Verbal and Symbolic Aggression Women in The Madurese Culture

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Abstract  
This research explores the verbal and symbolic aggression of Madurese women students. These two things will be examined as the leading models by looking at the oral and symbolic aggression models for Madurese women. Women’s aggression is a complex form of behavior.
This complexity is essential to the cyclical activities of the self and its environment. Madurese women ‘do not have a voice’ in voicing their own opinions including in rural electoral power politics and household economic autonomy. This research uses *mixed methods*, quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative research uses statistical analysis using confirmatory factorial analysis (CFA), while qualitative research uses descriptive data about the types and forms of verbal aggression in women. Both explore verbal and symbolic tendencies of aggression in Madurese women. The research results show that women prefer symbolic aggression to verbal aggression. Women with higher education prefer symbolic aggression to verbal aggression. Types and forms of verbal aggression include *cha’-nguca’e*, hitting, pulling, harming, and injuring. This oral does not lead to the loss of another person's life. Another finding is that a symbolic attack always follows every verbal aggression. Meanwhile, symbolic aggression involves gossip, talking about bad things about other women with slander and backbiting, spitting on other people’s property rights, inviting other people to hate other women, constantly talking about other people’s bad things, looking for reasons to hate other people, not coming meeting with hated people.

Introduction

In society, women’s roles are often represented by men. Helen Bouvier told how every time she wanted to interview, Madurese women were always accompanied by men. In the middle of the conversation, men often interrupt and argue on behalf of women.\(^1\) It is as if women become the second line of their personality, social life, and opinions.\(^2\) They experience social and psychological domination over what they receive from themselves and their surroundings.\(^3\) This social and psychological dominance causes them to repress every desire, need, and opinion in the unconscious\(^4\) over what women want. In this case, the

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1 Bouvier, Lebur! Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2002.
unconscious becomes an essential part of the process of symbolic aggression in Madurese women.

Madurese women have good self and collective awareness in anticipating this. The survival of these women is based on what is obtained from personality and socialization processes from their family and environment. The Madurese family is devout and always provides a good education process to its members. The family has a good function, especially about the child's personality. This function is the basis for how the family should carry out personality and education functions. As the main space for this process, the family is non-negotiable, especially concerning those that need to be anticipated, for example, conflicts between families; including how members provide support for the absence of aggression between them. In this case, women become agents as peacemakers regarding what happens in the family and with other people. On this side, two currencies emerge that cannot be separated from being agents of peace and people who always harbor aggression toward themselves and others.


The other side that always comes up with something interesting in women is a person who shows people how to behave. Their aggression is often in the form of symbols that must be interpreted to understand. Attacking these characteristics will make it difficult for those who are neither close nor understanding behavior. Incredibly aggressive like this is intentionally displayed to hide his motive. It is not easy to comprehend the desires and needs of women, except by reclaiming the hidden and the seen. It is one of several features that always becomes essential to see how behavior is displayed but with symbols only understood by the women.

Even in the era of information technology, aggression cannot be hidden but is revealed with winged words. Studying people who master technology and can choose their aggressive behavior is fascinating. It is common for this study to find something different from previous research. Buss and Perry’s research on aggression produced four dimensions of attack, namely verbal aggression, symbolic aggression, hostile aggression, and aggression. Verbal aggression is characterized by displaying behavior such as hitting and pushing. Symbolic attack is characterized by aggression hidden from others by spitting and other symbolic behavior. Hostile aggression is carried out by discussing it with other people. Hostile aggression is behavior that involves

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destroying things owned by other people. This aggression usually occurs in women with high social support.\textsuperscript{12}

Martínez's research revealed an exciting model related to aggression and hatred models involving interpersonal and group hatred. The primary symbolic aggression became attractive because of hatred.\textsuperscript{13} It also reinforced that the stigmatization of women is an issue related to mental health problems. The exciting thing about this research is that people choose symbolically, especially interpersonal or group hatred.\textsuperscript{14}

