



INTERSECTING PERSPECTIVES ON DOMESTIC VIOLENCE: POSITIVE LAW, FEMINIST THEORY, AND ISLAMIC LAW

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Abstract: Domestic violence (DV) represents a complex form of crime, encompassing legal, social, and cultural dimensions. This article examines the issue of DV through an interdisciplinary lens, combining the perspectives of Indonesian positive criminal law, feminist criminology theory, and Islamic criminal law. The core problem lies in the unequal legal protection afforded to DV victims, particularly women, due to the predominance of formalistic and gender-biased legal interpretations. This study aims to critically assess how each of these frameworks conceptualizes and addresses DV, and to identify points of convergence that can serve as the foundation for more equitable policy formulation. Employing a normative juridical method, the study utilizes a conceptual approach and case studies, including an analysis of court decisions. The findings reveal that positive law still faces serious challenges in implementation, while feminist criminology and Islamic law offer more contextual and ethically grounded paradigms of protection. The article recommends a DV mitigation strategy based on legal integration, gender equality, and substantive justice. These findings are significant for developing legal policies that are more responsive to the lived realities of victims.

Keywords: Domestic Violence; Feminist Criminology; Islamic Criminal Law; Positive Law

Abstrak: Kekerasan dalam rumah tangga (KDRT) merupakan kejahatan kompleks yang mencakup aspek hukum, sosial, dan budaya. Artikel ini mengkaji KDRT dengan pendekatan interdisipliner melalui perspektif hukum pidana positif Indonesia, teori kriminologi feminisme, dan hukum pidana Islam. Fokus utamanya adalah ketimpangan perlindungan hukum terhadap korban, terutama perempuan, akibat dominasi tafsir hukum yang formalistik dan bias gender. Penelitian ini bertujuan mengevaluasi bagaimana ketiga pendekatan tersebut memahami dan menangani KDRT, serta mencari titik temu yang dapat dijadikan dasar kebijakan hukum yang adil dan berkeadilan gender. Metode yang digunakan adalah yuridis normatif dengan pendekatan konseptual dan studi kasus putusan pengadilan. Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahwa hukum positif masih menghadapi tantangan implementasi, sementara kriminologi feminisme dan hukum Islam menawarkan pendekatan perlindungan yang lebih kontekstual dan etis. Artikel ini merekomendasikan strategi penanggulangan KDRT berbasis integrasi hukum, kesetaraan gender, dan keadilan substantif.

Kata Kunci: Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga; Kriminologi Feminisme; Hukum Pidana Islam; Hukum Positif

A. INTRODUCTION

Domestic Violence (Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga—KDRT, hereinafter referred to as DV) constitutes one of the most concealed yet deeply rooted violations of human rights within society. In numerous cases, DV not only inflicts physical suffering but also generates profound psychological, social, economic, and spiritual impacts on victims, particularly women and children.¹ Although the household is normatively perceived as a private sphere filled with affection, in reality, for some individuals, it becomes an unsafe place.² Data from the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan) indicate that cases of violence against women—especially DV—continue to increase annually, with the majority of perpetrators being the victim's husband or intimate partner.³ This situation underscores that DV is not merely an individual problem but also a structural issue requiring a comprehensive legal and social approach.

In the context of Indonesia, Law Number 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence (*Undang-Undang Nomor 23 Tahun 2004 tentang Penghapusan Kekerasan dalam Rumah Tangga*) has served as a significant milestone in providing legal protection for victims. Nevertheless, the implementation of this law continues to face numerous challenges on the ground. Cultural resistance to reporting DV cases persists, alongside stigma against women who disclose the violence they have experienced, as well as power imbalances between men and women that constrain victims' ability to seek justice. Moreover, in practice, law enforcement officials often prioritize a formalistic approach, without adequately considering the social and psychological contexts underlying domestic violence cases. This indicates that the current positive law has not yet fully addressed the complex realities of DV⁴

¹ Sarah J. White et al., "Global Prevalence and Mental Health Outcomes of Intimate Partner Violence Among Women: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis," *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse* 25, no. 1 (January 24, 2024): 494–511, <https://doi.org/10.1177/15248380231155529>.

² Ning Ma et al., "Prevalence and Changes of Intimate Partner Violence Against Women Aged 15 to 49 Years in 53 Low-Income and Middle-Income Countries from 2000 to 2021: A Secondary Analysis of Population-Based Surveys," *The Lancet Global Health* 11, no. 12 (December 2023): e1863–73, [https://doi.org/10.1016/S2214-109X\(23\)00417-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S2214-109X(23)00417-5).

³ Komnas Perempuan, "CATAHU 2021: Perempuan Dalam Himpitan Pandemi: Lonjakan Kekerasan Seksual, Kekerasan Siber, Perkawinan Anak Dan Keterbatasan Penanganan Di Tengah Covid-19," 2021, <https://komnasperempuan.go.id/catatan-tahunan-detail/catahu-2021-perempuan-dalam-himpitan-pandemi-lonjakan-kekerasan-seksual-kekerasan-siber-perkawinan-anak-dan-keterbatasan-penanganan-di-tengah-covid-19?>; Komnas Perempuan, "Catatan Tahunan Komnas Perempuan Tahun 2023 Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan Di Ranah Publik Dan Negara: Minimnya Pelindungan Dan Pemulihan" (Jakarta, 2023); Komnas Perempuan, "Siaran Pers Gerak Bersama Dalam Data: Laporan Sinergi Database Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan Tahun 2023" (Jakarta, 2024), <https://komnasperempuan.go.id/siaran-pers-detail/siaran-pers-gerak-bersama-dalam-data-laporan-sinergi-database-kekerasan-terhadap-perempuan-tahun-2023>.

⁴ Martitah Martitah et al., "Insufficient Criminal Justice System Response to the Severity of Domestic Violence During the Pandemic in Indonesia," *Heliyon* 10, no. 14 (July 2024): e33719, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2024.e33719>; Balawyn Jones and Amira Aftab, "Inside Indonesia's Religious Courts: An Argument for Domestic and Family Violence Screening and Exemption from Compulsory Mediation," *Oxford Journal of Law and Religion* 12, no. 2 (June 10, 2024): 217–31, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ojlr/rwad015>.

Several theoretical approaches and academic studies have been employed to analyze the phenomenon of domestic violence (DV). One prominent approach is feminist criminology, which posits that violence against women cannot be separated from the patriarchal social structures that place women in subordinate positions. This theory highlights that legal systems are often masculine in orientation and biased against women's experiences. As an early cornerstone of feminist criminology, Frances M. Heidensohn (1968) criticized the normative assumptions of traditional criminology that overlooked women's experiences both as victims and as perpetrators of crime.⁵ Furthermore, Carrington (2013) advocated for the development of feminist theories on violence that do not limit the focus solely to victims but also take into account patriarchal structures in the legal analysis of women and violence.⁶ In the Indonesian context, this approach has not yet been widely applied explicitly in policy or law enforcement, although its essence remains highly relevant to existing social realities.

