FROM VICTIM TO PERPETRATOR: COMPARING THE SHIFT OF RAPE NARRATIVE FOCUS IN AUDRIE & DAISY (2016) AND PHOTOCOPIER (2021)

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Abstract

Although the backgrounds are different - America and Indonesia - such as sociocultural and education levels, the perpetrators of sexual harassment in Audrie & Daisy (2016) and Photocopier (2021) are worth exploring further, with the assumption that first-world texts are different from third-world texts with the discourse of women as subjects and agents. How the shift in narrative focus in the representation of perpetrators of sexual violence from victims to perpetrators, so that the existence of the perpetrators does not become "unidentified is a critical point of view of this study." This qualitative study identifies rape narratives through discourse in the constellation of gender relations between sexual perpetrators and victims or survivors. Comparing the construction of the perpetrator's discourse in the rape narrative with Stuart Hall's theory of representation that examines film narratives and discourses, representations of sociocultural and sexual perpetrators. In Indonesia, male perpetrators, with all their privileges and status, occupy a higher position than female survivors. Perpetrators who are not punished are placed in a higher hierarchy in America. The values of individual autonomy that are upheld in American culture place men in a hegemonic position, while in Indonesia, with its values of social attachment, the narrative is seen as strong in sacrificing women for the benefit of the group. Identifiable discourses not only provide narrative power to rapists but also a sense of not being condemned or sympathetic by the reader.

Keywords: Rape, Perpetrator, Comparative Study, America, Indonesia, Narrative.

Abstrak

Meski berbeda latar belakang - Amerika dan Indonesia - seperti sosio-kultural, dan tingkat pendidikan, namun pelaku pelecehan dalam Audrie & Daisy (2016) dan Photocopier (2021) patut ditelusuri lebih lanjut dengan asumsi bahwa teks dunia pertama berbeda dengan teks dunia ketiga dalam kaitannya dengan wacana perempuan sebagai subjek dan agen. Mengungkap bagaimana pergeseran fokus naratif dalam representasi pelaku kekerasan seksual dari korban menjadi pelaku sehingga eksistensi pelaku sebenarnya tidak menjadi "tidak teridentifikasi." Kajian kualitatif ini mengidentifikasi narasi pemerkosaan melalui wacana dalam konstelasi relasi gender antara pelaku seksual dengan korban atau penyintas. Membandingkan konstruksi wacana pelaku dalam narasi pemerkosaan dengan teori representasi Stuart Hall yang mengkaji narasi dan wacana film, representasi sosiokultural, dan representasi pelaku kekerasan seksual. Di Indonesia, pelaku laki-laki, dengan segala keistimewaan dan statusnya, menempati posisi yang lebih tinggi dibandingkan perempuan yang menjadi penyintas. Pelaku yang tidak dihukum menempatkannya dalam hierarki lebih tinggi di Amerika. Nilai-nilai otonomi individu yang dijunjung tinggi dalam budaya Amerika menempatkan laki-laki pada posisi hegemonik, sedangkan di Indonesia, dengan nilai-nilai keterlekatan sosialnya, narasinya terlihat kuat dalam mengorbankan perempuan demi kepentingan kelompok. Wacana yang dapat diidentifikasi tidak hanya memberikan kekuatan narasi terhadap pemerkosa tetapi juga rasa tidak terkutuk atau simpati dari pembaca.

Kata Kunci: *Pemerkosaan, Pelaku, Studi Banding, Amerika, Indonesia, Narasi*

INTRODUCTION

Sexual violence is a case that still occurs frequently around the world, regardless of when and where, including at the educational level. The US Department of Education said that female victims are the most common victims of sexual violence that occurs in schools. [1]. Meanwhile, in Indonesia, according to the National Commission on Violence Against Women, it was noted that from year to year, cases of sexual violence against women increased rapidly. [2].

Both films narrate the spotlight and focus on female victims and survivors. Women are narrated as idealised 'victims of sexual violence' to align with the audience's sympathy.[3]. Women are more often positioned as idealised victims of sexual violence due to gender differences. [4]. In *Audrie & Daisy* and *Photocopier*, male actors occupy a higher two-gender hierarchy by demonstrating dominant power relations. Those patterns can influence people's behaviour in judging female victims to normalise harassment against them. [5].

Audrie & Daisy fall into the category of the general rape theme narratively. *Photocopier*, however, can be narratively categorised under the rape-revenge category because it contains both rape (attempted rape and rape) and revenge.[6]—victim and survivor, which in the difference of genres implies two-character identities that can be used. In *Photocopier*, the female victim is positioned as the victim and survivor, while in *Audrie & Daisy*, the female victim is positioned as a victim.

Weakness and passivity are the identities of victims, while recovery and resistance are associated with survivors.[7]. Currently, though, survivor is the preferred term. While survivor is considered empowering, the term victim is a narrative element connecting the characters and the audience.[8] *The Photocopier* creates ambiguity, namely that even though the female victim is indeed a 'victim,' the audience will give sympathy. However, it can simultaneously eliminate sympathy by shifting the narrative focus of the perpetrator's representation from the victim to the perpetrator. The narrative in *Photocopier* tells how the female victim acts 'like 'starting the actual perpetrator's action.

