

**UNVEILING VULNERABILITY: TRAUMA'S REFLECTION ON
MASCULINITY IN *MOONLIGHT* (2016) AND
KUCUMBU TUBUH INDAHKU (2018)**

Oleh

Sri Widia Anggriati¹, Danial Hidayatullah²

^{1,2}Fakultas Adab dan Ilmu Budaya, Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga
Jl. Laksda Adisucipto, Yogyakarta

¹Surel: 21101050041@student.uin-suka.ac.id

²Surel: danial.hidayatullah@uin-suka.ac.id

Abstract

*This research aims to compare and investigate the trauma that affects men's masculinity in two different movies from America and Indonesia. This research compares two male characters who both experienced traumatic experiences but, in contrast, have different masculinities due to the influence of the trauma as well as the socio-cultural context they experienced. The objects of comparison for this research are the character Juno from the movie *Kucumbu Tubuh Indahku* (2018) and the character Chiron from the movie *Moonlight* (2016). The two characters share similarities in the causes of trauma, but they express different masculinities. To analyze this research, the comparative literature method, the theory of trauma by Levine (2008) and the theory of masculinity by R.W. Connell (2005) were used. The research results show that social-cultural influences play an important role in dealing with a person's trauma which can ultimately affect their masculinity. Juno does not receive social support from the people around him. He remains in subordinate masculinity. Meanwhile, Chiron, who received social support, experienced a change in his masculinity from subordinate masculinity to hegemonic masculinity.*

Keywords: *comparative literature, masculinity, trauma, Indonesia, America*

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Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk membandingkan dan menyelidiki trauma yang mempengaruhi maskulinitas laki-laki dalam dua film yang berbeda dari Amerika dan Indonesia. Penelitian ini membandingkan dua karakter laki-laki yang sama-sama mengalami pengalaman traumatis namun memiliki namun memiliki maskulinitas yang berbeda karena pengaruh trauma serta konteks sosial budaya trauma serta konteks sosial budaya yang mereka alami. Objek yang menjadi pembanding dalam penelitian ini adalah karakter Juno dari film *Kucumbu Tubuh Indahku* (2018) dan tokoh Chiron dari film *Moonlight* (2016). Keduanya memiliki kemiripan dalam hal penyebab trauma, tetapi mereka mengekspresikan maskulinitas yang berbeda. Untuk menganalisis penelitian ini, digunakan metode comparative literature dan teori trauma oleh Levine (2008) dan teori maskulinitas oleh R.W. Connell (2005). Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pengaruh sosial-budaya berperan penting dalam menghadapi trauma seseorang yang pada akhirnya dapat mempengaruhi maskulinitas mereka. Juno tidak mendapatkan dukungan sosial dari orang-orang di sekitarnya. Ia tetap berada dalam maskulinitas subordinat. Sementara itu, Chiron yang mendapatkan dukungan sosial, mengalami perubahan maskulinitas dari subordinat menjadi hegemoni.

Kata kunci: Sastra banding, maskulinitas, trauma, Indonesia, Amerika

A. INTRODUCTION

Moonlight (Jenkins 2016) and *Kucumbu Tubuh Indahku* [Memories of My Body] (Nugroho 2018) expose violence and pressure that traumatizes a man while growing up and finding himself. These movies show how a man grows up without enough attention and love from his parents and lives in a culture that puts pressure on him. In *Kucumbu Tubuh Indahku*, Juno is traumatized after seeing violence in the form of murder but is pressured not to be a weak boy by his aunt. Meanwhile, Chiron in *Moonlight* is always bullied and always gets verbal abuse from his mother. However, despite the same traumatic experience, the two characters grow up with different characters and personalities. Almost the same causes of trauma have a different impact on the masculinity traits in Juno and Chiron.

