

# The Agency of Survivors of Domestic Violence

## A case study from Bali, Indonesia



A research project submitted to Van Hall Larenstein University of Applied Sciences in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master in Management of Development, specialization Social Inclusion, Gender and Youth

By  
Celia Mena  
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## ABSTRACT

Domestic violence has been thoroughly studied from different angles and over the years rhetoric has changed from victims of violence to survivors of violence. This study tries to explore the experiences, resources and challenges in the context that make it possible to survive for those who lived, or still live, such a terrible experience within their homes. Understanding that the action of surviving is not an isolated event for survivors, the following research was developed following a conceptual framework that positions survival as the result of the interactions between three concepts, Agency, Resources and Institutions. In Kekeeran, a rural community in Bali, Indonesia, the researcher collects the experiences of the women survivors, and their context, in order to contribute to the Bali Women Crisis Centre (BWCC) in the formulation of participatory strategies that support women survivors of domestic violence in their different survival processes. This research project is developed from a feminist perspective that seeks to hear the stories of women and their lives, on their own terms; and understanding that all women have a voice on their own, in order to challenge the way these voices have been traditionally listened, participatory methodologies from the Participatory Rural Appraisal and Theatre of the Oppressed, where used for data collection.

Keywords: Survivors, domestic violence, participatory research

## RESUMEN

La violencia doméstica ha sido estudiada minuciosamente desde distintos ángulos y a través de los años la retórica ha ido cambiando de víctimas de violencia a sobrevivientes de violencia. Este estudio intenta explorar las experiencias, los recursos y los retos en el contexto que hacen posible el sobrevivir para quienes vivieron, o todavía viven, tan terrible experiencia en el seno de sus hogares. Entendiendo que la acción de sobrevivir no es un hecho aislado de los contextos de las sobrevivientes, la siguiente investigación se desarrolló siguiendo un marco conceptual que posiciona el sobrevivir como el resultado de las interacciones entre tres conceptos, Agencia, Recursos e Instituciones. Desde Kekeeran, una comunidad rural de Bali, Indonesia, la investigadora recopila las experiencias de las mujeres sobrevivientes, y su contexto, con el fin de contribuir al Centro de Crisis para las Mujeres en Bali (BWCC) en la formulación de estrategias participativas que apoyan a mujeres sobrevivientes de violencia doméstica en sus diferentes procesos de sobrevivencia. Este proyecto de investigación se desarrolla desde una perspectiva feminista que busca escuchar las historias de las mujeres y sus vidas, en sus propios términos; y entendiendo que todas las mujeres tienen una voz por sí solas, con el fin de desafiar la forma que estas voces han sido escuchadas tradicionalmente, en esta investigación se ha utilizado metodologías participativas alternativas para la recolección de datos.

Palabras claves: Sobrevivientes, violencia doméstica, investigación participativa

## INTRODUCTION

In 2016, Over 33 per cent of Indonesian women, aged 15 to 64 years old, had experienced physical and/or sexual violence in her lifetime. Moreover, 18% of the women aged 15-64 years who had ever partnered, expressed they had experienced intimate partner physical and/or sexual violence at least once in their lifetime (UNWOMEN, 2016).

The Bali Women's Crisis Centre (BWCC) is an independent non-governmental organization that works as a learning centre for legal services for women and children, and is dedicated to the advocacy for gender equality and justice in the national legal system and customary law, in Bali, Indonesia. The centre started various action programs, for assistance and recovery of women survivors of domestic violence (WSDV) in Bali. Within the scope of the action programmes, the BWCC provides consultation, legal services, and shelter to women survivors of domestic violence. Simultaneously, three projects for women's economic empowerment are implemented, a pig farm with a revolving fund system, production and sale of incense, and production of virgin coconut oil.

The communities eagerly engaged in the economic empowerment projects, however, there has not been a similar support for the other actions that directly target the issue of domestic violence; even though this form of violence is present in the villages (BWCC, 2019). Community members perceive domestic violence, sexual violence and other forms of violence against women as private matters, where external parties should not interfere (BWCC, 2016). The strategies developed by the BWCC have not enhanced an active participation of women survivors of domestic violence and other community members. The approach followed by the organisation focus on the classic discourse around "victims of domestic violence", overlooking the agency of WSDV as well as the opportunities and restrains existent in the context.

Throughout the last decades, the issue of domestic violence has been vastly discussed from different approaches and using different terminologies. Latest literature seem to agree to use the word "Survivors", as an exercise of acknowledging and respecting women's journeys. This latest shift moved the focus from the question "Why did she stay?" to the statement "She did everything right, because she is still alive". However, the remaining questions is "How do they survive?" what are the mechanisms, the opportunities and challenges in their contexts that made their survival possible?

Understanding the limitations of overlooking the agency of WSDV and the community, the BWCC as the commissioner of this research requires information to generate participatory strategies to support the different processes of survival. Hence, this research has taken place with the purpose of identifying the forms in which women of Kekeran, Bali, exercise their agency to survive domestic violence, within and beyond the legal process, as well as the capacities and restrains influencing their agency. This with the aim of contributing to the Bali Women Crisis Centre for the formulation of participatory strategies that would support women from Bali, Indonesia through their different survival processes.

Furthermore, in the course of the research it became clear that another objective was at play. This secondary objective is related to the methodology itself. The researcher seeks to make a contribution to the existent knowledge and research methodologies regarding the Survival of Domestic Violence. From a feminist perspective understanding that all women have a voice of their own, this study tries to challenge the way their voices are traditionally listened, by using alternatives tools for data collection, inspired by the Participatory Rural Appraisal and Theatre of the oppressed.

This report is divided in six chapters, the first chapter being a general description of the literature available on the topic. The second one is a description of the research design, the strategy and the methodologies used through this study. In the third chapter the findings are presented following the structure of the research framework. Then, the fourth chapter is a discussion of the findings, followed by the fifth chapter with the conclusions. And lastly, in the sixth chapter recommendations are presented.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter starts with the definitions of the key concepts of this study. Afterwards, the concepts will be explored further through different authors, starting with the concepts related to Survival of Domestic Violence as the core of the study, and moving later to methodological concepts of participatory research. Lastly, the core concepts are organized in a conceptual framework, which will be later used in the research design.

### Key concepts

- Domestic violence: For this research, the concept of violence comes from Indonesian legal framework:  
*...Any act against anyone particularly woman, bringing about physical, sexual, psychological misery or suffering, and/or negligence of household including threat to commit act, forcing, or seizure of freedom in a manner against the law within the scope of household.* Law Regarding Elimination of Violence in Household of the Republic of Indonesia (2004)
- Women Survivors of Domestic Violence: The term survivor of domestic violence is directly related to the identity and process of the person who receives the violence (Hayati, et al., 2013), therefore it would be considered as a Woman Survivor of Domestic Violence to any woman who identifies herself as so.
- Agency: For this research, agency is understood from the concept by Amartya Sen (1985) as “... what a person is free to do and achieve in pursuit of whatever goals or values he or she regards as important”. Likewise, from Naila Kabeer (1999) conceptualisation, besides the visible actions, agency “can take the form of bargaining and negotiation, deception and manipulation, subversion and resistance as well as more intangible cognitive process of reflection and analysis”
- Survival: For this study Survival is defined with what Morrison (2005) calls the “multi-cultural empowerment continuum”. To understand “surviving” as a range of actions and decisions that vary from the mere act of physically surviving, to becoming an advocate. Surviving is acknowledged as a dynamic process, where only the survivor can define how success looks like.
- Participatory Rural Appraisal: Also known as PRA, is a methodology of learning rural life and their environment from the rural people. PRA allows local people to share and analyse their knowledge on life and conditions to plan and to act (Chambers, 1992). For this research the PRA will be understood as a participatory research tool, since the planning and execution of interventions with the village is beyond the scope of this research project.
- Theatre of the Oppressed: The Theatre of the Oppressed is an artistic methodology created by the Brazilian actor and director Augusto Boal that seeks the transformation of society through artistic proposals in which people have an active participation while raising awareness about their role as agents of change (Páez, 2013). For this study, this methodology will be explored as tools for participatory research.

### Victims or survivors

Throughout the years of research on domestic violence, there has been a radical change on the way women who lived, or continue living, this form of violence were portrayed. From early years, research with the images of battered women as “victims” has radically transformed to a more recent image of “survivors”. Victims are presented as trapped, and survivors, on the other hand, are shown as making

choices, they are constructed in ways that place them at opposite poles of an agency spectrum (Dunn, 2005).

Rahila Gupta (2014), describes the victim discourse as a strategy utilised by domestic violence activists during the decades of 1970s and 1980s “to win over public sympathy to their cause and government funding for their services”. Activists were building shelters and centres for battered women and to maintain the public support, domestic violence was portrayed as a toxic situation that would explain why women “stay”, and in this way no blame was attached to the victim.

During these decades the image of “victims” of domestic violence was constructed by researchers trying to answer the question “why do they stay?” These early years of research studied deeply the behaviour of both the battered and the batterers. The profile of battered women in the 1970s portrayed them as suffering from repeated and extreme violence. These repeated violence and threats produced fear and resulted in long-term psychological damage. Within this scope, the most widespread finding was the theory that this damage takes the form of learned helplessness, which later on prevents women from leaving, even when they have the opportunity. (Dunn & Williams, 2007)

Conversely, during the late 1980s, a new image of the “battered woman” was constructed. Mostly pushed by the feminist and other emancipatory movements, the image of helplessness, passiveness and victimhood were challenged. The aim was to “emphasise the positive, the heroic; it was a triumph of hope over despair” (Gupta, 2014). This reframing was a form of first acknowledging women who survived, escaped and built a life for themselves, and secondly, understanding the behaviour of “staying” as a rational coping strategy under the difficult circumstances lived by battered women (Dunn & Williams, 2007). The latter plays an important role especially in the context of developing countries, where survivors, besides dealing with violence issues, most often also encountered resulting economic restraints in already harsh conditions as well as a weak or the absence of legal framework to support them.

Making the discursive shift to a survivor’s narrative answers the question “Why did she stay?” or “Why did she go back?” with the statement “She did everything right, because she is still alive” (Morrison, 2005). This alternative characterization of battered women suggests that battered women remain in abusive situations not because they have been passive but because they have tried to escape without success. As Gondolf and Fisher (1988) explain in their research, battered women increase their help seeking in the face of increased violence, rather than decrease as learned helplessness would suggest. However, the act of help seeking is directly affected by the resources available to the woman, her commitment to the relationship, the number of children she has, and the kinds of abuse she may have experienced as a child.

Current literature use the terminology “survivor” more often than “victims” (Dunn & Williams, 2007). However, it is important to recognise that the “victim” approach, although fails to acknowledge the actions and strength of the victims, it disentangles the enormity of the oppressive system that domestic violence is part of (Gupta, 2014).

## **Agency**

The concept of agency refers to the capacity to act on one’s goals. The most common forms of assessing “agency” is through “decision-making”. Naila Kabeer (1999) explains that, agency can take tangible or intangible forms; and moreover, it can have positive or negative meaning in relation to power. In a negative sense, perceived as “power-over”, agency can be used to undermine the agency of others, for

example the use of violence and threats. In contrast, in the positive sense, agency is related to the concept of “power to”, which is the capacity to make life-choices, set goals and act upon those goals, even when facing opposition from others or the environment.

