















# Kekerasan budaya

- By 'cultural violence' we mean those aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence-exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science (logic, mathematics)- that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence.
- Cultural violence makes direct and structural violence look. even feel right - or at least not wrong.

(Johan Galtung 1990)

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### Kekerasan budaya Table II. The Chosen and the Unchosen God Chooses And Leaves to Satan With the Consequence of Human Species Animals, Plants, Nature Speciesism, Ecocide Sexism, Witch-burning Men Women His People The others Nationalism, Imperialism Racism, Colonialism Whites Colored 'Classism', Exploitation Upper Classes Lower Classes True Believers Heretics, Pagans 'Meritism', Inquisition

## Kekersan epistemis

 "By epistemic violence, I understand the very contribution to violent societal conditions that is rooted in knowledge itself: in its formation, shape, set-up, and effectiveness. [...] Epistemic violence is deeply embedded in our knowledge as well as in the ways on which we strive towards it."

(Claudia Brunner 2015)

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## Kekerasan epistemis

"The clearest available example of such epistemic violence is the remotely orchestrated, far-flung, and heterogeneous project to constitute the colonial subject as Other. This project is also the asymmetrical obliteration of the trace of that Other in its precarious Subject-ivitiy. It is well known that Foucault locates epistemic violence, a complete overhaul of the episteme, in the redefinition of sanity at the end of the European eighteenth century. But what if that particular redefinition was only a part of the narrative of history in Europe as well as in the colonies? What if the two projects of epistemic overhaul worked as dislocated and unacknowledged parts of a vast two-handed engine?"

(Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak 1988)

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### Doxa

 One of the most important effects of the correspondence between real divisions and practical principles of division, between social structures and mental structures, is undoubtedly the fact that primary experience of the social world is that of doxa, an adherence to relations of order which, because they structure inseparably both the real world and the thought world, are accepted as self-evident. (Bourdieu 1980)

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### Interpellation

I shall then suggest that ideology 'acts' or 'functions' in such a way that it 'recruits' subjects among the individuals (it recruits them all), or 'transforms' the individuals into subjects (it transforms them all) by that very precise operation which I have called *interpellation or hailing*, and which can be imagined along the lines of the most commonplace everyday police (or other) hailing: 'Hey, you there!' (Louis Althusser 1970)

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# Teror negara dan kekuasaan - State terrorism: Severe and often long-lasting fear that may emanate from (but not exclusively) major and spectacular violence. ... Unlike violence of any scale that refers to overtly material damage and physical injury, terror has a lot more to do not only with the related mental suffering of those immediately or

directly affected and in site, but with a greater number of people through mediated messages or images at very different place

(Ariel Heryanto 2006)

and times.

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Kekerasan bud		1	
Question	Frequency	1985 in %	1984 in %
Communist resurgence	316	33.65	24.7
Corruption	174	18.42	24.5
Abuse of power	145	15.44	19.5
Gap between rich and poor	100	10.64	12.5
Drugs	66	7.02	6.7
Decline to answer	61	6.49	2.7
Religious fanaticism	33	3.51	2.9
Other	15	1.59	n/a
Western culture	14	1.49	n/a
Radical Islam	9	0.95	n/a
Racism	7	0.74	1.5