Kucumbu Tubuh Indahku, by Garin Nugroho, tells the story of the life journey of a man named Juno from his childhood to adulthood. From a very young age, Juno often experienced unpleasant experiences, such as being left alone by his father, witnessing a murder committed by his *lengger* dance teacher, experiencing physical and verbal violence from his aunt, being sexually harassed by political officials, and being pressured by patriarchal culture due to something Juno was passionate about. Juno never put up a fight when he was subjected to violence or bullying. Until Juno grew up, he always experienced violence that traumatized him. He grew up to be a passive, feminine man with homosexual sexuality. The trauma that grew within Juno was seen when he witnessed a fight between *warok* and a young man to fight over him. Wilson (in Izharuddin 2020, 1–2) explains that *warok* is the leader of *reog*, a unique theatrical performance from Ponorogo, East Java, Indonesia. Since *warok* is not allowed to have sexual relations with the opposite sex to maintain his spiritual powers, he chooses boys who act as his companions and intimate partners, or commonly called *gemblak*.

A fight scene, which caused wounds and blood, managed to bring up Juno's past trauma, namely when he saw his *lengger* dance teacher beat his student to death. He expressed his emotions by screaming hysterically while hitting the water in the public bath. Juno expressed his fear by saying that there was blood everywhere because since childhood, he had often seen various kinds of violence, especially those that caused wounds and blood. The traumatic experiences that Juno saw and experienced during his life made him a passive, weak, and feminine-looking man.

Moonlight, by Barry Jenkins, has similarities to *Kucumbu Tubuh Indahku*. *Moonlight*, which consists of three acts, tells the story of the

life journey of a black youth named Chiron from childhood to adulthood. Chiron, who lives with his mother in Miami, often experiences verbal violence from his mother. He also received neglect from his mother after his mother became a drug addict. Chiron also often gets bullied both verbally and non-verbally by his school friends and the surrounding culture because he is gay. Surprisingly, Chiron dared to fight back against those who had bullied him. Despite the pressure and violence from those around him, Chiron managed to grow into a strong, assertive, brave, and independent man.

From the two movies above, it is known that Juno and Chiron both live in a society that upholds masculine culture in the constellation of gender and heteronormativity. Nilan & Dermatoto (2012, 280–82) explain that the patriarchal order among Indonesian men is a hierarchy built on two distinct differences: youth and maturity and the difference between peasant and aristocratic class backgrounds, which is determined by honor, recognition, and prestige. Furthermore, another structural hierarchy of masculinity is called patrimonial hierarchy, which refers to age, cross-sectoral discourse on cultural status, and traditions in the field of socio-economic positioning, which gives rise to the terms senior men and junior men (Nilan and Demartoto 2012). Senior men's authority is displayed in strength, toughness, physical dominance techniques, and fighting skills (Nilan and Demartoto 2012, 280–82). Furthermore, Indonesia's deep-rooted patriarchy and heteronormativity have led to violence against the LGBT community. In Indonesia, a strong patriarchal culture with conservative religious doctrines makes sexual minorities vulnerable to abuse. While there are human rights protections in Indonesia's constitution, these laws are often ignored on the basis of individual values and beliefs, religious doctrine, and patriarchal culture

(Badgett, Hasenbush, and Luhur 2017, 16–20). Laazvula (in Badgett, Hasenbush, and Luhur 2017, 20) adds that sexual and gender minorities are considered deviants that must be cured.

Meanwhile, in Western patriarchal societies, gender identity is viewed through a strict heteronormative lens (Gupta, Madabushi, and Gupta 2023, 5). Furthermore, any deviation from heteronormative behavior is considered a form of deviance that requires treatment. Individuals such as gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, queer, and asexual who do not conform to these behaviors face alienation and ostracism and are vulnerable to sexual violence (Gupta, Madabushi, and Gupta 2023, 5–7). Patriarchy associated with the hegemonic role of masculinity includes problematic expectations for men (Frye 2022, 1). Furthermore, they are required to be able to conceal any form of vulnerability, strive for individual success without assistance, and appear physically and mentally strong. In the United States, dominant masculine ideals are realized with iconic images of men such as the tough and masculine "Marlboro Man" (Sánchez et al. 2010, 2). O'Neil (Sánchez et al. 2010, 2) adds that this idealized image is based on the fear of appearing weak and feminine. Collins (in McGuire et al. 2014, 263) points out that black men who behave in feminine ways are often demonized in communities that enforce strict restrictions to ensure rigid images of manhood.

