

## HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY IN OKKY MADASARI'S *BOUND*

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### Abstrak

Gagasan hegemoni maskulinitas menyebabkan efek negatif dalam perjuangan perempuan sepanjang sejarah, sementara untuk menjadi laki-laki ideal dengan konsep 'kejantanan' yang hampir mustahil untuk dicapai dapat membawa dampak negatif secara fisik dan mental bagi laki-laki. Okky Madarasi's *Bound* mengeksplorasi berbagai isu yang terkait dengan ketidakadilan sosial melalui perjalanan karakter sebagai individu kelas bawah dan termarginalkan. Studi ini menganalisis hegemoni maskulinitas dan praktik sistemiknya sebagai akar dari ketidakadilan sosial yang digambarkan dalam novel. Metode yang digunakan adalah dengan menerapkan konsep teori *hegemoni maskulinitas* oleh R. W. Connell yang merupakan salah satu cabang studi gender, dan *maskulinitas dalam transgender* untuk pendekatan tambahan pada salah satu tokoh utama. Studi ini juga menggunakan *dinamika ketimpangan gender* berdasarkan konsep Scott-Samuel, dan *kekerasan struktural* Johan Galtung yang menganalisis siklus struktural hegemoni maskulinitas menjadi data utama untuk menggarisbawahi siklus dan dimensi praktiknya. Hasil penelitian menemukan karakter dominan memanfaatkan penyalahgunaan kekuasaan terhadap individu bawahan untuk keuntungan pribadi melalui berbagai jenis kekerasan struktural. Perempuan dan laki-laki kelas bawah secara khusus dan berbeda dipengaruhi oleh praktek hegemoni maskulinitas dalam dimensi interpersonal, institusional, dan struktural.

**Kata Kunci:** hegemoni maskulinitas, kekerasan struktural, penyalahgunaan kekuasaan, ketidakadilan sosial

### Abstract

The hegemonic notions of masculinity causes negative effects in women's struggle throughout history, while its ideal of being a man also sets nearly impossible standards for even men to achieve which could physically and mentally bring negative impacts for men. Okky Madarasi's *Bound* explores various issues entangled with social injustice through the characters' journey as lower-class and marginalized individuals. This study analyzed the hegemonic masculinity and its systemic practice as the root of social injustice depicted in the novel. The method used is by applying the concept of *hegemonic masculinity* theory by R. W. Connell which is a branch of gender studies, and *masculinity in trans-body* for additional approach on one of main characters. This study also used the *dynamic of gender inequality* based on Scott-Samuel's concept, and Johan Galtung's *structural violence* in which to analyze the hegemonic masculinity structural cycle into the main data to underline the cycle and dimension of its practice. The result found the dominant characters utilized the abuse of power against the subordinate individuals for personal gains through various types of structural violence. Distinctively, lower-class women and men are affected by the practice of hegemonic masculinity in interpersonal, institutional, and structural dimensions.

**Keywords:** hegemonic masculinity, structural violence, the abuse of power, social injustice

### INTRODUCTION

In a long period of time, society has always been putting male-dominant ideas into hegemony positions which could potentially cause injustice and inequality through power over others. The crisis of men dominating the very aspects of life, such as education, economy, society, culture, politics; and other public power-related, becoming an interesting issue during the development of a country. Gender inequality gives an impact on the regulatory function of social formations, hence creating power relations that are established through patriarchal structure and putting the secondary position of women

(ÜNLÜ, 2017). The negative effects of hegemonic notions of masculinity triggered women's struggle throughout history, also the strictness ideal of masculinity sets nearly impossible demands for even men to achieve which could have the possibility of negative impacts for men as well.

The 'brotherhood' in hegemonic masculinity is inclusively connecting men to each other through the concepts of gender-oriented hegemony and dominance, hence creating a hierarchical connection and excludes others – women – including men who do not practice or fit into the ideals of masculinity. Indonesia, as one of many developing countries in which gender-biased and

male domination, was at its peak during the 1990s.