The understanding of agency as the actions and decisions made to pursuit personal goals, combined with portrayal of battered women as “survivors”, allows us to recognise the possible agency in survivors of domestic violence. The exercise of agency is perceived in the mere action of survivors choosing to live (Gondolf & Fisher, 1988). Agency is inherent to the process of humans to socialize, even in the case of violence, where it is discouraged, women continue to make decisions to survive, and/or protect their children. (Dunn & Williams, 2007). Moreover, beyond the survival, survivors are women, are humans, and to break through the “victim ideology” makes it possible to understand the heterogeneity of their live experiences, and understand them as capable of setting goals and “dreamers of a better reality” (Dunn, 2005)

### **Participatory research**

During the last decades of the past century, research strategies that emphasize participation started to gain greater respectability and attention within the mainstream of research, motivated by both pragmatism and concerns of equity (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995). A whole range of methodological tools were developed in order to carry out participatory research. Several studies report the use of art or drawings, mapping, acting and theatre as innovative approaches to collecting data. These alternative methodological tools have been utilized to include the voices of a diverse range of social groupings including women, the elderly, the homeless, people with mental illness, people with intellectual disabilities, people with long-term health issues, sexual minorities, and children and young people (O’Hara & Higgins, 2019). Paulo Freire, Brazilian educator and philosopher, with the “Pedagogy of the oppressed” made an important contribution to the Participatory Action Research. This research framework starts from the realities and interests of those who are the “subject of study”, and seeks to acquire knowledge and means or instruments that will increase their power of intervention over reality. This research framework, with a holistic vision, critically challenges the partial and one-dimensional visions of social reality (Torres, 2006).

In the field of Rural Development, the research approach moved from top-down to bottom-up, from centralized standardization to local diversity, and from blueprint to learning process (Chambers, 1992). These paradigms shifts gave place to a series of research framework starting from the Farming systems research, to Rapid Rural Appraisal, later to Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), and to finally the Participatory Learning and Action (Sumner & Tribe, 2008). There is a wide range of participatory tools and techniques available, and these can be used according to the situation or needs. Moving away from extractive survey questionnaires, the activities from PRA rely heavily in the participation of the communities, and the tools can and should be adapted to achieve so.

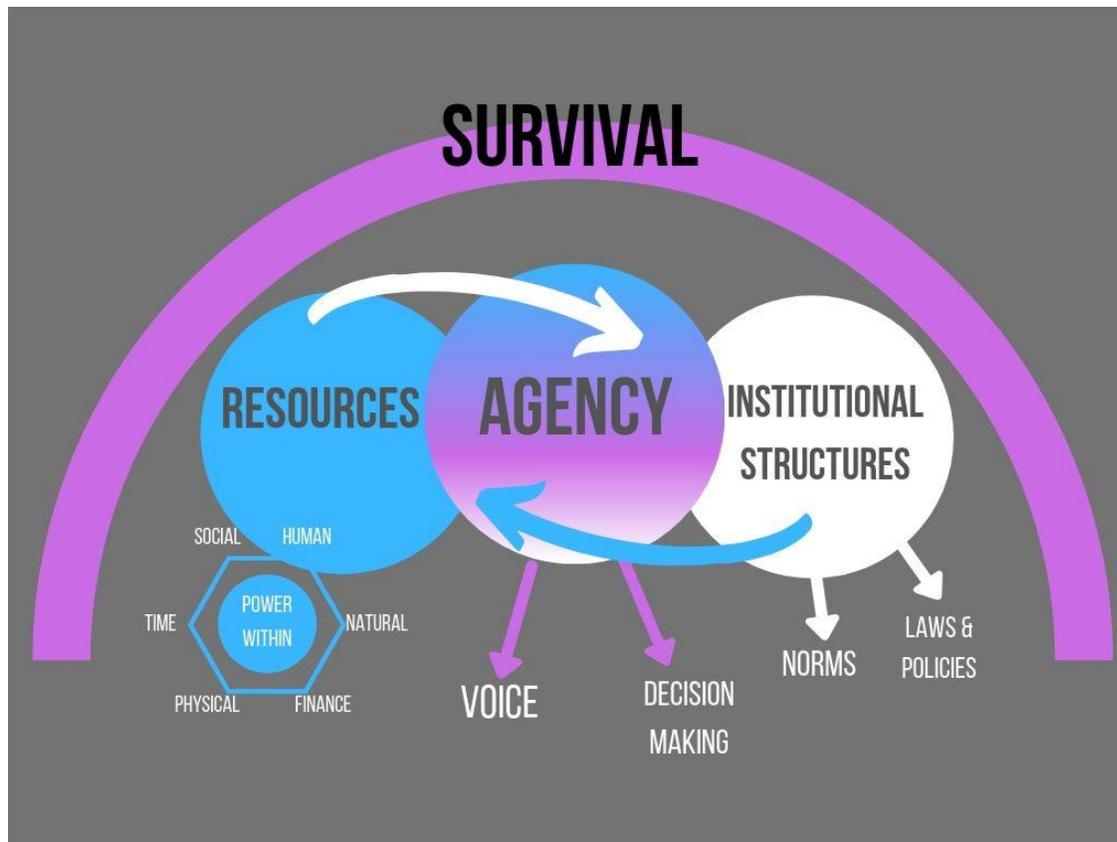
The Theatre of the Oppressed (TO) is a set of techniques, exercises and artistic-theatrical games that serve to channel the capacity of transformation that every human being possesses, regardless of their condition, age, sex, race, etc. (Boal, 1980). The use of participatory theatre techniques is particularly useful for studying narratives of identity of marginalised groups as well as for illustrating perceptions and experiences of social positioning and power relations in and outside community groupings (Kaptani & Yuval-Davis, 2008). The visual and theatrical tools not only allows with its flexibility the participation of several groups, as elderly or youth (O’Hara & Higgins, 2019), but it is also an exercise of empowerment

itself, letting the participants tell their stories in their own terms, and guiding the reflexion over their areas of interest (Páez, 2013).

### Conceptual framework

In order to further explore the concept of Agency of Survivals of Domestic Violence, the following framework was designed by the author. This framework is based on the White Paper on women's empowerment developed by KIT Gender (The Royal Tropical Institute, gender office) in collaboration with The Bill and Melinda Gate's foundation (2017).

Figure 1: Conceptual framework



Source: The author's documentation

### The Survival framework

In this framework survival is the result of interactions between resources, agency and institutional structures. This concept is related to what Morrison (2005) describes as the "empowerment continuum", a process meant to create autonomous decision makers who are connected to their communities and cultures.

Under this concept, all the decisions and actions made by women to survive, are honoured. When a woman "stays", or do not proceed legal actions against their abuser partners, does not mean that she is not moving along the empowerment continuum, as becoming an autonomous decision maker is part of

the process. Her decisions are understood as an exercise of agency closely influenced by the context in which she lives.

### Agency dimension

Agency is placed in the core of the framework. Within agency two expressions are highlighted: Voice and Decision-making.

- Voice: It is the individual or collective capacity to express interests and articulate opinions. Voice is related to the capacity of women to speak up and be heard, as well as sharing in discussions and decisions that affect their lives and futures; in public and private spaces. For this study, voice will be analysed in the public spaces
- Decision making: It comprises the influencing, the making of decisions and the capacity to act on them. It is a step beyond the access to resources, as it implies the use of resource under a chosen form. Decision-making takes place in public and private spheres and can be at the individual level, in relationships or collectively in the state, markets or community. For this study, Decision making will be analysed at intra-household level.

Agency cannot be exercised on its own, it is strongly intertwined with other factors that can limit, or enhance it. These factors can be recognised within 2 dimensions “Resources” and “Institutional Structures”.

### Resources dimension

The dimension of Resources focuses on tangible and intangible capital and sources of power that women have, own or use individually or collectively. Access to and control over resources are key determining factors for the expression of agency. Adapted from the Livelihood framework (Ellis, 2000), the resources are arranged in terms of assets, with the inclusion of time, and in the centre, power within as the core of resources.

- Power within: This form of power relates to a woman’s sense of self-worth, self-knowledge and the individual consciousness of potential. It implies self-awareness, confidence and self-esteem and aspirations.
- Human Resources: The human asset comprises health, skills and education.
- Natural Resources: The natural asset comprises land, water and biological resources that are utilised by women to generate means of survival
- Financial: Financial assets refers to the stocks of money to which the woman has access to
- Physical Resources: The infrastructure that people need to make a living, as well as the tools and equipment that they use.
- Time: Time as an asset concerns how much time to allocate to work (paid and unpaid), education, health care, social networks, leisure and rest.
- Social Resources: Social assets refer to women’s connections, relations and social networks that can value and support. Social capital can facilitate access to information, services or benefits.

Related to this capital the concept of sisterhood will be analysed. As Lagarde (2009) defines it, sisterhood is a pact between women, the exercise of women recognising themselves in other women. Recognizing the equal value is based on recognizing the human condition of all. It implies sharing resources, tasks, actions and accomplishments.

### Institutional structures dimension

This consists on the institutional structures that enable and constrain women's agency. Women, girls, men and boys pursue their interests and live their lives in the context of institutional structures—that is, the social arrangements of formal and informal rules and practices that govern behaviour and expressions of agency, as well as distribution and control of resources. Within this factor, two elements are highlighted, “Norms” and “Laws and policies”

- Norms: “The unofficial laws” like Adat or customary Law in Balinese culture, consists on the set of cultural rules that shape the expectations and beliefs of how women, and men should behave and interact in specific social settings and during different stage of their lives.
- Laws and policies: Formal laws and policies are established by the nation state but can also come from international treaties and conventions or local governance authorities.

## RESEARCH DESIGN

### Research objective

The main objective of this research is to identify the forms in which women of Kekeran, Bali, exercise their agency to survive domestic violence, beyond the legal process, as well as the capacities and restraints influencing their agency. This, in order to make recommendations to the Bali Women Crisis Centre for the formulation of participatory strategies that would support women from Bali Indonesia through their different survival processes.

Moreover, in the course of the research it became clear that another objective was at play. This secondary objective is related to the methodology itself. The researcher seeks to make a contribution to the existent knowledge and research methodologies regarding the Survival of Domestic Violence. From a feminist perspective understanding that all women have a voice of their own, this study tries to challenge the way their voices are traditionally listened, by using alternatives tools for data collection, inspired by the Participatory Rural Appraisal and Theatre of the oppressed.

### Research questions

Based on the literature review the following research questions, and sub-questions were formulated:

#### **How do women from Kekeran, Bali exercise their agency to survive domestic violence?**

- What resources do women have access and control to exercise their agency in the village of Kekeran?
- How do the institutional structures in place influence women's agency in the village of Kekeran, Bali?
- What expressions of agency are used by women to survive domestic violence in Kekeran, Bali?