In the two movies described above, both main characters experienced trauma. In psychoanalysis, trauma is understood as the repetition of a frustrating experience (intrapsychic and traumatic) in a threatening dimension and psychically intolerable (Elzer and Gerlach 2014, 12). Levine (2008, 8–11) defines a person as traumatized when they experience an inability to respond or respond to a perceived threat.

Furthermore, the most important factor regarding trauma is the perception of threat and the inability to deal with it. Traumatic events include personal tragedy, such as being in a serious accident, experiencing a life-threatening, catastrophic event, and being a victim of violence (Halgin and Whitbourne 2010, 221). Furthermore, individuals who survive traumatic events must be able to cope with painful memories that often involve vivid images.

In terms of gender, epidemiological studies have found that men and women differ in their risk of exposure to trauma (Epstein and González 2017, 4). In addition, men are rarely able to recognize their own trauma because of the masculine concept of biological and somatic suppression to make men immune, thus unable to recognize their own physical and emotional reactions (Slegh, Spielberg, and Ragonese 2021, 7). Furthermore, masculine norms teach them to be strong, tough, and independent, so men are particularly vulnerable to trauma and find it difficult to seek help.

According to Connell (2005, 71), masculinity is defined as a pattern or configuration of social practices that relate to the position of men within gender rules and is socially differentiated from practices associated with the position of women. Furthermore, masculinity is not determined by male biology but always refers to the male body, both symbolically and indirectly. Connell (2005, 76–81) introduces four axes of masculinity: hegemonic masculinity, subordinate masculinity, complicit masculinity, and marginal masculinity. Furthermore, Connell defines hegemonic masculinity as a configuration of gender practices that realizes an accepted answer to the problem of patriarchal legitimacy and guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women. Subordinate masculinity is defined as men who are dominated

by groups of men or the dominance of heterosexual men over homosexual men. Complicit masculinity is a relationship of complicity with hegemonic men but not achieving hegemonic masculinity, which embodies the benefits of patriarchy without the risk of becoming a frontline patriarchal force. Marginal masculinities are gendered practices that receive authorization from hegemonic masculinities (2005, 77–81).

Several previous studies have discussed *Moonlight* and *Kucumbu Tubuh Indahku*. *Moonlight* has been discussed through several studies by raising certain topics, including hypermasculine (Gómez 2020), intertextuality and its dialogue with genetic criticism (Neto 2021), Chiron's racial identity along with his sexual and gender identities (Sen 2022), multicultural counseling and social justice (Elliott 2022), the context of Miami's past, present, and future, and racial stereotypes (Kannan, Hall, and Hughey 2017). Meanwhile, *Kucumbu Tubuh Indahku* has been discussed through several previous studies on the topics of hegemonic masculinity (Fatmawaty, Udasmoro, and Noviani 2022) and anti-LGBT discourse (Binangun, Susanto, and Susanto 2022).

Although these studies have produced varied research results, a comparative study that discusses the influence of trauma on masculinity has yet to be conducted. The masculinities generated by this trauma need to be compared at least for two reasons: 1) the concept of patriarchy operating in both stories, which represents West and East, needs to be examined to see if it has a universality because patriarchy has been seen as a monolithic concept. 2) The influence of the cultural context is crucial in probing masculinities. By using the comparative literature method, Levine's trauma theory, and R.W Connell's masculinity theory as the analytical tool, this research aims to find out how trauma has different impacts on male masculinity in different socio-cultural settings.

Comparative literature is the study of cross-cultural texts, which deals with patterns of relationships in literature across time and space and is interdisciplinary in nature (Bassnett 1993, 1). In what follows, this study will discuss how trauma is constructed and how the socio-cultural environment influences masculinity in these two movies.

