Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam
Volume 10 No. 2. July 2026
ISSN: 2549 – 3132; E-ISSN: 2549 – 3167
DOI: 10.22373/7bpj4837

Women and Domestic Violence in Bone, South Sulawesi: Sociological Perspectives, Legal Awareness, and Gender

Kurniati Abidin
Institut Agama Islam Negeri Bone, Sulawesi Selatan, Indonesia
Hamzah Latif
Institut Agama Islam Negeri Bone, Sulawesi Selatan, Indonesia
Faturrahman
Institut Agama Islam Negeri Bone, Sulawesi Selatan, Indonesia
Waode Mabrukah Azzahrah
Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin, Makassar, Indonesia
Ma'adul Yaqien Makkarateng
Ankara University, Turkiye
Email: kurniatiarifabidin@gmail.com

Abstract: Domestic violence remains a social problem affecting many women in Indonesia, reflecting gender inequality rooted in social and legal structures. This study aims to understand the decision-making process of female victims of domestic violence who choose not to report their experiences. The study employed empirical legal methods, analyzed using theories of legal sociology, legal awareness, and gender. Data were collected through observation, interviews, and document studies. The informants interviewed included female victims, victims of violence, academics, and religious leaders. The data analyzed consisted of primary and secondary data. The results show that the decision to remain silent is not merely a result of fear or powerlessness, but rather a form of rational, reflective agency within limitations. This decision is formed through the accumulation of social factors, patriarchal culture, and unequal gender power relations in society, which place women in a subordinate position. Furthermore, the meaning of law for female victims is understood as a masculine social force and is far from their lived experiences, so that formal law loses its relevance in providing protection. The solution offered is that concrete steps are needed in the future from the government and related institutions, religious leaders, and communities to provide legal protection, build awareness, and provide equal education so that women can obtain justice. These findings enrich sociological, legal and gender awareness studies by showing that the experiences of female victims of domestic violence are a real struggle in facing an unjust social system.

Keywords: Decision making, women victims of violence, legal justice, sociology of law, legal awareness, gender

‖ Submitted: April 07, 2026 ‖ Accepted: July 25, 2026 ‖ Published: July 31, 2026

DOI: 10.22373/7bpj4837

Abstrak: *Kekerasan dalam rumah tangga masih menjadi persoalan sosial yang menimpa banyak perempuan di Indonesia, sekaligus mencerminkan ketimpangan gender yang mengakar dalam struktur sosial dan hukum. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk memahami proses pengambilan keputusan perempuan korban kekerasan dalam rumah tangga yang memilih untuk tidak melaporkan kekerasan yang dialaminya. Penelitian tersebut menggunakan metode hukum empiris, dianalisis dengan teori sosiologi hukum, kesadaran hukum dan gender. data dikumpulkan dengan observasi, wawancara dan studi dokumen. Informan yang diwawancara adalah perempuan korban, kekerasan, akademisi, dan tokoh agama, sedangkan data yang dinalisis terdiri dari data primer dan sekunder. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa keputusan diam bukan semata hasil ketakutan atau ketidakberdayaan, melainkan bentuk agensi reflektif yang rasional dalam keterbatasan. Keputusan tersebut terbentuk melalui akumulasi dari faktor sosial, budaya patriarki, dan relasi kekuasaan gender yang timpang dalam masyarakat sehingga perempuan berada pada posisi subordinat. Selain itu, makna hukum bagi perempuan korban dipahami sebagai kekuatan sosial yang maskulin dan jauh dari pengalaman hidup mereka, sehingga hukum formal kehilangan relevansinya dalam menyediakan perlindungan. Solusi yang ditawarkan adalah bahwa ke depan diperlukan langkah konkrit dari pemerintah, tokoh agama, dan masyarakat terkait untuk memberikan perlindungan hukum, membangun kesadaran, pendidikan yang setara sehingga perempuan mendapatkan keadilan. Temuan ini memperkaya kajian sosiologi, kesadaran hukum dan gender dengan menunjukkan bahwa pengalaman perempuan korban KDRT merupakan perjuangan nyata dalam menghadapi sistem sosial yang tidak adil.*
Kata Kunci: *Pengambilan keputusan, perempuan korban kekerasan, keadilan hukum, sosiologi hukum, kesadaran hukum, gender*