Likewise, this secondary research question was formulated concerning the methodological objective:

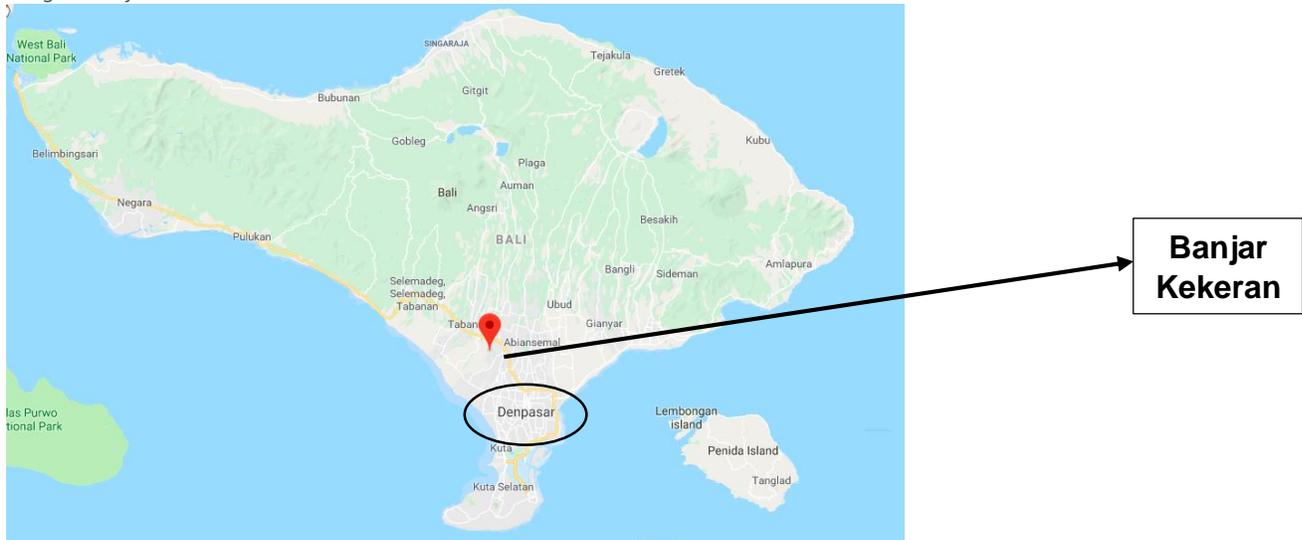
#### **What is the contribution participatory tools inspired by PRA and TO, in research with Survivors of Domestic Violence?**

- What is the contribution of participatory tools inspired by PRA in research with Survivors of Domestic Violence?
- What is the contribution of participatory tools inspired by TO in research with Survivors of Domestic Violence?

### Area description

The field stage was conducted in Banjar Kekeran village in Tabanan Regency, Bali, Indonesia. As it is visible in the map in "Image 1", the village is located not far from Denpasar, capital city of Bali, approximately 35km. This village was selected for this research since it is, from the two villages where the Bali Women Crisis Centre (BWCC) work, the one with more participants, currently 50 women are participating in the programmes. Nearly 80 families live in the village, the main economic activity is agriculture production, and as characteristic of Tabanan regency, the main crop is rice. The religion practiced in the village is Hinduism, and the socio-political structures, leaders, meetings, councils, are organized based in the traditional Bali Hindu values.

Image 1 Banjar Kekeran Location:



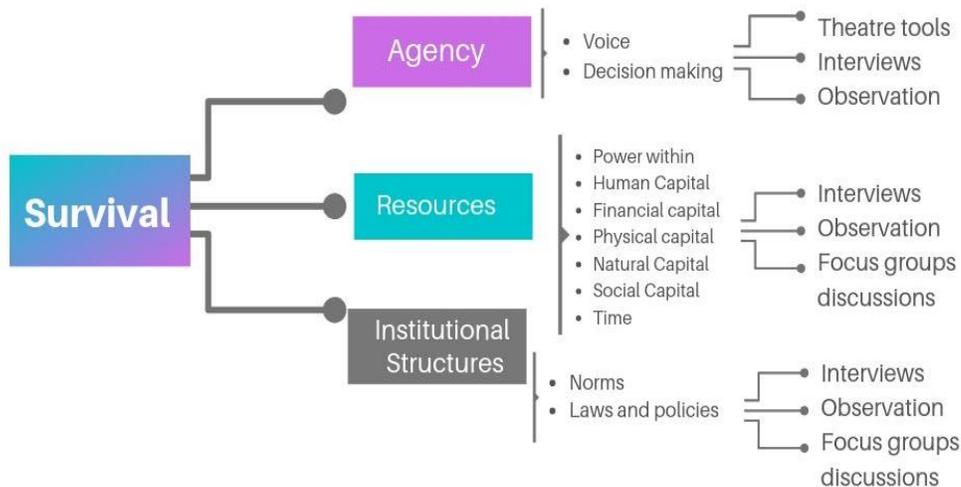
Source: Google maps

## Research Strategy

Understanding reality from a social constructionist perspective, centred in the experiences of the participants in the study, and not necessarily aiming generalizability, the strategy selected for this study was the Case Study. The lives and specific context of women in Kekeran will be studied, although

Based on the literature review, the main research question was operationalized as it is seen in *Figure 2*. Following the research framework, the main concept of Survival is split in three dimensions, Agency, Resources and Institutional Structures, in the next layer are placed the indicators of each dimension. Lastly, the final layer are the research tools for each dimension, which are connected to the secondary methodological objective.

Figure 2: Research Operationalization



## Research Activities

During the months of April and May 2019, the researcher contacted the Bali Women Crisis centre through an Indonesian colleague who had worked with them in the past, and expressed the interest to conduct research with them. Through emails and phone calls, information like reports and project proposals, was exchanged, and the discussion started to define the research topic together.

In the month of June, secondary data was collected through a desk study, to identify core concepts that were later on used to develop the research framework. Then during the field work, in July, the researcher stayed in Bali. The first week was spent in Denpasar arranging meetings with the organization and the interpreter. These first meetings allowed the researcher to get a better grasp of the organization structure and their current projects. Likewise, in this period the methodologies were revised with the BWCC team and the interpreter, and adaptations were made to the original plan, the original methodologies can be found in the Annexes. During the following weeks, the researcher stayed in Kekeran in the house of Ni Nengah Budawati, the founder of BWCC. The researcher stayed in the village for three weeks and several data collection tools were used, that will be described later in this section.

Although in the original plan the researcher had decided to not dig deep in the Institutional Structures dimension of the framework, in the course of the research, it became clear the necessity to explore further this dimension. Hence, one interview was arranged in Yogyakarta, with a women's right activist and researcher from Gadjah Mada University (UGM), who later connected the researcher with a Law Professor in the same university. These interviews took place in the first week of August. Finally, from mid-August, until the second weeks of September the researcher worked in data analysis and the writing of this report.

- Focus group discussion 1

This first session was held in the BWCC's community centre in the afternoon after "Ngaben" ceremony in the village. The researcher facilitated the session alongside the interpreter, in total 17 participants attended the session. The objectives of this session were, first, to develop rapport between researcher and participants, and secondly, to obtain insights on women access and control of Natural, Physical and Financial Assets, as well as, use and control of Time. In this session the PRA tools used were Resource map, Income/expenditure matrix, and Daily activities clock. Pictures were taken<sup>1</sup>, as seen in image 2 throughout the session and to the result materials from each tool, also notes were taken during the sessions and later discussions.

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<sup>1</sup> All visuals presented in this report are resulting from the author's documentation, except stated otherwise.

Image 2: Expense matrix (FGD 1)



In order to start building trust with participants, the issue of domestic violence was not addressed and the attention was focused instead on visible resources. In the initial plan a third objective was set and it was to compare the access and control of resources between men and women however, only one man attended the session, making it impossible to draw comparisons.

- Focus group discussion 2

The researcher took the role of facilitator with the help of the interpreter. 21 women participated in the focus group discussion. This session provided insights on women's Human and Social Assets, as well as self-awareness and self-confidence. Also, it was an introductory session to Theatre of the Oppressed tools. During the first half of the session the tools used were "Self-portrait & Strengths" and "Social map". In the second half the tools used were "Sculptures" and "Complete the image".

The data collected was captured through pictures of the theatre tools, and the materials drawn by participants, as well as notes taken throughout the session by the researcher.

*Image 3: Sculptures (FGD 2)*



- Theatre tools session

The objective of this session was to collect information on the forms women exercise their agency in the private and public sphere. Participants were requested to represent specific aspects of their lives and their responses to domestic violence. For this session the tool used was forum theatre, through scenarios that the participants developed and played. Audios and videos were recorded from the plays, and the original dialogues participants wrote were stored, and as the other sessions, pictures and notes were taken during the activities.

*Image 4: Oppression*



This was the last session, but since the dates overlapped with the rice planting time, the session had to be shortened and assistance was lower than the other sessions, 15 women participated. Correspondingly, women were tired, therefore researcher had to include energizer games and shorten discussions.

- Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted to different actors in the village, in other areas of Bali and Indonesia. Through these interviews, information was collected regarding the three dimensions of the framework, Resources, Institutional Structures and Agency. A total of 15 interviews were conducted, from which 11 took place in the village, two in Denpasar, Bali and two in Yogyakarta.

The first interviews were conducted to seven women participants of the BWCC programs. These interviews were used to gather information on two dimensions of the framework, Resources and Agency. From the seven interviewees, two identified themselves as survivors of domestic violence.

Likewise, two local and traditional leaders and two elderly persons were interviewed to gather insights about the Institutional Structures surrounding the village. The two village leaders interviewed were male, and one of the elderly person interviewed was male, the other one female. The elderly persons provided as well, insights on the differences over the years in the conditions of the village and women in the village.

During the last days in Indonesia, four interviews were conducted to key informants, activists and academics with experience on the defence of Women's rights. Two interviews took place in Bali, to the BWCC's founder and her friend, a feminist activist, and two in Yogyakarta, to a researcher and a professor from Gadjah Mada University (UGM). These interviews provided insights on Institutional Structures and were also used as validation tool for the information gathered through the other tools.

- Participant observation

Participant observation was a cross-cutting tool utilised throughout the whole field stage. Through observations data was collected on Resources, Agency, Institutional Structures and the interconnectedness of these dimensions.

The researcher engaged in daily religious and economic activities in the village, along with the interpreter casual conversations were held with several residents of Kekeeran. Moreover, court and other judiciary facilities were visited with the BWCC legal staff, accompanying survivors of domestic violence in their hearing and mediation sessions. Given that women were nervous prior to their sessions and it was not a safe space to deeply discuss, formal interviews were not conducted, and information gathered was from observation and short conversations.

## **Data sources**

A total of 35 participants took part of this research through the different data collection activities, from which four were men and 31 women. One man and 23 women took part of the group sessions, and from this group, by snowball effect seven women were contacted to conduct the interviews, they later lead to two elderly persons, and to the village and traditional leaders. The founder of BWCC, Ni Nengah Budawati was contacted prior to arrival in Indonesia, she agreed to be interviewed and was the contact person to

reach the other key informants in Bali and Yogyakarta. Ni Putu Yogi Paramitha Dewi and Dr. Sri Wiyanti Eddyono, from Gadjah Mada University were interviewed in Yogyakarta.

## **Data analysis**

Data collected in this study was analysed through qualitative content analysis. Transcripts of the interviews, narratives from theatre tools plays and discussions, products (i.e. social maps, resources matrix) and discussions from FGD, as well as observational notes, were stored and thoroughly read by the researcher. All the texts were condensed, meaning that the information was shortened while preserving the core messages. Later on, based on the conceptual framework earlier explained, the information was organised using categories and themes.

## **Ethical and methodological considerations**

Given the cultural differences between the researcher and the participants, and how personal and sensitive it is to discuss Domestic Violence, some considerations were taken.

Safety of the respondents was one of the principal considerations. As domestic violence is a sensitive topic, measures were taken to ensure that respondents will not face retaliation from their partners, family members or other residents of the village. The interviews were conducted in privacy and consent before any of the activities was requested, providing enough information to ensure that the consent was well informed and free given, the English version of consent form can be found in the Annexes. Names and specific details of some of the participants were changed to assure their identity remains unknown. Pseudonyms were used for all women participants of BWCC. In the case of visits to courts and other judiciary facilities, interviews were not conducted as information was sensitive and its publication can influence the legal procedure.

Likewise, as theatre tools were used in this study to collect data, special considerations were taken. Theatre is experiential and emotional (Kaptani & Yuval-Davis, 2008), and it is of special concern when working with people who survived traumas, as domestic violence. For this reason, the study did not explore the scenes of violence, and rather focused on the lives and strategies of women for survival beyond the physical endurance. An important precaution was constituted by the fact that the researcher is trained in mental health first aid, with experience in anxiety and panic attack assistance. Likewise, in case a crisis or incident had occurred, back-up assistance by BWCC was available. However, no incident took place during the sessions, nor interviews.