B. TRAUMA'S REFLECTION ON MASCULINITY IN *MOONLIGHT* (2016) AND *KUCUMBU TUBUH INDAHKU* (2018)

1. Beyond the Surface: Delving into Traumatic Triggers and Their Influence

In *Kucumbu Tubuh Indahku*, Juno is melancholic because his father left him alone. This triggers a sense of anxiety and insecurity in Juno because he feels alone without the assistance of his parents, his protector. Juno's father, who does not know when he will return, only says that he has entrusted Juno to *Mbah* Atmo. In Indonesian culture, *Mbah* is a term used to refer to an elderly woman or man, similar to the age of grandparents.

The above situation is likely to be the first unpleasant experience Juno has had in his life. His father abandoned him for no reason. The actions of Juno's father are a form of neglect of the role of parents towards children, which leaves a traumatic experience that has the potential to cause trauma in children. Children who experience neglect have a higher risk of experiencing a number of problems in health, development, mental health, internalizing symptoms (such as anxiety or depression), externalizing symptoms (behavioral, aggressive, and defiance disorders), and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Petersen, Joseph, and Feit 2014, 112–13).

Juno, who lived alone, began to learn the *lengger* dance, a traditional dance originating from Indonesia, which features a male dancer in a female style and costume (Widyaningrum, Sjucho, and Indriani 2023, 435). At his *lengger* dance teacher's house, Juno peeked through a wooden room where his dance teacher's wife was having sexual intercourse with one of the students. Shortly afterward, Juno also witnesses his dance teacher angrily beating that student to death. Juno, who witnessed the violence firsthand, became agitated, anxious, and unsafe. His shoulders went up and down, indicating that he was shocked and frightened. The violence that Juno saw probably became the cause of the trauma that affected him the most. It may be seen from how Juno's behavior always hides in his house while cowering in fear. He was afraid and anxious to leave the house when his aunt picked him up. The negative consequences of witnessing violence in childhood are low self-esteem, cognitive difficulties, and academic functioning. They exhibit more depression, anxiety, temperament problems, and PTSD symptoms, and their trauma is intensified if they know the victim or abuser (Edleson 1999, 846; Knapp 1998, 358).

After that, Juno, who was still a child and lived with his aunt, was often physically abused by his aunt. Juno's fingers were often pricked with needles because he always took care of the neighbor's chickens and neglected his schoolwork. As a result of the needle punctures that injured several of Juno's fingers, he was bullied by his peers at school by teasing him with "*mambu*" which means smell. This bullying causes the classroom to become noisy, and Juno is considered the class troublemaker. The teacher then accused Juno of making noise, hit him with a piece of wood, threatened to expel him from school, and punished Juno by putting chalk over his mouth.

Teacher: *Juno maju! Sekarang bilang sama teman-temanmu. Saya berjanji tidak akan mengulanginya lagi. Ayo ngomong! Apa sih meneng bae! Gara gara kie ki. (memukul bagian belakang tubuh Juno) Gawe ribut ning kelas! Iyo! (menyumpalkan kapur tulis di mulut Juno) ini sudah ketiga kalinya. Ning siji maning tak tokke sekolah! Tulis pakai mulut! sebelum dia selesai nulis, tidak ada yang boleh keluar! (Kucumbu Tubuh Indahku, Nugroho 2018, 25:07-26:57)*

'Juno come forward! Now tell your friends, I promise I won't do it again. Let's talk! How come you're silent? You often make noise in class. This is the third time. Once you do it again, I will expel you from school. Now, write with your mouth. Before he finishes writing, no one is allowed to leave the classroom!'
(researcher translation)

The teacher's words brought out fear and anxiety in Juno. Juno seemed unable to make a true statement that he was not the one who made the noise. The accusation created a sense of helplessness in Juno, so that he was unable to provide resistance or defense for himself. Levine (2008, 15) states that feelings of helplessness are one of the symptoms of trauma that arise after overwhelming events.