Moreover, it is crucial to examine domestic violence (DV) from the perspective of Islamic criminal law, considering that the majority of the Indonesian population is Muslim and often refers to religious texts in managing household life. Unfortunately, interpretations of Qur'anic verses and Hadith concerning spousal relationships are frequently conducted in a literal manner and exhibit gender bias, thereby justifying acts of violence in the name of religion. On the other hand, several contemporary Islamic legal scholars, such as Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im, advocate for a reinterpretation of religious texts to ensure more contextual, just, and non-discriminatory understandings toward women.⁷ This approach opens up space for interpretations of Islamic criminal law that prioritize the protection of victims and reject all forms of domestic violence.⁸

Furthermore, various previous studies have examined domestic violence (DV) from diverse normative, criminological, and theological perspectives. Research by Siregar and Nurasiah (2024) demonstrates how the principles of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, such as *ḥifẓ al-nafs* (protection of life) and *ḥifẓ al-'irdh* (protection of honor), serve as normative foundations for responding to DV within Islamic law; however, these principles have yet to be systematically integrated into national regulations.⁹ Meanwhile, Karnadi (2024) and

⁵ Frances Heidensohn, "The Deviance of Women: A Critique and an Enquiry," *The British Journal of Sociology* 19, no. 2 (June 1968): 160, <https://doi.org/10.2307/588692>.

⁶ Kerry Carrington, "Girls and Violence: The Case for a Feminist Theory of Female Violence," *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy* 2, no. 2 (September 11, 2013): 63–79, <https://doi.org/10.5204/ijcsd.v2i2.101>.

⁷ Yuriike Siti Mariyam et al., "Shariah Deconstruction: The Thoughts of Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im," *Hukum Islam* 23, no. 1 (August 2, 2023): 124, <https://doi.org/10.24014/jhi.v23i1.21123>.

⁸ Hamdan Ladiku and Akhmad Roja Badrus Zaman, "Examining Domestic Violence from The Lens of Islamic Law: A Maqasid Analysis," *Ulul Albab: Jurnal Studi Dan Penelitian Hukum Islam* 6, no. 2 (May 3, 2024): 152, <https://doi.org/10.30659/jua.v6i2.35740>.

⁹ Bismar Siregar, Faisar Ananda, and Nurasiah Nurasiah, "Mencegah KDRT: Maqashid Syariah Dan Hukum Pidana," *As-Sais: Jurnal Hukum Tata Negara / Siyasa* 9, no. 1 (2025): 72–81, <https://doi.org/10.30821/as-sais.v10i1.23373>.

Setiawan (2024) focus their analyses on the structural causes of DV using criminological theories, frustration-aggression models, and social control frameworks, advocating preventive, educational, and feminist-oriented strategies¹⁰ Puteri et al. (2022) reinforce these findings through a CCTV-based case study that reveals power dynamics within patriarchal households, emphasizing the urgent need for state intervention in domestic power relations.¹¹

Within the scope of legal protection, Ajjahidi (2023), Fikriana et al. (2023), and Bustanul Arifin & Santoso (2013) highlight the gaps in safeguarding women and children who are victims of domestic violence, both from the perspectives of Islamic law and positive law. They emphasize the importance of synergy between religious norms and state law in ensuring substantive justice.¹² Meanwhile, Kumala & Ananda (2024) offer a unique perspective on the psychological dilemmas faced by DV victims, particularly women, in choosing between divorces and maintaining the household.¹³ These findings contribute to the diversity of approaches to DV; however, they remain generally limited in their comprehensive integration across disciplines, including positive law, Islamic law, and feminist criminology theory.

Distinct from previous studies, this article offers an original contribution by presenting an integrative analysis that connects three perspectives simultaneously: Indonesian positive criminal law, feminist criminology theory, and Islamic criminal law in conceptualizing domestic violence as a complex crime. This research not only compares legal approaches but also traces conceptual and normative intersections that can serve as a foundation for formulating more effective and contextually appropriate intervention strategies. This interdisciplinary approach constitutes the main strength of the study, enriching both academic discourse and policy praxis in addressing domestic violence in a more equitable, holistic, and value-based manner. Therefore, the novelty of this article lies

¹⁰ Wenny Tazira Karnadi, "Tinjauan Kriminologi Terhadap Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga Dan Upaya Pencegahannya," *Equality Before the Law* 4, no. 1 (2024): 38–47, <https://unimuda.e-journal.id/jurnalilmuhukum/article/view/5668>; Antonius Ian Bayu Setiawan, "Analisis Akar Masalah Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga (KDRT) Dalam Perspektif Feminis," *Jurnal Konseling Komprehensif: Kajian Teori Dan Praktik Bimbingan Dan Konseling* 11, no. 2 (2024): 79–87, <https://doi.org/10.36706/jkk.v11i2.48>.

¹¹ Tiara Ambarwani Puteri et al., "Analisis Kasus Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga Cut Intan Nabila Dalam Perspektif Feminis," *Spectrum: Journal of Gender and Children Studies* 5, no. 1 (2025): 68–78, <https://doi.org/10.30984/spectrum.v5i1.1421>.

¹² Muhammad Hilmi Ajjahidi, "Kombinasi Hukum Islam Dan Negara Menjadi Pelindung Korban Dalam Menyikapi Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga (KDRT)," *El-Ahli: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 3, no. 2 (December 28, 2022): 211–26, <https://doi.org/10.56874/el-ahli.v3i2.975>; Askana Fikriana et al., "Tinjauan Hukum Islam Dan Indonesia Tentang Anak Korban KDRT," *SEIKAT: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial, Politik Dan Hukum* 2, no. 6 (November 21, 2023): 529–37, <https://doi.org/10.55681/seikat.v2i6.1006>; Bustanul Arifin and Lukman Santoso, "Problematisasi Perlindungan Perempuan Korban Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga (KDRT) Di Indonesia Perspektif Hukum Islam," *As-Salam: Jurnal Studi Hukum Islam & Pendidikan* 2, no. 2 (2013): 53–74, <https://doi.org/10.51226/assalam.v2i2.46>.

¹³ Wati Kumala and Faisar Ananda, "Korban KDRT Antara Gugat Cerai Atau Mempertahankan Pernikahan Ditinjau Dari Perspektif Hukum Islam, Hukum Positif, Dan Psikologis," *Jurnal Pendidikan Tambusai* 8, no. 1 (2024): 3289–3299, <https://doi.org/10.31004/jptam.v8i1.12904>.

in its theoretical and normative synthesis, which has been scarcely explored in prior research.

The scholarly contribution of this study is the provision of a holistic perspective on domestic violence, which not only adheres to prevailing legal norms but also considers the social and religious structures shaping victims' experiences. Consequently, this article is relevant not only for academics and legal researchers but also for policymakers, law enforcement officers, and organizations supporting victims engaged in combating domestic violence. It is anticipated that the findings of this study will strengthen legal reform efforts and foster a protection system that is both just and gender-responsive.