Hegemonic masculinity is the major cause of gender oppression which is connected to power hierarchy, hence inevitably refers to violence. The practice of maintaining hierarchies within masculinities happens in every aspect of life, including in the school environment where most youths start their first time practicing the gender-based hegemony, through the ideals of masculinities, violence, and power to fit in (Dragowski, 2014). Okky Madasari is one of many Indonesian authors who genuinely concerns marginalized people in Indonesia by providing the readers with crucial and controversial issues of Indonesian's societal problems which also includes oppression against women (HAMID, 2018). She has written five novels that were translated into English for the global audience. One of her works is *Pasung Jiwa* (2013) with a translation version titled *Bound*. Okky creates a complete storyline of two main characters; Sasana or Sasa; and Jaka, which occurs in a real situational period of time in Indonesia during the Asian financial crisis in the late 1990s or '*krisis moneter*.' *Bound* revolves around a theme of how each individual in the characters finds their own identities as breaking free off from various situational problems which are chained to their beings from being true of one's self. Moreover, the story plot is connected to many real-life occurrences that happened during the 1990s in Indonesia which most likely rare to be discussed in the media.

The aim of this research is addressing the depiction of the patriarchy practice in the form of hegemonic masculinity in *Bound* (2014) by Okky Madasari. Moreover, the results of this research are enacted to contribute to the existing fields of studies and exhibit hegemonic masculinity depicted through literary works.

## METHODS

As for the main theme, this study applies hegemonic masculinity theory by R. W. Connell which is a branch of gender studies, and masculinity in trans-body for additional approach on one of main characters. Hegemonic masculinity consists of four stages (Alsyouf, 2018) used to examine the phenomenon of its practice in Okky Madasari's *Bound* (2014). Also, based on Scott-Samuel's dynamic of gender inequality and Johan Galtung's structural violence, this study applied the hegemonic masculinity structural cycle into the main data, hence underlining its journey (re; the cycle and dimension) throughout the data.

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### Hegemonic Masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity was first defined as a practice that legitimizes male's dominant position in society and justifies the subordination of the common male population and women, and other marginalized ways of being a man (Connell, 2005). The characteristics of the manhood ideals espoused through masculinity dominant into their own personal codes and form the basis for masculine scripts of behavior; violence; aggression; emotional restraint; courage; toughness; physical strength; athleticism; risk-taking; thrill-seeking; competitiveness; etc. (Donaldson, 2013). However, Collier's concept of hegemonic masculinity which remarks it as the negative characteristics depict men as: unemotional, aggressive, independent, and non-nurturing (Collier, 1998). Masculinity itself can be characterized by two sides of attributes; negative ones – toughness, aggressiveness, excessive risk-taking, suppression of emotions; and positive ones – strength, protectiveness, decisiveness, courage, and competitiveness (Scott-Samuel, 2009). The worldwide endorsement of it also accepts childhood socialization into the negative features which uphold power inequalities between individuals, social, racial, or gender groups.

### Structural Violence

Structural violence is a term coined by Johan Galtung in his *Violence, Peace, and Peace Research* (1969). The term is referring to a form of violence in which some social structure or institution may harm individuals by preventing them from meeting their basic needs (Galtung, 1969). Galtung argues that "*structural violence is an avoidable impairment of fundamental human needs*" (Ho, 2007). Structural violence is closely connected to social injustice, as for it affects individuals differently in various social structures and is the reason behind premature death and unnecessary disability (Farmer, Nizeye, Stulac, & Keshavjee, 2006). The high rate of social injustice experienced by individuals in the lower-class and largely attributes them to the stress, shame, discrimination, and denigration based from the lower status (Gilligan, 1997).

Scott-Samuel mentioned in his *Patriarchy, Masculinities, and Health Inequalities* regarding how hegemonic masculinity affecting health inequality with the elaboration of structural violence. According to Scott Samuel, hegemonic masculinity is one of many masculinity forms which culturally and politically dominant at a particular tie and place – which later comes up with the dynamic of gender inequality are; hegemonic masculinity; gendered socialization; power inequality; social/health inequality; social reproduction of patriarchy; and patriarchal society (Scott-Samuel,

2009). This structural violence represents how social relations are produced and maintained, originated in peace studies.