Juno grew up carrying traumatic experiences within him. As an adult, he worked as a tailor. When he sees a needle, he always sticks the needle into his finger. The needle is a trigger that reminds Juno of traumatic events in his childhood. Juno continued to experience trauma as he witnessed a violent fight between *warok* and another man. Juno also experiences a traumatic flashback. A flashback is re-experiencing a traumatic event as if it really happened at that moment (Rockville 2019, 58). Furthermore, the experiences of traumatic flashbacks have an emotional impact that lasts for hours.

Juno, who has been harboring his trauma, finally reaches his limit and vents it in the form of anger. He hits the water while screaming in fear. As a result of the trauma, Juno experienced exaggerated emotional and startled responses. These situations affect Juno's psychological condition and behavior, making him a passive person with a sense of helplessness.

Moving on to the other movie, *Moonlight* starts with a scene of Chiron, who is still a child, running fast because he is chased by his friends, who always bully him. He then chooses to hide in an empty house while covering his ears. The anxious and scared expression on Chiron's face shows that he feels threatened and unsafe. The bullying that Chiron experienced was the initial cause of the growth of trauma in Chiron. It is because bullying is at the root of severe physical and psychological consequences, including anxiety, depression, reduced self-esteem, somatization, avoidance symptoms, and suicide attempts. Bullying involves an imbalance of power between the victim and the perpetrator, which can leave the victim with feelings of weakness and powerlessness, which are critical features of any form of trauma (Plexousakis et al. 2019, 1–2).

Not only that, Chiron also received intimidation and threats of violence from his schoolmates as a teenager. In a scene in the classroom, Chiron is seen not focusing on the material being taught, so the teacher reprimands him. Terrel, Chiron's friend who always bothered him, immediately humiliated Chiron by saying that Chiron had not changed his tampon, which made him unable to focus. Terrel also said that he would beat Chiron to a pulp. Terrel's threats in class cornered Chiron into the center of attention. As a result, he experiences shame and lack of self-worth, which is one of the symptoms of trauma (Levine 2008, 17).

Furthermore, Chiron looks terrified when he sees Terrel gathering with a group of other youths. The anxious look on his face indicates that he considers Terrel a threat to him.

Chiron also had other traumatic experiences of parental neglect and verbal abuse by his drug-addicted mother. He no longer received attention, affection, protection, and security from his mother. One scene shows Chiron, who has just returned from Teresa's house, finding his mother behaving strangely and looking agitated. His mother then rudely yelled and asked Chiron for money to buy something and reached into Chiron's pants pocket.

Chiron's drug-addicted mother is abusive and does not provide any emotional support to Chiron. It is a form of neglect of the role of parents towards children, especially in the form of emotional neglect. According to Colvert et al. (Young, Lennie, and Minnis 2011, 889), emotional neglect is a major factor in psychopathology and internalizing problems, such as anxiety and depression. Weak support after experiencing a traumatic event can lead to more trauma-related symptoms (Sugarman 2019, 9). Chiron's traumatic experience without emotional support from his mother made him passive and emotional. He often cries due to the enormous pressures he feels. Levine (2008, 17) explains that frequent crying is one of the symptoms of trauma in the form of abrupt mood swings.

If the experience of repeated trauma gives Juno a sense of helplessness, this does not happen the same with Chiron. Chiron reacts differently when he is bullied and threatened repeatedly by his friends. It can be seen when Terrel physically assaults Chiron in front of their school. Terrel and several other youths ganged up and battered Chiron. After the incident, Chiron walked bravely to the classroom to meet

Terrel. He angrily picked up a wooden chair and smashed it against Terrel's back, making him fall and faint. Chiron continued to beat Terrel using the wood from the broken chair. It shows that the intense trauma turns Chiron into an aggressive person. Exposure to trauma has been associated with an increased risk of aggressive traits, such as verbal or physical aggression, hostility towards others, and angry outbursts, and aggressive behavior is a response to abusive treatment (Wamser-Nanney, Walker, and Nanney 2019, 2; Herman 2015, 120). In this case, Chiron's aggression refers to a reaction to a perceived threat or provocation (Grattan et al. 2019, 2).