B. METHOD

This study employs a normative juridical approach, which emphasizes the analysis of existing legal norms, including legislation, legal doctrines, and relevant court decisions. The research is further supported by a conceptual and comparative theoretical approach, particularly drawing on feminist criminology and Islamic criminal law, in order to provide an interdisciplinary perspective on addressing domestic violence cases. The primary data sources were obtained through a literature review, encompassing Indonesian positive law such as Law Number 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence, the Criminal Code (KUHP), as well as academic literature and court decisions related to domestic violence cases. The analytical technique applied is descriptive-analytical, focusing on legal interpretation and contextual understanding of legal norms to address issues of substantive justice for victims, particularly women. Through this approach, the study aims to provide a comprehensive overview and strategic solutions to domestic violence problems from an integrative legal perspective.

C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. Domestic Violence Offenses

Domestic violence (DV) constitutes a crime that occurs within the private sphere, yet its impact on victims, society, and the legal system is substantial. DV not only violates human rights but also reinforces power imbalances between perpetrators and victims, which in many cases are rooted in patriarchal social structures.¹⁴ Generally, DV may manifest as physical, psychological, sexual, or economic abuse, as regulated under Law Number 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence (UU PKDRT). Article 1, paragraph (1) of this law defines DV as any act against a person, particularly women, resulting in physical, sexual, psychological suffering, and/or domestic neglect.

¹⁴ Evelyn Rose, Charlotte Mertens, and Jennifer Balint, "Structural Problems Demand Structural Solutions: Addressing Domestic and Family Violence," *Violence Against Women* 30, no. 14 (November 7, 2024): 3633–55, <https://doi.org/10.1177/10778012231179212>.

DV as a criminal offense is not merely related to violations of legal norms but also reflects deep structural issues. Women, as the majority of victims in DV cases, often face barriers in accessing justice, including fear of the perpetrator, social pressure, economic dependency, and societal stigma that regards domestic violence as a private matter unfit for public intervention.¹⁵ Research by Komnas Perempuan (2023) indicates that the reporting rate of DV remains very low compared to the estimated number of actual cases. Data from the DP3A of Semarang City show that in 2024, there were 263 cases of violence against women, of which 141 reports ($\approx 53.6\%$) were cases of domestic violence, with the majority of victims being women.¹⁶ However, these figures are likely to underestimate the true scale of the problem.

From a juridical perspective, the UU PKDRT attempts to dismantle the boundary between private and public spheres in addressing domestic violence. The state asserts that domestic violence is a criminal act that must be firmly prosecuted. Nevertheless, law enforcement faces numerous challenges in practice. A primary obstacle is the insufficient understanding among law enforcement officers regarding gender sensitivity and the dynamics of domestic violence. Many cases end in mediation, even when the violence is severe, and victims do not receive adequate protection. Yet, Articles 5 through 10 of UU PKDRT clearly regulate forms of violence and the rights of victims, including protection and recovery measures.¹⁷

As a concrete illustration, in Decision Number 15/PID.SUS/2023/PT SMG, a husband was sentenced to nine months imprisonment and a fine of IDR 15 million for committing physical violence against his wife. In another case, Decision Number 558/Pid.Sus/2022/PT SMG, the perpetrator received a sentence of ten years imprisonment and a fine of IDR 10 million. The disparity in these sentences reflects inconsistencies in judicial rulings for cases that are relatively similar, which may lead the public to question the consistency of the law and diminish trust in the judicial system.

Furthermore, the criminal provisions in UU PKDRT have not fully succeeded in providing a deterrent effect. Relatively mild penalties for certain forms of violence mean that perpetrators often do not experience significant legal consequences. Moreover, the existence of criminal provisions in UU PKDRT needs to be accompanied by restorative and

¹⁵ Jennifer McCleary-Sills et al., "Stigma, Shame and Women's Limited Agency in Help-Seeking for Intimate Partner Violence," *Global Public Health* 11, no. 1-2 (February 7, 2016): 224-35, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17441692.2015.1047391>; Carmen Mañas, María A. Martínez, and Francisca Burgueño, "Intimate Partner Violence in Vulnerable Contexts: A Case Study," *Societies* 13, no. 3 (February 24, 2023): 53, <https://doi.org/10.3390/soc13030053>.

¹⁶ Redaksi Bankom Semarang, "141 Kasus KDRT Di Semarang Sepanjang 2024, Semarang Timur Dan Pedurangan Mendominasi," bankomsemarangnews.id, 2024, <https://www.bankomsemarangnews.id/141-kasus-kdrt-di-semarang-sepanjang-2024-semarang-timur-dan-pedurangan-mendominasi/>.

¹⁷ Wahyu Kurniadi, "Challenges of Law Enforcement against Domestic Violence Between Regulation and Implementation," *Siber International Journal of Advanced Law (SIJAL)* 1, no. 4 (2024): 83-91, <https://doi.org/10.38035/sijal.v1i4.183>.

rehabilitative approaches that prioritize the victim's well-being. Legal protection should be comprehensive, including legal assistance, psychological counseling, and economic empowerment for the victim.¹⁸

Structurally, domestic violence should be viewed as the outcome of institutionalized gender power imbalances. Therefore, addressing DV cannot rely solely on law enforcement but must also be complemented by social transformation efforts through gender equality education, anti-violence campaigns, and reforms within law enforcement institutions to make them more responsive to women's issues.¹⁹ Consequently, DV as a criminal offense should be positioned not only as a legal violation but also as a manifestation of social injustice that demands a systemic and integrative approach.

2. Domestic Violence from a Feminist Criminology Perspective

Feminist criminology emerged as a response to the limitations of traditional criminology paradigms, which are often considered neglectful of women's experiences, particularly in the context of domestic violence. In conventional approaches, criminal acts are often understood as violations of legal norms committed rationally and individually, without taking into account power dynamics, social structures, and the lived experiences of victims embedded within patriarchal relations. This approach has proven insufficient in explaining the social realities faced by female victims of violence, especially within domestic spaces that are often considered private and free from legal intervention.²⁰

Feminist criminology offers a new analytical lens by focusing on how social, cultural, and legal structures shape and perpetuate violence against women. Within this framework, domestic violence is not merely viewed as an interindividual violent event but as a manifestation of the unequal power relations between men and women. Violence within the household cannot be separated from social constructions of gender roles, female subordination, and deeply rooted patriarchal values in society.²¹ Therefore, from a feminist perspective, domestic violence constitutes a form of structural oppression institutionalized through social institutions, including marriage, family, and the law.