[1] Tara N. Richards et al., "Sex-Based Harassment in the United States' K-12 Schools: Rates and Predictors of Allegations, Student Reporting, and Student Discipline," *Journal of School Violence* 20, no. 4 (2021): 402–16, https://doi.org/10.1080/15388220.2021.1920423.
[2] Rosania Paradiaz and Eko Soponyono, "Perlindungan Hukum Terhadap Korban Pelecehan Seksual," *Jurnal Pembangunan Hukum Indonesia* 4 (2022): 61–72.
[3] Tea Fredriksson, "Avenger In Distress: A Semiotic Study Of Lisbeth Salander, Rape-Revenge And Ideology," *Nordic Journal of Criminology* 22, no. 1 (2020): 58–71, https://doi.org/10.1080/2578983X.2020.1851111.
[4] Heather Littleton et al., "Sexual Assault, Sexual Abuse, and Harassment: Understanding the Mental Health Impact and Providing Care for Survivors," *International Society for Traumatic Stress Studies*, 2018, www.istss.org/sexual-assault; Sylvia Walby et al., *The Concept and Measurement of Violence Against Women and Men* (Policy Press, 2017).
[5] Boris Drozdek and John Wilson, *Voices of Trauma: Treating Psychological Trauma Across Cultures* (Springer Science & Business Media, 2007).

[6] A Heller-Nicholas, *Rape-Revenge Films, A Critical Study*, 2nd ed. (Jefferson: McFarland & Company; Inc., 2021).
[7] Jericho M. Hockett and Donald A. Saucier, "A Systematic Literature Review of 'Rape Victims' Versus 'Rape Survivors': Implications for Theory, Research, and Practice," *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 25 (2015): 1–14, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2015.07.003; Sharon Lamb, *New Versions of Victims Feminists Struggle with the Concept, New Versions of Victims* (New York University Press, 1999), https://doi.org/10.18574/nyu/9780814752913.001.0001; Michael Papendick and Gerd Bohner, "Passive Victim - Strong Survivor Perceived Meaning Of Labels Applied To Women Who Were Raped," *PLOS ONE* 12, no. 5 (2017): 1–21, https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0177550.
[8] Michaela Keating, "Victims and Survivors in the Rape-Revenge Narrative: A Comparison of Black Christmas (2019) and I May Destroy You (2020)," *CINEJ Cinema Journal* 10, no. 1 (2022): 59–88, https://doi.org/10.5195/cinej.2022.436.

There are three reasons why this study examines the narrative and discourse of sexual violence in the films *(Audrie & Daisy* and *Photocopier*: 1). It is essential to investigate the perpetrators of sexual violence while also considering the differences in American and Indonesian contexts, including sociocultural factors, environment, and education levels. Previous studies on these films have primarily concentrated on survivors rather than perpetrators. 2) *Photocopier* is a film with different characteristics from previous films with the theme of revenge rape in Indonesia. Films with such themes are included in the horror category, and the characters take revenge after becoming victims or 'monsters'[9]. This will create ambiguity and eliminate sympathy for the victims. Meanwhile, the documentary *Audrie & Daisy* presents the theme of rape through a different narrative approach compared to feature films; for example, *I Spit on Your Grave* tackles the same subject. 3) Additionally, it is essential further to explore the narratives of sexual abuse across different cultures, as existing research primarily focuses on white women who speak English, including those in the film Audrie & Daisy, or emphasises external factors, such as technology, in the sexual abuse faced by women[10].

However, at the discourse level, in *Photocopier*, the story's focus slowly shifts to the perpetrator through discourse. This discourse has an impact on creating sympathy for the actual perpetrator of sexual violence,

instead of empathy for the victim. Suryani, as the victim, is depicted as being very well cared for by the perpetrator. Although it is expected to create an element of surprise, this positive depiction of the perpetrator can weaken the discourse about the perpetrator's loss of morality. The perpetrator gives full attention to the victim, so it becomes a trap that makes the victim feel very dependent on the perpetrator. [11]. This is beneficial for the perpetrator of sexual violence because of the shift in focus to the *Photocopier*. If this discourse remains the film's narrative, it can perpetuate the myth of rape culture. If this discourse of the myth of rape culture is continued as in *Photocopier*, it can create a discourse to normalise sexual violence, especially against women.

The entire story of the two films, in terms of discourse, still places women as victims or women worthy of being raped, normalising rape culture. Indonesian visual art has two primary sources of inspiration: The West and India. The woman's body is an object of realism and beauty. [12], which can be a reference in a *Photocopier*. This is the same as in the history of American literature, where American literature influenced the culture, in that sexual harassment against women was commonplace. For example, in the literary work *Gone with the Wind*, there is the myth of rape culture depicted in early American culture. [13]. Incidents of sexual violence in social and cultural contexts are usually male-dominated, and gender inequality exists. [14].

[9] Anton Sutandio, "The Final Girls In Contemporary Indonesian Horror Films: Reclaiming Women's Power," *Cogent Arts and Humanities* 10, no. 1 (2023), https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2023.2186593.
[10] Dian Farah Nabila and Menik Winiharti, "The Impact Of Technology-Enabled Disinformation Towards The Victims Of Sexual Objectification As Portrayed In Photocopier (2021) Movie," in *E3S Web of Conferences*, vol. 426 (EDP Sciences, 2023), https://doi.org/10.1051/e3sconf/202342601044.

