



## Analysis of forms of violence in victims' Testimonies at the Aceh truth and reconciliation commission

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### Abstract

Violence is something that depends on situations and conditions that prevent a person from growing well. Various forms of violence generally arise due to conflict. This research aims to describe the representation of violence in testimony given by the Aceh Truth and Reconciliation Commission (KKR). This research uses the theory of forms of violence put forward by Poerwandari and Galtung. Apart from that, this research also utilizes Norman Fairclough's perspective to look at the representation of the problem being studied. This research uses a descriptive method with a qualitative approach. The data used in this research comes from videos and transcripts of testimony hearings held by the Aceh KKR, totaling 52 people. Research data collection was carried out through three steps, namely observing and reading, identifying and recording on research instruments. Data analysis in this research uses Norman Fairclough's discourse analysis approach which consists of three dimensions, namely text, text production practices (discourse practice), and socio-cultural practices. The analysis process begins by watching the video and reading the transcript thoroughly, then selecting speech that contains elements of violence, then analyzing it using Fairclough's theory, the final stage is concluding the results of the data analysis. Based on the research results, five forms of violence experienced by victims were found, namely physical, psychological, verbal, functional and financial violence. Physical violence in the form of punches, kicks, slaps, shots, and injuries caused by hands or tools. Psychological violence in the form of terror, stalking and surveillance. Verbal violence takes the form of cursing, insults and accusations. Financial violence takes the form of destroying homes and confiscating property. Meanwhile, functional violence is in the form of limitations in carrying out roles in the family and society due to torture.

**Keywords:** Violence, TRC, Representation, Fairclough Theory

### Introduction

According to the Big Indonesian Dictionary (2018), violence is defined as the actions of a person or group of people that cause injury, death or physical damage to other people or objects belonging to other people. Violent behavior is a form of behavior that aims to hurt someone physically or psychologically. Violent behavior can occur in 2 forms, namely ongoing violent behavior or a history of violent behavior (Untari, 2021) <sup>[15]</sup>.

Violence usually arises as a result of conflict. Sociologists argue that the root of conflict is the existence of social, economic and political relationships whose roots are struggles over sources of ownership, social status and power whose availability is limited with unequal distribution in society (Adha *et al.*, 2023) <sup>[1]</sup>.

Indonesia has faced various forms of conflict with diverse patterns, both in traditional and modern societies, vertically and horizontally. One of the regions in Indonesia that has experienced conflict is Aceh, in 1976-2005, which had nuances of separatism due to differences in desires between the Indonesian Government and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM). This conflict resulted in approximately 15,000 casualties. After a long process, including the Aceh earthquake and tsunami disaster in 2004, the Indonesian Government and GAM finally agreed to end the feud and establish a peace agreement in 2005, which was supported by international parties, including Finland as the place where negotiations took place for 25 days before the memorandum of understanding. peace signed. Although a

peace memorandum has been signed and the rebellion has gradually subsided, there are still several unresolved issues. Mashruri (2021) <sup>[9]</sup> states that separatist conflicts are popular with long-lasting and violent inter-group feuds. This separatist conflict has a bad reputation, so experts and policy makers need to pay serious attention and handle it. The same thing happened to the separatist conflict in Aceh, which, even though it has ended and life is much better, still leaves wounds and trauma for the victims, such as losing people closest to them, scars from torture, and other past trauma, which at least until now still in the victim's memory. The government formed the Aceh Truth and Reconciliation Commission (KKR Aceh) as an independent institution that aims to reveal the truth about past human rights violations, assist the reconciliation process, and recommend comprehensive reparations. One of the KKR's efforts to reveal the truth is through testimony hearings. The Aceh Truth and Reconciliation Commission (KKR Aceh) was formed based on a Memorandum of Understanding on Peace between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM). One of the tasks of the Aceh TRC is to reveal the truth about the armed conflict in 1976-2005, recommend reparation (restoration) of victims' rights, and facilitate reconciliation based on local wisdom between victims and perpetrators voluntarily. The Aceh TRC revealed the truth in two ways, namely taking statements behind closed doors by visiting the homes of survivors, and taking statements openly through Testimony Hearing Meetings which were held three times in 2018 and 2019, where survivors told their experiences in the past.