¹⁸ Tuti Susilawati, Edi Setiadi, and Yoyon Darusman, "Restorative Justice in Domestic Violence Cases: Law Implementation and Challenges in Indonesia," *Sinergi International Journal of Law* 3, no. 3 (June 13, 2025): 172–84, <https://doi.org/10.61194/law.v3i3.797>; Tengku Muhammad Reza Fikri Dharmawan, Ismaidar Ismaidar, and Tamaulina Br. Sembiring, "Transformation of Restorative Justice in the Indonesian Criminal Justice System towards a Just and Rehabilitative Legal Approach," *International Journal of Synergy in Law, Criminal, and Justice* 2, no. 1 (2025): 378–385, <https://doi.org/10.70321/ijslcj.v2i1.74>.

¹⁹ Gabriella Mwedzi and Alison Phipps, "Using Community Power to Tackle Gender-Based Violence: An Intersectional Theorisation," *Sociological Research Online* 30, no. 1 (March 24, 2025): 136–52, <https://doi.org/10.1177/13607804241252271>.

²⁰ Stacy De Coster and Karen Heimer, "Unifying Theory and Research on Intimate Partner Violence: A Feminist Perspective," *Feminist Criminology* 16, no. 3 (July 15, 2021): 286–303, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1557085120987615>.

²¹ Walter S. DeKeseredy, "Bringing Feminist Sociological Analyses of Patriarchy Back to the Forefront of the Study of Woman Abuse," *Violence Against Women* 27, no. 5 (April 21, 2021): 621–38, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801220958485>.

Legal feminism seeks to critique legal systems that have historically been biased and unsympathetic toward female victims. The law is often constructed based on masculine values that emphasize rationality, objectivity, and neutrality; yet in practice, it frequently overlooks the complexity of women's experiences. In many domestic violence cases, victims do not only suffer physical or psychological abuse but also structural violence when confronting a rigid, procedural, and gender-insensitive legal system. Victims often experience revictimization—becoming victims for a second time during legal proceedings as they must prove the abuse they endured, face social stigma, and contend with pressure from family and community.²²

The feminist criminology approach emphasizes the importance of substantive justice, which goes beyond formal-legal aspects to consider the social, psychological, and cultural contexts surrounding the victim's experience. For instance, female victims of domestic violence often refrain from reporting due to perceived lack of options. They may be trapped by economic dependency, social pressure to maintain household harmony, fear of losing their children, or stigma as women who "expose family secrets." This demonstrates that the legal system has not fully supported victims and fails to understand the complex situations women face.²³

In this context, the case in Decision Number 15/PID.SUS/2023/PT SMG can be analyzed through a feminist criminology lens. The sentence imposed on the perpetrator—nine months imprisonment and a fine of IDR 15 million—shows that although the perpetrator was found guilty, the judicial system still allowed room for compromise through a relatively lenient sentence. This may reflect the law's limited support for female victims who require real protection and firm law enforcement. This is particularly concerning considering that the violence was not an isolated incident but occurred repeatedly, in circumstances where the victim had no social support or access to legal and psychological assistance.

Feminist criminology also underscores the importance of viewing violence structurally, rather than merely individually. The absence of support for victims from their social environment, unresponsive law enforcement officers, and limited, fragmented service institutions constitute forms of institutional violence.²⁴ Such violence occurs when the state fails to provide adequate protection and recovery mechanisms for victims.

²² Ellen Reeves et al., "Incredible Women: Legal Systems Abuse, Coercive Control, and the Credibility of Victim-Survivors," *Violence Against Women* 31, no. 3-4 (March 17, 2025): 767-88, <https://doi.org/10.1177/10778012231220370>.

²³ Rose, Mertens, and Balint, "Structural Problems Demand Structural Solutions: Addressing Domestic and Family Violence"; Rachel Loney-Howes, Marlene Longbottom, and Bianca Fileborn, "Gender-Based Violence and Carceral Feminism in Australia: Towards Decarceral Approaches," *Feminist Legal Studies* 32, no. 2 (July 8, 2024): 163-85, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10691-024-09546-z>.

²⁴ Rose, Mertens, and Balint, "Structural Problems Demand Structural Solutions: Addressing Domestic and Family Violence."

Consequently, feminist theory calls for structural reforms, including law enforcement training, policy development, and the creation of victim-oriented protection systems²⁵

Within this framework, feminist criminology is not only concerned with analyzing the causes and effects of crime but also carries political and transformative implications. Its ultimate goal is to reform legal and social systems to be more inclusive, just, and responsive to women's vulnerabilities. This approach seeks to eliminate gender inequalities that give rise to violence and urges the recognition of women's experiences as a foundation for policy and legal reform.²⁶

Thus, domestic violence, from a feminist criminology perspective, is understood as a form of violence rooted in unequal power relations legitimized by patriarchal social and legal systems. Accordingly, this approach requires legal policies that are not only repressive toward perpetrators but also transformative for victims, providing spaces for recovery, capacity building, and tangible protection for female victims of domestic violence.

3. Domestic Violence from the Perspective of Indonesian Positive Criminal Law

Indonesian positive criminal law has explicitly recognized acts of domestic violence as criminal offenses through the enactment of Law Number 23 of 2004 concerning the Elimination of Domestic Violence (UU PKDRT). The introduction of this legislation marks a significant step by the state in acknowledging that the domestic sphere is no longer a private domain immune from legal intervention. Previously, violence occurring within the family was often not considered a public concern and was left to be resolved internally within the household. However, UU PKDRT has shifted this paradigm by establishing that domestic violence constitutes a violation of human rights and a form of discrimination that cannot be tolerated.²⁷

UU PKDRT regulates four types of violence: physical violence, psychological violence, sexual violence, and household neglect. Each type of violence is specifically addressed with elements of criminal liability that can be imposed on perpetrators, including husbands, wives, parents, children, or other family members living in the same household. This approach demonstrates that Indonesian positive criminal law has acknowledged the complexity of household relations and the importance of protecting

²⁵ Amanda Keddie, "Towards Gender Equality Reform in Police Organisations: The Utility of a Social Justice Approach," *Police Practice and Research* 24, no. 4 (July 4, 2023): 493–508, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15614263.2022.2141743>.

²⁶ Meda Chesney-Lind and Merry Morash, "Transformative Feminist Criminology: A Critical Re-Thinking of a Discipline," *Critical Criminology* 21, no. 3 (September 11, 2013): 287–304, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10612-013-9187-2>; Mimi E. Kim, "Transformative Justice and Restorative Justice: Gender-Based Violence and Alternative Visions of Justice in the United States," *International Review of Victimology* 27, no. 2 (May 26, 2021): 162–72, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0269758020970414>.