[11] Karin Jarnkvist and Lotta Brännström, "Stories of Victimization: Self-Positioning and Construction of Gender in Narratives of Abused Women," *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 34, no. 21–22 (November 1, 2019): 4687–4712, https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260516676474.
[12] Heider, (1991, p. 69)
[13] Field (2020, p. 4)
[14] Armstrong et al., " Victimized On Plain Sites: Social And Alternative Media's Impact On The Steubenville Rape Case", *Digital Journalism*, 2016; Helen Benedict,

For instance, based on the data from the National Commission on Violence Against Women of Indonesia, there were 35 women victims of sexual violence per day from 2001 to 2012 [15]. There were 4,336 cases of sexual violence by women in 2012, and the cases rose in 2013 to 5,629 cases; they are 13-18 years old and 25-40 years old. [16]. Then, compiled by the Indonesian Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, in 2020, sexual violence cases rose to 7,191 cases. [17].

This study aims to elicit the representation of perpetrators through the discourse in both films so that the existence of perpetrators of sexual violence does not become "unmarked." The power relations of the two films lie in the position of the actors as famous football players at their school, the relationship between senior and junior in the academic environment, and the play of power relations from the privileges of wealthy families. As mentioned by Burk & Speed, LeSuer, or Smith in 1994, written in the book by Morrison et al, this gender hierarchy creates the potential for crime and sexual harassment.[18]. In this study, by juxtaposing a Western and an Indonesian film, this research contributes to global feminist film criticism and narrative studies by showing that the narrative displacement of victims is not confined to a specific cultural context.

This study shows and proves the shift in discourse from victim to perpetrator, such as how the perpetrator's image is no longer conventional, such as evil, cruel, and criminal. It is essential to examine the comparison of the representations of the actors from the films *Audrie & Daisy (2016)* and *Photocopier (2021)* to find contrasting differences in the shift in discourse. This study compares the narrative and discourses in the two films and examines whether the narrative and discourse in both films strengthen the gender hierarchy. Due to the differences in sociocultural backgrounds and countries, America and Indonesia, in these two films, researchers need to compare the two works to see the contrast in the discourse. From this contrast, gender ideology can help understand the direction of cultural change in the two countries. So, the research question is: How do the representations of the perpetrators shift from the victims to the perpetrators in the two films from different backgrounds?

Several previous studies have discussed sexual violence in *Audrie & Daisy* and *Photocopier* from various perspectives. Faishal Ammar and Triyono (2023), through the article "Power Relations of Victims of Sexual Violence in Penyalin Cahaya: Critical Discourse Analysis," analyse the inequality of power and the struggle of victims in a patriarchal system, but do not explore the representation of the perpetrator and the shifting narrative of rape. [19]. Debora and Ariastuti (2021), in "Recounting Traumatic Events: Pragmatic and Multimodal

Virgin or Vamp: How the Press Covers Sex Crimes, (Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 211); Kenneth Dowler, "Sex, Lies, And Videotape: The Presentation Of Sex Crime In Local Television News", *Journal of Criminal Justice*, (2006)

[15] Paradiaz and Soponyono, "Perlindungan Hukum Terhadap Korban Pelecehan Seksual."

[16] Paradiaz and Soponyono, "Perlindungan Hukum Terhadap Korban Pelecehan Seksual", *Jurnal Pembangunan Hukum Indonesia*, (2022).

[17] Paradiaz and Soponyono, 2022.

[18] Charlotte Burck and Bebe Speed, *Gender, Power and Relationships* (London: Routledge, 2001),

https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203134757;
Will LeSuer, "The Impact of National-Level Gender Inequality on the Sexual Abuse of Girls," *Sage Journals*, July 2021, https://doi.org/10.1177/10778012211005563;
Tony Morrison, Marcus Erooga, and Richard Beckett, "Sexual Offending Against Children," ed. Richard Beckett, Marcus Erooga, and Tony Morrison (Routledge, 2002), https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203411773.

[19] Faris Faishal Ammar and Sulis Triyono, "Power Relation of a Sexual Harassment Victim in Penyalin Cahaya: A Critical Discourse Analysis," *Jurnal Humaniora UGM* 35, no. 2 (2023), https://doi.org/10.22146/jh.75418.

Discourse Analysis in Audrie and Daisy", examine the narrative of victim trauma in *Audrie & Daisy* through a pragmatic and multimodal approach, focusing on the perpetrator's statement without using representation theory. [20]. Meanwhile, Gjika (2020) in "New media, old paradigms: Technology news representation in youth sexual violence" highlights the role of digital media in reframing the narrative of adolescent sexual violence, emphasising the reproduction of discourse that is detrimental to victims through thematic analysis. [21]. All three show limitations in examining the representation of perpetrators and the shifting narrative of sexual violence comprehensively.