Based on research phenomena in expressing the truth about the armed conflict in 1976-2005 in the Aceh region carried out by the Aceh TRC, it was found that there were various forms of violence experienced by the people of Aceh during the conflict, both physical, verbal and psychological violence.

"Suddenly the authorities took my husband to the back, while the other residents were told to go home. Behind the cool was my husband being hit. I wanted to approach my husband but was not allowed. At that time I was eight months pregnant. I was pushed, kicked. My husband was not shown to me. My parents and I were beaten, *dikheun barangkapu keu lon*. They said, "your husband is GAM". I answered, "My husband is not a GAM. If my husband is GAM, he's already hiding somewhere, not sleeping at home, not making a living with me." "Where I sat waiting for my husband, while crying my husband was returned. There my husband was already bleeding". (FT, 42 years old)

Based on the testimony of female survivors of the armed conflict in Aceh in 1976-2005, it was found that there were various forms of violence experienced by civilians in Aceh carried out by security forces, this violence took the form of physical, verbal and psychological violence against civilians who were accused of being GAM members, including using violence against a pregnant woman and her parents. This testimony illustrates the systematic pattern of human rights violations experienced by the people of Aceh during the armed conflict.

This conflict can be done using the critical discourse analysis theory approach developed by Norman Fairclough. Norman Fairclough built a model that integrates together discourse analysis based on linguistics and social and political thought, and is generally integrated into social change. Therefore, the model put forward by Fairclough is often referred to as a model of social change. Fairclough divides discourse analysis into three dimensions, namely text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice (Vatimah and Hamdani, 2023) <sup>[16]</sup>.

There is some research gap related to the representation of violence, including research by Rahmi (2021) <sup>[12]</sup>, research results suggest that there were three types of violence found, namely physical, verbal and bureaucratic violence. Mulyana Research (2019) <sup>[10]</sup>, The research results found that violence shown in the film *The Raid: Redemption* shows that someone who has power allows them to commit acts of violence both psychologically and physically.

Based on the literature review, there are several research gaps that need to be explored regarding the representation of violence in the context of armed conflict. There has been no research that comprehensively examines the various forms of violence experienced by civilians in armed conflict, especially in the Aceh region in the period 1976-2005. Therefore, this research aims to describe the representation of violence in testimony given by the Aceh Truth and Reconciliation Commission (KKR).

### Research methods

This research uses a descriptive method with a qualitative approach. According to Sugiyono (2019) <sup>[13]</sup>, the qualitative descriptive method is a research method based on post positivist philosophy, used to research the conditions of natural objects where the researcher is the key instrument. The data used in this research comes from videos and transcripts of testimony hearings held by the Aceh TRC

which include (1) video recordings of testimony hearings and (2) transcripts of testimony hearings held by the Aceh TRC. This research uses data in the form of 1 video with a duration of 72 minutes containing testimonies from 12 people, as well as 2 transcripts, each containing 40 testimonies. So, the total number of testifiers in this study was 52 people.

Research data collection was carried out through three steps, namely observing and reading, identifying and recording on research instruments. Data analysis in this research uses Norman Fairclough's discourse analysis approach which consists of three dimensions, namely text, text production practices, and socio-cultural practices. The analysis process begins by watching the video and reading the transcript thoroughly, then selecting speech that contains elements of violence, then analyzing it using Fairclough's theory, the final stage is concluding the results of the data analysis.

### Research results and discussion

#### Representation of forms of violence

Based on Poerwandari's theory, forms of violence found in testimonies include physical violence, psychological violence, functional violence and financial violence. Apart from that, researchers also found a form of violence other than that mentioned by Poerwandari, namely verbal violence. Researchers then included verbal violence as additional data to enrich the research findings.