Introduction

Violence against women is one of the most deeply rooted human rights violations globally, reflecting a systemic failure to protect women from gender-based subordination and domination. Data from various international institutions shows that domestic violence (DV) remains the most common form of violence experienced by women across national borders, social classes, and ages.[1] This phenomenon not only causes physical and psychological suffering but also

[1]Sajal Verma, "Domestic Violence Against Women: A Socio-Legal Perspective," *International Journal for Research Publication and Seminar* 16, no. 2 (2025), p. 208–217. Norazam Khair Mohd Ithnin, et.al., "Violence against Women: Comparing Female Genital Mutilation and Female Circumcision in Malaysia." *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 22, No. 2 (2023), p. 291–304. Samina Khan, et.al., "Reimagining Legal Approaches to Technology-Facilitated Violence Against Women in India." *Hasanuddin Law Review* 11, No. 3 (2025), p. 339–365.

DOI: 10.22373/7bpj4837

erodes women's trust in the legal institutions and social structures that are supposed to protect them. From a sociological perspective, DV reflects a patriarchal social structure legitimized by cultural values, religion, and social practices that place women in a subordinate position. Even in countries with progressive legal frameworks, the gap between legal norms and their implementation remains a major obstacle to achieving effective protection for victims.[2]

In Indonesia, domestic violence remains the most prevalent form of violence against women. Although Law Number 23 of 2004 concerning the Elimination of Domestic Violence provides a legal framework for victim protection, reporting rates remain low, indicating a gap between the existence of the law and its effectiveness in social reality. Legal sociological studies have found that women often fail to report violence due to economic dependence, social pressure, and lack of trust in law enforcement institutions.[3] At the structural level, patriarchal culture that normalizes domestic violence reinforces men's dominant position and limits women's ability to negotiate legal protection. Symbolic violence manifests itself in meetings and in the form of language.[4]

Patriarchal culture is a social construct that often leads to unfair relations between women and men in the public sphere, as unbalanced, unequal, and discriminatory. This leaves women marginalized, under the shadow of men. This cultural construct also impacts women's roles, leading them to be marginalized, treated unfairly, and placed in subordinate positions.[5] In Indonesia, including Muslim countries, this cultural construct also impacts

[2]Carol Bohmer et al., "Domestic Violence Law Reforms: Reactions from the Trenches," *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare,* 29, no. 3 (2002), p. 71–87. Daleleer Kaur Randawar, et.al., "Domestic Violence in The Wake of Covid-19: Intervention Measures to Ameliorate the Impact," *UUM Journal of Legal Studies* 14, No. 2 (2023), p. 483-507. S.L. Ashalatha, et.al., "Nexus of Violence and Employment Discrimination Against Women with Disabilities in India – a Scoping Review," *Cogent Social Science* 9, No. 1 (2023).

[3] Nita Triana, "Progressivity of Judges in Domestic Violence Disputes Settlement in the Case of Divorce in the Religious Court," *Ulul Albab: Jurnal Studi Dan Penelitian Hukum Islam* 2, no. 1 (2018), p. 1–29. Hanafi Arief, et.al., "Legal Protection Against Women Victims by The Indonesian Domestic Violence Act 23, 2004," *Sriwijaya Law Review* 1, No. 1 (2017).

[4] Titin Nurfatlah, et.al., "The Power Relations in Domestic Violence in West Lombok Regency," *Unram Law Review* 8, no. 2 (2024), p. 179–192. Annisa Ariftha and Anang Anas Azhar, "Symbolic Violence Against Women in Medan's Patriarchal Culture." *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 11, No. 2 (2023), p. 709-728.

[5] Bahruddin Umar Yakub, et. al., "Living Qur'an, Gender, and Sibaliparriq, in Mandar, Indonesia: Cultural Construction in the Perspective of Islamic Law," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 7, No. 2 (2023), p. 1219-1242. Hotnidah Nasution and Ahmad Rifqi Muchtar, "Access to Justice for Women and Children in Divorce Cases in the Indonesian Religious Courts," *Ahkam* 20, No. 2 (2020).