This study employs representation theory because representation through language can create how meaning works in the mind.[22]. According to Hall, representation is the process of using a sign displayed with images, sounds, and language that are meaningful to other people[23]. The representation in this study produces several functions: discursive, mythic, and symbolic. Discursive functions are a group of statements that facilitate language and provide meaning when discussing a particular topic. Myth functions as a cultural meaning for something that naturally occurs. Meanwhile, symbolism is something that symbolises meaning and ideal concepts.

Discourse and language, as representations, are interrelated as cultural models, working representations, and meaning.

[24]. Discourse constructionism concentrates on how practice and discourse produce knowledge. [25]. Stuart Hall states that a discursive approach will produce knowledge about discursive formations, ideas about 'regimes of truth,' how discourse produces subjects and power, and define subject positions from which knowledge originates in the field of representation. [26]. Everyone has different ideas regarding representing something, but having a shared conceptual map - culture- helps communicate and interpret the world more or less similarly.

As Hall states, culture can be defined through conceptual maps or shared meanings. [27]. However, more than a conceptual map is needed, as humans who think critically need a common language to represent or exchange ideas, concepts, and meaning [28]. A language's spoken or written system is also a form of visual imagery, whether produced by hand, in digital, mechanical, or electronic form. A language in the form of words, sounds, images, or objects functions as a sign that can be organised together with other signs into a system that expresses meaning.

If the relationship between a sign and its referent becomes less clear, its meaning becomes lost and uncertain. However, meaning cannot be wholly placed solely on the person, object, or words, but we must construct it to strengthen the meaning itself. In addition, this study compares the films *Audrie & Daisy* and *Photocopier* because it is evident that sociocultural and linguistic differences are not

[20] Natasya Abrinta Debora and Marti Fauziah Ariastuti, "Recounting Traumatic Events: Pragmatic and Multimodal Discourse Analysis in Audrie and Daisy (Pengisahan Kejadian Traumatis: Analisis Wacana Multimodal Dan Pragmatik Dalam Audrie Dan Daisy)," *MOZAIK HUMANIORA* 20, no. 2 (November 10, 2021): 194, https://doi.org/10.20473/mozaik.v20i2.17575.

[21] Anna Gjika, "New Media, Old Paradigms: News Representations of Technology in Adolescent Sexual Assault," *Crime, Media, Culture* 16, no. 3 (December 1, 2020): 415–30, https://doi.org/10.1177/1741659019873758.

[22] Stuart Hall, *Representation: Cultural Representations And Signifying Practices,* (Sage in association with the Open University, 1997, p. 15)

[23] Hall (1997, p. 1)

[24] Hall (1997, p. 44)

[25] Hall (1997, p. 51)

[26] Hall (1997, p. 55)

[27] Hall (1997, p. 18)

[28] Hall (1997, p. 18)

the same, which can cause differences in the discursive focus of the story narrative. The existence of language and cultural codes can provide a person or group's ideology because they become cultured through their habits and over time.

This study's representation is categorised as a language character using a social and political approach. Hall mentioned that humans must not confuse the material world, where people and things exist, with symbolic processes and practices, as representation, language, and meaning operate. [29]. It is called constructivist because it is not the material world that provides meaning, but rather the language system or whatever represents these concepts.

METHODOLOGY

This study employs a qualitative descriptive method by observing the conversation text and context of the films *Audrie & Daisy* (2016) and *Photocopier* (2021). The qualitative method aims to understand the context and background of a problem [30]. This study also uses a film analysis method, which involves two concepts: *mise-en-scène* and cinematography.

This study uses comparative literature. We can understand literature's historical and cultural relevance through comparative literature, even though contextual variations exist.[31]. In addition, Bakhtin's theories highlight that literature is a prominent component of culture and cannot be understood apart from its broader cultural background.[32]. However, there has been a shift in the discipline, particularly in America, towards more interdisciplinary studies, which may have led to a de-emphasis on the core of comparative literature[33]. Comparative literature explores how various cultures and societies use literature to communicate their ideas, opinions, and values, offering a distinctive viewpoint on the human condition.

Audrie & Daisy (2016) and *Photocopier (2021)* are the primary data sources in this study. The analysis compares both films' scenes, containing the practices, discourse, and signs, showing the narratives of perpetrators of sexual violence by deciphering them through Hall's representation theory, involving semiotics and discourse. From Hall's theory, researchers determine variables, histories, and discourses with the context of sociocultural and perpetrators of sexual harassment representations and Foucault's discourse theory to identify data related to sub-chapters. Then link the findings or data to the theory.

This study identifies rape narrative through discourse in the constellation of gender relations between sexual offenders or perpetrators and victims or survivors in both films. Discourse can be understood as a group of texts on a topic with the same function of containing certain presuppositions. [34], which functions to normalise people and to make them adapt to the power that institutions want to exercise over people [35]. The concept of

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[29] Hall (1997).

[30] John Cresswell, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*, (SAGE Publications Inc., 2013, p. 48)

[31] Jan Walsh Hokenson, "Comparative Literature and the Culture of the Context," *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture* 2, no. 4 (December 2000), https://doi.org/10.7771/1481-4374.1084.

[32] Jola Skulj, "Comparative Literature and Cultural Identity," *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture* 2, no. 4 (December 2000): 142–51, https://doi.org/10.7771/1481-4374.1088.