²⁷ Hamidah Abdurrahman, "A Culture of Neglect: A Study in Indonesian Court Judgements Regarding Victims of Domestic Violence," *International Annals of Criminology* 55, no. 1 (May 2, 2017): 26–39, <https://doi.org/10.1017/cri.2016.1>.

every individual within the family unit from acts of violence, regardless of gender or kinship.²⁸

Nevertheless, in practice, law enforcement in domestic violence cases still faces numerous challenges. Although legal instruments are in place, the process of proving DV cases is often difficult. One major challenge is the limitation of evidence, particularly in cases of psychological or sexual violence within the household, which frequently lack physical proof. Additionally, many victims are reluctant to report due to social pressure, economic dependency, or the desire to maintain household harmony for the sake of children.²⁹ Law enforcement officers, including police and prosecutors, have also not fully developed a comprehensive perspective on the urgency of victim protection and the need for sensitive handling of DV cases.³⁰

Under the framework of positive law, DV perpetrators can be subjected to criminal sanctions in the form of imprisonment and/or fines. For example, Article 44 of UU PKDRT stipulates that perpetrators of physical violence against family members may be sentenced to a maximum of five years in prison or a fine of up to IDR 15 million, depending on the severity of the injuries inflicted. However, these sanctions are often considered insufficient in reflecting justice for victims. This can be observed from various court decisions that impose relatively light sentences on DV perpetrators, such as in the previously discussed District Court case, in which the defendant received only nine months imprisonment despite repeated acts of violence against his wife.

Such decisions indicate a continuing gap between the legal norms and their implementation in practice. Judges, as the frontline of law enforcement, often take subjective considerations into account, such as the welfare of children or the preservation of the household, when issuing verdicts. As a result, the approach tends to be more restorative toward the perpetrator rather than reparative for the victim. In the context of DV, however, legal orientation should focus primarily on the comprehensive protection and recovery of victims.

On the other hand, the Indonesian positive criminal law approach to domestic violence (DV) remains largely repressive and insufficiently addresses the dimensions of

²⁸ Nida Ananta, Aji Mulyana, and Mia Amalia, "Legal Protection for Victims of Domestic Violence: Sociological Analysis and Legal Implications," *Qawanin Jurnal Ilmu Hukum* 6, no. 1 (March 21, 2025), <https://doi.org/10.56087/qawaninjih.v6i1.522>.

²⁹ Husin Wattimena and Muis S. A. Pikhulan, "Legal Study of Evidence of Domestic Psychological Violence in Indonesia," *Journal of Law and Sustainable Development* 13, no. 4 (April 23, 2025): e04380, <https://doi.org/10.55908/sdgs.v13i4.4380>; Abdurrachman, "A Culture of Neglect: A Study in Indonesian Court Judgements Regarding Victims of Domestic Violence."

³⁰ Kurniadi, "Challenges of Law Enforcement against Domestic Violence Between Regulation and Implementation."

prevention and victim recovery.³¹ Numerous studies, including those employing feminist criminology, indicate that handling DV is not merely a matter of punishing perpetrators; it also requires structural measures such as gender education, economic empowerment of women, and the provision of legal and psychological support services. While UU PKDRT has established temporary protection mechanisms, such as court-issued protection orders, their implementation in practice remains suboptimal due to limited resources and insufficient inter-agency coordination.³²

Another weakness in Indonesian positive law is the absence of an integrated and transparent data system regarding the number and patterns of DV cases. This limitation hampers the evaluation and formulation of evidence-based policies. Moreover, training for law enforcement officers handling DV cases remains limited, resulting in gender perspectives not being fully integrated into the assessment of cases. Public legal awareness is also low, especially in rural areas where patriarchal values are deeply ingrained, and DV is often perceived as a normal aspect of domestic life.³³

Therefore, although Indonesian positive criminal law normatively provides a relatively comprehensive legal framework for addressing DV, its implementation still requires strengthening through a more integrated and victim-sensitive approach. Judicial reform, capacity-building for law enforcement officers, and the development of gender- and human-rights-based policies are crucial steps in ensuring effective protection for DV victims.

By understanding these challenges, it becomes clear that future legal frameworks must emphasize not only punitive measures but also prevention and recovery. Justice in DV cases cannot be realized solely through punishment of the perpetrator; it must also take the form of restorative and substantive justice for the victim. Accordingly, Indonesian positive criminal law is expected to evolve toward greater responsiveness and fairness in addressing domestic violence, which is deeply intertwined with gender, social, and structural dimensions.

4. Domestic Violence in the Perspective of Islamic Criminal Law

Islamic criminal law (*jarīmah*) views crime as a violation of the provisions of Sharia, affecting not only individuals but also social harmony and the rights of God (*ḥuqūq Allāh*)

³¹ Suwito Suwito et al., "Restorative Justice: An Alternative Approach to Addressing Domestic Violence in Indonesia," *Innovative: Journal Of Social Science Research* 5, no. 1 (February 6, 2025): 5066–77, <https://doi.org/10.31004/innovative.v5i1.18045>.

³² Baharudin Baharudin, Yulia Hesti, and Fajaruddin Yusuf, "Legal Protection for Victims of Domestic Violence (Study Decision Number 81/Pid.Sus/2023/PN Liw)," *JETISH: Journal of Education Technology Information Social Sciences and Health* 3, no. 2 (August 29, 2024): 1587–94, <https://doi.org/10.57235/jetish.v3i2.3461>.

³³ Khaerul Umam Noer, Siti Chadijah, and Endang Rudiati, "SDG's, the State, and Data Accuracy of Sexual Violence in Indonesia," in *Proceedings of the 2nd Borobudur International Symposium on Humanities and Social Sciences, BIS-HSS 2020, 18 November 2020, Magelang, Central Java, Indonesia* (Magelang: EAI, 2021), <https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.18-11-2020.2311735>.

and fellow human beings (*ḥuqūq al-ʿibād*).³⁴ In the context of domestic violence (DV), Islamic law places justice, compassion, and protection for all family members as foundational principles that cannot be ignored. Islam explicitly condemns acts of oppression (*ẓulm*), including in the spousal relationship, and promotes ethical conduct, respect, and moral responsibility between partners.³⁵

Verses from the Qur'an and the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) provide guidance regarding the ideal relationship between husband and wife. For instance, in QS. An-Nisa [4]:19, it is stated: "...*And live with them in kindness...*" which emphasizes the obligation to treat one's spouse with respect, gentleness, and equality. The Prophet also stated: "*The best of you are those who are best to their wives*" (Narrated by al-Tirmidhī). These moral instructions demonstrate that Islam emphasizes relational ethics based on love and responsibility, rather than violence.

Historically, classical fiqh has debated verse 34 of QS. An-Nisa, which mentions *waḍribūhunna* ("and strike them") as a corrective measure for wives deemed *nushūz* (disobedient). Some classical scholars interpreted physical discipline as a last resort, after stages of advice and separation in bed. However, this understanding must be contextualized within 7th-century Arabian society and the flexible nature of Islamic law, which is open to social change. Contemporary scholars such as Muhammad Abduh, Fazlur Rahman, and Quraish Shihab stress that the verse should not be understood as legitimizing violence, but rather interpreted contextually in light of the *maqāṣid al-sharīʿah*—the objectives of Sharia—namely, preserving human dignity and preventing oppression.³⁶

From the perspective of Islamic criminal law, forms of domestic violence such as physical, psychological, sexual abuse, and neglect are not explicitly classified as in positive law. However, such behavior may be considered *jarīmah taʿzīr*, crimes without fixed punishments in the text, with sentencing left to the discretion of the judge (*ḥākim*) according to the severity of the harm caused.³⁷ Acts such as hitting, insulting, intimidating,

³⁴ Shahaqa Besharat, "Nature of Crime in Criminal Law and Islamic Sharia," *American Journal of Law and Political Science* 4, no. 1 (April 17, 2025): 12–25, <https://doi.org/10.58425/ajlps.v4i1.341>.