Considering the language barrier, an interpreter was hired to accompany the researcher to every research activity. She, a young Balinese woman, became also an important informant. She provided information on the culture and historical context of Bali, and provided suggestions to adapt the tools to the village context. Opportunities and challenges arose in the field from the fact that both researcher and interpreter were female. The researcher and interpreter were able to attend daily activities and ceremonies that a male researcher or interpreter could not have been part, such as, offerings making, cooking for ceremonies, and women groups' weekly meetings. Likewise, it was possible for the researcher and her interpreter to conduct interviews in privacy with the women participants, that otherwise would have arose questioning among their family members. However, it is important to notice that the trust women and their families showed to the researcher is not only coming from the interpreter and researcher's

gender, but it is a result of the BWCC work prior to arrival. Women knew about the research and were eager to participate. On the other hand, the interviews to men were conducted in common areas such as family gardens and community centres, and their partners were present.

The researcher does not practice religion and the interpreter practices Hinduism. The interpreter helped the researcher explaining religious practices and norms that the researcher had to take into consideration. While in the initial plan there were Forum Theatre sessions scheduled on the 4<sup>th</sup> week in the field, it had to be rearranged as it overlapped with religious holidays. Likewise, although the villagers respected the researcher beliefs, in order to build rapport among the community, behavioural changes were taken by the researcher (e.g. not using left hand, kissing hand of elderly, joining the daily praying times in the family temples).

## RESEARCH RESULTS

This chapter presents the findings from the data collection in five sections. The first section is a general description of the cases of domestic violence found in the field, and the following sections report on the outcomes presented for the three dimensions of the research framework, Resources, Institutions and Agency. The last section are the findings related to the methodological research question, the benefits and challenges found of using participatory tools.

### Surviving domestic violence: life stories

Although it was not deliberately planned by researcher to collect the participants' personal experiences of violence, discussion arose in different moments allowing to retrieve their experiences and perceptions of the forms of domestic violence lived in the village. The findings are presented below to as the participants' life stories giving information on their perceptions of violence.

#### Laura

Laura, is 31 years old, she is a participant of the BWCC programmes. She divorced from her husband through the customary law two years ago, and is currently undergoing the process to divorce through civil law. Upon marriage she had moved to her husband village, they were married for seven years, and had one son together. Laura shared that she experienced physical and psychological violence from her husband and his family.

*"It is hard for me to sincerely forgive my husband honestly, because he punched me, the mistreated me. Whenever my colleagues asked me what happened, I would always say that I fell, that it was an accident, and fell down."*

*"The cruellest part was the parents-in-law."*

For Laura, the main reason she divorced her former husband, was to protect her son "...he [her son] was only 10 years old when he told me about the mistress and everything and he used to cry a lot, it was a big burden in his heart. So, I told him [the husband and father] *'It is ok if you treat me bad, but you made my son cry, I cannot hold it anymore, so I want to divorce with you'*".

After she started the divorce process, she suffered retaliation at his husband's village. *"Neighbours spread the rumour that I divorced because I was with someone else, better and richer than him."* She then moved to the parent's house, where she currently lives.

#### Ekaterina

Ekaterina is 54 years old, she has lived in different cities, but her home is in Kekeran she said. She suffered violence in form of negligence "Long time ago, my husband left me and I was broken hearted, and that's when I joined the BWCC". Her husband left her with three children while he was having an affair in a different city. She decided to receive him back in her house when he returned. Nowadays, they still live together.

She is considered a counsellor in the village, women come to her for help when facing difficulties in their homes. "Women are shy, they don't come to my house, but sometimes they approach me in the streets and they tell me their problems and I go straight to their houses and talk to their husbands"

When asked if she is afraid of confronting the husbands she said: ""We are not afraid of them, if the husbands hit us, or do violence to use, because Budawati (BWCC's founder) is here for us"

### Karla

Karla is 48 years old, she is undergoing a process of mediation to finally divorce her second husband, although they have been separated since 2016. Karla's husband mistreated her while they were together, however the process for divorce have been tedious as she was not officially married in the first place. "*He did not let me out of the house*", she mentioned.

She was forced to migrate to escape the situation of violence, "*I had to escape from that house, so I went to work in Turkey for 6 months, and when I came back, I did not go to his place ever again*". However, she was not safe in Turkey either, she travelled with an agency but the agency did not disclose the irregular status she would undertake during her stay. She said, "*We travelled with an agency, but at that moment we did not know that what we were doing was illegal... my boss had to hide me in the basement every time the police came looking for us*".

When the researcher asked who supported her through this process, she said that it was her son. Her son's father was her first partner. She expressed her son gave her courage and accompany her to the sessions. He will attend the following court sessions as a witness.

The process to getting divorced has been long, expensive and confusing for Karla, and she appeared to not be well informed of each step. When asked what would happen to the case if he (former husband) does not come to the sessions, she fell silent for a moment and then answered: "*I do not know, I do not understand much of the legal part, I let Budawati (BWCC founder and her legal representative) deal with that*"

### Maria

Maria is 34 years old, she divorced her husband a few months ago because he mistreated her, but now she is not allowed to see her daughter. The former husband works outside the country and their daughter stays with his family.

The process of divorce and sue was conducted with irregularities. When Maria started the process to separate, she came to the police office, and the officers made her sign a form stating the she was giving away her daughter's custody rights, but she was not aware of it.

### Forum Theatre

During the final group session, the tool of Forum Theatre was used. Participants were divided in two groups, and were asked to present one scenario per group on how they perceive survival of domestic violence. The background of both stories played, involved psychological and physical violence from the parents in law to the female main character.

Below a fragment of the story is presented:

*-Mother-in-law: This is what I hate about you. You're cheating on my son, and can't even cook a proper meal. I definitely will send you back to your house*

*-Husband: Is that true?*

*-Wife: Do you see what you are doing to our daughter? Just a problem about a soup and now you want to send me back! They said that I even cheated on you, but I spend all day cooking and taking care of our child.*

*-Mother-in-law: We're tired of you! Take all of your clothes now, bring your bag and pack them!*

## Resources

### Physical Resources

Banjar Kekeran is located at only 15 km from Tabanan city and 35 km from Denpasar, well connected with roads in good condition facilitating communication with the rest of the island. All the houses have water connections inside the house; however the water is unsafe for consumption. All the houses have stable access to electricity and water.

There are 2 community centres used by the residents, the Banjar, which is also a temple and mostly used for religious activities, and occasionally for local political gatherings; and the other centre is the BWCC community centre. This centre is used for meetings of BWCC and other organizations working in the village. In this centre there is a machine to make incense, that was supposed to be used by women participants of BWCC, however, there was no connection to the public electricity service and the only source of power were solar panels and it was not enough to start the machine. Nevertheless, by the time of the research, poles were installed to bring electricity and it is possible that participants will start the incense business soon.

In all the families reached, following Bali-Hindu traditions, the land and properties are owned by men, the head of the family, as women do not have right to inheritance in Balinese customary law. Most of the participants have rice fields, in two cases women have home gardens where they grow vegetables for sale, and in other 2 cases women have gardens in their homes mostly for self-consumption. Beef cattle is also owned by men, but pigs and chickens are owned by women.



## Financial Resources

During the first Focus Group Discussion, participants were asked to list the main income generating activities in the village. After listing, they were invited to rank each activity with candies

Image 6: Income activities



As seen in image 6, the activities listed are:

1. Rice production (*Petani: Padi*)
2. Raise cattle (*Berternak*)
3. Tailor (*Tukang Jahit*)
4. Making offerings (*Dagang Canang*)
5. Cooking sweets (*Dagang Jajan*)
6. Laundry (*Buruh Cuci*)
7. Home garden (*Petani: Kebun*)
8. Incense making (*Membuat Dupa*)
9. Government officials (*Pegawai Pemerintahan*)
10. Shop keeper (*Penjaga Toko*)
11. Online selling
12. Bike service app (*GoJek*)

Participants said that all the activities could be carried by women, but not all could be carried by men. Tailor and government officials were identified as the activities that provide more income, and both of these activities can be carried by men and women. On the other hand, the activity that participants recognised as the lowest income producer is doing laundry, and that activity is only carried by women.

Likewise, participants mentioned that although raising cattle differs from men to woman, as men usually raise beef cattle and women pigs, the second one being mostly for self-consumption or local sales. Participants mentioned there used to be a programme from BWCC for pig farms, and another for incense making, however these programmes are not active at the moment.

Later, they were requested to write a list of what they consider the main expenses for their families and again, were asked to rank the expenses using candies. As seen in image 7, these are the expenses listed:

Image 7: Expenses



1. Ceremonial expenses (*Upakara*)
2. Offering to neighbours for weddings and funerals (*Suka Duka*)
3. Kitchen expenses (*Biaya Dapur*)
4. School expenses (*Biaya sekolah*)
5. Water and electricity costs (*Biaya Listrik & Air*)
6. Agriculture expenses (*Biaya pertanian*)
7. Monthly expenses, e.g. soap and toothpaste (*Biaya Bulanan*)
8. Unexpected expenses like illness (*Biaya takterduga*)
9. Paying debts (*Bayar Hutang*)
10. Weekly savings (*Jimpitan Mingguan*)

Participants identified food or kitchen expenses as the largest expenditure. The offering to neighbours in case of death or weddings, was identified as well as an important expenditure in their lives. On the other hand, the smallest amount of their income goes to the weekly saving; this is a saving mechanism, implemented mostly by women in the village, where each participant saves Rp. 10,000 weekly for a year, and at the end, in Silence day, they received their money. The leader of the “*jimpitan*” keeps a percentage of the money saved for his/her services of collecting and keeping the money.

There are two women-only- organizations that offer financial services. PKK, Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (Family Welfare Empowerment in English) is only for married women, they gather once a month and all married women, even if they do not live in the village, are invited to be part. For the members is possible to save money and/or request loans.

The other group is P2TP2A, Pusat Pelayanan Terpadu Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Anak (The Center for Integrated Services for the Empowerment of Women and Children). Within this organization all women, married or not, are invited to participate. The meetings are weekly and women can save or ask for loans, but the quantities are lower than PKK.

### Human Resources

According to the local office, by 2016, there were 76 households in the village, 263 residents, being 122 men and 141 women. This number might be significantly smaller as many residents had to move to different cities looking for job opportunities that are scarce in the area. Marina mentioned in her interview “*It is hard to find jobs, we have to go to Tabanan city for jobs, but is not as easy as in Denpasar*”. Likewise, houses can be seen empty where only the elderly stayed as many families have moved to different cities, and they only come back for family gatherings or religious ceremonies.

All respondents from Kekeran know how to read and write, however, four respondents expressed not having finished primary school, the four of them were older than 60 years old. Most of the women participants of the BWCC programs have studied technical degrees after high school, but very few, only two from the interviewees, work on the field they studied.

There is no health centre in the village, the nearest one is around 15min walk in the next village, Penatahan. Five women are trained as Health Cadres to support the health centre and the doctors. The Health Cadres keep track of the village children’s weight, and support the elderly and the sick by keeping track of their medicine and doctor’s appointments. The five women cadres also monitor pregnant women and are trained in pre-natal care. Likewise, they are trained by the Indonesia Family Planning Programme, making them the point persons to have access to contraceptive methods.

### Social Resources

Banjar Kekeran has a strong social capital as families are related to each other and help each other in several forms. One of the elderlies, Melba, said in an interview: “*Families were very closed, as well as now. Family relationship cannot be cut and in Kekeran we are a big family*”. Women during interviews and group discussions explained that supporting other families in wedding or funeral rituals is an important part of their budgets and daily activities.

The meetings for the PKK, the P2TP2A, and BWCC are also considered by the women opportunities to socialize and discuss their daily lives.