From the explanation above, it can be seen that the two characters have similar causes but show different symptoms and reactions to trauma. The trauma that grows in Juno is caused by the neglect of the role of parents since he was a child, witnessing physical violence and experiencing verbal and physical violence. These traumatic experiences resulted in symptoms of helplessness, anxiety, fear, avoidance behavior, and self-harm. Furthermore, the reaction to the trauma affects Juno's personality; he becomes a passive man, weak, has low self-worth, and has a sense of helplessness. Meanwhile, the trauma that grew within Chiron was triggered by bullying, neglect of parental roles, experiencing verbal violence and physical violence. Chiron's symptoms include anxiety, fear, and abrupt mood swings (frequent crying). Instead of being the same as Juno, Chiron's trauma reaction takes the form of aggressive behavior and anger.

2. The Construction of The Unmasculine

Juno is depicted as a man who often does things that are identical to women. When Juno was a child, he was already adept at cooking. Juno,

who only lives with his father, is used to preparing everything and doing household chores, from finding for vegetables to cooking them and setting the dining table. Juno also loves dancing. He has participated in traditional dance training since childhood. His favorite dance is the *lengger lanang* dance. It is a cross-gender Indonesian traditional art where male dancers perform dances with female-like movements, costumes, and makeup (Widyaningrum, Sjuchro, and Indriani 2023, 434). Juno danced skillfully, just like a woman.

The words of praise from Juno's dance teacher illustrate that Juno is able to dance *lengger* with graceful movements so well. Not only that, Juno is also adept at applying makeup. When he and his friends were about to perform the *lengger* dance, he skillfully put on his own makeup. Juno's smiling expression after putting on the makeup depicts that he likes his face to be beautiful. Juno's personality is far from masculine and more likely to represent feminine traits. Connell (2005, 70) states that the semiotic approach defines masculinity as something that is not femininity. David and Brannon (in Sánchez et al. 2009, 2) state that traditional masculinity ideology must follow four main rules: men must not be feminine, men must be admired and respected, men must seek risk and adventure, and men should not show fear. Thompson and Pleck (in Parrott 2009, 2) add that the belief in male gender roles is to comply with status, toughness, and anti-femininity.

Apart from that, Juno is shown as a gay man. Juno's reaction towards a boxer clearly shows it. He always looks happy around the boxer, accompanies and listens to the boxer's stories, and even kisses the boxer on the cheek. The feelings that grew for the boxer made Juno continue to give attention and care to the boxer. Another aspect that shows Juno's feelings for the boxer is his expression of jealousy towards

the boxer. He was seen lowering his head when he saw the boxer kissing a photo of his future wife.

In the realm of traditional culture, Juno is also depicted as a weak man who often experiences cultural violence. He and his *lengger* dance friends often received criticism from locals for performing the *lengger lanang* dance art. The regent candidate's wife informs him that the people of the neighboring village have given them a high vote of 60%. However, the villagers requested that Juno and his *lengger* dance friends be expelled from the village because they were considered corrupting the young people's morals.

The situation indicates that the patriarchal culture is inherent in Juno village. In addition, everything must confirm the prevailing gender norms. *Lengger* dance is negatively stereotyped in the community because it is associated with sexual deviance due to gender bias. *Lengger* dance has been marginalized because it is considered a deviation (Fatmawaty and Alim 2020, 262). Juno and his friends are subjected to domination by a patriarchal culture that upholds strict gender hierarchy constructs and does not tolerate cross-gender art forms at all. Patriarchal society views gender identity in a rigid heteronormative way. Heteronormative standards will be firmly maintained as "normal," and deviations from heteronormative behavior are considered a form of deviation that requires treatment (Gupta, Madabushi, and Gupta 2023, 5). Individuals who do not conform to gender will experience physical and social disadvantages and are likely to experience prejudice and discrimination in social or work situations (Duncan et al. 2019, 2).