### **The Stages of Masculinity**

Amjad Alsyouf mentioned to understand hegemonic masculinity; we can examine it inside the four stages of masculinity (Alsyouf, 2018). The first stage is the early stage of masculinism, where the dominant figures need a defense to play an essential role by promoting the attributes they have; manliness (Honderich, 2005). At this stage, the dominant roles act as the determiner and need no other characters to engage in a perpetual encounter with the dominant role for it is determined by the masculine hero (Alsyouf, 2018).

The second stage is the follow up called masculism, where they begin to promote their interests or rights in which later determine the role of genders in society (Alsyouf, 2018; Honderich, 2005). At this stage, the dominant character maintains the position of their role by putting them up front and set subordinate characters off from the public sphere. This masculine tendency puts feminine preserve limited in the private sphere; domestic household; or childbearing, while the dominant characters enjoy the freedom of strong public presence. The changing stages came from determining the fate of one's world into unveiling one's interests as a privilege that subordinate characters hardly achieve (Alsyouf, 2018; Horlacher, 2012).

Hegemonic masculinity sits on the third stage of masculinity, where the dominant characters are not content with already having their attributes and interests which are already been promoted, instead to improve the masculinity they need to apply the hegemonic approach to step over other's power. In this stage, masculinism is "*reflected through the structural and interpersonal modes of power and masculism through the public*" (Alsyouf, 2018).

The idea of hegemonic masculinity passed onto the fourth stage; hyper-masculinity. This stage is a contemporary phase of masculinity where it is drawn as an extreme machismo in the characters. In first studies of hyper-masculinity, it consisted of three components; callous sexual attitudes toward feminine bodies; the belief in manliness in violence; and the excitement of experiencing danger (Mosher & Sirkin, 1984). Moreover in this stage, any emotive characteristic is deprived away and considering emotional self-control as toughness, in which a dominant masculine body shall not cry or bubbler under particular pressure.

### **Gender Performativity & Trans Masculinity**

This particular theory is introduced and developed by Judith Butler in her book *Gender Trouble*. Before that,

to understand the theory, it is compulsory to understand the meaning of gender. The differences between genders exist by social interventions, meaning being told which is correct to behave a certain way and which is not accordingly to one's gender, although the various definitions of masculinity and femininity embodied on each certain different culture, time, race, sexuality education and more (Michael, 2000; Mikkola, 2017). Human perspective on the differences between women and men character behavior is culturally learned, the same as how masculine traits belong to men and feminine traits belong to women is essentially rather socially-determined instead of biologically-determined (Haslanger, 2015; Mikkola, 2017).

According to Judith Butler, "*gender is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance*," in other words, she argues that gender roles are constructed by society, and masculinity or femininity is not inherent. For Judith Butler, gender is performative, not only acting it like in performance but rather actively constructing it as the person acts it out. Judith Butler's gender performativity was inspired by Derrida's notion, iterability – a capacity to be repeatable in different contexts – and J.L. Austin's theory of performativity (Butler, 1993; Krøløkke & Sørensen, 2006). "*Something is considered as performative when it produces a series of effects; a person says "I promise you" they are uttering this sentence, at the same time making a promise and changing your expectations*" (MSc, 2018).

In addition to gender expression such as masculinity presenting, is not only performed by specific bodies – for instance those assigned male at birth, to own, but rather a position that is more situational and which can be deployed and activated by a variety of bodies, including trans-people (Gottzén & Straube, 2016), masculinity tends to become an embodied practice in which cis-male bodies do, whereas it is only a set of norms or ideologies apart from male bodies, hence consequently could also be practiced by cis-women, cis-female bodies, or any other gendered human being independent from their sex assigned at birth, their sexual orientation or their gender positioning based on Connell's work (Connell, 2015; Gottzén & Straube, 2016), and it relates to different social institutions, such as the patriarchal state, the economy, the family, the labor market, educational institutions and the medical profession (Gottzén & Straube, 2016).