Having physical facilities as Banjar and the BWCC centre, made it possible for the village to have meetings to discuss their issues and coordinate actions. When asked to draw circles around the places in the village where they socialize, women selected the Kuburan (cemetery), the Banjar (community centre and temple) and the BWCC community centre.

Image 8: Drawing the social map



Although all the participants expressed feeling close to the other families in the village, sometimes this proximity also became a concern for some women. Josefa said in an interview, “*We are so close that we know everything about each other... if I share my story to people in the village, it becomes ‘KOMPAS KEKERAN’ [Local tabloid/newspaper]*”. They expressed not feeling safe to share their household problems with women in the village as they feel the word will be spread around the village, and they feel they will be judged and blamed for household conflicts. Laura expressed “*I do not talk often about what happened to me, most of the times they ask me and I do not like talking about it, because then they look at me differently in the streets*”.

Image 9: Complete the image



During a theatre exercise, participants were asked to “complete the image”. Two volunteers were asked to start a ‘sculpture’, a frozen scene of them shaking hands, and the rest described what they thought was happening. Later, one by one participants would try to join the scene, as seen in image 9, until the image was complete. Discussion took place each time someone new was added to the image. Slowly, the comments turned from “*Friends greeting each other*” to “*They are gossiping*” “*Women in the market talking about someone else’s life*”.

Likewise in the following session, while using theatre tools to build trust, some participants were reluctant to join the activities, as they found it difficult to trust each other. This a common response for new groups, however is not so common on groups that have worked together for several years as the participants of the BWCC. During the discussion after playing “Blind Trust” in pairs, when asked how difficult it was? a participant said, “It was not difficult, it was impossible to fully close my eyes”

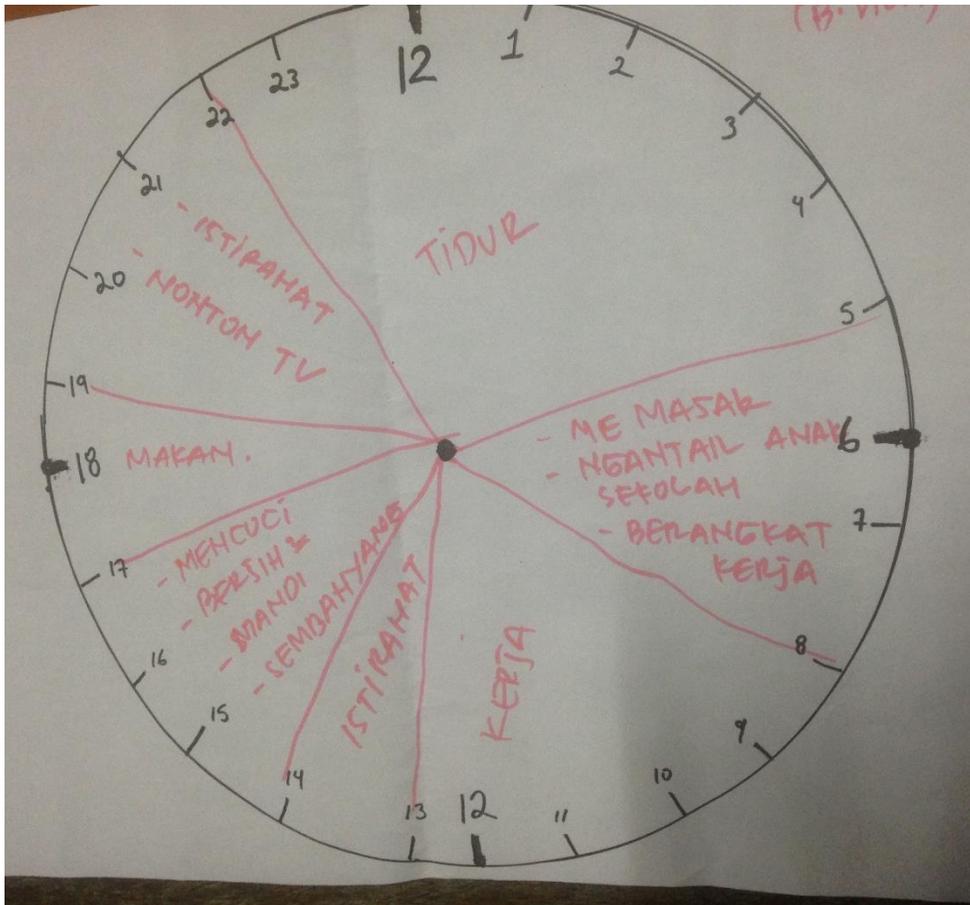
Image 10: Blind Trust



## Time

During one of the focus group discussions, participants were asked to describe their daily routine with a clock. The majority of the participants, 10 out of 17, mentioned “*they sleep late at night*”, mostly after 9pm, some sleep at midnight or even later. Most of them said to enjoy watching TV at night after finishing their daily work. One participant mentioned she sleeps only 4 hours and three mentioned they sleep 5 or 6 hours, they others expressed they sleep 7 hours.

Image 11: Daily clock



They agree that the activity that takes most of the time is working in the rice field, it can take from 4 to 8 hours a day. None of the participants had babies at the moment, but they mentioned that mothers with babies, are busy all the time. Participants with children in school age mention that although children were in holidays at that moment, usually it takes 1 or 2 hours to help with homework and studying.

Regarding social time, they mentioned they do not have time to meet their friends daily, nor weekly, but at least once a month they would make long visits in their friends' houses (up to 3 hours). The gatherings for religious purposes and other organisations (e.g., BWCC and the Arisan) are also their moments to meet with friends and neighbours.

When answering the question at the end of the session 'what did you like about today?' one participant said "I am grateful to be here, to see my friends and leave my house, because when I am in my house I am always working, my daughter is always asking for something"

When the facilitator asked if they had time for themselves during the day, the responses were diverse. Some said they feel they are happy with their time; they feel they have enough me-time and time to enjoy with their friends and family. However, some disagreed. Someone said "When I look at my clock, I am exhausted". Nevertheless, all of them mentioned engaging in self-care activities, such as, dyeing or cutting their hair once a month, short visits to their friends, massages and scrubbing, oil and flower therapy.

## Power within

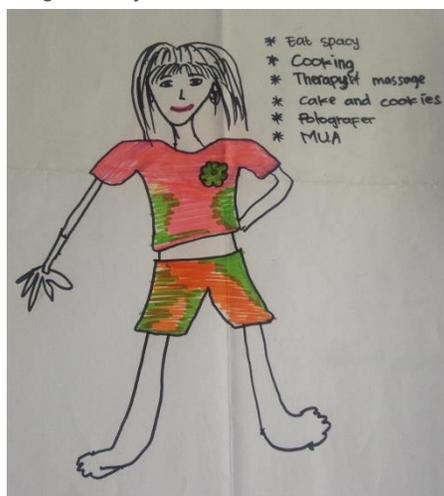
The four women who lived domestic violence recognise themselves as brave women. Laura said in her interview *“There are lot of women that want to divorce, but I was one of the really brave to come to my husband’s house with the traditional leaders, and said I cannot take this anymore I want to divorce”*, Ekaterina said *“I stopped crying, I realized that I am strong and I can handle that, I did not need him”*. Karla said, *“It’s a lot that women like me suffer in this country, that is why we are brave now, women have to be brave in Bali”*, and Maria mentioned *“I am strong for my daughter, I have to be brave”*.

In the second focus group discussion, with 21 women participants of BWCC, they were asked to draw themselves and later write their strengths. Women eagerly participated in the activity. Although the activity was planned to take up to 30 minutes, they did not need much time or explanation and quickly engaged in drawing themselves. They joke around on their drawing skills, but were eager to draw themselves and took less time than literature and the researcher experience, suggested. As seen in image 12, the Balinese tradition of women sleeping and working around the house topless was represented in some of the drawings

Image 13: Self-Portrait 1



Image 12: Self-Portrait 2



Most of the participants rapidly started a list of their strengths and skills. However, all the elements listed correspond to skills, and the most popular are related to household chores. One participant said *“I’m like the others”* and she did not make her own list. On average the participants recognized 3 skills.

Some of the most common skills identified were:

- Cooking
- Baking
- Preparing offerings
- Doing massage
- Doing Makeup (MUA, makeup artist)
- Playing Balinese instruments

## Institutional Structures

### Laws and policies

In 2004, the Republic of Indonesia published the Law number 23 of 2004, regarding Elimination of Household Violence. Although, by that time other countries already had laws and policies regarding domestic violence, as Sri Wiyanti Eddyono, PhD. from Universitas Gadjadara states, "the criminal law in Indonesia was remarkable" as this law was one of the first ones to include Negligence as a form of Domestic Violence. Most the legal frameworks, including the recommendation Number 19 from CEDAW in 1992, contemplated only 3 forms of violence, physical, psychological and sexual.

Another important remark is that, considering the diverse compositions of households across Indonesia, the law goes beyond the nuclear family, and considers in the scope of household to

*a) husband, wife, and children;*

*b) people whose family relationship with the individual referred to under letter a is due to blood relationship, marriage, suckling at the same breast, care, and guardianship, who lives in the household; and/or*

*c) the individual working to assist the household and living in the household.*

(Law Regarding Elimination of Violence in Household of the Republic of Indonesia, 2004)

Within Indonesian legal framework, there are two options to bring the cases of domestic violence to justice. The first option is through the criminal law, by bringing the case to police. The second form is through civil law, but in this option, it is not perceived as domestic violence per se, but is a divorce case, and the reason to divorce is facing domestic violence. From the four women survivors who took part in this research, took the second option by divorcing their partners, and two of them, had to attend mediation sessions. Although the instrument of mediation is not included in the Criminal Law regarding Domestic Violence, it is a tool often used by Legal Aid Centres like BWCC, as they support survivors in their process to divorce. Dr. Sri Wiyanti Eddyono mentioned in her interview "*Some organizations provide this kind of mechanism (mediation), if the wives want to do mediation, when I asked them why, they said 'It is the women's choice'.*"

### Norms

The village of Kekeran is organized following the Customary Laws. Leaders are selected every two years, their roles following years of tradition and they have strong influence in the residents' daily lives. The village leader and traditions leader keep the civil registration of the village, as they are present in weddings, funerals, and accompany divorce processes as well.

When Laura decided to divorce, she was accompanied by the traditional leader of Kekeran, although she was living at the moment in her husband's village. The traditional leader came to her husband house and they had a religious divorce.

Both leaders, mentioned they felt well prepared to deal with cases of domestic violence in the village. The traditional leader mentioned "*In case of domestic violence, we will first try to solve it inside the family, if it doesn't work, we will try on the sub-village level*". Meanwhile the village leader said: "*If there are*

*problems in the household, like between men and women, if they request me, I can help them with mediation, I can ask for help to Budawati, if she cannot help me, I have to go to the village office."*

Likewise, another issue found through interviews and participatory observation was the cultural norm of children custody being held on men's side. "Maria" and "Laura" explain the journey of separating from their partners never ends, as even after divorce they still face the risk of losing their children. Maria said "Why would they (her parents-in-law) have my daughter? They were not there in her first years, they don't know her, her father is not even in the country!" .

Moreover, another aspect that the customary law affects directly is the right to inheritance. Although under the national law men and women have equal access to inheritance, in the Bali-Hindu context, following the Customary Law, inheritance follows a patrilineal system, where properties are passed through generations from men to men, making it impossible for women to own properties.

Nevertheless, within the same traditional norms there exist exceptions. The Nyentana marriages, means that the man joins the woman's family after marriage, and therefore they will receive inheritance from the wife's line. Nyentana marriages are traditionally accepted, however Ni Nengah Budawati explained, that even when traditions and religious leaders accept it *"at the end, it still depends on the family decisions, and is common to hear of families that do not want to give their son away, or do not want receive their daughter's family"*.