DOI: 10.22373/7bpj4837

nearly all aspects of human life, resulting in women always being placed second in legal, educational, economic, political, and socio-religious matters. [6]

Various things have been done by the government has issued a law on the elimination of domestic violence to provide a clear legal basis in handling cases of domestic violence (KDRT), but the implementation of the law has not been optimal. In addition, effective collaboration is also needed between all stakeholders, not only the government, but also the community, educators, religious leaders, and non-governmental organizations, legally and sociologically very important to empower women. Therefore, women must be encouraged to have access to quality education that encourages intellectual development, awareness of human rights, and economic, social, and political capacity.[7] Although this is still an ongoing agenda, because the problem of violence against women also continues.

The gap between legal norms and social practices in cases of domestic violence also reflects weak legal consciousness among female victims. Many previous studies have focused on the legal dimension or legal policy, but few have examined how female victims interpret the law based on their own experiences. Some research suggests that women are not always passive; they develop adaptive strategies in dealing with violent situations, including choosing silence to protect themselves and their children.[8] However, the legal consciousness of female victims of domestic violence as active social subjects in decision-making is rarely a primary focus of research in Indonesia.

The urgency of this research lies in the need to understand domestic violence not merely as a legal violation, but as a social phenomenon involving interactions between power structures, cultural norms, and individual consciousness. A sociological approach to law and gender allows researchers to explore how female victims internalize the law, shape the meaning of violence, and negotiate their position within oppressive patriarchal structures.[9] This type of research not only addresses academic gaps but also provides an empirical basis for developing policies that are more sensitive to the experiences and needs of female victims of violence.

---

[6]Randi Salim, et.al., "The Role of Islam toward the Patriarchal Culture in Malay People," *Sociology and Anthropology* 5, No. 12 (2017). p. 1027-1032. Monika Lindbekk and Rania Maktabi, "Gender and Judging in the Middle East and Africa," *Oñati Socio-legal Series* 13, No. 3 (2023). p. 1036-1048.

[7] Kurniati Abidin, et.al., "Determinants of Domestic Violence in Indonesia from a Gender and Sociology of Law Perspective," *El-Usrah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga* 8, No. 2 (2025).

[8] Muhammad Ulinnuha and Asfa Widiyanto, "Advocacy for Muslim Women and Children as Victims of Domestic Violence in Central Java, Indonesia," *IJoReSH: Indonesian Journal of Religion, Spirituality, and Humanity* 4, no. 1 (2025), p. 108–133.

[9] Ade Irma Suryani and Dodi Jaya Wardana, "Legal Aspects of Women's Political Participation from a Gender Perspective," *Jurnal USM Law Review* 7, no. 3 (2024), p. 1967–1981.

DOI: 10.22373/7bpj4837

Within this analytical framework, this study seeks to explore the experiences of female victims of domestic violence to understand their decision-making processes in choosing to remain silent or not report the violence they experience. The research questions addressed include: (1) how female victims of domestic violence decide whether to remain silent or report violence; (2) how female victims of domestic violence interpret violence and the law in their lived experiences; and (3) what solutions exist for female victims of domestic violence within the context of sociology, legal awareness, and gender. The purpose of this study is to deeply analyze the social dynamics underlying victims' choices to remain silent and to explore how the law is present—or absent—in their experiences, as well as to provide alternative solutions for female victims of domestic violence.

This study uses empirical legal methods, [10] analyzed with reference to the sociology of law, legal consciousness, and gender theory. Meanwhile, the sociology of law views laws not merely as a text or written rule, but as a living reality, functioning, and changing according to societal developments. [11] The theory of legal consciousness highlights how individuals interpret the law through everyday experiences, not just written norms, and how these interpretations shape victims' social attitudes toward the law. [12] The theory of gender power relations explains how inequality in social relations between men and women shapes structures of violence and limits victims' choices. [13]

The novelty of this research lies in its attempt to reconstruct "silence" not as a form of passivity, but as a rational and adaptive social strategy in the face of social and legal structures that are disadvantageous to women. By integrating theories of the sociology of law, gender power relations, and legal consciousness, this article introduces the concept of adaptive legal consciousness, which explains how women negotiate their actions under social and structural pressures.[14] This theory and approach allow researchers to understand social reality from the perspective of the victim as the main subject, not just the object of research. Thus, it will theoretically examine the law and

[10] Peter Mahmud Marzuki, *Metode Penelitian Hukum*, Jakarta: Kencana, 2014. Salim HS and Erlies Septiana Nurbani, *Penerapan Teori Hukum pada Penelitian tesis dan Disertasi,* Jakarta: RajawaliGrafindo, 2016.