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### **Depiction of Hegemonic Masculinity**

In *Bound* (2014), one of the frequent cases is

abusing one's authority through exploiting the ability for corruption for their own gain. More often enough, it occurs in the link of masculinity applications to it. According to Amjad Alsyouf's toxic masculinity stages, the dominant characters would often use a hegemonic approach to improve their masculinity by stepping over others in interpersonal modes of power (Alsyouf, 2018). Moreover, this study has found two ways of abuse of power: violence and sexual offense. These characters include; school institution, military, market thugs, and foreman.

During Sasa's childhood as a young trans-kid, she began to notice the violent world of boys. Her father put Sasa in an all-boys school, never thought that it would tremendously affect Sasa's early life as a target of bullying. Forming a gang in schoolmates is a normal phenomenon, and in Sasa's school is no exception while school bullying is also very common. These gangs mostly made among senior students and freshman students with a lack of friends such Sasa would soon become a target for those gangs. The senior bullies use violence to seize their victims. The difference in power owned between seniors and freshmen in Sasa's all-boy school set up poor inequality whereas ideally the seniors expected to protect and help subordinate groups – in this case, freshmen like Sasa, from bullies. Bullying physically and mentally harms boys more and especially transgender children than cis-gender girls, as to how stoicism is taught for boys more than girls. They are taught to see people who do not fit their ideal masculinity image as weakness and a flaw.

Society has sorted the negative traits of masculinity as non-nurturing alongside aggression, and these two applications combined could refrain the school bullies to perform compassion and empathy. Aggression is a necessity only to be combined alongside nurturing traits for others that on a less powerful situation. However, in this case, school bullies are generally still children, and students in school matter. Therefore, the responsible institution such as the principal and school elements are the ones who need to be accountable for tolerating the bullying phenomenon in the environment and see it as "*just boys being boys*" (Madasari, 2014: p. 34). Instead of using methods that help students to develop healthier masculinity in better ways, the principal of the school punished and publicly shaming the Dark Gang in front of their schoolmates. This counterproductive way of teaching only escalated the indignation of the bullying situation. After the punishment, the school gang still exists and more targeting towards Sasa, as to how they instead of learning 'why' is bullying bad, the bullies would only learn 'how' to not get caught.

The concept of bullying phenomenon and turning subordinate group or individual as cash-cow in school could turn into serious perpetrator phenomenon in the 'real world' outside institution, which is also portrayed in

*Bound*. Market thug – or known as 'preman pasar' in Indonesian, emerged around the late '90s in Indonesian culture, which is also shown in *Bound* by Madasari. Sasa who recently found a place to busk was asked to pay the fee to the market thug unless she would be beaten, which unfortunately had the same motives and story back when she became a cash cow for school bullies. The market thug itself is a product of the hegemonic masculinity idea and helps to inspire the existence of school bullies. Under the name of 'master', 'boss', or 'seniority', they hierarchically above the subordinate group of people, yet the trait of non-nurturing is depicted and violence is often chosen to keep the imbalance of power between them and anything below them.

During those years, officers and authorities focus more on the working-class on middle-class 'crime'. As the story progressed, it took place around the post-incident of G30-SPKI, where military and authority officers were hunting down the remaining communists and their allies or sympathizer, even to those without any proofs. For them, anybody against any authority, voicing for the rights of the working-class, or performing any act of resistance, would be stapled as a communist which the identity is considered as criminal. Sasa, along with her band members and friends tried to find justice for the disappearance of Marsini – an underpaid woman worker at a factory who reportedly missing for weeks after demanding a rise with other workers. Unfortunately, Sasa and her friends' attempts to seek a clear answer were ignored; it ended with violence against the security forces, where police rushed and came to send them to detention at the military barracks. After they got Sasa separated away from her friends, and the officers had been sexually abusing and raping Sasa at the detention for a couple of weeks.

*They did the same thing to me every day: dragged me out of my cell, asked me one or two questions, then they had their way with my body.* (Madasari, 2014: p. 83-85)

Authorities used violence and sexually harassed her to achieve their demands; forcing the suspect admitting as a PKI's (communist party) member, and forcing her body to please them without her consent. This occurred in the hyper-masculinity stage, where characters who already held power and projecting their dominance through destructive performance, including sexual offense or rape. Using Sasa as an object for their pleasure was an ultimate form of rape culture in 'patriarchal' society, due to societal attitudes regarding gender. Rape culture is – more often than not, associated based on men on women crimes, with quite a low percentage number on the other way around.

