

Stigma in Schizophrenics in Griya PMI Peduli, Surakarta, Central Java, Indonesia

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Abstract

The purposes of this research are (1) Determining public's view of people with schizophrenia in “Griya PMI Peduli Surakarta” (2) Determining the cause of stigma in people with schizophrenia in “Griya PMI Peduli Surakarta”. This research is a qualitative study by using phenomenological approach. The sampling technique in this research is purposive sampling which seeks for informants as required. Data collecting technique was done by observation, interview, and documentation. The Conclusions of this research are; Basically, there are plenty of perspective regarding social phenomenon which occurs in the society. There are resemblance and differences on viewpoints and understanding of illness. Illness is divided into two; physical and mental illness, which later form a perspective of normality. The perspective of normality that discusses a series of values and norms, in which become social rules of behavior and act as a reference for shaping the front stage and back stage of someone with schizophrenia. These viewpoints are the ones that ultimately form a stigma in the society. The process of stigma comes for people with schizophrenia in “Griya PMI Peduli Surakarta” explained by Erving Goffman in the theory of dramaturgy of stigma, caused by the presence of gap between virtual reality –the front stage– which expected by the society with factual reality –the back stage– shown by people with schizophrenia to the society, the disease is judged as the front stage, which caused a gap of reality and later in generally considered as an unnatural thing in the society itself.

Keywords: stigma, schizophrenia, dramaturgy.

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Introduction

Nowadays, our society becomes more demanding than ever. The shifting of social standards that grows faster requires us to adapt easily with these circumstances. Economic demands, unemployment, sexual violence, even romance issues, often becomes the factors that triggers mental disorders. The complexity of problems and the high life demands of our society force everyone to struggle in order to maintain their existence in the society itself. Furthermore, the *das sein* and *das solen* that comes out far from our expectations forces us to face the reality and keep going forward. Turns out, not everyone can resolve the situation properly. Many are tend to be pessimistic and cannot think about what positive things that might comes after. Such act will often leads to stress and depression, which later will bring to the dropping state of their health; mental and emotional.

A person's health is determined by a healthy state of physical, mental and social, and not merely by the absence of disease or infirmity (WHO, 2001). According to this definition, a person can be considered healthy if all aspects within himself isn't disturbed, whether it's the social aspects (social life), and mental aspects which associated with psychological aspects, and also physical aspects with no dysfunctional of organ systems in his body. If one of these three aspects doesn't meet each other, a person can't be considered healthy. If his physical condition is considered healthy, a person's mental and his social would also be considered healthy. On the other hand, if a person's mental is disturbed, then it would be considered that his physical and social conditions are not healthy, or in other words considered as insane. Hence, health problems should always be highlighted completely; so that mental health can be an essential part of the health itself that can't be separated from each other (Stuart & Laraia, 2005).

According to Stuart & Laraia (2005), a person shall determined sane if they have the criteria as follows; positive behavior, self-development & self-actualization, autonomy, integrity, mind perception that corresponds with reality, and the ability to adapt to certain environments in order to carry out their social roles. Maslow (1970, in Shives, 2005) states that a sane person is someone who can do self-actualization which indicated by; having positive self-concept, able to maintain good relationship with others and their environment, can make decisions based on reality, having the ability of self expression, optimistic, appreciates and enjoyed the life they had, act and think independently by the social standards of values and behaviors, as well as being creative by using various approaches in order to solve their mental health issues. From these criteria stated above, we can simply conclude that people with mental disorders does not meet these criteria due to their illness.

Nowadays, the decrease of mental health occurs in almost all countries around the world, made WHO (World Health Organization) takes this matter seriously by making it a form of Global Issue that threatens our world. American Psychiatric Association (APA, 2009), stated that 1% of world population suffers from schizophrenia. The same research by the World Health Organization (WHO) also explained that the prevalence of schizophrenia in societies ranging from one to three per mile in one population. In the United States, the population of schizophrenic is more than two million people. WHO estimates that 450 million people worldwide suffered from mental disorder. Approximately 10% of adult experiences mental

disorder nowadays, and 25% of the population is expected to experience mental disorder at a certain age during his lifetime. This certain age usually occurs between the young adults, between the ages of 18-21 years (WHO, 2009).

Based on the data from Riset Kesehatan Dasar (2007), it shows the prevalence of mental disorders nationwide reached 5.6% of the total population. In other words, in every 1000 inhabitants in Indonesia, there are four to five people suffering from mental disorders. These data clearly shows that the percentage of people who suffer from mental disorders always increased each year. The highest prevalence of mental disorders in Indonesia are found in the province of DKI Jakarta (24.3%), followed by Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam (18.5%), West Sumatra (17.7%), NTB (10.9%), South Sumatra (9.2%) and Central Java (6.8%).