Sociologically, hatred and revenge due to motives of jealousy, land, or inheritance issues are conflicts that often arise and lead to hostility up to murder. This murder is also interesting because there is justification for the truth of carrying out the murder. Usually, this killing is carried out face to face between a man and an enemy, who is none other than male. Madurese people often call it \textit{Carok}.\textsuperscript{15}

Interestingly, women are directly involved in this carol behavior, even though they have an interpersonal conflict with people who have killed their husbands or brothers, which gives rise to inner strife within the women.\textsuperscript{16} Women certainly have hatred as a relationship that cannot be separated from the stimulation of verbal aggression, as per Martínez's research above. This article wants to explore symbolic aggression further in Madurese women, especially female students with a better education level than most women in Madura.

\textsuperscript{13}Martínez, van Prooijen, and Van Lange, “A Threat-Based Hate Model: How Symbolic and Realistic Threats Underlie Hate and Aggression.”
This research explores the verbal and symbolic aggression of Madurese women students. Specifically, the main problem is which Madurese women prefer and do more, verbal or symbolic. In particular, these two things will be examined as the leading models by looking at the verbal and symbolic aggression models for Madurese women.

Women’s aggression can be overcome in two dimensions: verbal and symbolic. Verbal aggression is an aggression that is manifested to others. This aggression usually happens if one and the enemy are equal and balanced, and there is courage to fight the other. Such aggressive behavior is usually done by people who dare to reveal disagreement directly. They will feel right about themselves by fighting and doing something without fear. Direct aggression can be displayed in an attempt to overthrow its opponent.17 This verbal aggression was deliberately displayed to show courage and resistance against the unhappy.

Symbolic aggression is a way for people to show dislike by hiding their behavior. This behavior is deliberately hidden to convey that he hates and dislikes it and intends to fight unusually. They hide to send a message to stop the behavior or fight back.18 Symbolic aggression is often shown to hide one's true identity, especially when using and participating in social media.19 The real motive can be fear

from people towards other people because the person is not balanced; they fight back. Symbolic aggression toward other people is different from that of men, who often find justification for their aggression. In this case, apart from the presence of symbolic aggressive behavior, as well as the psychological element, there is also a sociological element that causes aggression like this to be carried out by hiding the actual aggressive behavior so that people who are not like or hated understand it and do not carry out the behavior intended by the woman.

Theoretically, aggression is aversive behavior that causes harm to other people, both psychological and physical. Psychologically, a person will feel suffering and discomfort for both the perpetrator of the aggression and the victim. This suffering and despair cause both the perpetrator and victim to display their dislike of other people. Theoretically, this aggression is well formulated by Buss, which includes social learning theory. According to Vlaicu, aggression can be learned and carried out by learning from other people. This process manifests through verbal, symbolic, hostile, and angry aggression.

In this article, aggression is studied in terms of aggression.

In Madurese society and other societies, aggression, whether hidden or revealed by someone, often finds legalization and justification from other people. This aggression that harms and makes other people suffer often finds a reason. The rationale for this behavior

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23 Buss and Perry, “The Aggression Questionnaire.”
is relevant to what is called aggression as a paradox. Aggression behavior like this is often justified through legalization and justification from religion. Theologically, the element of explanation can be seen in the religious argument that acts of violence from disturbances to the family are permissible. The truth is also part of a person’s efforts to show defense towards other people, especially in the family, for example, defending his wife. So, it is natural that aggression is common among most people.

Women with experience and a high level of education have a lot of ability and potential; even with a charming face, they can act out their behavior by appearing different from what they are. This difference in behavior is deliberately not shown to hide the true motive. Subjective and objective norms cannot be separated if we want to analyze actual behavior. These norms will provide stimuli for the emergence of intentions in behavior. Intention is an important part that triggers aggressive behavior. In many perspectives, explanations become very complex, mainly because of how women make decisions about what behavior to show in aggression, whether verbal aggression or symbolic aggression, which contains complex meanings and interpretations of women’s behavior. The complexity of women's aggressive behavior is fascinating in this research.