On the other hand, Chiron is shown as a weak black man who is always the target of violence from his male friends. He is frequently involved in street violence. Chiron is seen delivering a worried and

frightened face when facing intimidation from his friends. His expression shows that he is not stronger than his friends. In this case, Chiron does not represent masculine traits, where a masculine man must be brave. To appear masculine, a man must hide all traces of inadequacy and anxiety and must not show fear or weakness (Anderson 2018, 243). Traditional masculine ideology demands that men portray and maintain a certain social personality that displays toughness, emotional invulnerability, avoidance of anything considered feminine, and heterosexual dominance (Adams and Govender 2008, 552).

Chiron is also shown as a man who is ostracized and shunned by his peers because of his sexuality. Since childhood, he was always bullied by his friends because he was gay. One of the bullying scenes is when some of his peers chase young Chiron. They shout at him and call him abusive words that refer to his sexuality, such as gay and faggot. Chiron's friends view him as a man who is "different" from them. Unable to fight them, Chiron can only hide while cowering in fear and crying.

Not only that, Chiron's presence among his friends is also very unwelcome. This can be seen when Chiron enters his school toilet, and several of his male peers are in the toilet. One of the boys showed his annoyance at Chiron's presence by asking who allowed Chiron into the toilet. The stares that Chiron's friends gave showed how much they disliked Chiron. They look at Chiron with a dismissive and condescending gaze as if to show that Chiron is a weak man and not the same as them. Chiron's form of ostracism is also seen when he plays soccer on the field with some boys who are the same age as him. Chiron is seen standing alone while watching his friends play ball while laughing. His presence was not considered. When the ball approached him, some boys surrounded him with a strong, intimidating look. They

seemed to dislike Chiron and wanted to attack him. Chiron started walking backward as he looked scared and uncomfortable with the situation. He then chose to go home.

At the time, he didn't know why he was being bullied and also didn't understand what a gay man or faggot meant, which his friends often call him with. Yet, after receiving an explanation from Juan, he began to understand why he was bullied, even though he was not sure that he was gay at the time. However, when he became a teenager, he accepted that he was a homosexual who liked his male friend, Kevin. Chiron only had Kevin as his friend at school. He only confided in Kevin. Kevin always listened to Chiron's stories well and gave him comfort. This fosters a sense of attraction in Chiron. He shows his feelings through physical touch, such as kissing Kevin and letting Kevin satisfy his lust.

Chiron is bullied because of his different sexuality. He is subjected to violence, intimidation, and domination by heterosexual men. Western society clings to the stereotype that gay men look feminine and less masculine than heterosexual men (Hunt et al. 2016, 1). Some heterosexual men display antigay attitudes, distance themselves from gay men, and fear associating with gay men because it threatens their masculinity (Parrott 2009, 1–2). Dominant groups typically determine what behaviors are appropriate for a particular gender and subordinate and marginalize those who violate those norms in order to maintain that gender construction (Sánchez et al. 2009, 2–3).

From the explanation above, Juno and Chiron are men with subordinate masculinity. Connell (2005, 78) states that subordinate masculinity is the dominance of heterosexual men over the subordination of homosexual men. Subordination is basically related to hegemonic

masculinity, where hegemonic masculinity is able to dominate the culture in society as a whole. Subordinate masculinity is characterized by gay identity, cultural stigmatization, and oppression positions. The experiences of oppression include cultural and political exclusion, street violence, legal violence, and cultural abuse. Gay men are perceived as men who break out of patriarchal legitimacy and hegemonic ideals, and they are assimilated into femininity (Connell 2005, 78).

Although both of them are men with subordinate masculinity, some differences are quite striking, namely behaviors and things that make them appear as subordinate men. Juno is seen behaving like a woman through dancing, cooking, and applying makeup, and she is also subjected to violence from a patriarchal culture that rejects all forms of cross-gender art. Juno applies one of the characteristics of subordinate masculinity: assimilated to femininity and oppression position in the form of cultural abuse. Meanwhile, Chiron is portrayed as a homosexual black man. Because of his sexuality, Chiron is often dominated and subjected to violence from those around him. He often gets physical violence and is ostracized by his friends related to his sexuality. Chiron experiences oppression positions in the form of street violence, which is a characteristic of subordinate masculinity.