Cak Jek – Sasa's very best friend, also normalizes sexual harassment that happened to her. As Sasa and Cak Jek performed their song, a random man tried to grab and touch Sasa sexually without her consent. After she threw a punch at the offender, Cak Jek tried to stop and thought Sasa was overreacting and should have let it go. Sasa realized that no matter how hard she tried to explain to Cak Jek why that act was deviant, she felt as he would never understand. Cak Jek – like some of the other women who justify sexual offense, never been in the victim's shoes and still abide by the normalization narrative. The male perpetrator, who harassed Sasa, portrayed how he took sexual harassment as excessive thrill-seeking action of treating Sasa as nothing more than an object (Donaldson, 2013; Mosher & Sirkin, 1984). This also occurred in the hyper-masculinity phase as Cak Jek excused their action and normalized it, unconsciously accepted the negative behavior of an unhealthy-masculinity trait.

Kalina is one of many other women employees who are victims of their foreman's sexual misconduct. However, only the ones – who are pregnant from it such as Kalina, are brave enough to speak up against it, as they got fired without any compensation while pregnant women without husband most likely would not easily get a job anywhere.

*"i was raped." ... "i was forced to please him, otherwise I'd be fired." ... "now I'm pregnant. and instead of taking responsibility he fired me!"* (Madasari, 2014: p. 168)

The ones that were not pregnant would keep silent as long as they would not be fired and still able to feed themselves to survive. The difference of power between factory workers and their foreman – in the matter of position status, could easily be used and abused to exploit the labor. Subsequently, it gradually takes time for other co-workers to stand for the unjust that their fellow faced, to finally acknowledge and come to the realization that the labor force has more power and masses than their foreman, supervisor, or factory owner. This social inequality could come across beyond gender, however, this particular issue involved how rape culture and hegemonic masculinity's practice is used to exploit women factory workers. Similar to – if not more than, other women workers who are not pregnant or fired, men workers also experiencing 'unjust blindness' as nobody tried to defend Kalina when she came forward in front of hundreds of her co-workers in the factory regarding what happened to her. The other workers were not pregnant, nor the very least got fired, hence they have a privilege to choose to ignore Kalina's voice. The frequent case of sexual misconduct in the workspace is very prone to happen, especially in the illegal prostitution business – which sometimes the act is even more justified than other work labor by society. However, *Bound* shows new perspectives on the world of prostitution through Elis's

story. As a sex worker, Elis was essentially 'down' on anything – for the most part, to keep some cash for her, anything except putting her in danger, or getting pregnant. A simple rule; putting a condom or contraception – yet it is a very difficult concept to understand for some of her customers. Illegal prostitution is a high-risk business with no protection, insurance, or compensation for the workers by their boss or pimp. It is not a surprising fact on the business owner exploits his woman sex workers.

*"What kind of whore doesn't let a guy stick it into her?! What's up with that?!" He was also shouting.*

*"Who stopped you? I just wanted you to use a condom!" Elis said.* (Madasari, 2014: p. 150)

In the story, the prostitution business which Elis works for is running with a rule; pay by the hour. A customer managed to book Elis service and made her do all sorts of things he wanted, except sexual intercourse as Elis could not do it without wearing a condom. After her service ended, she took his money as to how her payment is based by the hour regardless of the activity. Felt being cheated, the customer tried to call the police on the business. To save his business, the owner fired Elis and offered a pledge for the customer. Elis could not have any other options, as she believes that her payment is her right. She also believes that if the customer only wanted sexual intercourse without a condom and felt cheated, he should have stopped and canceled the service in the first place instead of wasting her work hour. For the second option, if Elis was completely abided by the customer, she would most likely end up being pregnant. However, that means she had to stop working with obviously no health insurance granted by her pimp for her coverage, despite having to feed more than one mouth. Sex workers such as Elis, are still considered as a woman labor worker. Elis, Kalina, and other women workers are often being treated only as a commodity by the employers through systemic hegemony masculinism and abusing the power they have.