[33] H. H. H Remak, "Origins and Evolution of Comparative Literature and Its Interdisciplinary Studies," *Neohelicon* 29, no. 1 (2002): 245–50, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1015663900492.

[34] Todd W. Reeser, *Masculinities in Theory: An Introduction*, (Wiley-Blackwell, 2010, p. 23)

[35] Reeser (2010, p. 31)

focalisation is also employed in this study. The discourse can be identified when text and context are presented within a particular vision.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Imbalanced Frames: Power in Cinematic Perpetration Narratives

The hierarchical gender discourse in these two films appears in the form of power relations used by the perpetrators to cover up their crimes of sexual harassment, leaving the victims helpless. The gender hierarchy in both films causes unequal power relations, such as violence hierarchy, power hierarchy, policy hierarchy, and leadership hierarchy.

> Fakultas Kampus: …dia akan datang ke sini bersama pengacaranya. Dia berniat melaporkan kamu ke polisi karena pencemaran nama baik. Dokumen yang kamu bikin ini sudah tersebar…

> (Faculty Campus: …he will come here with his lawyer. He intends to report you to the police for defamation. The document you made has been spread…)

In the case of the perpetrator of sexual harassment or the first case in *Audrie & Daisy*, the authorities covered up the identity of the perpetrators by using pseudonyms, and the perpetrators were only depicted with animation. They are famous football players at their school, and many people support them. The perpetrators used their position of power to abuse Audrie, and this clearly shows the existence of a hierarchy of violence because it refers to the imbalance of physical power in the victim.

The women who were victims of sexual harassment in both films depicted that they were the initial cause of the perpetrators committing sexual harassment. The hegemonic masculinity

and the power relations exercised are delineated clearly. Hegemonic masculinity is a term used to identify the practices among men that preserve gender inequality and the domination of men over women.[36]. The perpetrators in the initial phase use their power relations, and the victims are treated with respect and attention, so that their attitudes can lull them.[37].

In addition, Field mentioned that in America, there was a normative view that women could enjoy the pain of rape or humiliating sexual harassment.[38]. The representation of the perpetrators' actions appears blurry, making it seem that the victims are partly to blame. The representation of the perpetrators' acts of sexual harassment in the two films is also only depicted through the experiences of the victims' memories, making it difficult to prove the perpetrators' actions.

Audrie was harassed by the perpetrators, who inserted their fingers into her sensitive areas and scribbled on exposed parts of her body with markers. In this case, it is depicted through animation to provide a separation between the depiction of unreal characters and the reality that hides the identity of the perpetrators, John R. and John B.[39]. However, the victim elaborated on how she experienced sexual harassment. This elaboration places the victim in a spotlight that is identical to the male gaze, giving rise to the discourse that women are ordinary objects who receive such sexual harassment. It shows the existence of a hierarchy of power and leadership towards men who have a higher status and view women as helpless, even though this is narratively intended to make the audience sympathise with the victim.

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[36] R. W Connell, *Masculinities*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2005).
[37] Field, *Writing the Survivor: The Rape Novel in Late Twentieth-Century American Fiction*.

[38] Field.
[39] John Bateman and Karl Schmidt, *Multimodal Film Analysis: How Films Mean* (Skotlandia: New York : Routledge, 2012).

Even from the statements of the perpetrators regarding how they abused Audrie, they still manipulated the facts and made it seem like the victim was enjoying the action. Even so, the attorney who interrogated the perpetrators in Audrie's case felt there was something odd and continued to try to interview them until they told the truth. However, this kind of policy hierarchy will still benefit the perpetrators because it can complicate the action process carried out by the perpetrators.

Audrie's mother and friends say she is polite and will not do bad things. The perpetrators were very interested in Audrie because they thought Audrie had a nice body. Bloom says every heterosexual man can pay attention to women secretly or openly, even evaluating women's body parts. [40]. Amanda Le, Audrie's friend, explained that her male friends at school often asked the girls at her school for vulgar photos. However, they normalise the treatment of perpetrators of sexual violence and consider it a cool thing to do. It indicates that there is a power relationship towards women's bodies, which are used as objects by the perpetrators; even if the victims refuse, they will be considered "cheeky." The concept of the male gaze appears as a discourse in *Audrie & Daisy*, where the gaze is similar to observation, indicating command and control over objects [41].

In the second case, the victim, Daisy, a 14-year-old girl, also experienced the impact of the power relations used by her senior. Matt B, or Matthew Barnett, is a famous football player and one of Daisy's older sisters' friends. Matt's position at school is relatively high because everyone knows him. Even outside the school environment, he is well known to his family for his power relations regarding his wealth and politics. Matt's hierarchy of power resulted in

Daisy accepting the perpetrator's offer. Daisy is a cheerleader. She felt proud that a cheerleader like her got along with more of her male upper-level students.

At first, Matt invited Daisy to come to the basement of Matt's house to drink and relax. However, when the case escalated and Matt was questioned, he distorted the facts and made false statements as if he were completely innocent. Matt with his friends, such as Nick, Zech, and Fourney. At that time, Daisy and her friend, Paige, were watching a movie and relaxing at Daisy's house. They drink alcohol at deficient levels, so they are still very conscious. However, in Matt's statement, the opposite is true. Daisy was abused, and her parents saw that Daisy's whole body looked very red." This refers to the hierarchy of violence carried out by the perpetrator to exploit the victim's body.