³⁵ A'isy Az-Zahra et al., "Protection of Women's Rights Against Cases of Domestic Violence from an Islamic Perspective," *Jurnal Al-Hakim: Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa, Studi Syariah, Hukum Dan Filantropi* 6, no. 2 (December 1, 2024): 231–42, <https://doi.org/10.22515/jurnalalhakim.v6i2.10163>.

³⁶ Moh. Abdul Majid al-Ansari, Nafilah Sulfa, and Sawaluddin Siregar, "Telaah Budaya Patriarki Dalam Q.S. Al-Nisa' Ayat 34: Analisis Hermeneutika Doble Movement Fazlur Rahman," *Al FAWATIḤ: Jurnal Kajian Al Quran Dan Hadis* 5, no. 2 (December 23, 2024): 326–44, <https://doi.org/10.24952/alfawatih.v5i2.14188>; Siti Robikah, "Penafsiran Ulang QS. An-Nisa [4]: 34 Dalam Perspektif Tafsir Maqasidi," *Al-Dhikra* 4, no. 1 (2022): 49–66, <https://journal.ptiq.ac.id/index.php/aladhikra/article/view/251/229>.

³⁷ Mukhtor Akramov, "Ta'dhir in Islamic Law : Types of Crimes and Punishments," *Jurnal ISO: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial, Politik Dan Humaniora* 4, no. 2 (October 3, 2024): 7, <https://doi.org/10.53697/iso.v4i2.1861>; Inggit Arifah, Hannani, and Ali Rusdi, "Fiqih Jinayah Analysis on Legal Protection for Women and Children Victims of Domestic Violence," *Delictum: Jurnal Hukum Pidana Islam* 1, no. 2 (May 31, 2023): 129–47, <https://doi.org/10.35905/delictum.v1i2.3421>.

or neglecting the basic needs of a wife or child may be categorized as ta'zīr offenses, which disrupt family stability and violate the principles of justice (*al-'adālah*) and compassion (*al-raḥmah*).

In cases of financial neglect, Islamic law provides mechanisms for complaints and resolution. A wife who is not provided for may file for divorce with the *qāḍī* on the basis of *ḍarar* (harm or hardship caused by the husband).³⁸ It indicates that in Islamic law, a husband committing DV—whether physical or economic—violates his responsibilities as a family leader (*qawwām*), not in the sense of superiority but in the duty to ensure family welfare.

Practically, Islamic criminal law also recognizes the principle of *al-darāru yuzāl* (all harm must be removed), which legitimizes intervention and punishment of DV perpetrators.³⁹ In this context, domestic violence is regarded as oppression and harm, and the state has the authority to act based on *maṣlaḥah* (public interest) and victim protection.

Thus, although the term “DV” is not explicitly found in classical fiqh literature, Islamic principles provide a substantive normative foundation for protecting family members from violence. In modern states applying positive criminal law, Islamic criminal law can serve as an ethical and moral source that strengthens victim protection, particularly in Muslim communities.

Furthermore, integrating Islamic criminal law into the national legal system must be approached contextually and based on *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, allowing historical fiqh norms to be modernized without losing their moral essence. This approach produces law enforcement that is not only legal-formal but also imbued with transcendental justice, upholding human dignity. In the context of DV, Islamic law should not justify patriarchal authority but serve as a tool for social transformation toward harmonious, equitable, and mutually protective families.

5. The Convergence of Domestic Violence between Positive Law, Feminist Criminology, and Islamic Criminal Law

The phenomenon of domestic violence (DV) is a multidimensional issue that touches upon legal, social, cultural, and religious aspects. Therefore, addressing it requires an interdisciplinary approach that integrates multiple perspectives. Three crucial frameworks for understanding and responding to DV are Indonesian positive

³⁸ Tengku Fatimah Muliana Tengku Muda and Azizah Mohd & Noraini Md. Hashim, “Darar or Harm for Failure to Maintain the Wife: A Quranic and Juristic Approach on Marriage Dissolution,” *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences* 7, no. 8 (September 28, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.6007/IJARBS/v7-i8/3259>.

³⁹ Dillah Afriyanti, Jihan Fahira, and Ahmad Prasetyo, “Analysis of Domestic Violence under Islamic Criminal Law (Jinayah): A Qiṣās and Ta'zīr Perspective,” *SYARIAT: Akhwal Syaksyah, Jinayah, Siyasah and Muamalah* 1, no. 2 (July 30, 2024): 115–23, <https://doi.org/10.35335/wr1y8v96>.

criminal law, feminist criminology theory, and Islamic criminal law. Despite their different traditions and orientations, these approaches share significant points of convergence in ensuring victim protection and the enforcement of substantive justice.

Normatively, Indonesian positive criminal law, through Law Number 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence (UU PKDRT), defines various forms of violence as criminal acts. This legislation not only regulates criminal sanctions for perpetrators but also provides protection and rehabilitation for victims. This approach reflects a paradigm shift in criminal law that is not only repressive but also preventive and restorative. In this context, positive law seeks to protect the rights of victims and mitigate the unequal power relations within households.⁴⁰

Feminist criminology, on the other hand, offers a critical perspective on how legal systems and judicial institutions have historically reproduced patriarchal domination. This theory highlights that many DV cases remain unreported because women—the primary victims—are constrained by social norms, gender-biased legal structures, and a lack of systemic support. Consequently, feminist criminology does not merely focus on perpetrators and criminal acts but also analyzes the social constructions that perpetuate violence against women. This approach broadens the definition of crime to include not only legal violations but also actions and structures that generate systemic injustice.⁴¹

Meanwhile, Islamic criminal law, though it does not explicitly use the term DV, contains universal principles aligned with the protection of victims of violence. Through the *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* (objectives of Sharia), Islamic law emphasizes justice, protection of life (*ḥifẓ al-nafs*), and human dignity (*ḥifẓ al-'irdh*). Domestic violence is regarded as *ẓulm* (oppression) that contradicts the values of compassion, responsibility, and mutual respect within the family. The principle of *al-darāru yuzāl* (harm must be removed) provides normative legitimacy to halt violence and sanction perpetrators.⁴²

The primary convergence among these three approaches lies in the recognition that DV is a criminal act that must be prevented, addressed, and remedied in a just and humane manner. All agree that victims—especially women and children—require robust protection from the state, society, and family. They also acknowledge the presence of unequal power relations within households as a root cause of violence and the necessity for structural correction of patriarchal-biased legal and social systems.