[11] Soerjono Soekanto, *Pokok-Pokok Sosiologi Hukum*, Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 2010.

[12] Novita Alfiani and Nesita Anggraini, "The Theory and Practise of Legal Feminism: Examining Its Impact on the Representation of Women in Indonesia," *Journal of Law, Environmental and Justice* 1, no. 1 (2023), p. 1–18.

[13] Pooja Rani & Sinshupa, "Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Law in India," *Knowledgeable Research* 02, no. 05 (2023), p. 20–35,

[14] Catherine Briddick, "Resisting Domestic Violence," *International Journal of Refugee Law* 36, no. 1 (2024), p. 106–122.

DOI: 10.22373/7bpj4837

social and cultural realities that shape the decision-making patterns of female victims of domestic violence.[15]

Academically and practically, this research contributes to the development of sociological studies of law and gender in Indonesia by highlighting the relationship between individual victims' experiences and broader social structures. These findings are expected to provide new insights for policymakers, women's protection institutions, and social practitioners regarding the need for a legal approach that is empathetic and based on women's experiences.[16] Thus, this article not only expands the academic discourse on domestic violence but also offers a social reflection on how women, within their limitations, are able to create space for negotiation and resilience against oppressive systems.

The data sources in this study consist of primary and secondary data. Primary data were obtained through in-depth interviews with four female victims of domestic violence, selected purposively based on certain criteria, academics, and religious leaders. These women victims had experienced domestic violence for at least two years and had never reported the case to law enforcement. This approach allowed for exploration of the victims' subjective meanings and personal narratives regarding experiences of violence, dependency, and the dynamics of power relations with their partners. Secondary data were obtained through a literature review of scientific journals, books, institutional reports, and legal documents relevant to the issue of domestic violence in Indonesia. The combination of primary and secondary data aimed to ensure empirical depth and conceptual validity of the research findings.

The primary data collection techniques were observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. Interviews were conducted using a semi-structured approach to allow informants to freely express their lived experiences and to ensure alignment with the research focus. Each interview was recorded with the informants' permission and then transcribed verbatim. Observation techniques were used to understand social interactions, nonverbal behavior, and emotional dynamics that emerged during the interview process. Documentation included collecting copies of reports from women's protection agencies, regulations such as Law Number 23 of 2004 concerning the Elimination of Domestic Violence, and national statistics related to cases of violence against

[15] Noni Zulkarnain et al., "Wife Beating in Social and Legal Perspective In Indonesia," *Pena Justisia: Media Komunikasi Dan Kajian Hukum* 22, No. 3 (2023), p. 1–10.

[16] Bintang Ulya Kharisma, "Dampak Implementasi Prinsip Mempersulit Perceraian Terhadap Pemenuhan Hak Perempuan," *Jurnal Sosial Dan Sains (SOSAINS)* 5, no. 8 (2025): 3366–3372.

DOI: 10.22373/7bpj4837

women. This combined approach ensured data triangulation, strengthening the validity and reliability of the research findings.[17]

The unit of analysis in this study is the individual female victim of domestic violence, who is the primary subject of the data. Each informant is treated as a single unit of analysis, while interview results are analyzed thematically, paying attention to patterns, meanings, and relationships between emerging categories. Using the individual unit of analysis allows for exploration of personal factors such as perceptions of the law, experiences of violence, and coping strategies, as well as external factors such as social pressure, cultural values, and gender power relations within the household.[18] This approach aligns with the principles of sociological legal research, which positions individuals as part of broader social networks and legal structures.

The data analysis technique used was qualitative descriptive analysis with a thematic approach. Interview data were described through three main stages: data reduction, data presentation, and repeated drawing of conclusions until representative themes were identified. This analysis process aimed to uncover the dynamics of decision-making among victims of domestic violence from a sociological perspective of law and gender, including how experiences of violence influence victims' perceptions of law and justice.

Legal Issues Regarding Women Victims of Domestic Violence

1. Socio-Cultural and Religious Factors in the Rationalization of Violence

Some informants viewed violence as a life test that must be accepted patiently. This interpretation aligns with the research findings of Shah & Aung, which showed that patriarchal religious understandings can justify domestic violence.[19] However, some victims also mentioned that religious teachings can be a source of spiritual strength for resilience and forgiveness, as demonstrated in the research of which identified victims' emotional regulation processes through religious values and forgiveness.[20] Thus, religion plays a dual role as a tool of social justification and a source of personal strength for victims.