## **Agency**

### **Decision making**

When asked regarding decision making process in the household, all women agree that they feel they have control over the nuclear family. However, they also recognize, that given the composition of their families, their extended family as parents, aunts, uncles, grandparents, from their side or their partners', have also a quote of power in making decisions in the house.

In the cases of domestic violence, three women decided to end their marriage, but in general, the four women mentioned they made their decisions, either to leave or stay, for their children. Ekaterina mentioned *"He is their father, they will need him on their wedding day... I had to learn to forgive for them"*

### **Voice**

The two main positions of leadership in the village, the village leader and the traditions leader, are positions traditionally taken by men. The leaders' wives also take leadership positions but only regarding women and children issues, as Health Cadres, or PKK leaders. Women as village or traditional leaders are not common.

When asked about their participation in Banjar meetings, women mentioned they assist but they prefer to not speak in these meetings as they feel they are too shy to speak in public. Moreover, they mention, they feel that people will judge them if they speak in public *"they will think that we are arrogant"*, said Silvia. However, it is important to notice that these meetings are conducted in High Balinese, a polite form of Balinese language, which is not traditionally spoken on a daily basis by women, especially those coming from low caste.

## The use of participatory tools

Three focus group discussion sessions were held in the village using the participatory tools adapted from PRA and Theatre of the Oppressed. Each session lasted around 2-3 hours and approximately €15 were spent in the materials used.

Participants expressed in several occasions to enjoy the use of games and drawings. At the end of each session, when the facilitator asked their opinions about the agenda, responses were positive. A participant mentioned: *“Every time I leave this place (BWCC community centre), I am excited for the next day”*

### Participatory Rural Appraisal

The tools adapted from the Participatory Appraisal that were used during the focus group discussions were:

- Resource map
- Income/Expenditure matrix
- Daily activity clocks
- Social map

The researcher and the interpreter took up the role of facilitators. Activities were prepared weeks before and the interpreter seemed confident in her role as research assistant and facilitator. This arrangement allowed a quite conducive way of facilitating together

Although the facilitators had to motivate more active participation in some moments, in general participants were very active and respectful of each other chances to participate.

*Image 14: Participants showing Daily clocks*



## Theatre of the Oppressed

These tools were adapted from the Theatre of the oppressed to be used in this study:

- Sculptures in pairs
- Sculpture in plenary
- Complete the image
- Oppressors and Oppressed
- Pull and Push
- Forum Theatre

Unlike the tools from PRA, the tools from the Theatre of the Oppressed were more challenging to explain to participants. Considering the abstract concepts used in some of the tools, sometimes the interpreter took more time to find the appropriate terms to use. Likewise, it was difficult to explain directions to participants, without giving too many examples that would influence their responses. Directions were not followed as planned in many of the activities. However, participants were eager to perform and showed confidence while acting in front of the group.

When using the Theatre of the Oppressed tool, participants were comfortable presenting cultural aspects that the researcher was not aware of, prior to arrival and the field, and therefore could have been missed out through other tools.

*Image 15: Pair sculptures*



## DISCUSSION

### Different forms of violence

The literature revised for this research digs deep into the concepts of survival of domestic violence, the wording and portrayal of the issue, and although no consensus is found, all authors start in common ground with the assumption that the abusers are the survivor's male partner, or former partner. However, this directly contradicts with the reality that Balinese women described, where they found the violence coming from their partners' relatives, who in some cases happened to be women. This could raise the question: can these experiences be identified as Domestic Violence or not?

Domestic violence was considered one of the forms of "Violence Against Women" in the 1992 CEDAW General Recommendations. 25 years later, in the CEDAW General Recommendation No. 35 (2017) the term "Gender-Based Violence Against Women" is used "*to make explicit the gendered causes and impacts of the violence, and to strengthen the understanding of the violence as a social rather than an individual problem*". The stereotyped roles of men and women and the underprivileged position of women in relation to men, are perpetuated through gender-based violence against women.

The stories shared by the women participants of this research can be framed under the concept of gender based violence against women, as this forms of violence are the results of discriminatory norms against women in Balinese culture. The traditional role of women in the Balinese families is highly demanding, long working hours for household chores and religious/traditional activities. Additionally, because of the family structures, where parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles live in the same house, women will either be helped by the other women in the family, or will be judged by the elders as they might not be able to follow through all the house demands. Moreover, given that these cases of violence described took place in the domestic domain, these cases fit the description of domestic violence.

Likewise, the Law number 23 of 2004, regarding Elimination of Household Violence considers within the scope of household to:

- a) husband, wife, and children;*
- b) people whose family relationship with the individual referred to under letter a is due to blood relationship, marriage, care, and guardianship, who lives in the household; and/or*
- c) the individual working to assist the household and living in the household.*

This broader conceptualization of domestic violence in the law, protects women in Indonesia from several forms of violence that go beyond the intra-partner abuse. This is only possible when the legal frameworks are constructed from the realities of women in the country, and correspond to their struggles and challenges. However, even with a strong and complete legal framework in place, from the four women interviewed, none followed a process through criminal law against their abusers, and that raise the question again, "Why?". This issue and the possible answers will be discussed in the next part.

### Different forms to survive

Dr. Sri Wiyanti Eddyono explained that women have two options within Indonesian legal framework to bring the cases of domestic violence to justice. The first option is through the criminal law, by bringing the

case to police. The second form is through civil law, but in this option, it is not perceived as domestic violence per se, but is a divorce case, and the reason to divorce is facing domestic violence. According to the Civil Registration office in Denpasar (*Disdukcapil*) the numbers of cases of divorce increased from less than 300 cases per year in 2014, to more than 700 in 2017, being Domestic Violence the second most common cause stated. This increase in the divorce rate matches the tendency found among the women participants who, three out of four, followed this option of divorcing their partners without following other legal actions against their abusers.

Mediation sessions are one of the steps to follow in order to file a divorce through Indonesian Civil System, however, the use of mediation in cases of domestic violence is a controversial issue. One on side, in Indonesian Civil Code, mediation with both parties present is considered a requirement when filing divorce, as it gives to the parties involved the opportunity to reconcile differences and withdraw the suit. Similarly, in the “Model Standards of Practices for Families and Divorce Mediation” adopted by the American Bar Association in the United States, mediation is described as a process in which an impartial third party, facilitates the resolution of family disputes by promoting voluntary agreement. In this same text, mediation is described as an useful tool, that helps family to communicate their issues and to develop their own solutions; and it can also protect children’s interests while reducing the financial and emotional toll of other forms of divorce.

On the other side of the debate, authors like Maxwell (1999), have a position against the use of mediation in the cases of domestic violence, as she explains, mediation is a process that requires a balance of power between participants, and domestic violence is a phenomenon that reflects a disproportional power relation between the perpetrator and the survivor. Although mediation can be considered an empowering process where the involved parties define their own solutions to their conflicts, mediation is grounded on the basis that both parties have equal decision-making power in the discussion.

Nevertheless, it is risky to say Yes or No to the use of mediation as a standard procedure for all the cases of domestic violence, considering the diverse situations each survivor face. Because all abusive families are different, only the survivor can tell if mediation is the most appropriate and safe procedure for her. As described previously in the literature review (Morrison, 2005; Gondolf & Fisher, 1998) women survivors of domestic violence make their decisions based on their realities, and their decision-making will depend on various factors, but the predominant reasoning is protecting their lives and their children. Hence, in order to make a careful analysis of the risks and benefits this procedure would carry for them, it is important for survivors to have access to information regarding the process itself and their rights during the process (e.g., presence of her lawyer, one-side-sessions to not face their abusers). The more information she has access, the more free her decision will be, but, in the case of Indonesia, mediation is a requirement to follow through a divorce, and the decision capacity of the survivors is therefore limited.

Moreover, recognizing the complexities of following this legal procedures, makes it easier to understand why women in some cases decided to not follow any of the options. The lack of information makes it appear to women that their only option available is to divorce, and with this comes mediation session where they would have to face their abusers face to face, discouraging them to follow through. Furthermore, in the case of following a legal case through criminal law, the retaliation from the family-in-law, and the village for “putting in prison their former husbands” is a fear women have to deal with. As it was exposed in the findings, in Balinese culture the value of family and community are very strong, which is why for women, to divorce does not only mean to end a relationship with their partners, but it is also

losing their sense of belonging and security that a family provides. Considering the patrilineal inheritance system and the cultural norms of children custody belonging to the men's side, women who start the process for divorce evaluate the risk of losing their resources and their contact with their children.

Moreover, like Dunn (2005) and Morrison (2005) described, surviving domestic violence goes beyond the physical aspect, and does not always include a legal procedure. Understanding surviving domestic violence as an act of not only being alive, but also making conscious decisions to stay alive and to protect themselves and others, there are many elements in Balinese culture and traditions that can support women through their processes of survival.

Although some participants mentioned feeling exhausted from their daily routines, all of them described engaging in self-care activities like massages and flower therapy. In the words of Central American feminist activist,

*“Self-care, then, I see it as that decision that arises from the will to find something joyful, satisfactory, delicious, smiling, in everyday life. And that something can be small, it can even seem insignificant, but it is a powerful thing, it is the something that allows us to appreciate ourselves, that allows us to give ourselves that deep hug that says: keep going”*

(Cárdenas & Méndez, 2013)

In Balinese culture the work load taken by women is extremely heavy. Like Cardenas and Mendez (2013) describe, one of the most powerful roles assigned to women in society is *“to be for others”*, children, husband, relatives, religion, the village, come first. However, participants have found a way to put themselves first, even if it is for a short period of time. These actions of self-care are relevant on itself, as a right to enjoy free time, but moreover these can also lead the participants to the notion of self-worth, and to the recognition of their right to live a life free of violence.

Furthermore, beyond the physical routines, self-care also involves a process of socialization and is tightly connected to the concept of sisterhood. Trust in other women facilitates sharing responsibilities that would allow women to take more time for themselves, and the other way around, self-care, leading to self-acceptance, discourages the competitiveness and lack of trust among women (Lagarde, 2009). However, in the case studied in Bali, the presence of self-care does not seem to be closely connected to sisterhood among the participants, as they shared in several moments that they do not trust their peers.

Competition and lack of trust between women have been densely discussed in literature. The feminist anthropologist Lagarde (2008) in her conceptualization of sisterhood, she unveils the myth of the natural feminine solidarity. She explains that it has been evident that relations between women are complex and are directly affected by different powers, hierarchies and supremacism, competition and rivalry. The exclusive social fragmentation and the gender norms that maintain male supremacy over women, directly influence the way women interact with other women. This would explain why women in Keheran, as described by participants, are prone to judge and segregate women who break the gender norms, as it is the case when survivors of domestic violence follow through divorce or other legal actions against their abusers.

## Different forms of listening

Similar to what was recovered in literature review (Chambers, 1992; Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995; Torres, 2006; O'Hara & Higgins, 2019) the participatory tools used were found to be practical, flexible and especially useful when time available is limited, as they can gather information from multiple topics, and from multiple sources simultaneously. Likewise, the material cost did not exceed the research budget, however, as the researcher does not speak Balinese nor Indonesian language, costs had to be incurred for interpreter services. Also, although the communication of directions to the participants was not easy in the case of the Theatre of the Oppressed, since these tools require more reflection and abstract thinking, yet, these tools were useful to illustrate concepts and facilitate communication regardless of the language barrier.