Based on the research that held in Indonesia, the country's percentage of schizophrenics are around 1-2% of the total population, which means Indonesian's schizophrenics population reach the number of 2-4 million people, with 700.000-1.4 million are diagnosed as active schizophrenics. It is even stated that of all patients which resides in Indonesians mental hospitals all over the country, around 70% of them are schizophrenics (Wicakna, 2001).

Susanto (2007), stated that mental disorders such as schizophrenia is a condition that highly correlates with the problem of individual, family, and society. Patients of mental disorder may face certain conditions caused by the stigma & labeling from the society that sticks to them by default. These are the factors that push passive acts between patient's family members, which can lead to an act of abandonment of the family member that suffers from mental disorder.

There are many of them who haven't received any optimal treatment for those who suffer severe mental disorders. Sometimes, deprivation might be the only option for economic reasons, as for some people don't have enough money to have a proper treatment. There are many patients who got abandoned by their family in some of mental hospitals, as for their family didn't know how to cope with the current condition of their family member which suffers from mental disorder. At home, their family is only able to provide medication, and the medication could occur to some discontinuation, this can lead to the recurrence of the patient's mental disorder. Many people with mental disorders did not get the support of the family. In other conditions, people who suffer from mental disorders didn't get any support at all from their family.

Many mental disorder people had been stranded and taken away by the police and social services to Griya PMI Peduli Surakarta to give them shelter, medical, and social care. Most of them are not known origin place, home, or family. This is because of their psychological factors that made them do not remember their background nor identity. There is no charge for needy family to put their family member who has mental disorder there.

One of the biggest problems faced by mental disorders is the problems of stigma. Stigma is a sign or identification of signs, consisting of shame, stain, or contamination. Stigma is closely related to the lack of understanding or

misunderstanding regarding mental disorders, including its medication and psychiatric profession (Carol et al, 2008).

People tend to perceive and regard mental disorder as a form of fear; of disease; of ignorance; and of violence. Some cultures of people still believe that mental disorder is the work of some kind of ghost, or evil spirit, a dirty line of blood, toxic, and a low moral integrity. Within our society, there are a lot of discrimination in employment, public services, insurance, and the right to receive education for individuals who suffer mental disorder (Andriyanti, 2004).

According to Syamsul Hadi (2006), most people in Indonesia with a family member suffers from mental disorder are usually embarrassed and chose to hide, isolate them, let alone they treated inhumanely. Things like this are still closely associated with the public stigma that mental disorder is a disease that is a shame and a disgrace to the family. While the family would prefer to leave mental disorder and do not provide care to clients. Things like this will certainly complicate the client's recovery rate.

The theory used in this research is the dramaturgic theory of stigma. In his book, Goffman pays attention to certain problematic aspects of self-representation. Stigma refers to the people with disabilities, and because of that they do not gain social acceptance in the society. These are people who can be humiliated or degraded easily, especially those who are homeless and wanders around without wearing any clothes on. Here the stigma itself is still labeled on the group where people are still looking for full social acceptance. Here is where the structure of institution and situation comes in. Meanwhile, those who are degraded are the ones that have shortcomings in following the standards of social acceptance (Ritzer, 2012).

Goffman (1963) is interested in the gap between what a person should have, (virtual or virtual social identity), and what a person is actually, "actual social identity". Anyone who has a gap between the two identities will be stigmatized. Stigma focuses on the dramaturgical interactions between stigmatized and normal people. The nature of these interactions depends on one of two stigmas which labeled to an individual. In this case, with so-called discredited (visible—clearly known) stigma, the actor who is doing a humiliation act towards people who are different with the social standards and categorized as abnormal, assumes that differences between stigmatized and normal people are obvious or can be seen directly. For example: people with visible disabilities such as blindness, or missing body parts.

On the other hand, a form of discreditable (invisible) stigma is a condition where those differences in people is not clearly visible to the audience members, such as; homosexuality, transgender, bisexuals, etc. For those who have problems with discreditable stigma, the dramaturgic problem here is how to manage information in order for it does not leak out to the audiences (Ritzer, 2012)

Method

This research entitled “Stigma on Schizophrenics in Griya PMI Peduli Surakarta” was a form of qualitative research as its basic research, hints the qualitative research as an interactive process, and as a form to understand the stigma built by the society for schizophrenic. The researchers were using phenomenological approach in conducting

this research. Simply put, phenomenology is a part of qualitative methodology, which contains historical values. These aspects match with our research that study of “Stigma on Schizophrenics in Griya PMI Peduli Surakarta”.