---

[17] Lidwina Inge Nurtjahyo, "The Issue of Rights of Religious Freedom in Some Domestic Violence Cases in Indonesia," *Religions* 12, no. 9 (2021), p. 1–19.

[18] Siti Syahida Nurani et al., "Domestic Violence in the Criminology and Victimology Perspectives: Case Study in Kupang, East Nusa Tenggara," *Varia Justicia* 18, no. 2 (2022), p. 127–140.

[19] Maulana Akbar Shah Aung and Phoo Pwint Thu Aung, "A Close Study on Domestic Violence Against Women: Islamic Perspectives and Remedies," *Al-Burhān Journal of Qurʾān and Sunnah Studies* 7, no. 2 (2023), p. 137–151.

[20] Petra Johanna, et.al., "Emotion Regulation on Wives Victims of Domestic Violence in Christianity Undergoing the Forgiveness Phases," *In 2nd International Conference on Social and Political Development (ICOSOP 2017)* 136, no. Icosop 2017 (2018), p. 80–88.

DOI: 10.22373/7bpj4837

2. Reproduction of Violence in Social and Legal Structures

Data analysis shows that the violence experienced by victims occurs not only in the private sphere but is also reproduced through legal mechanisms and social norms. For example, religious courts in divorce cases due to domestic violence often fail to provide fair compensation to wives, especially if the victim does not demand their economic rights.[21] This situation reinforces the findings of Yustisianto et al., and Patawari, et.al. who stated that weaknesses in the legal protection system for victims of domestic violence stem from a legal orientation that prioritizes formal certainty over substantive justice.[22] As a result, female victims often choose to remain silent, as the legal system prolongs their suffering?

3. Dynamics of Power Relations in the Household

The research results indicate that the power relationship between husband and wife is a primary factor determining victims' silence. Informants described husbands as having a dominant position in making household decisions, including those concerning economic matters, social mobility, and sexual life. This situation aligns with empirical research in West Lombok, which found that domestic violence arises from a laxity in power that places the husband as the primary controller in the family.[23] The interviews revealed that economic dependence and cultural values that normalize the husband's power make it difficult for victims to escape violent situations. Furthermore, violence is not only physical, but also psychological and verbal, which reinforces women's subordination.[24] Most informants viewed the violence they experienced as part of their obligation as wives to be "patient" and maintain family harmony.

4. The Meaning of Law and Victims' Legal Awareness

The results of the study indicate that victims' understanding of the law is ambivalent. On the one hand, victims are aware of Law No. 23 of 2004 concerning the Elimination of Domestic Violence; however, on the other hand,

[21]Triana, "Progressivity of Judges in Domestic Violence Disputes Settlement in the Case of Divorce in the Religious Court.

[22]Agus Irawan Yustisianto, et.al., "Reconstruction of Legal Protection Regulations against Victims of Crime of Household Violence Based on Justice Value," *Scholars International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice* 5, no. 12 (2022), p. 513–519. A. Muh Yusri Patawari. "From Formal Rights to Substantive Justice: Rethinking Legal Protection for Divorced Women in Indonesia." *Mazahibuna: Jurnal Perbandingan Mazhab* 8, No. 1 (2026), p. 181–207.

[23] Titin Nurfatlah, et.al., "The Power Relations in Domestic Violence in West Lombok Regency."

[24] Ike Revita et al., "Psycho-Pragmatic Factors of The Action of Verbal Violance Against Woman: A Case Astudy In DKI Jakarta," *The International Conference on Asean*, 2019, 486–493.