Nevertheless, tools from both sources, PRA and Theatre of the Oppressed, proved to be an important form of building rapport. As women enjoyed the moment spent in the focus group sessions they were more excited to participate in the following sessions, and in the individual interviews. As Chambers (1992) and Torres (2006) explained, to use these tools is to move away from extractives questionnaires, and to give more power to the participants on sharing the information they consider valid. The data collection process became reciprocal as it was not only the community providing information to the researcher, but also an exercise of self and collective reflection on the challenges and resources present in the village.

## Reflexivity

By centring women with their personal opinions and experiences in the focus of the research, this study is framed on a feminist standpoint that, as Mauthner (1999) stated, "*seeks to listen to women (and) understand their lives in and on their own terms...*". Nonetheless, even when the intention is to share "a story" as close as possible to women's reality, it is necessary to reflect that researchers own reality also plays an important role on shaping the "story". The relevance of reflexion on positionality, identity and background of the researcher and the influence into the research has been discussed by several authors (O'hara & Higgins, 2019; Agurto, et al., 2001; Mauthner, 1998). In this section the researcher reflects on her intentional and unintentional influence in the research process.

The early design and conceptualisation of this study, although based on the real experience of the BWCC, was framed under the researcher's intention of finding alternative expressions of agency. To use the term agency next to the identity of survivor might be perceived as contradictory. Given the deep impact domestic violence has in the lives of women who lived and live through it, it is difficult to perceive any form of agency, or free will to emerge from such experience. However, the aim of this research was to put women survivors of domestic violence in the centre of the analysis, not to add another responsibility to their process of healing and surviving, but to understand an alternative exercise of agency. Hence, the methodologies planned were focused on recovering the experiences of women through their journeys of survival, and not in the forms of violence itself. The risk of doing so, as the researcher reflected after the first weeks in the field, is to fall in the romantization of survival, diminishing the cruelty of the system and the forms of violence lived. Therefore, changes were made in the methodologies, to first, acknowledge women survivors life stories, and second, to dig deeper into the Institutional Structures dimension.

Furthermore, the background of the research in the feminist movement in Nicaragua, highly influenced the design, data collection, and later analysis of data. From the early stage, it was explained that this

research was framed under a feminist perspective, and therefore, the research design, the tools selected, and the literature revised, follow the researcher values and interests. However, soon the researcher started to find the contradictions between the ideals and the praxis. For example, in 2014, mandatory mediation was included in Nicaraguan Law against violence against women, as a young activist, the research joined the manifestation and her position was strongly against the use of mediation in any case of violence, so the first times it was mentioned in Bali it was not taken positively by the researcher; however, after listening to more stories and the opinion from different sources, slowly the use of mediation started to make sense as a well informed decision that can fit better the necessities of survivors of domestic violence and their children.

Additionally, the identity of the researcher as young, foreigner and not practicing religion also shaped this research. Several participants asked in many occasions to the researcher her religion, and the first reactions tended to be shock or confusion. However, as religion is embed in culture and daily activities, the researcher joined certain rituals. Likewise, being young and foreigner had a direct impact on how participants responded in the focus group discussions and interviews. Several times participants said they did not want to share something because they did not want to affect the researcher as she was considered a guest in the village. Also, the fact that the researcher stayed in the BWCC founder's house, it could have also shaped the answers given.

## CONCLUSIONS

After months of data collection and analysis, the following is it is the conclusive part of this MSc thesis research.

This research main objective was to identify the forms in which women of Kekeran, Bali, exercise their agency to survive domestic violence, beyond the legal process, as well as the capacities and restrains influencing their agency.

Regarding the first sub-question related to the resources women have access and control to exercise their agency:

- The findings in the study indicate that the physical, natural, and social capitals are very strong, in the village of Kekeran, however, human capital is threatened by migration as a result of scarce job opportunities in the area.
- At individual level, although the social capital, as the social network, of the village is strong, the study shows that direct relations between women are affected by lack of trust and gossiping. As a result of the gender norms in place, women who do not comply with the norms face exclusion and judgement from other women in the village.
- Likewise, although the physical capital is strong in the village in general, considering the patrilineal inheritance law and gender norms in place, women do not have the same level of access and control of the physical assets as men in the village.
- The findings indicate that all women in Kekeran village have access to credits and saving facilities through women's groups, however, the job opportunities are scarce in the village and some of the income generating activities that only women engage in, produce the lowest income.
- Following the gender norms of Balinese culture, the work load of women in the village is heavy, long work hours to attend the family, religion and community yet, they have found time to engage in self-care activities.
- Although in the literature revised a connection is described between self-care and sisterhood; that proved to not be the case in this research, since lack of trust, exclusion and judgement among women was described by participants.
- Like literature suggested, research reveals that the dimension of Resources is closely affected by the dimension of Institutional Structures, where norms and traditional law place women in and underprivileged position in relation to men, which directly limits their agency capacity, and therefore, their survival process.

In relation to the second sub-question, regarding the influence of institutional structures in the agency of women the research concluded that:

- The Indonesian legal framework, by addressing the multiple forms and possible authors of domestic violence, encompass a holistic approach that protects women survivors of domestic violence in different scenarios.
- Balinese traditional law has a strong quote of power, even more than the national law, which adds another layer of procedures that women have to follow for divorce or to take other legal actions.
- From the Bali traditional law emerge leaders in the community that accompany women through their process for divorce. Although these actors are predominantly male and act under Bali-Hindu values, women feel accompanied by them.

- Mandatory mediation for divorce in the civil law and patrilineal inheritance law and child custody belonging to men's side, in the traditional laws are important restrains that discourage women to divorce or follow other legal actions in cases of domestic violence.
- In the dimension of Institutional Structures, while national laws and policies are in place to protect women's lives from domestic violence, cultural norms and traditional law are setting obstacles for women to access to justice. However; it is from these same norms and traditional law that opportunities arise to support women in their survivor process, as it is the case of "*Nyentana*" and the assistance of Traditional leaders.

On the subject of the third sub-question, from the findings of this research is concluded that expressions of agency used by women to survive domestic violence:

- As described in literature review, women survivors of domestic violence make the decisions to stay or leave, or what legal actions to take, mostly based on what will be best for their children.
- Women have been excluded from local leadership positions and community discussions through different mechanisms like using polite Balinese language, which is not used on daily basis by women, and through gender stereotypes like women being quiet.
- Findings indicate that as women survivors of domestic violence fully trust BWCC and its staff, they become oblivious to the practicalities and details of the legal procedures.

Finally, regarding the secondary objective related to methodology, concerning the contribution of participatory tools inspired by PRA and TO, in research with Survivors of Domestic Violence, the findings indicate that:

- The participatory tools used proved to be practical as they can be implemented with tight budgets and in short periods of time.
- The use of participatory tools encouraged participation throughout all the research activities, as participants enjoyed the moment spent in the focus group sessions they were more excited to participate in the following sessions, and in the individual interviews
- Dedicated preparation of a research team with researchers, facilitators and interpreters results in smoothly conducted group sessions, which is more efficient and effective both for the respondents/participants as well as for the researchers.
- The use of participatory tools gave to the respondents in return for their participation first, a pleasant moment, contrary to traditional long and exhausting methodologies, and secondly, an exercise of self and collective reflection.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on this research findings and literature revised, the followings are the recommendations from this study

- Considering that women are in a disadvantaged position in relation to men regarding physical and financial assets, and understanding the relevance of the access and control of this resources for the survival of domestic violence, it is recommended to the Bali Women Crisis Centre to resume the economic empowerment programmes that were on hold at the moment this research was conducted.
- Considering the influential role of traditional leaders in the process of divorce, and in everyday activities, it is recommended to the Bali Women Crisis Centre to invite them to some of the workshops and meetings to provide them with tools to identify domestic violence and procedures to follow.
- As literature emphasizes the importance of access to information for women to make well informed decisions for their survival process, and given that the findings indicate that the legal procedures work and their options are not fully known by women, it is recommended to the BWCC, to facilitate more information to the survivors, for them to make their own decision based on what is best for them and their children.
- The findings of this research indicate that women who divorce are prone to be excluded and judged by other women in the village. Considering that the positive connections to other women and the village, is helpful for the survival process of women survivors of domestic violence, it is suggested to the BWCC to address this issue and facilitate meetings and workshops on social exclusion/inclusion, on trust building, and other related topics inviting more residents than the BWCC participants.
- As self-care proved to be an important element in the weekly routine of women from Kekeran, further research is suggested to the BWCC, to explore more on the forms of self-care and its impact on their daily lives.
- Regarding the use of participatory tools, it is recommended to researchers working with survivors of domestic violence, or other forms of violence, to explore the use of alternative tools for data collection that allow participants to enjoy the process and give them the power to analyse and reflect on their own reality.
- It is recommended to train researchers working with participatory tool, to prepare appropriately for such a research strategy including to plan time to thoroughly discuss all the activities with the local staff, as location and participant specific adaptations and further explanation are inherent part of the participatory methods.

## List of Abbreviations

BWCC	Bali Women Crisis Centre
CEDAW	Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
KIT	The Royal Tropical Institute
P2TP2A	The Center for Integrated Services for the Empowerment of Women and Children <i>(Pusat Pelayanan Terpadu Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Anak)</i>
PKK	Family Welfare Empowerment <i>(Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga)</i>
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
TO	Theatre of the Oppressed
UGM	Gadjah Mada University (Universitas Gadjah Mada)
UN WOMEN	United Nations entity for Gender equality and the empowerment of women
WSDV	Women survivors of domestic violence

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## ANNEXES

### **Annex 1: Verbal Consent Script**

“Hello, my name is Celia Mena. I am a student at Van Hall Larenstein University in The Netherlands and I am in Bali undertaking research for my thesis to graduate from the Master Programme in Management of Development.

I am studying the way women survive domestic violence and how they live in this village. Thank you for sharing your time with us. Your responses will contribute to my study, and is highly appreciated. Also, the information you share with me will be used by the Bali Women Crisis Centre to develop projects to continue protecting the lives of women and children in the village.

This interview will take about 45 minutes of your time. There are no further incentives to participate in this study. Participation is voluntary. If you decide not to participate, there will be no penalty. You can, of course, decline to answer any question, as well as to stop participating at any time, without any penalty.

I would like to make a recording of our discussion, so that I can have an accurate record of the information that you provide to me. I will transcribe that recording, and will keep the transcripts confidential and securely in my possession. I will not link your name to anything you say, either in the transcript of this interview or in the text of my thesis or any other publications.

If you have any additional questions concerning this research or your participation in it, please feel free to contact me at any time.”

“Do you have any questions about this research? Do you agree to participate, and may I record our discussion?

If so, let’s begin....”