In addition, the existence of several cultures also influences Madurese women's behavior, choosing verbal or symbolic aggression. For the community, women are different from Madurese women, physically and psychologically. They do not have the right to be angry and show their anger. If Madurese men “Carok” (carry out direct aggression by hitting and killing each other to defend their self-esteem),

then women are “mate arembic” (died due to giving birth). Likewise, women are considered worthy of death if they give birth, and in some communities, they are even considered martyrs. Women's worth is assessed by how willing they are to sacrifice themselves for the happiness of their husbands and children. Madurese culture often causes Madurese women to experience a dilemma in choosing their aggressive behavior.

Research on aggression perpetrated by women rarely comes to the surface because, to this day, women are still a mystery in their aggressive behavior. Interestingly, women are positioned as people with a caring, empathetic, and compromising spirit. It differs from men, who are advised to prefer aggression, agency, and dominance.  

This sociological role placement often provides an alternative for women. They hide their feelings more by not expressing all their desires and needs. It is what makes women, when they come out, still choose symbolic aggression, “aggression that is stored and only women understand what the meaning of this aggression is.” It is understandable when there is aggression shown by women because of the emergence of frustrated races and unrealized action.

Methods

This research chose a location on Madura Island, a region in East Java. This region was selected because several researchers recognize it as having a noble culture, but at the same time, has a high

level of conflict. Aggression, although starting to decrease in intensity, occasionally occurs between people in different communities. This aggression occurs in an exciting relationship with the characteristics of the third-largest ethnic background with the most cultural distribution in Indonesia, which is expected to have a cultural mix between ethnicities in Indonesia so that aggression is not part of the choice so that a resolution emerges, aggressive behavior with some expectations.

This study uses mixed methods, quantitative and qualitative. Anticipate with statistical analysis with confirmatory Factorial Analysis (CFA), while qualitative uses descriptive data about the type and form of verbal and symbolic aggression of women. Both are used to experience verbal and symbolic tendencies to aggression against Madurese women.

This research involved women who were studying in universities at Madura. The age range of these women was 19-22 years, and occupied semesters 2 and 4. A total of 248 informants were involved in this research, consisting of 129 female students still studying in semester 2 and 155 female students still studying in semester 4 at universities in Madura. Their involvement in this research was based on Madurese ethnicity and living in Madura. They are also students who still need to complete their final assignment at college.

The data collection process is carried out by spreading aggression to a high-level religious school. The process is done by applying through the group WhatsApp (GWA) class (daring) or extending it to the high school class. At GWA, it is usually made by a particular lecture. The lecturer is expected to be willing to help with this research. Based on the 300 reported angles, there are 248 that are

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considered worthy of analysis. Belonging to verbal aggression and symbolic aggression refers to several studies.\(^{32}\)

The questionnaire was tested on students from the same criteria, Madurese ethnicity. This test concerning verbal and symbolic aggression was carried out on students. Furthermore, this questionnaire was assessed by social and education psychology experts, several colleagues, and lecturers from various universities: UNIPA, UNP, INSTIKA, and IAIN Madura. Meanwhile, qualitative is carried out using in-depth interview techniques, snowball interviews, and unstructured interviews, taking into account setting, culture, and gender.\(^{33}\)

**Results**

Based on the fit and estimate model statistical test, the fit model shows the appropriate model. It can be seen from the statistical test describing 1.000 (CF1), 0.998 (GFI), 1.080 (TLI), 0.990 (RMSEA) (>0.9). According to the Chi-Square Test, it shows 0.779 (p>0.05). Based on this, the symbolic aggression chosen by the Madurese women shows a model that matches the model estimated with its empirical model. The symbolic model makes it increasingly relevant between theoretically predicted and empirically predicted models. Theoretically, the aggression model that’s commonly used is a model that hides aggression from actual behavior. The behavior shown is symbolic, revealing the complex meaning of Madurese’s aggressive women’s


behavior. So, symbolic aggressive behavior is more commonly used by women to describe women as intelligent people who keep aggressive behavior.