The authorities were silent and closed the case because of a hierarchy of policies, resulting in a lack of protection and law enforcement for victims' justice. The behavior of the authorities who view rape cases as routine work also normalises the idea that women are sex objects who can be abused as they please. This matter disturbs women's agency as victims.

In the second film, *Photocopier*, the survivor, Suryani, is a new student at her campus. She has just joined her campus theatre community, Matahari Theatre. The theatre had just won their work and held a victory party and a "welcome". The perpetrator of Suryani's sexual harassment, namely Rama, covered up all the facts of his crime with his family's status and his name as the author of their theatre work. The existence of a hierarchy of power and leadership causes inequality of power. The campus covered up the crime that Rama committed. Rama has solid relationships in his theatre, on campus, and

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[40] Bloom (2017, p. 45)
[41] Susan Herring, "Gender Violence: Recognizing and Resisting Abuse in Online Environment," *Sookmyung*

Women's University Asian Women's Research Institute, 2002.

with other important people. When Sur tried to report evidence of Rama's harassment, it turned out that the campus secretly leaked the evidence to Rama, so Rama took advantage of Suryani's helplessness to cover up his crime.

At the theatre party, Suryani became very drunk and ended up unknowingly uploading a selfie on her social media. Finally, the campus and scholarship officials found out. After the night of the theatre party, Suryani woke up in the morning still wearing her kebaya from last night's party and went straight to campus to make a semester report for his scholarship. However, because Suryani's scholarship was revoked, her parents kicked her out, so she rushed to her theatre.

Since then, Sur wanted to investigate what she experienced that night. When she stopped at a public toilet, she realised that her clothes were inside out, so she realised that someone had taken off her clothes. Rama abused her by documenting Suryani's body only for his sake to win the theatre in a competition. This film also shows a hierarchical discourse of violence and policies in which perpetrators abuse victims and eliminate legal protection for victims.

There is also a male gaze in Photocopier. It has a command for subordination. The male gaze is depicted with the symbol of Medusa's head. Medusa's head is described as a woman who is the subject of a parade of pornographic fantasies, male daydreams, and jokes. [42].

Rama, the perpetrator, took advantage of Suryani's situation when her scholarship was revoked. Rama offers Suryani a job and tuition fees until graduation because the case is not extended. Suryani was asked to make an open apology, clarify the video, and distribute it throughout their campus. Rama knows that his position on campus is very well known, and his friends know Rama's parents very well because they often help with the costs of Rama and Suryani's campus friends.

Moreover, Suryani's childhood friend, Amin, the photocopy guy, was also involved in facilitating the harassment carried out by Rama. Amin stored all the digital data of female friends at Sur's campus. He traded this data, consisting of photos and videos of female friends at Suryani's campus, to Rama, the perpetrator. This demonstrates the significant influence of the power relations manipulated by Rama. Amin engaged in these actions due to economic pressures and a desire to help his younger sibling. Nevertheless, he does not want to be considered at fault and seeks to avoid normalising what he and Rama are doing.

A comparison of these two films proves that the motives of the perpetrators of sexual harassment in the two films are not solely for physical, sexual drive. Especially in *Photocopier*, Rama carries out this abuse to help him find ideas that support their theatre work, using photos of the actors' bodies to do their theatre work. Rama also uses data from pictures of women on campus to relieve stress when he does not get his artistic ideas.

The Influence of Patterns of Cultural Differences on Film Narrative

In American films, the perpetrators think what they did was just a joke, which is considered normal. In contrast, in the Indonesian movie, Rama, the perpetrator, believes that the victim deserves to be abused to satisfy himself for the sake of his artistic needs and theatrical success.

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[42] Laura Mulvey, *Visual and Other Pleasure* (Palgrave Macmillan, 1989).

In *Audrie & Daisy*, there is a scene of an online conversation between John R. and Audrie where she asks about the perpetrators' actions. Audrie told John R that she was furious when they scribbled on several sensitive areas of her body. She felt that she was very drunk at that time. However, John R lied that Audrie felt horny at that time. Audrie also asked about the photos of him that were spread around his school, but John R thought this was trivial, just a joke, and irresponsible. The perpetrator of sexual harassment in the second case, Daisy, also believed that this was a normal thing because Matt B stated that his intention was just to relax while drinking alcohol with his friends. In the story experienced by Suryani, the perpetrator thinks that the female body is an object to satisfy himself, to relieve stress, and to create new ideas for the world of art and theatre.

There is a shift in the discourse on perpetrators of sexual harassment in both films, although with different intensities. The perpetrators in this American documentary appear to make the victims appear as if they took part in the crimes committed by the perpetrators. The perpetrators consider it as if the victim also enjoys the abuse they perpetrate. It seems that it has become customary for women to be justifiable objects of sexual exploitation. [43] Or the assumption that sexual harassment perpetrated by men is typical because they are men or 'boys being boys' [44]. This is a shift in the perpetrator's discourse with his toxic masculinity, which makes the victim appear weak and submissive.