The constant demand for the improvement of worker welfare needs to be addressed and granted by employers. A woman employee named Marsini, and the other four of her coworkers started to ask for a raise due to the latest government's regulation. After felt being ignored by their employers, she reached as many as coworkers to plan on a strike by handing out leaflets. However, one day before the strike, Marsini and four workers went missing. Speculations began to sprout, as the missing of those five workers naturally canceled the strike on the next morning. One of their guesses is that their plan on strike got leaked and the employers sabotaged them by erasing Marsini and the other four workers' existence. The speculation grew stronger after

three days had passed, the foreman announced the missing workers were "fired due absenteeism and trying to incite unrest" and warned other workers for not 'looking for trouble' like they did (Madasari, 2014: p. 71).

### **Sasa and Hegemonic Masculinity**

As a trans-woman, Sasa had experienced the concept of hegemonic masculinity throughout her childhood and growing up as an adult. Her experience of having a male biological body and journey of being a trans-woman left with full of traumatizing events for her. In early childhood, she began to learn the difference between boy's and girl's worlds through gender socialization at school and home. Sasa quickly absorbed all the information she has observed and experienced, including the concept of masculinity and femininity as the gender expressions, which perpetuates being male or female as performativity that the current society constructed to maintain the binary element of identities (Butler, 1993).

*It was different from my name: Sasana. Mine was not the least bit beautiful. It was too aggressive, too hard. It always gave me the impression of fighting and blood, of places where people boxed. Sasana was for her (sasana's mother) masculinity, bravery, power. (Madasari, 2014: p. 15)*

*Now I understood why Father all of a sudden wanted me to switch to a better school, one with girls in it. He wanted a school that was gentler, more beautiful, averse to violence. Aaah... I was regretting more and more being born as a boy. (Madasari, 2014: p. 26)*

Sasa's jealousy of her sister was the first sign of her realizing she was a woman trapped in the wrong body. She began to learn at a young age regarding femininity after her sister was born. In contrast, through the experience of how boys are majorly treated in social institutions, she associated masculinity with negative and destructive traits. Sasa had barely seen enough the healthy representation of masculinity and manhood. Being one of the bullying targets in all-boys school affected a central part of Sasa's perspective regarding the concept of being a man. Sasa assumed and fell for the stereotype of men only use violence and abuse as a way of performing their masculinity or manliness.

*Father suddenly started crying. Mother and I were shocked...he always seemed rock-steady and ready with a solution for every problem. Those were the same values he tried to teach me from a young age. A boy mustn't cry, mustn't mope, mustn't be weak. (Madasari, 2014: p. 38)*

Sasa's father had been teaching her with emotional restraint and toughness, unaware his son was a transgender, he sorted which gender performance and

expression Sasa should take accordingly to the biological gender itself. The demand for men to suppress certain feelings is one of the counterproductive traits that brings harm for them to bottle-up the emotions that society considers as weak (Connell, 2005). The early gendered socialization to children played the biggest role where boys are taught to hold tears back for it is a sign of weakness. Therefore, men are more prone to depression and other mental illnesses than women, as statistically along with their higher suicide rates.

*"I'll take care of everything right now," Father said, coming toward us. Then he turned and left the room without a word...he didn't tell us much, except "everything's being processed." (Madasari, 2014: p. 36)*

After Sasa told her parents that she got bullied by her seniors, her parents quickly tried to report files to the authority. As being the father in the house, he believed that he himself needed to handle every public sphere matter regarding legal action, while he put his wife to domestically handle Sasa. He believed the gender parental role in his house to a certain extent he did not want his wife to worry. Both Sasa's father and mother played their own role as parents on how the way they each took care of Sasa. However, with two roles for a mother and a father, it is also important to share burdens and work as a team. Sasa's father did not have to be the one who solely carries the burden of handling the legal action, as to how worries are always lighter when it is shared. Sasa's father also showed her that masculinity does not always associate with violence, that fatherhood is one of many ways that could portray how healthy masculinity looks like through his way of taking care of Sasa.