#### Physical abuse

Physical violence is an action that causes physical harm from interactions with parents or people who are responsible and have power (Ariani and Asih, 2022) <sup>[2]</sup>. Physical violence is the form of violence that is most often found in the statements of testifiers, with a total of 68 pieces of data. The physical violence experienced by the victims varied greatly, from beatings, strangulation, kicking, abuse, torture, to murder. Some examples of cases described in this research include the beating experienced by NA's father who was accused of being a GAM member, as well as the beating and torture experienced by MS, a driver who was thought to be carrying a GAM member. The description of these cases shows that the physical violence experienced by the victims was very brutal and caused serious injuries, even almost causing death, which illustrates a very high level of violence and serious violations of human rights.

Apart from that, the data also shows that physical violence was not only experienced by people accused of being involved with GAM, but also people who were not related at all. Overall, the results of this research illustrate how bad the situation of physical violence that occurred at that time was, and the importance of efforts to protect and restore victims and resolve cases of human rights violations that occurred.

#### Psychological violence

Psychological violence is violence that occurs when someone uses threats and scares someone. Violence which is also very close to psychological violence is emotional violence through words or actions that make children feel stupid or worthless (Hidayat, 2020) <sup>[7]</sup>. Based on research results, there are several forms of psychological violence experienced by victims, especially in the form of threats. From several testimonial quotes, it can be seen that the victims, such as AI, MS, and IY, experienced very

frightening threats from the army. They faced threats of being shot, hanged and tortured if they were not willing to provide information about the whereabouts of members of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM).

Apart from threats, this research also shows that victims experience other treatment that falls into the category of psychological violence, such as being interrogated, harassed and forced to admit to accusations that they did not commit. For example, MS received harsh treatment when interrogated by around 15 soldiers and was threatened with hanging. Meanwhile, IY also experienced physical abuse and threats of being hanged because he was accused of being a GAM supporter.

Based on these testimonies, it can be concluded that the psychological violence experienced by the victims was very severe and traumatic. They live in an atmosphere of insecurity and fear due to threats and abuse from security forces. This certainly has a serious impact on their psychological condition and well-being. Therefore, appropriate and comprehensive treatment is very necessary to recover from trauma and ensure protection and security for them.

### Verbal violence

Verbal violence is violence that is carried out verbally and is carried out continuously, causing developmental delays in early childhood (Mahmud, 2020) [8]. The psychological impact of verbal violence includes a person becoming insensitive to other people's feelings, developmental disorders, children becoming aggressive, emotional disorders, social relationships being disturbed, having a personality sociopath or antisocial personality disorder namely a personality disorder characterized by behavior that does not care about or violates the human rights of others over a long period of time which can create a vicious circle for a person, sometimes leading to suicidal behavior (Erniwati and Fitriani, 2020) [5].

Based on the research results, there are two main forms of verbal violence experienced by victims, namely accusations. In this data, MS said that he was accused of lying by the soldiers who interrogated him. The soldier accused MS of lying and stated that all Acehnese, even the grass, were members of GAM. The accusations made by the army demean and discredit MS and other Acehnese, showing the existence of prejudice and negative stereotypes against them.

Furthermore, verbal violence takes the form of insults. In the results of the research, SS said that he and his colleagues were forced to climb guava trees, and then insulted by the soldiers as "young monkeys" and "old monkeys". This insult clearly degrades the victim's dignity and self-respect, and shows an attempt at dehumanization by the perpetrator of the violence.

Apart from the two forms above, data also indicates that verbal violence often occurs together with physical violence. This can be seen from the testimonies of the victims who said that they were not only physically tortured, but also insulted and made fun of. Verbal violence seems to be part of the strategy of oppression and torture experienced by the victims.