## Annex 2: Methodologies

Concepts	Assets (Natural, Physical and Financial) and Time			
Participants	20-25 participants, among women and men			
Objectives	Tool	Description	Time	Materials
Generate integration and trust to encourage active participation throughout this session	Introduction	Presentation of the facilitators, the goal of the session, and agenda. Also, short introduction of the study in general and the researcher	5 min	Agenda already written on flip chart
	Ground rules	Set the rules to follow through this session	5 min	Flip chart (2) and markers
	Game names	Game for the participants to introduce themselves (spell your name in the air, by alphabet)	5 min	
To identify Natural and Physical assets in the village	“Resource map”	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Participants are asked to sit on the floor forming a circle. In 2 flip charts taped together, a rock or leaf is placed to represent a central and important landmark of the community.</li> <li>2. Participants are asked to draw the boundaries of the village.</li> <li>3. Participants are asked to draw other things on the map that are important. (Avoid interruption, unless they stop drawing)</li> <li>4. When the map is completed, facilitators ask the participants to describe it.</li> </ol>	30 min	Flip chart (3) and markers
	Energiser /Break		10 min	

<p>Identify the sources of financial assets in the village and draw comparisons between men and women</p>	<p>“Income and Expenditure Matrix”</p>	<p>Explain to the group that you want to learn about where their income comes from and how they spend it. Reassure them that you don't want to know how much they make but are only interested in learning about where their money comes from.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Ask the group to list their sources of income. Be sure to prompt them to include both cash sources and payments in kind or by barter.</li> <li>2. Start drawing the matrix on a large piece of paper.</li> <li>3. Put the sources of income in the horizontal axis. The group may want to use symbols to represent the various sources.</li> <li>4. Collect 50 small stones (ask the children for help). Explain that these stones represent the total income for the whole community for the year.</li> <li>5. Ask the participants to divide the 50 stones between 2 groups, men and women</li> <li>6. Ask the group to select a representative for each of the groups, and give these representatives the portion of the stones the group decided they should have.</li> <li>7. Ask the representative to stand along the vertical axis with his/her stones.</li> <li>8. Ask the representative to take turns placing their stones in the matrix to indicate their sources of income. Carry this out until all the stones are divided.</li> <li>9. Record the matrix, counting all the stones for each source of income for each group.</li> <li>10. Repeat the same process for expenditures. Create a new matrix, using local symbols if desired, asking the group to list all of their expenditures, including savings.</li> <li>11. Ask the representatives to collect back their stones and to redistribute them according to how they spend their money.</li> </ol>	<p>40 min</p>	<p>Flip charts (4), markers and rocks (CANDIES)</p>
<p>To identify the workloads of participants in the village</p>	<p>“Daily Activity clocks”</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Ask the groups of men and women to prepare their clocks. You can start by asking them what they did yesterday and how they generally pass their day this time of the year. It's easy to start the clocks by asking them what time they usually get up.</li> <li>2. Build up a picture of all the activities they carried out the day before, and how long they took. Plot each activity on a circle which represents a clock. Activities that are carried out at the same time (such as child care and cooking) can be noted in the same spaces.</li> <li>3. When the clocks are done, ask questions about the activities shown.</li> <li>7. Use the key questions above to guide a discussion about people's activities and workloads.</li> </ol>	<p>20 min</p>	<p>Printed clocks, pens or thin markers</p>

Concepts	Assets (Human and Social) and Power Within			
Participants	15 women			
Objectives	Tool	Description	Time	Materials
Generate integration and trust to encourage active participation throughout this session	Introduction	Presentation of the facilitators, the goal of the session, and agenda.	5 min	Agenda already written on flip chart
	Ground rules	Ground rules from last session are shown, changes are made if needed. If it is no mentioned, highlight the importance of confidentiality among participants	5 min	Ground rules form past session
To asses the level of self-esteem and self-awareness among the participants	“Self-portrait”	1. Each participants received one sheet of paper (A4) and markers and color pencils are placed in the centre. 2. Participants are asked to think how do they think they look like? 3. Then, facilitators ask participants to draw themselves (How do you see yourself? What is on the outside, what is on the inside, use colors and lines to express yourself). Creativity is encouraged, but ask participants to leave some space on the outside for the next activity *if possible play soft music*	20 min	A4 and markers
	“Strengths”	1. While holding the drawing of themselves, participants are asked to think about the things they are good at, strengths, skills, competences. 2. Participants are asked to draw or write these strengths outside of their bodies	10 min	A4 and markers
To recognise the social structures and institutions found in the village	“Social map”	1. The Resources Map from the past session is presented to participants for this new activity 2. Participants are asked to place their drawings on the map. 3. Ask the group to also add the institutions, buildings and places that offer some kind of social service or which are popular spots to meet and discuss. Example: schools, churches, health service, traditional healers, community administration, community leaders, local shop, kindergarten, places where people frequently meet, water point etc.) 4. Participants are invited to discuss on the existing networks in the community	30 min	The Resources map, drawings from last activity and markers

	Shelter, people and storm	<p>Invite participants to make a group of three. Introduce the activity: In each group of three, two people represent a “shelter” (they face each other and raise their arms so that palms meet to form an angled roof) and one person represents “people” standing underneath/inside the two-person “shelter.” When I call out “people,” the person in the center of each group will leave their shelters and run to a different “shelter” pair, while all the “shelter” pairs stay in place. Practice “people” a few times. Next, when I call out “shelter,” the participants making a shelter will break apart, the people stay in place, and the shelters must find a new person to make a shelter over. Explain that shelters can and should separate. They don’t need to travel together to find a new person. Try “shelter” once or twice, making new shelters around the space. Introduce the final cue. When I call out “storm,” everyone moves and makes a new group of three. You can choose to remain in the same position or change—shelters can become people and people can become shelters as long as every shelter has a person. Once directions are understood, the game begins. Alternate between calling out “people,” “shelter,” and “storm” in random order.</p>	10 min	
	Blind trust	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Participants are asked to stay in pairs, and together they have to create their own "calling". It can be any sound (i.e., like dogs, ducks or cows) but it cannot be words. They are given a few minutes to think about it.</li> <li>2. Pairs are asked to present their calling to the rest of group, to avoid repetition</li> <li>3. In the pair, they will assign roles A and B. In the first round A is going to close the eyes and B is going to lead A around the place only using the sound they have agreed.</li> <li>4. In the second round it will be A's turn to lead B around the place</li> </ol>	20 min	
	Break/energiser		15 min	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To familiarize participants with the elements of Theatre of the Oppressed.</li> <li>2. To collect opinions and comments of participants</li> </ol>	Sculptures in pairs	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. In the same pairs from the past activity, participants are going to take turns to create sculptures.</li> <li>2. The facilitator will say a word and A will make a sculpture of that word using B. (Remind participants of how to respect others bodies, avoiding difficult positions and asking for permission before touching). While Bs are in position, As can walk around to see the other sculptures</li> <li>3. The next word, it's B's turn to shape A</li> </ol> <p>List of words: Happiness, sadness, angry, kindness, power, oppression, strength, solidarity</p>	15 min	

regarding oppression	Sculpture in plenary	One volunteer standing at the centre is going to be the sculpture. Only using one word, all participants will step to centre to shape the image	15 min	
	Complete the image	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Everyone sits down together and faces the largest open space in the room. This can also be done in a circle.</li> <li>2. Two volunteers come up front., they shake hands, look at each other, and you shout “freeze.” They freeze this position, including their facial expression.</li> <li>3. Facilitator asks to the group: What do you see? What makes you say that? What is going on in the image between those two people? What relationships do you see and/or what the story is in this situation?</li> <li>4. Then, relax one of the frozen people and let them sit down. The other person stays frozen. Invite someone else in the group to come up and create a new frozen image by placing themselves in relation to the already frozen person. They can be touching the person or be separate.</li> <li>5. Ask the same questions again</li> <li>6. Then relax the original person in the image, and a new person comes in. Let participants do this without any order for a few minutes.</li> <li>7. Lastly, with the last couple still in position, invite the other participants to complete the image, now, everybody has to freeze</li> <li>8. Discuss with participants again</li> </ol>	20 min	
	Wrap up	Participants sit down in a circle, and say what they take from the activities, what did they like, or what did they learned	10 min	

<b>Concepts</b>	Agency of women to survive domestic violence			
<b>Participants</b>	15 women			
<b>Objectives</b>	<b>Tool</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Time</b>	<b>Materials</b>
Warm up games for participants to start getting comfortable while using their bodies to communicate  2. Build trust among participants	Zip, zap, zop	Invite participants to stand in a circle. Ask the group to repeat the words “Zip, Zap, Zop” three or four times, all together. Introduce the activity: Imagine that I have a bolt of energy in my hands. To start the game, I will send the bolt out of energy out of my body with a strong forward motion straight to someone else in the circle (use hands, body, eyes, and voice to make contact across the circle) and say, “Zip.” Explain that the next person takes the energy and passes it immediately to someone else saying “Zap.” That person passes it on to another participant with a “Zop.” The game continues and the “Zip, Zap, Zop” sequence is repeated as the energy moves around the circle. Encourage all plays to use their whole body to send energy and to make eye contact. They can send the energy to whomever they want but the goal is to include all players. Practice the game. If there is a mistake, encourage participants to simply resume playing without discussion. The group challenge is to go very quickly and stay consistent in rhythm; if students struggle, pause the game, discuss strategy and try again.	7 min	
	Everybody do!	Invite participants to stand in a circle. Explain that each person will have a chance to make a suggestion about a movement and/or sound that the whole group will do together. Introduce the activity: In this strategy someone will make a suggestion that we will all follow. For example, I might say, “Everybody wiggle their fingers: (wiggles fingers).” Then all of you must enthusiastically say “Yes!” and then you move your body just like me (encourage students to wiggle fingers). Once instructions are clear, model another example and then proceed around the circle. Each participant makes a suggestion, receives an affirmation (“Yes!”), and has their action performed by the group, until every participant has had a turn. The group should play the game at a tempo which is right for them, but the teacher can speed up or slow down the activity as appropriate.	7 min	

<p>1. To familiarize participants with the elements of Theatre of the Oppressed.</p> <p>2. To collect opinions and comments of participants regarding oppression</p>	<p>Opressor s and oppressed</p>	<p>1. Divided in two lines, facing each other, participants are asked to make sculptures of oppressors and oppressed. First the oppressors on one side, and then the oppressed on the other side.</p> <p>2. Then, facilitators ask participants to find a partner from the other group. And the new pair will create a scene together of oppressor and oppressed</p> <p>3. Each scene is presented in plenary to the rest of the group</p> <p>4. Facilitator discussed the concepts of oppressor and oppressed in Forum Theatre and in real life</p>	<p>10 min</p>	
	<p>Pull and push</p>	<p>Participants go back to their pairs, and stand in front of each other, 1m apart</p> <p>1. Arms should be stretched out in front so that their palms touch each other. As one participant pushes against his/her partner, the partner should react by pushing back. They may move from side to side but feet must remain in the original position. The idea is to reach a balance of opposite but equal force against each other. Keep this action going for about a minute or until 'exhaustion' sets in!!</p> <p>2. Now repeat the exercise but this time as one participant pushes, the partner should relax and give way to the pressure – moving back or to the side (but keep the feet in place). As soon as their balance is threatened they should push back and the partner similarly gives way to the push, moving/bending back. Again as soon as they feel unbalanced they should push back and their partner gives in to the pressure. This results in a relaxed flow between them rather than the hard pressure and effort of the first phase.</p>	<p>10 min</p>	
	<p>Break/energiser</p>		<p>10 min</p>	

	Creating the scenes	<p>Participants are grouped in 3 groups. They are going to make their own short forum theatre scene.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. In their groups they share stories of how they have seen people react when they hear about a case of domestic violence. The stories are from events that they might have heard about, must be real stories, but details can be changed</li> <li>2. Each group selects one story that they are going to dramatize</li> <li>3. The groups has to create with 4 group images. Each image represent the stages: 1) Introduction of the characters 2) The issue 3) Climax 4) The end</li> <li>4. Facilitator explains the elements of Forum Theatre.</li> <li>5. Each group presents the scenes to rest of the participants. First only scene by scene, later as flowing play.</li> <li>6. Feedback is given to each group based on what the audience understood or not from the scene (But no information is shared from each group, the characters and the stories are a group secret)</li> </ol>	30 min	
	Writing the play	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. In their groups, participants add dialogues and motion to the scenes to create a play, no longer than 5 min</li> <li>2. Participants practice in their own groups</li> <li>3. Each group presents their play to the group. Facilitator plays the role as the joker and explains how people can intervene to change the story.</li> </ol>	30 min	
	Wrap up	<p>Participants sit down in a circle, and say what they take from the activities, what did they like, or what did they learned. Facilitator give thanks to participants and says goodbye as it would be the last session with the group</p>	10 min	