This research is held in Griya PMI Peduli Surakarta, adressed in Jl.Sumbing Raya, Mertoudan, Mojosongo, which has begun its operation since 19th September 2011. With 15 people as its human resource, and –according to the data by Griya PMI Peduli– currently there are 157 people as residents (patients), consist of 46 female and 111 male, with 53 of them had already reunited with their family, and this number is significantly increasing every day.

This research uses purposive sampling, in which the researchers already choose the right and trustworthy informant which is considered aware of the right information and its problematics. (Slamet, 2006). Meanwhile, interactive model from Milles & Huberman (1992) applied for data analysis technique, with the steps as follows; 1. Data reduction; 2. Data presentation; 3. Conclusion withdrawal.

To get the valid data, researchers find out the problem from different sources to compare whether the problem related to the reality. Researchers use triangulation technique to check the validity of the data by using external factor for comparison (Moleong, 2004). Triangulation can be used based on the source of the data accomplished by comparing data got from interview in different time and place from the data taken before. These types of the questions are similar to validate the data. The new transcript is made based on data taken from the latest interview to compare with the previous one. The validation result is similar with the previous data.

Result and Discussion

Here are the results and discussion of research on Stigma in Schizophrenics at Griya PMI Peduli Surakarta.

Physical and Mental Illness

Everyone have different point of view about the understanding of disease; physical and mental. Psychology says that a healthy person is someone who is physical and psychological healthy. If someone gets injured, infected by virus, they are physically ill. If they don't have both nor the mental health, they are considered having mental disorder, even though they're physically healthy they will still be considered as someone who suffers from mental disorder in the society. So, if they have both, they are intact. This discussion will lead to the further discussion about normal and abnormal, such as mental disorder in the next part.

Normality and Mental Disorder

A person is classified as normal if they fit the values and norms of social rules that apply in the society, in order to create social order. If someone doing some unusual things that are not incompatible with the values and norms of the reference habits and behavior to interact in the society, they will be classified as someone with mental disorder, or as we speak, known by the term as schizophrenia. It aims to ensure the

preservation of human life, as well as an effort to secure communications and the traffic of life.

Social Deviation

The application of regulations are considered necessary, in terms to define which is right and which is wrong, which things that the society wants and which that needs to be thrown away. This is what is called in terms of normality by everyone living in the society, which has given the feelings of security in the hearts of each person. A person must be adapted to the social standards of the society, for those standards of the ethical norm hold the important role in maintaining and preserving the society. Thus, many of people's vital and biological needs have to be curbed and regulated, for the welfare of humanity and justice, such as the rules of personal hygiene for the comfort of living with others, dress codes, behavioral norms, etc. In related to these rules, many people feel hampered or shocked by sorts-kinds of rules, social norms, and social standards, because they are experiencing great frustration, which leads them to mental disorders and insanity. These things later being considered as a form of deviation by the society, yet in the other hand, also bring intolerance due to their unstable state of mind that could not be determined as a form of deviation. People who suffer from mental disorder often labeled as a form of deviant behavior, this phenomena is applied as a consequences of his behavior did not meet the rules of social behavior in the society. These rules are the one that set the system of values and norms which has been agreed by the society for the sake of social order.

The Dramaturgy Theory

Each person has a front stage and back stage. A difference in the understanding of the next stage which is captured by the audience is behind the stage displayed by schizophrenics in public. While the front of the stage for schizophrenics only occurred when they were in conditions that improve the effects of drugs taken so that it can control the mental and can make people understand that there is a reality beyond the new reality they have. This has spawned social distance. For Goffman, stigma was born because there is a gap between what a person should have, "virtual social identity", and what that person actually has, "the actual social identity". Every person has the gap between these two identities in stigmatization and this is the reason why schizophrenic is beyond people's stigma. There is a distance between virtual social identity and social identity. They are seen by the audience (society) as the front stage that does not fulfill script demanded and audience's expectation. It is caused by different manuscript understanding of schizophrenic who has new reality, and people who do not understand any other reality beyond realities they already understood.

Theory Analysis

The Dramaturgic Theory of Stigma

Basically, there are plenty of views about social phenomena happened in society. There are also a lot of differences and similarities of understanding about illness. Illness which is divided into physical and mental illness called as normal and abnormal in society's view. View of normality which discusses about value and norm which becomes social rule as guidance in behavior form front stage and back stage

called Dramaturgy. This view finally forms a stigma in society. It is caused of the distance between virtual and factual reality.