Based on the data presented in this research, it shows that verbal violence that occurs during times of conflict in the form of accusations and insults not only impacts the feelings and self-esteem of victims, but is also part of a systematic

pattern of oppression and dehumanization carried out by perpetrators of violence against civilians.

### Functional hardness

Functional violence is violence in the form of limiting social roles (Cahyani and Aprilia, 2022) [4]. Based on research results, the functional violence that occurs is generally the impact of other forms of violence experienced by the victims, especially physical violence. This functional violence takes the form of limiting the victim's social roles and daily activities.

According to data in the NS case, he was detained for 9 days so he could not help his wife harvest rice. As a result, only 3 of the 9 rice fields could be harvested by his wife alone, resulting in losses for their family. This shows how the detention experienced by NS has limited its role as the backbone of the family.

HM and ML also experienced similar cases. After experiencing torture and physical violence, they become traumatized and afraid to return to work. HM didn't dare to be a driver for 2 months, while ML didn't dare to sell fish for 6 years. This has a negative impact on their family's economic condition.

The trauma and fear experienced by victims after experiencing physical violence has limited their space for movement and social roles in everyday life. This kind of functional violence often becomes a domino effect of other forms of violence that occurred earlier.

Thus, the data in this research shows that functional violence is a form of violence that often arises as a result of various other forms of violence, especially physical violence, experienced by the victims. This has a significant impact on their social and economic lives.

### Financial violence

Financial violence is violence carried out by taking the victim's money or property, withholding, or not providing for the victim's financial needs (Fatmawati, 2023) [6]. Based on the research results, it was found that financial violence occurred such as property damage, such as burning houses. The reason given was the assumption that these residents were involved with the Free Aceh Movement (GAM), even though they had no relationship with GAM. Furthermore, there was violence in the form of confiscation and detention of civilians' belongings. As in the case of MA who lost his car for 5 months and was asked to redeem his car at a high price or provide information about other residents involved in GAM.

Apart from that, the financial violence experienced by the victims also has a heavy psychological and economic impact. The community experienced trauma, lost property, and had difficulty meeting their daily living needs due to the army's arbitrary actions.

The resulting financial violence from the cases described in the research shows injustice and abuse of power by the authorities (army) against innocent civilians. They use their power and position to seize property and extort citizens.

Overall, systematic and widespread financial violence practices occur in the region, which have a negative impact on the economic and psychological lives of civilians. This is a serious violation of human rights that must receive serious attention and handling from the authorities.

Based on the research results above, it is known that the data found in this research tends to be more varied and in-

depth when compared to several previous studies. As in research conducted by Rahmi (2021) <sup>[12]</sup> which examined the representation of violence in novels, violence was found in the form of (1) physical violence in the form of beatings and abuse, (2) verbal violence in the form of accusing and mocking, and (3) bureaucratic violence in the form of prohibition on joining an institution and prohibition on performing theatrical arts. Symbolic violence is violence in a very subtle form so that it is not visible to the victim because basically this violence involves knowledge and communication (Bourdieu, 2020) <sup>[13]</sup>.

Based on the data on violent speech obtained, it is clear that serious human rights violations have occurred that meet the criteria for crimes against humanity as stated in Law no. 26 of 2000 concerning Human Rights Courts. Violent acts or attacks are carried out directly by officers against civilians. Among these acts are murder, torture, forced disappearance of people, ill-treatment, slavery, plunder and rape. All of these treatments are based on Law no. 26 of 2000 is a serious human rights violation. Meanwhile in Law no. 39 of 1999 article 33 concerning Human Rights expressly states that every person has the right to be free from torture, punishment or treatment that is cruel, inhuman, degrading and human dignity. However, in reality, almost all points regarding the right to a sense of security that should be obtained by the victims are actually violated by the perpetrators who are state officials.