### Chi-square test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>X²</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baseline model</td>
<td>119.119</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor model</td>
<td>14.076</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0.779</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Additional fit measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fit indices</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Comparative Fit Index (CFI)</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI)</td>
<td>1.080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bentler-Bonett Non-normed Fit Index (NNFI)</td>
<td>1.080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bentler-Bonett Normed Fit Index (NFI)</td>
<td>0.882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parsimony Normed Fit Index (PNFI)</td>
<td>0.598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bentler's Relative Fit Index (RFI)</td>
<td>0.826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bentler's Incremental Fit Index (IFI)</td>
<td>1.049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative Noncentrality Index (RNI)</td>
<td>1.054</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Meanwhile, based on the loading factor for each item, the items show the appropriate numbers (>0.05). Based on this, it shows that each item can measure very well, as in the following table:

### Parameter Estimates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor loadings</th>
<th>95% Confidence Interval</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indicator</td>
<td>Symbol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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So, based on that, it shows that there is a precision model of aggression on women that fits the empirical and theoretical models. Interestingly, even women choose unique, unexpected, and sometimes annoying attacks for researchers. Highly educated women prefer symbolic aggression to verbal aggression. The table above shows that the aggression of 4-semester students is higher than that of two semesters, with different forms of charge as well.

### Descriptives Plots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group Descriptives</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Group</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGGERSION</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Several findings will be explained based on descriptive (qualitative) analysis to analyze the following statistical result. Based on descriptive data, Madurese women’s aggression shares verbal aggression and symbolic aggression. The verbal attack occurs when women have courage, strength, confidence, and open character and are used to conflict. While the extended charge is usually done by women who are shy and always keep secrets, characters collide and have no courage in battle. Verbal aggression is often carried out by Zn, Knt, St, Nm (all marked by either name or background), while Nl, Ln, Zf, Kl chose symbolic aggression.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent</th>
<th>Characters</th>
<th>Aggression</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Verbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zn</td>
<td>courage, confidence, open</td>
<td>Pushing hitting and spit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knt</td>
<td>Conflict, Open</td>
<td>Gossip hitting and gossip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St</td>
<td>Masculin, Open</td>
<td>Damaging goods</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table shows that women prefer symbolic aggression to verbal aggression. What is exciting and new is that women choose unique, unexpected, and sometimes surprising attacks. Researchers have found that women with higher education prefer symbolic charge to verbal aggression. Types and forms of verbal aggression include “cha’-nguca’e,” hitting, pulling, harming, and injuring. This verbal behavior does not lead to the loss of another person’s life. Every verbal behavior is also followed by symbolic behavior; for example, the table shows Zn, Knt, St, Nm carrying out verbal and symbolic aggression.

Meanwhile, symbolic aggression involves gossip, talking about bad things about other women with slander and backbiting, spitting on other people’s property rights, inviting other people to hate other women, constantly talking about other people’s bad things, looking for reasons to hate other people, not coming in the meeting with hated people. Not every symbolic aggression is followed by verbal aggression, which can be seen in the characters NI, Spy, Li, Ln, Zf, KI with their shy nature, always keeping secrets, closed characters, and not having the courage in conflict.

Discussion
The finding of some characters is an essential part of aggression. This character shows that there is a Madurese cultural setting that has more courage in behavior\textsuperscript{34} is straightforward, firm, and always shows his behavior.\textsuperscript{35} This woman’s character is interesting because, with her straightforwardness and firmness, some of the characters look different from other women in Indonesia. These findings strengthen the description of the physical and sociological nature of Madurese women carried out by Jonge.\textsuperscript{36} However, several essential novelties relate to Madurese women’s typical and unique aggression.