This research used Dramaturgic theory by Erving Goffman. Goffman stated that social interaction law can be found in stage law. Person plays a role in theater (Rachmad Dwi Susilo, 2008:368). Schizophrenics living in Griya PMI Peduli Surakarta also play a role as Goffman said when they face the audience. This research focuses on schizophrenics and audience's view. They are forced to understand that life is a drama which needs performer, performance, region, stage, script, setting and audience.

Goffman said that each individual or team has to play the role carefully so they perform the best performance. The keys are on the script and the audience itself. Each individual or team has to understand whether they are on front stage or back stage. Front stage is a place where the performers are controlled, monitored, and evaluated by the script and audience. They do the make work, as Goffman said. They have to show as real as possible to others to convince an image they would like to form. Hence, they have to adopt their personal surface through their role band dramatize it by adding the signs which give an impression in their activity and it seems right.

This research found that not all the performance in front stage give audience's expectation. Kartini Kartono said that the performance and expression played by schizophrenic is not common. It has social disorientation and not fluent. It makes a delusion and makes them have delusion of grandeur which makes them feel jealous and suspicious. Sometimes they experience delusion of persecution that makes them aggressive; doing demolition, even suicide (Kartini Kartono, 2005:271). This reality happens to the schizophrenics that makes them are not able to distinguish between reality and delusion. This new reality becomes front stage for schizophrenics. They perform their performance with new script, new value, and new norm reality which is agreed by themselves and different with the society.

According to the society, Schizophrenics perform their front stage which is their real back stage not common. On their back stage, they can't see the audience which they can recognize or not. What they perform is not suited anymore to audience's character, norm, and value. They don't notice whether it is new or old audience. They ignore whether the audience in front of them had understood and adapted to their performance. They detach all norm and value when they are on the front stage.

The back stage for Goffman is very different from the front stage, as the front stage requires a lot of devices that needs to be learnt to support the appearance and maintain impression in front of their audience—individual and society they are facing. On the other hand, the back stage is the true self an individual have, there is no effort of impressing the audience. When society sees schizophrenics, they see the back stage of schizophrenics as their front stage, schizophrenics show such back stage in front of public because they are no longer attached with norms or manuscript that requires and restricts their actions. Schizophrenics in Griya PMI Surakarta have mental disorder as a result of their action in their front stage that has different manuscript with society and other schizophrenics. People say that they are crazy, lunatics, but for them as they already stated in research result, they understand that what they do is fitting so people should not call them so. This problem happens because the manuscript difference that

schizophrenics and society have, society sees the front stage of schizophrenics does not fit the value and norm they have agreed upon while actually schizophrenics have different value and norms they agreed on. They have their own norm because they have new reality that presents new value and norm for them.

Same with other schizophrenics, when they are on their front stage for example in front of nurse or psychiatry who take care of them every day, schizophrenics in Griya PMI Surakarta show impression as if they are healthy and do not have mental disorder in order to be free and reunited with their family. They show that they are no longer having mental disorder, not angry, able to socialize, not crying, and have significant betterment by showing that they are diligent, helpful to others, friendly and always smile to people. This kind of action is the reason why Mbak Hayu, Mas Pras, are considered recovered and able to be reunited to their family. So schizophrenics have same front stage with general society, but the front stage that they show is not fully understood by society. Only people who have intense interaction with them—nurse, psychiatrics, and friend in their habitat which is rehabilitation and psychiatric center in Griya PMI Peduli Surakarta —can understand their whole front stage. In addition, schizophrenics do not suffer mental disorder for 24 hours straight, they could only suffer the psychiatric disorder for several hours or they even do not suffer the disorder at all if they ear the medicine regularly and they maintain their positive thoughts. When they do not suffer the psychiatric issues, they can do activities that general people do, for example sewing, embroider, making hand-craft, cooking, washing dishes, doing entrepreneurship, doing artistic activities or working to gain money like Mbak Hayu. This is the front stage that cannot be seen by every society since they are living in social institution named Griya PMI Peduli Surakarta which cannot be accessed easily unless they have authority that has been given by the employees.

The term of total institution is introduced by Erving Goffman in his book entitled *Asylums: Essays on the Social Institution of Mental Patients and Other in Mates* (1961). They are the places that separate the occupants from the outside world by high walls and locked gates. It includes mental hospitals, prisons, schools, and so on. These places also known as asylums. In the asylums, Goffman looked at the people in these institutions trying to interpret their experience rather than justify the systems they face.

