 220)

## References

- Bijay Kumar Dass, 2000. *Comparative Literature*, Atlantic Publishers and distributors B-2, Vishal Enclave, Opp, Rajouri Garden New Delhi-27, Year-2000, p. 4.
- Dua, Pranav. 2016 *Essay on Social Importance of Customs*. Retrived from <http://www.shareyouressays.com/87651/essay-on-social-importance-of-customs>, 1 September 2017
- Galtung, Johan. 1990. *Cultural Violence*. Journal of Peace Research. Vol 27, No. 3. Pp. 291-305
- General Assembly. 1974. *Advancement of women: In-depth study on all forms of violence against women Report of the Secretary-General*. Retrived from <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/vaw/violenceagainstwomenstudydoc.pdf> . 2 September 2017
- Golden, Arthur. 1997. *Memoirs of A Geisha*. Australia: Griffin Press Ltd.
- Spacey, John. 2015. *Geisha: A Day in The Life*. Retrived from <http://www.japan-talk.com/jt/new/geisha>, 17 Juli 2017.
- Surur, Miftahus. 2003. “*Perempuan Tayub: Nasibmu di Sana, Nasibmu di Sini*” dalam Srintil No. 2.
- UN General Assembly. 1993. *Declaration on The Eliminatiion of Violence against Women*. Retrived from <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/48/a48r104.htm>. 2 September 2017
- United Nations Statistical Commission. 2010. *Gender Based Violence*. Retrived from <http://eige.europa.eu/gender-based-violence/what-gender-based-violence/forms-gender-based-violence>
- Tohari, Ahmad. 2003. *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Zimmermann, Kim Ann. 2017. *What is Culture? Definition of Culture*. Retrived from <https://www.livescience.com/21478-what-is-culture-definition-of-culture.html> 21 August. 2017