Verbal aggression for women is a difficult choice. Women should not display excessive and excessive behavior. There is extreme attribution of them. Women are gentle, kind, and adventurous creatures. They are trapped in a dualism between femininity and masculinity. Women must choose to be feminists who are different from those of the opposite sex. Some should choose to “hide their aggressive behavior.”

Verbal aggression is dangerous for women. Not only are they considered physically weak, but their feeling is more straightforward to conquer. Often, other people use it as a part of weakening women. The stereotype of women as people who can maintain their beliefs and steadfastness has not been studied much, so much of their behavior is not revealed, mainly related to their psychology. Women always have weapons to play their role in social relations. By not choosing verbal aggression, women can interact well, including in mediums that are relatively dangerous for other people.

In analyzing women’s aggressive behavior, there is an adage that is often stereotyped towards women; only women and God know where symbolic aggression is intended—the way women choose

\textsuperscript{34} Latief Wiyata, \textit{Mencari Madura} (Jakarta: Bidik Phronesis Publishing, 2013);
Fathol Haliq, “Pemberdayaan Remaja Pesisir Dan Deprivation Trap Komunitas Pesisir Madura” (Pamekasan: IAIN Madura, 2019).


\textsuperscript{36} Jonge, \textit{Across Madura Strait} (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995).
behavior that is categorized as symbols shows this behavior. For them, behavior does not just appear out of thin air; why they behave like that is considered. Specifically, McAndrew’s research explains how women have unique ways of acting aggressively. They have swords that can make behavior more complicated to understand. Their behavior is always seen in how they see an event and is linked to previous behavior. In carrying out this aggression, women hide and sometimes reveal it by speaking unpleasantly (gossip).

Women choose symbolic aggression to show them sympathy and compromise with the complexity of behavior. Empathy is a way and strategy for women to give stereotypical labels to other people, especially other women. They have codes for communicating. This code is only understood by the same group of women or another language “of the same frequency.” Women have advantages in social relations like this. With this language, they can master data and crucial things in certain groups. It means that with symbolic aggressive behavior, women can become agents of change without being trapped in direct conflict with other people.

The choice of symbolic aggression for Madurese women is sociologically and psychologically motivated. Sociologically, women still have no justification for harsher behavior, which is dangerous for women. Women are people who deserve to be protected by men. Men in Madurese society are the most dominant in making decisions, especially in the family. Bourvier’s description of women who do not have an opinion, although today there has been much change due to participation in education, women still depend on men for their ideas and choices. It means that there is justification from the culture that Madurese women should not be aggressive, especially when it is shown, but “culturally justified” by carrying out symbolic aggression, for example, looking for lice on the head while telling stories about their neighbors and friends, or forming friendship circles whose contents

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reveal feelings, hatred, stereotypes of people other and other behavior that shows his dislike or hatred.

Sociologically, it is also supported by the psychology of Madurese women, which differs from most women worldwide. Madurese women have the hope of expressing their aggression differently. In political behavior, for example, women prefer to sympathize and compromise with fellow women. Surprisingly, women always remember politicians’ bad behavior and can reveal it in detail. Interestingly, women’s prejudice in women’s political conduct is also based on symbolic aggression that arises from the reality of their subconscious. They are reminded of what happened and can express it in aggressive behavior. In this case, researchers will often find it if they can reveal “the behavior behind women’s events.”

These sociological and psychological problems are added to by the internalization of family and education, which requires women to be different from men. This internalization is strengthened by religious values that women should adhere to firmly. Women are only allowed to leave the house if a man accompanies them. Women are not preferred in educational participation if there are men. Family and education also contribute to prioritizing symbolic behavior over verbal behavior, which will have a direct physical and, even more so, psychological impact. As important social institutions, especially educational institutions, they should be institutions that can provide intelligence and liberation for women to express themselves.