⁴⁰ Hanafi Arief, "Legal Protection against Women Victims by the Indonesian Domestic Violence Act 23, 2004," *Sriwijaya Law Review* 1, no. 1 (January 30, 2017): 88–97, <https://doi.org/10.28946/slrev.Vol1.Iss1.12.pp110-121>.

⁴¹ Heidensohn, "The Deviance of Women: A Critique and an Enquiry."

⁴² Fania Putri Zaidhatul, Kurniati Kurniati, and Asni Asni, "Violence in the Household (KDRT) Perspective Maqashid Sharia (Case Study at Sungguminasa District Court)," *International Journal of Islamic Studies* 3, no. 2 (December 31, 2023): 191–207, <https://doi.org/10.24252/ijis.v3i2.43355>.

Although the starting points and terminology differ, the orientation of all three approaches converges toward one goal: ending violence and restoring justice. UU PKDRT serves as a formal juridical instrument providing the legal foundation, feminist theory functions as a critical analytical tool to evaluate the effectiveness of legal systems and ideologies, and Islamic law offers a moral and spiritual framework to foster just and harmonious families. Hence, integrating these three perspectives enriches the approach to DV at normative, analytical, and practical levels.

However, such synergy requires an awareness that each approach has limitations. Positive criminal law still faces implementation challenges, particularly in gender-responsive enforcement; feminist theory encounters obstacles in conservative religious societies; and Islamic criminal law must continually be contextualized to address contemporary domestic violence. Therefore, convergence does not imply fusion but rather a critical collaboration that strengthens each approach while respecting their distinctiveness and strengths. This integration should be manifested in inclusive policies, gender-sensitive legal education curricula, and training for law enforcement and religious leaders with social justice awareness. Only through a holistic and interdisciplinary approach can DV be addressed comprehensively—not merely alleviating symptoms but eradicating root causes both structurally and culturally.

6. Strategies for Addressing Domestic Violence: An Integrative Approach

Addressing domestic violence (DV) cannot be achieved through a single approach alone; rather, it requires an integrative, comprehensive, and sustainable strategy. Such a strategy must combine the normative aspects of positive law, the structural critique offered by feminist criminology, and the moral and spiritual values embedded in Islamic criminal law. In the Indonesian context, characterized by plural legal, cultural, and religious systems, an integrative approach is essential to ensure that DV interventions are not partial but address the root causes at both practical and policy levels.

The first step in an integrative approach is the strengthening of positive legal instruments. Law Number 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence provides a strong legal foundation for protecting victims and sanctioning perpetrators. However, this legislation must continually be refined and its implementation closely monitored. Extensive and sustained socialization is required, particularly for vulnerable groups, to raise awareness about their rights and the legal procedures available when experiencing DV. Furthermore, law enforcement officers, including police, prosecutors, and judges, need ongoing training on gender perspectives and victim vulnerability to prevent revictimization within legal processes.

The second step involves the internalization of gender equality values within social systems and education. Here, feminist criminology plays a vital role in uncovering social

structures that legitimize male dominance over women in domestic spaces. This strategy demands active involvement from educational institutions, mass media, civil society organizations, and religious bodies to foster critical awareness about power imbalances within households. Educational curricula, both formal and informal, should include topics on gender equality, non-violent conflict resolution, and the importance of respecting the rights and dignity of spouses within the family institution.

Next, an approach grounded in Islamic legal values can play a strategic role in establishing a moral and spiritual basis for DV prevention. Principles such as justice, compassion, mutual respect, and responsibility in family life are central to Islam, and when contextualized, they can provide a strong foundation for preventing domestic violence. Religious leaders and institutions play a crucial role in providing comprehensive and gender-sensitive interpretations of religious texts, which have often been misused to justify female subordination. Progressive religious understanding can contribute to fostering a family culture that is dialogical, just, and compassionate.

Another key strategy is the strengthening of support systems and integrated services for victims.⁴³ Many DV victims refrain from reporting cases due to limited access to legal, psychological, and social services. Therefore, local governments, NGOs, women and child protection agencies, and religious organizations must collaborate to provide accessible, victim-friendly, and comprehensive service centers. Such services should include safe houses, pro bono legal assistance, psychological counseling, and socio-economic rehabilitation for victims.⁴⁴

Revitalizing the role of families and communities is also crucial within the integrative approach. Families, as primary social institutions, must be educated to become safe spaces for sharing and peacefully resolving conflicts. Communities, as the immediate social environment, should proactively detect and prevent domestic violence. In this context, restorative justice approaches can also be considered in certain cases that do not cause severe trauma, involving families, perpetrators, victims, and communities in seeking fair resolutions and restoring social relations.⁴⁵

An integrative approach must also include data-driven and research-based policymaking. Governments and higher education institutions should promote continuous research to map emerging forms of violence, assess policy effectiveness, and

⁴³ Elli Nur Hayati, Maria Emmelin, and Malin Eriksson, "Challenges for a Local Service Agency to Address Domestic Violence –A Case Study From Rural Indonesia," *Global Journal of Health Science* 6, no. 6 (August 15, 2014): 214–25, <https://doi.org/10.5539/gjhs.v6n6p214>.

⁴⁴ Agnes Gurning and Haryanti Sunarta, "Investing In GBV Service, Protecting Women's Right For Equality," undp.org, 2024, <https://www.undp.org/indonesia/blog/investing-gbv-service-protecting-womens-right-equality>.

⁴⁵ Suwito et al., "Restorative Justice: An Alternative Approach to Addressing Domestic Violence in Indonesia"; Fatin Hamamah, Didi Sukardi, and Shirin Kulkarni, "The Application of Restorative Justice in Domestic and Child Violence Cases in Indonesia and Finland," *SASI* 31, no. 1 (March 29, 2025): 44, <https://doi.org/10.47268/sasi.v31i1.2448>.

identify implementation challenges.⁴⁶ The findings can serve as a basis for informed decision-making that is responsive to social dynamics.

Finally, the strategy for addressing DV through an integrative approach requires strong political commitment from the state. The state has a constitutional duty to protect its citizens from all forms of violence, including within private spaces such as households. Therefore, in addition to regulatory improvements, the state must provide adequate budgets, establish specialized institutions focused on DV issues, and ensure cross-sectoral coordination in policy implementation. The state must also serve as the primary actor in fostering synergy between positive law, feminist values, and religious teachings so that they do not conflict but mutually reinforce each other to create just, harmonious, and humane family structures.

In conclusion, DV mitigation strategies can no longer be sectoral or partial. They must be designed comprehensively and implemented within a collaborative framework among the state, society, and religion. An integrative approach is the only path to breaking the cycle of violence that has long remained hidden behind household walls and silenced by patriarchal cultural norms.