### **Cak Jek and Toxic Masculinity**

Even though the focus of this study is the female characters, it needs to be addressed briefly of how masculinity perspective in the eye of the main male character. The case of Sasa's father is one example of how the practice of emotional restraint and toughness could harm him mentally; as to how societal pressure created a certain format on the ideal of male's gender expression should be like. Cak Jek was no different from Sasa's father regarding the concept of toxic toughness that applied in masculinity traits.

*asking for advice to straighten out my thoughts was the same as a young man asking for advice on love. it was degrading! (Madasari, 2014: p. 266)*

After Cak Jek was selected as one of the leaders in a religious community, his status in society escalates higher from being a working-class to a leader that people look up to. Unfortunately, with his newfound

power of societal status, certain acts such as asking for help or advice means degradation. Society's high expectation of a male lead figure like Cak Jek could make him forcefully suppress his 'weakness' traits such as emotions or simply asking or reaching for bits of help from others. As mentioned before in Sasa's father's case regarding carrying the burden by himself, this negative trait could cause turbulence in one's mind. For his own power, Cak Jek felt insecure for reaching out or seeking help, when he knew that he could not carry the burden by himself alone. Eventually, it affected his whole life and well-being, such as unable to sleep or even focus on simple tasks. The practice of unhealthy masculinity does not only negatively affect and harm women but also mentally for men.

**Structural Violence of Hegemonic Masculinity**

Hegemonic masculinity practice could exist and flourish at every dimension of society, institution, community, and system. This study found three dimensions of hegemonic masculinity which are, interpersonal, institutional, and structural. Overall findings of structural violence can be concluded through the table below;

Interpersonal HM	Institutional HM	Structural HM
Students form gangs to bully other students through physical, mental, and financial abuse	School institution and law enforcement more favoring towards military and government individuals for personal needs and gains, than favoring the law justice	The bullying endorsement through normalizing deviance, and counter-productive punishment
Phenomenon of market thug or preman pasar against other lower-class	Law enforcement and the media ignore to tackle the issue of a 'lower-class on lower-class' crime.	The normalizing the idea of market thug culture to financially abuse lower-class people through power
Characters who are husbands or fathers minimalizing maternal involvement in family space rule	Characters who are mothers and wives doing full-time household chores add up to a huge part of the unpaid workforce as a labor without	The overly romanticization of traditional marriage form in society led its expectation and its actual implication were starkly juxtaposed

	monetary value	
Sexual misconduct towards female characters by male characters	Military force and factory officials, or other ruling-class characters abuse their power to rape female characters	The flourishing rape culture in society for normalizing the idea of sexual harassment upon female characters
The class-blindness from other female characters, and gender-blindness from male working-class characters could not see female working-class characters struggles clearly enough	Employers exploit their workers despites violating the current law or regulation from government	Governance mentality on opposing any lower-class character's resistance towards corporation or ruling-class are labelled as PKI or radicalized communist party that needs military involvement

**CONCLUSION**

In conclusion, *Bound* offers various characters and short conflicts where the common theme is regarding ruling-class dominant characters against working-class and woman labor characters. Moreover, abusing one's power for personal gain is the formula which ruling-class descends for other class to adapt the idea and utilize it to marginalize others. Besides through physical, financial, sexual violence, detention, incarceration, torture, hate violence, hegemonic masculinity as a form of unhealthy masculinity also infected through societal and systemic roots.

Furthermore, this study found the male characters who sit on the dominant system tend to use normalization of the very deviant behaviors to maintain the hierarchical structure between genders and classes. However, female characters are not the only ones in disadvantages from unhealthy masculinity, but also male characters as well who had to fit the format of high toxic masculinity standard in society. Hence it is

known that men are more prone to having mental health issues than women. Even so, *Bound* also still able to portray healthy masculinity practice in which mostly happens through fatherhood in the family. In addition, through Johan Galtung's Structural Violence, the practice of hegemonic masculinity could be seen in various layers of social dimension; from interpersonal, institutional, and structural. Based on the result, this study opens for more opportunities of further discussion. As for future research, it might be intriguing to focus on Structural Violence theory by Johan Galtung and break-down each dimension or layer, in which would contribute to the field immensely.

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