Symbolic aggression is not the aggression that women want. Because sociological and psychological factors constrain them, they prefer behavior that is safe for themselves and their families if it threatens them. Symbolic behavior is tricky but contains mystery, so what has been written and revealed by researchers and academics is always irrelevant to the latest research with different backgrounds. Moreover, Madura has a patriarchal culture, and puts Madurese women in the middle of a dilemma with the increasing number of women
residents. Relatively large participation in education, especially in educational participation, makes tenacious, intelligent, and creative.\(^{38}\)

Madura women have a unique symbolic aggressive behavior and are always interesting to discuss. Several vital notes from the empirical reality of this research show that different women individuals show things that are primarily engaging in their personality over women. Women often consider themselves weak but have fantastic potential. This self-potential exists within the individual, but usually, they cover it with different behaviors. In symbolic aggression, there are several other signs of aggression. It is because of a culture of society that does not allow women to behave in ridiculous ways, especially concerning aggressive behavior. Almost everyone in this community agrees that aggressions belong only to men “oreng lakek mate acarok, oreng bhinik mate arembhi” (men die because of crack (Carok). In contrast, women die because of birth).

The two are often compared to different things. However, values mainly related to religiosity are considered to have similarities, especially for Madurese people who value manners and religious values. These differences in outsiders’ perspectives become an analytical tool that needs to be balanced with insiders’ opinions. As the perpetrator, the reality of what has been done is only interpreted from an outsider’s perspective; there is no confirmation or integration of views with the experiences and opinions of insiders. In this context, symbolic aggression presented with various data shows several academic proofs using quantitative and qualitative approaches.

In addition, Madurese women in this research are “subjects who speak out” about what they have been harboring all this time, so aggressive behavior that is often inappropriate also appears in the form of aggression. Unlike other research, this article presents unexpected things that Madurese women have individually and personally. This finding may be strange if confirmed with other sociological data with triangulation of the primary source from men who assume that in some triangulations, the data only presents women without men. In future

research, other research will be more interesting, in-depth, and methodologically complex.

**Conclusion**

This research finds hidden aggressive behavior; the existence of internal factors in women makes it increasingly attractive how they are no longer confined to traditions and mainstream viewpoints that are usually used and applied in a patriarchal culture. This critical finding strengthens the existence of aggressive behavior in a culture that justifies maladaptive behavior, as in the Madurese society Carok’s example. Detailed and complicated issues in aggression always provide new perspectives regarding the symbolic aggression of Madurese women. This novelty reveals how women choose symbolic aggression in their behavior. Madurese cultural variables are an essential part of social reality. Revealing symbolic behavior is looking at visible behavior (peripheral) and hidden behavior.

In addition, the power of this research lies in the experience of symbolic expression of aggression by women in the patriarchal culture of Madura society. Only a few researchers can reveal it because of the difficulty of getting more authentic data in understanding behavior. Behavior analysis that shows what it looks like but also the intensity and objective norm gives color to its behavior implementation. At the same time, there is a need for improvement in the way academics and researchers, namely that comprehensive research uses cultural labels and stereotypes, which is considered to interfere too much with more authentic behavior and the ability to express it well. The use of these methods is what makes this research should be considered imperfect. Because it is not perfect, it is appropriate for this research to be clarified and more in-depth with other research using mixed methods to reveal more depth. It cannot be denied that culture is also included as a new theory in subsequent research.

Another note is that experiencing a particularly traumatic woman’s behavior and containing elements of vengeance is not an easy thing, but seeing a culture will more comprehensively resolve the problem. With a particular methodology, where it is made an essential
tool for revealing something more profound than just using it as an instrument for data digging, this research has been able to discover the aggression of Madura’s women that has not been revealed so far from the sociological and psychological point of view. This paper has revealed data and strengthened previous theories in social reality from a psychological perspective. That aggression occurs in different contexts, so new research should be more advanced and carried out by academics, researchers, and other academic cultures. In general, this research has revealed new questions, variables, methods, and results to reveal the hidden aggression of Madurese women.

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