People living in times of conflict often feel that everything is wrong. Many of them choose to become ordinary citizens and are not involved with any organizations, hoping to live and work quietly without accusations. However, sometimes unexpected things happen while they are working, and violence is inevitable. Like the IS case, the workshop owner was arrested because a motorbike belonging to a GAM member was found in his workshop. IS was then taken by force and interrogated regarding the whereabouts of the GAM member. During the interrogation process, violence and torture have the potential to occur as an attempt by the perpetrator to force the victim to admit their allegations.

### Fairclough dimensional model analysis

The testimony of the witness who contained violence was analyzed using Fairclough's critical discourse theory which is divided into three dimensions, namely textual, discursive and sociocultural.

### Textual Analysis

Textual dimension analysis in Fairclough's theory includes aspects of vocabulary, semantics and sentence structure. In this research, textual dimension analysis was found in the form of dominant use of passive sentences. The passive sentence is a modified sentence from the active sentence in which the subject in the sentence does not act as the perpetrator, but rather is the target of the action stated as the predicate (Tarmini & Sulstiyawati: 2019) <sup>[14]</sup>. In this research, passive sentences were found to tend to be used more dominantly when compared to active sentences. The following is an excerpt of data regarding the use of passive sentences.

012/KFi/BR/8

My hand was burned with cigarette fire until I'm in pain. Both thighs near my crotch were kicked with the PDL shoes they wear. (BR, p. 8)

Based on the analysis presented, the use of passive sentences in this quotation seems quite clear. In the first sentence, "My hand was burned with cigarette fire until I was in pain", the passive sentence structure is characterized by the use of the word "burned" as a predicate, which makes "my hand" the subject that receives the action. Meanwhile, the second sentence, "Both of my thighs near my crotch were kicked with the PDL shoes they were wearing", also uses a passive sentence structure with the word "kicked" as the predicate. The use of passive voice allows the witness to focus on the acts of violence experienced, without needing to name the perpetrator explicitly. Apart from that, the addition of information on methods and tools in each sentence provides a clearer and more complete picture of the violence received.

078/KPs/ML/13

**I am often followed by people using Hondas. Also,** sometimes there are up to eight or ten people. They sometimes obstruct me, follow me until they make me afraid and uncomfortable. (ML, p. 13)

This quote describes the form of psychological violence experienced by the witness, which is expressed in passive voice. The word "I" occupies the subject function, while the phrase "often followed" occupies the predicate function. To provide a clearer picture, the witness completed the sentence by adding the statement "by someone using a Honda". The use of the passive voice allows the witness to focus on the acts of violence experienced, without needing to name the perpetrator directly.

103/KFu/MA/25

When we arrived at the post we were told to go into the pool next to the mosque. Near the roadside is the pool. I refused to use their hands and ordered them to sleep in the pool. All of our bodies had to be exposed to the water, until our heads were submerged. There were 4 people who were soaked that night. At that time there was AF and BS. (MA, p. 25)

The data in the quote above illustrates the form of functional violence experienced by the witness, expressed in passive sentences. First, there is the clause "we were told to get into the pool", where "we" functioned as the subject and "we were told" as a predicate which requires the complement "to get into the pool" to complete the sentence. Furthermore, the next sentence is also expressed in passive form, namely "I was refused to use my hands with them" and "I was told to sleep in the pool". The witness chose to use passive voice to describe his experience of violence, without needing to name the perpetrator explicitly.

115/KFn/AA/20

Then my little brother went straight and brought me to the intersection not far from the house. My brother's hand is directly tied up backwards. Together with My brother's Cup 70 motor was also taken. (AA, hal. 18)

Based on the quote above, it describes a form of financial violence conveyed by the witness in passive voice. There are three passive sentences in this quotation, marked with the predicates "brought", "bound", and "taken". Testifiers predominantly used passive sentences to express their experiences of violence. Passive sentence is a transformed form of active sentence, where the object in the active sentence becomes the subject in the passive sentence. The use of the passive voice allows the witness to highlight the acts of violence experienced, without needing to name the perpetrator directly.

### Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis examines sociocognitive aspects in interpreting and producing discourse. Discourse is formed through discourse practices that determine the way the discourse is produced. The Testimony Hearing Meeting is a special activity held by the Aceh TRC to listen to the experiences of victims, witnesses and perpetrators regarding past human rights violations. This activity is an effort to reveal the truth about human rights violations in Aceh. In the Testimony Hearing Meeting, testifiers are given the opportunity to tell their experiences in front of the audience. Testifiers were placed on the stage facing the listeners, and were accompanied by the TRC team in case they were unable to continue testifying.

In the process of conveying their experiences, many testimonials tell only a few of the complex experiences they have experienced. Some testifiers even stammered and were not fluent in delivering their testimony. The KKR understands that this happened because conflict victims had difficulty expressing their ideas in this situation. They are not used to speaking in public, using loudspeakers, or speaking Indonesian as they do in hearing testimony. As a result, the discourse production process for some testimonies becomes incomplete.

### Sociocultural Analysis

Sociocultural analysis is concerned with social differences such as situational, institutional and social contexts. If seen from the naked eye, sociocultural practices may not be directly related to discourse production, but they determine how discourse is produced and understood.

1. Based on situational analysis, it can be seen that the Testimony Hearing Meeting held by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (KKR) was not an effort to deal with the current situation of violence, but rather to uncover the truth about past human rights violations. The important thing in this activity is the psychological readiness of the victims to recount their experiences.
2. Based on institutional analysis, the victims' testimonies touched on the role of certain institutions, especially the military (TNI) and police, as well as GAM, in the incidents of violence they experienced. Military and police institutions are depicted as perpetrators of violence, while GAM is depicted as an opposing party being hunted by the authorities. This shows how institutions influence the production of discourse in victims' testimonies.
3. Based on social analysis, attention is directed to the economic, political and cultural systems of society that develop when discourse is formed. By the time the testimony hearings were held, the political, economic and cultural conditions in Aceh were much better. However, irony can be seen in stories about experiences of human rights violations experienced by testifiers or victims during previous conflicts. At that time, the economy in Aceh was still not conducive, and many victims had difficulty earning a living due to unsafe conditions. Aceh has abundant natural resources, such as the Arun gas field, but the people were not able to feel the benefits at that time. Apart from that, the

Acehnese people's disappointment with the Javanese-dominated government also limits employment opportunities for the Acehnese themselves. In political life, after much bloodshed, both parties agreed to carry out peace negotiations, one of the conditions of which was the formation of a local political party in Aceh. The unsafe situation in Aceh has also forced many people to leave their hometowns by fleeing to other areas, some even moving abroad, in search of a better life.

### Conclusion

Based on the discussion that researchers have presented by analyzing Fairclough's dimensional model on the results of the representation of violence in testimony givers by the Aceh Truth and Reconciliation Commission (KKR), it can be concluded that there are five forms of violence in the speech of testimony givers, namely physical violence, psychological violence, verbal violence, violence. functional, and financial violence. Physical violence is violence that is most dominantly carried out by military officers, such as beatings, kicking, shooting and injuries, with the aim of intimidating and torturing the victim. Violence has an impact on the victim's psychological condition, causing prolonged trauma and fear. Furthermore, the psychological violence received by the victim took the form of terror, stalking and monitoring by the authorities. Verbal violence in the form of cursing, insults and accusations was also experienced. Then, the victim also experiences functional violence which prevents the victim from carrying out functional roles in the family and society due to the impact of the violence experienced. Lastly, the victim experienced financial violence in the form of the destruction of their residence and looting of property by military officers.

Based on the explanation above, the testimonies given are detailed and factual, describing various forms of violence experienced by civilians during the armed conflict in Aceh. Judging from the linguistic aspect, testifiers predominantly use passive sentences in conveying their testimony. Testifiers tend to want to show that they are right as victims who received acts of violence from the perpetrator.

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