The film's narrative shows that the perpetrators lulled the victims. In the Indonesian movie, the intensity of the shift in discourse from victim to perpetrator is so visible that the abuse committed by the perpetrator could mislead the audience. The perpetrator was described as generous and popular. He had many friends, often helped his friends, helped pay for the victim's studies until graduation, and facilitated and paid for his campus theatre needs.

In both films, it is not explicitly described how the perpetrators of sexual harassment are represented, such as the use of anonymity and animation to depict the perpetrators in the film *Audrie & Daisy* and embezzlement to depict the crime committed by Rama in *Photocopier*. In fact, in Indonesian literary works, especially in cinema, it is not explained how the perpetrators of the crime proceed, whether they are punished or paid for their sins, and why the victims suddenly accept them or even turn them into virtues. [45].

Karl Heider's discovery of cultural patterns in Indonesian films may explain why the focus of the discourse in *Photocopier* shifts away from the victim. He divides plots of Indonesian stories into three stages as the story progresses: 1. Condition of Order, 2. Condition of Disorder, and 3. Condition of Order. Furthermore, he points out that this model also makes Indonesian plot patterns different from Western plots regarding life conflicts. In addition, he continues that Indonesian life conflicts are based on order/disorder instead of the Western version: good/evil. In that, the perpetrators in *Audrie & Daisy* are the bad guys,

[43] Heather R. Hlavka, "Normalizing Sexual Violence: Young Women Account for Harassment and Abuse," *Gender and Society* 28, no 3 (2014): 337–58, https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243214526468.

[44] R. W Connell, *Gender And Power* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987); Sandra L. French, "Reflections on Healing: Framing Strategies Utilized by Acquaintance Rape Survivors," *Journal of Applied Communication Research*

(Routledge, 2003), https://doi.org/10.1080/1369681032000132573; James Messerschmidt, *Gender, Heterosexuality, and Youth Violence: The Struggle for Recognition* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2012), https://books.google.co.ls/books?id=wN_5ygAACAAJ&printsec=copyright#v=onepage&q&f=false.

[45] Heider, (1991, p. 35)

while in *Photocopier*, Rama is the agent of disorder. This explains why Rama is not punished at the end of the story because as soon as Rama is figured out as the perpetrator, or in Aristotle's terms, as the discovery, the plot enters the condition of order again. The disorder condition is, then, the unexplained unpleasantness experienced by the female character.

Once the unexplained is explained, the condition is restored to order, regardless of the female state. In the Indonesian context, the condition of order is for the greater good. In other words, the group order (Suryani's and Rama's families) is more important than the individual state of being (Suryani herself). Women are portrayed as reliant on men and belonging to social groups.[46]. Culture shapes one's perspective and expression to fight under pressure, which affects certain emotional qualities[47]. Unlike a *Photocopier,* in *Audrie & Daisy*, one of the perpetrators, in Daisy's case, goes unpunished because of the lack of evidence. In addition, the perpetrators also have a higher socio-economic position than that of the victims. This situation does not eliminate the status of the bad guys as perpetrators. In the case of Audrey, the perpetrator was punished. Sexual harassment in both films is used to express social and cultural inequality dominated by the male gender.[48].

Monstrous Sex Offender vs Humanised Sex Offender

Both films show that perpetrators of harassment cover up their actions with all their power relations. Their fear of their actions influences their motive. The perpetrators manipulated evidence and intimidated the victims to make them feel insecure. The perpetrators deliberately carry out their crimes to make the victims feel weak and helpless, so that they feel traumatised. They used it as a tool of restoration that signaled the anxieties of a culture that ignored rape as sexual harassment against women's bodies, so that survivors felt traumatised. [49].

The depiction of female victims who are not pure/innocent because they are drunk and 'ruined' or mentally healthy, as in *Photocopier*, actually gives rise to the discourse of Humanised sex offenders. This discourse creates a shift in stigma that focuses on the perpetrator without blaming the perpetrator for his actions. Stigma refers to who a person is, and when stigmatising attributes become more visible, it can change how people view others. [50]. Likewise, what happened in *Photocopier*, the discourse might significantly influence the audience's perspective and lead them to consider that the victim deserved to be harassed. Impure depictions of victims can lower their dignity as victims. This misunderstanding leads to the justification of the behaviour of perpetrators of sexual violence.

This study found from observations of the two films that the shift in focus discourse from victims to perpetrators showed that the representation of perpetrators of sexual harassment in these two films resulted in the perpetrators not receiving appropriate

[46] Heider, 118.
[47] Drozdek and Wilson, *Voices of Trauma: Treating Psychological Trauma Across Cultures*.
[48] Anne Kathrin Kreft, "Civil Society Perspectives on Sexual Violence in Conflict: Patriarchy and War Strategy in Colombia," *International Affairs* 96, no. 2 (March 1, 2020): 457–78, https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiz257.
[49] Shoshana Ringel and Jerrold Brandell, *Trauma: Contemporary Directions in Theory, Practice, and*

Research (SAGE Publications, Inc., 2012), https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4135/9781452230597.
[50] Rosemary Ricciardelli and Mackenzie Moir, "Stigmatized Among The Stigmatized: Sex Offenders In Canadian Penitentiaries," *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice* 55, no. 3 (July 2013): 353–86, https://doi.org/10.3138/cjccj.2012.e22.

treatment; they must receive retribution according to their crimes.