Judging from Goffman's analysis about total institution, Griya PMI Peduli Surakarta meets all the criteria he stated. Total institutions can be divided in several levels; all aspects of life carried out in the same place and in the same single supervision; each member is doing the same activity and tends to have the same idea; a series of everyday life are strictly planned, the entire sequence is controlled by the system or organization and formal inspectors; a variety of activities are directed and forced into a single plan to achieve the goal of institutions.

Griya PMI Peduli Surakarta is considered as total institutions that function as psychiatric hospital or rehabilitation for mental disorder patients. The term of total institution is used to analyze the institutions that limits human behaviors through bureaucratic processes that cause physical isolation from the surrounding normal activities. Individuals are treated as sub-ordinate who strongly depends on the organization and the person who is being authorized in the organization. Here, people who suffers from mental disorder including schizophrenics are the individuals who

lives in the same situation, separated from the general society and even their own family for a certain period to live a formal and regulated rules applied in Griya PMI Peduli Surakarta. This is where they live, after months of being lost and wanders in the streets. Here they only interact with certain communities that have been authorized by the agency as an organization that take care of them. All of their behaviors are strictly regulated so they will not harm other people around them and return to the values and norms of society. They are guided to leave their very own reality and enter the reality of general society. All activities in Griya PMI Peduli Surakarta has already governed in standards and rules that runs by and from the power of the director of Griya PMI Peduli Surakarta.

The schizophrenics who treated here have different environment compared to people from the outside. In this institution there are values and standards that have been agreed by the people who live in the neighborhood Griya PMI Peduli Surakarta. Those values are different with the values in other communities such as bald women become common and it is not considered as violating the rules because it is a form of health care of their body, it will be more harmful if their hair is left neglected for too long because bugs could make their scalp itchy and make them scratching their scalp. Taing medication every day is a reasonable act for schizophrenics, if they do not want to take medication they will be considered violating the rules and should be sanctioned, being restored in a assylum for better treatment. The general community can not follow their norms and values because they will feel unnatural or not common and vice versa, schizophrenics can not fully follow the values and norms of society, because they have a new reality that can not be understood by the public. This is the core reason of what causes stigma according to Goffman.

The conclusion is that the stigmatization of schizophrenics as people who are sick, have mental disorders, dangerous, contagious, threatening, disgusting, and incapable of having communication ultimately make audience who see it as their front stage avoid them because their action is irregular. This avoiding action later on create discrimination, exclusion and skepticism from the audience to schizophrenics and people with mental disorders in general. It is simply the gap of understanding between the front stage and the back stage of schizophrenics, society think that the actions shown by schizophrenics are their front stage while actually they shows their back stage to the society as they have new reality and different norms. They have different front stage with regular people because they live in a total institution that requires different norms and not accessible for everybody. It is an imaginary line called virtual abyss by Goffman that becomes invisible barrier between the realities that generate stigma. Audiences' view which are society in general to schizophrenics who once had a positive attitude because their actions were in line with society's norm changed when their actions are no longer fit the society's norm because they have new reality that cannot be understood by general society. This changing does not only happen to the audiences who see schizophrenics, schizophrenics also possible to give stigma to general society as bad people for not being able to understand their new values and standards. The stigma given by society triggers the reoccurrence of schizophrenia in which schizophrenics relapse due to differences of values and standards that are being embraced and understood by both sides. So the sigma is not only given by general society to schizophrenics, but also by schizophrenics to general society. Then, stigma is not an illness, it is a constructional difference between the values and thoughts between the actor of stigmatizing and the person who get stigmatized.

Conclusion

This research has led to the conclusion that there are different points of view for schizophrenics and there are different understandings of new realities condition in people with mental disorders including schizophrenia. The stigma that emerged from the public according to dramaturgical theory of Erving Goffman happen in the form of virtual and factual distance. Everybody has front stage and back stage. There are differences in understanding the front stage captured by the audience which actually is the back stage displayed by schizophrenics. The front stage of schizophrenics is only shown when they were under effects of drugs taken so that it can control their mind and can make them understand that there is a different reality in the society outside their own reality. This produces the social distance. For Goffman, stigma happens because there is a gap between what a person should have, "the virtual social identity" and what the person actually is, "real social identity." Anyone who has the gap between the two identities is being stigmatized. This is why schizophrenics are under people's stigma. There is a distance between the virtual social identity and actual social identity in the eyes of audience (society), audience sees the actions of schizophrenics as the front stage that does not fulfill social requirements and expectation because there is different understanding of the manuscript among schizophrenics who have new reality and the audience who could not understand the reality beyond the reality they understand.

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