7. Critical Analysis of Domestic Violence Policies and Legal Practices in Indonesia

Indonesia's legal policies regarding domestic violence (DV) have made significant progress with the enactment of Law Number 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence (UU PKDRT). This law formally recognizes that domestic violence is no longer a purely private matter but a public issue concerning human rights violations, particularly the rights of women and children. Nevertheless, in practice, the implementation of this law faces structural, cultural, and institutional challenges that hinder effective victim protection and law enforcement against perpetrators

Normatively, UU PKDRT is progressive, especially in its comprehensive definition of violence, which includes physical, psychological, sexual abuse, and domestic neglect. The law also delineates victims' rights, the state's obligations to provide protection, and the legal mechanisms available to victims. However, at the implementation level, there remains a significant gap between legal norms and practice. Many DV cases go unreported or are not pursued seriously by law enforcement due to a range of factors, including

⁴⁶ Krisnaldo Triguswinri, "Komnas Perempuan, Consolidation Role and Institutionalization Policy Violence Sexuality in the Environment College," *Abjad Journal of Humanities & Education* 1, no. 1 (August 31, 2023): 63–77, <https://doi.org/10.62079/abjad.v1i1.1>; Ani Agus Puspawati, Bambang Utoyo, and Yudha Suchmasasi, "Analysis of the Implementation of Domestic Violence Prevention in Indonesia," *Sosiohumaniora* 25, no. 3 (November 2, 2023): 379–92, <https://doi.org/10.24198/sosiohumaniora.v25i3.42362>; Ananta, Mulyana, and Amalia, "Legal Protection for Victims of Domestic Violence: Sociological Analysis and Legal Implications."

entrenched patriarchal culture, limited understanding of UU PKDRT, and constraints in human resources and institutional capacity.⁴⁷

One major critique of legal practice in Indonesia concerns persistent gender bias in handling DV cases.⁴⁸ Law enforcement officers often treat domestic violence as a “family matter” to be resolved privately rather than through legal processes. This approach risks neglecting victims’ rights and fosters impunity for perpetrators. In numerous cases, victims face pressure from families, communities, or officials to withdraw complaints to preserve family reputation or safeguard children’s future. This indicates that the justice system is still not fully supportive of victims, particularly when perpetrators hold higher social status or occupy the role of family head.

Another critical issue involves the availability and effectiveness of victim-support institutions.⁴⁹ Although UU PKDRT mandates the establishment of Integrated Service Centers (PPT), shelters, and legal aid, many regions still lack adequate facilities. DV victims in remote areas or from low-income backgrounds often struggle to access legal assistance, psychological counseling, or safe houses. Insufficient budget allocations, weak inter-agency coordination, and a shortage of trained professionals present significant barriers to fulfilling the statutory rights of victims.

From a criminal procedure perspective, UU PKDRT provides special mechanisms, such as rapid court-issued protection orders. However, these mechanisms are frequently underutilized due to lack of information for victims, delayed responses from relevant institutions, and limited responsiveness of officials. Furthermore, evidence collection in DV cases—particularly in psychological or sexual abuse—remains challenging due to the absence of physical evidence and the emotional pressure experienced by victims. In this context, the legal system is not sufficiently adaptive to accommodate the complexity of DV victims’ experiences.⁵⁰

Indonesian legal policy also falls short in addressing systemic violence prevention. Preventive measures, such as public education, gender-sensitive training for officials, and social campaigns, remain limited and sporadic. Yet, one of the key factors in eliminating

⁴⁷ Kusmawati Kusmawati, Hambali Hambali, and Aan Aswari, “The Effectiveness of Implementing Law Number 23 of 2004 Concerning the Elimination of Domestic Violence in The City of Palopo,” *JURNAL HUKUM SEHASEN* 10, no. 1 (April 8, 2024), <https://doi.org/10.37676/jhs.v10i1.5804>.

⁴⁸ Irwan Abdullah, Siti Ruhaini Dzuhayatin, and Dyah Pitaloka, “Bias Gender Dalam Penanganan Kasus Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan Secara Litigatif,” *Populasi* 12, no. 2 (February 19, 2006), <https://doi.org/10.22146/jp.12285>.

⁴⁹ Hayati, Emmelin, and Eriksson, “Challenges for a Local Service Agency to Address Domestic Violence –A Case Study From Rural Indonesia.”

⁵⁰ Aleydha Patriana Noer and Rosalia Dika Agustanti, “The Application of the Restraining Order Mechanism to Domestic Violence Crimes,” *JURNAL USM LAW REVIEW* 7, no. 2 (July 7, 2024): 948–59, <https://doi.org/10.26623/julr.v7i2.9416>.

DV is social paradigm change through collective education and awareness about gender equality and healthy power relations within households.⁵¹

From a feminist criminology perspective, Indonesia's legal policies remain formalistic and insufficiently address the structural roots of violence. DV often reflects power imbalances between men and women that are legitimized by cultural and social institutions, including religion and law.⁵² Therefore, DV interventions must go beyond formal legal channels and include efforts toward social and cultural transformation. Indonesian criminal law must be directed to be more sensitive to gender dimensions and the vulnerabilities of victims.

Overall, although UU PKDRT represents a milestone in protecting victims and enforcing justice in DV cases, the challenges in its implementation underscore the need for a comprehensive evaluation of the existing legal system. Policy and legal practice reforms are required to ensure victim-centered approaches, responsiveness to socio-cultural contexts, and strong institutional support grounded in substantive justice. Without systemic efforts, the law will continue to lag behind social realities, and DV will remain a hidden wound behind the walls of Indonesian households.

D. CONCLUSION

Domestic violence is a multidimensional issue that extends beyond legal considerations, reflecting entrenched power imbalances and patriarchal cultural norms within society. Through an interdisciplinary approach that integrates positive criminal law, feminist criminology, and Islamic criminal law, it can be concluded that each legal system and theoretical framework contributes to understanding and addressing the phenomenon of domestic violence. Nevertheless, there remains a disparity between formalistic legal norms and their practical implementation, which often falls short of fully supporting victims. Therefore, an integrative approach that combines substantive justice, gender equality, and victim protection principles is essential to establish a truly fair and transformative legal system.

Comprehensive legal policy reform centered on victim perspectives is required, accompanied by strengthened institutional capacity, gender education for law enforcement officials, and synergy among religious norms, feminist justice principles, and positive law. The state must ensure tangible access to justice through integrated services, safe shelters, and easily accessible legal aid, particularly for victims in remote areas. Equally important is cultivating collective social awareness through systematic and

⁵¹ Puspawati, Utoyo, and Suchmasasi, "Analysis of the Implementation of Domestic Violence Prevention in Indonesia."

⁵² Muhammad Kholis Hamdy and M Hudri, "Gender Based Violence: The Relationship of Law and Patriarchy in Indonesia," *EMPATI: Jurnal Ilmu Kesejahteraan Sosial* 11, no. 2 (December 19, 2022): 73–85, <https://doi.org/10.15408/empati.v11i2.29751>.

sustained public education and anti-domestic violence campaigns. Without these measures, the law will continue to fall short as an effective instrument of protection and justice for victims of domestic violence.

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