3. Backing Manhood: How Social Scaffolds Shape Masculine Identity

When Juno grew up, he had another traumatic experience when the wife of the regent candidate harassed him. Juno was asked to help perform a mystical ritual by holding the regent candidate's penis. When Juno did not comply, he and his *lengger* dance friends were expelled from the village. Juno was labeled as someone who brought bad luck by the dance

leader. She even told Juno to sell his body in order to make a profit. It made Juno feel even more depressed because there was no support and treatment for each traumatic experience he had. One of the strongest predictors of PTSD symptoms is a lack of social support (van der Velden et al. 2020, 2–4). Trauma survivors who do not receive emotional support are two to four times more likely to experience acute PTSD symptoms than those who do.

Furthermore, those without support are more at risk of experiencing symptoms of post-event depression and severe anxiety. The absence of social support resulted in a weakening of Juno's self-esteem and self-confidence and left him feeling (van der Velden et al. 2020, 2–4). This makes Juno vulnerable to violence and domination from others and the surrounding culture. Juno chooses to comply with his friend's request to dance while smiling in front of the regent candidate in order to get a lot of sustenance, even though Juno may have a sense of dislike or anger towards the regent candidate for being harassed. He also did not give any resistance when the regent candidate held his hand when he served drinks to the regent candidate.

On the other hand, Chiron still received emotional support from people around him. When he was hiding from his friends who bullied him, he met Juan, a man who always comforted and accompanied him. Juan and his girlfriend, Teresa, bring comfort and provide a sense of love that Chiron rarely gets. It could be said that they both replaced Chiron's parents in terms of emotional support. Juan always teaches Chiron many things about life, and Teresa always gives Chiron love and confidence.

In addition, Chiron also received emotional support from Kevin, his friend and loved one. Kevin is the one who always advises Chiron to stand up against anyone who oppresses him. Kevin always says that

Chiron is not weak, and he strictly forbids Chiron from letting others hurt him. This support is one of the impulses that makes Chiron dare to fight back or take revenge on his bullies. This can be seen in the scene when Chiron has just been severely beaten by his bullies.

Not only that, when Chiron was imprisoned for hitting a friend who bullied him, he met someone who always accompanied him. This person also gave Chiron a place to stay after getting out of prison, and he gave Chiron a new experience. He invited Chiron to sell drugs, and Chiron was interested. Through the business, Chiron opened a new chapter in his life and managed to develop himself into someone who was tough, strong, powerful, and dominating. Therefore, Chiron's masculinity changed from subordinate masculinity to hegemonic masculinity after he experienced trauma.

From the explanation above, it can be observed that changes in masculinity are influenced by trauma coping related to social support. According to Mitchell et al. (in Hao et al. 2023, 2), social support is a major protective aspect in a person's psychological adjustment to traumatic experiences. Furthermore, good social support will positively affect post-traumatic mood change and increase cognitive understanding. People who are exposed to trauma and have weak social support are likely to develop trauma symptoms and increased stress (Sugarman 2019, 4–9). This social supports the influence of Juno and Chiron's masculinity. Juno, who did not receive social support from the people around him, was confined in anxiety and fear, so his trauma symptoms worsened and made him stuck in subordinate masculinity. On the other hand, Chiron received support from people around him and his peers, which allowed his trauma to be treated, and was able to influence his masculinity into hegemonic masculinity.

C. CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis, it is known that trauma has different reactions and influences on each person's masculinity, which proves that masculinity is not static but rather fluid or dynamic. American culture that emphasizes self-rule sovereignty turns Chiron into a man with hegemonic masculinity. Meanwhile, Indonesian culture, which emphasizes social immersion, makes Juno depressed, making him stuck in subordinate masculinity. The analysis of these two movies, on the one hand, proves that patriarchy is not always beneficial for men and is detrimental for women. Patriarchy actually victimizes men who do not conform to gender norms. On the other hand, in the case of Juno and Chiron's mothers, women actually contribute to fostering a patriarchal culture. This study also proves that patriarchy is not a monolithic concept because patriarchal patterns operating in society are very diverse.

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