This study also compares the representation of perpetrators of sexual harassment from the two films because previous studies have only focused on survivors or victims. Hence, there are already many narratives about survivors. The game of power relations in *Audrie & Daisy* significantly impacts the victims, who cannot do much to protect themselves.

However, in the *Photocopier*, Suryani does not give up on the power relations that Rama has; she still tries to reveal Rama's actions until the end of the story. In *Audrie & Daisy*, Audrie's character is photographed by several of her school friends, and the photo is spread, even though they are not responsible for her actions. This affected Audrie's mental condition, so she committed suicide. Meanwhile, the character Daisy is harassed and videotaped by her sister's friends, and the video clearly shows vulgarity. Sexual harassment or rape is not something that is only used for various power struggles, but also emphasises the suffering of the victims who suffer both physically and psychologically.

The number of online sexual violence incidents that harm women, such as cyberstalking, online harassment, and video distribution [51]. Online sexual crimes certainly risk societal stigma and leave survivors struggling with mental issues. [52]. A selfie photo of her while she was drunk was widely spread and led to her scholarship being revoked. She was harassed and photographed and videoed,

and the image was brought into their campus theatre work. Sur did not remain silent and continued to fight for her right to justice.

The depiction or construct of 'respectable men' vs. low-class women, which makes perpetrators of sexual violence non-stereotypical in films, has the potential to avoid condemnation. According to Sophia & Palmer, depictions and language in movies or media have been proven to influence personal and political opinions about perpetrators of sexual violence. [53]. In *the film Photocopier, it can be seen that the story and narration tend to make the perpetrator appear honourable* and generous. The more this is shown, the more the public will support not punishing the perpetrators because they feel that their actions were not extreme. [54]. Women who are of a lower class than the perpetrators will be easily exploited by the power hierarchy.

In *Audrie & Daisy* and *Photocopier*, it was found that there were differences in the representation of the perpetrators' acts of rape and sexual violence. In *Audrie & Daisy*, the representation of the perpetrators and crimes is narrated, such as the absolute rape of the victims. In contrast to *the Photocopier*, the discourse leads to simple rape or treatment of sexual violence that does not directly lead to intimate acts such as rape. Though simple rape appears to obscure the perpetrator's actions, it will still make the victim feel afraid, disadvantaged, humiliated, and threaten the victim's safety. [55].

[51] Nadeesha Nadeesha Adikari, "Cyber Violence (Crimes) Against Women And Girls," *World Women's Studies Conference* 1 (October 30, 2016): 1–7, https://doi.org/10.17501/wcws.2016.1101., *World Women Studies Conference (2016).*
[52] Adikari, (2016).
[53] Amanda Palmer, "The Exploration of Human Service Workers Personal Bias in The Exploration of Human Service Workers Personal Bias in Regards Sex Offenders

Regards Sex Offenders," *SOPHIA: An E-Community Of Scholarship & Creativity*, 2015, https://sophia.stkate.edu/msw_papers/505.
[54] Palmer (2015).
[55] Alina Holgate, "Sexual Harassment as a Determinant of Women's Fear of Rape," *Australian Journal of Sex, Marriage and Family* 10, no. 1 (1989): 21–28, https://doi.org/10.1080/01591487.1989.11005984.

CONCLUSION

The shift in focus from victim or survivor to perpetrator is already evident in first and third-world texts, with cultural ideologies influencing the change in emphasis in *Audrie & Daisy* and *Photocopier.* Earlier works from developed countries, such as America, often present rape narrative films with a shift in focus from victim to perpetrator. There is an influence of social, cultural, and economic values of the society that represent the issue of sexual violence in the failure of law and culture in blaming the victim in the context of Western civilization. While previous works from developing countries, such as Indonesia, still mix up how the dynamics of tradition, social hierarchy, and societal values influence rape narratives like this on female victims.

The comparison of the two films shows that despite the sociocultural background of the two countries, the position of women in rape narratives is not much different. Male perpetrators in Indonesia, with all their status and privileges, occupy a higher position than female survivors. In America, an unpunished perpetrator places herself higher in the hierarchy. The values of individual autonomy upheld in American culture still put men in a hegemonic position. Meanwhile, in Indonesia, with its values of social attachment, the narrative is seen as powerful in sacrificing women for the benefit of the group. Thus, in both texts, the identifiable discourse not only gives narrative power to the rapists but perhaps also the absence of condemnation or even sympathy from the audience. This study adds to global feminist cinema criticism and narrative studies by comparing a Western and an Indonesian film, demonstrating that the narrative shift of victims is not limited to a particular cultural setting. Instead, it represents a transnational pattern of discursive power that presents rape as a crisis of masculine reputation, institutional authority, or communal cohesiveness rather than as a disturbance of justice. This realisation deepens our comprehension of how the sociocultural processes that uphold gender-based violence are both reflected in and reinforced by cinematic narratives.

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