DOI: 10.22373/7bpj4837

they lack confidence that the law can effectively protect them. The four informants were unsure that they would receive their rights, particularly the right to protection from threats of further violence from the perpetrator. This is reinforced by research showing that female victims of domestic violence often perceive the law as a formally neutral institution, but substantively gender-biased.[25] One informant stated that "reporting to the police is just a fear of increasing shame," indicating that social shame outweighs the perceived security of the law. Other sociological legal studies have also found that the implementation of legal protection is often hampered by a strong patriarchal culture in society, which places women in an inferior position.[26]

5. Survival Strategies and the Rationalization of Silence

Field findings indicate that the decision to remain silent is not solely driven by fear, but rather a survival strategy within a biased social structure. Informants stated that they remained with the perpetrator for the sake of their children, economic stability, and social pressure to "not embarrass the family." This phenomenon is similar to the findings of sociological research in Bima, West Nusa Tenggara, which showed that a culture of masculinity (Rangga) justifies male power as a form of protection and dominance over women.[27] In this situation, silence is understood as a form of socially accepted obedience and sacrifice. One informant even stated that "silence is my way of surviving without embarrassing my husband."

6. Limited Advocacy and Social Support Patterns

Based on field observations, only one in four informants had ever interacted with a victim support agency, the Regional Technical Implementation Unit for the Protection of Women and Children (UPTD PPA). This agency provides counseling, medical referrals, and legal assistance, but limited human resources and budget prevent optimal handling.[28] This is consistent with the findings of Ulinnuha & Widiyanto, and Saidah, et.al., who explained that

[25] Rika Saraswati, "Gender Bias in Indonesian Courts: Is PERMA No. 3 of 2017 the Solution for Gender-Based Violence Cases?" *Laws* 10, no. 2 (2021), p. 1–16.

[26] Nomensen Sinamo and Sabungan Sibarani, "Prospects of Law Enforcement of Acts of Elimination of Domestice Violence Reviewed From the Perspective of Law Sociology," *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research* 478 (2020), p. 7–14.

[27] Hamidsyukrie ZM, et.al., "The Impact of The Idea of Rangga (Masculinity) Towards Domestic Violence In The Maja Labo Dahu Culture: Study of Sociology and Social Sciences Education," *Qalamuna - Jurnal Pendidikan, Sosial, Dan Agama* 14, no. 2 (2022), p. 631–648.

[28] Field Observation at the Regional Technical Implementation Unit for the Protection of Women and Children (UPTD PPA), Watampone, September, 2025.

DOI: 10.22373/7bpj4837

gender-based legal aid institutions in Indonesia still operate with limited capacity despite their strategic role in advocating for female victims.[29]

g. Economic Dependence and Structural Barriers

The data show that all informants are financially dependent on their husbands. This dependence leaves them feeling powerless to resist or exit violent relationships. This finding aligns with research by Purwanti, which emphasized that structural and economic barriers are crucial factors preventing women victims of violence from accessing legal protection and social rehabilitation.[30] This economic inequality is often reinforced by a legal culture that places greater emphasis on women's obligations to maintain family integrity than on demanding their rights as victims.

The Decision-Making Process of Female Victims of Domestic Violence in Deciding to Remain Silent or Not Report Violence

The decision of female victims of domestic violence to remain silent is the result of rational and reflective social action in a situation of social coercion. From a sociological perspective, this action is not passive, but rather an expression of value rationality (wertrationalität) as explained by Max Weber, namely a decision guided by a system of values and norms deemed morally meaningful, not solely for instrumental gain. In patriarchal societies, women are taught that maintaining the integrity of the household is the highest moral value. Therefore, the decision not to report is understood as an act that has its own social and ethical significance for the perpetrator, even though it is considered wrong from a formal legal perspective.[31]

Within the framework of Anthony Giddens' structuration theory, female victims of domestic violence exist in a dialectical relationship between structure and agency. Patriarchal structures provide a set of rules and resources that limit women's choices, yet within these limitations, women retain the capacity to act reflectively. Silence, in this case, is a form of reflective agency—a decision born of awareness of the social limitations and socio-legal risks that may arise if they report. The choice to remain silent is the result of "practical reflection" based on

[29] Muhammad Ulinnuha and Asfa Widiyanto, "Advocacy For Muslim Women And Children As Victims Of Domestic Violence In Central Java, Indonesia," *Ijoresh:Indonesian Journal of Religion, Spirituality, And Humanity* 4, No. 1 (2025), p. 108–133. Saidah, et.al., "From Mediation to Advocacy: Post-Divorce Women's Empowerment Through Religious Court Practices in South Sulawesi, Indonesia," *Jurnal al-Dustur* 9, No. 1 (2026).

[30] Ani Purwanti, "Protection And Rehabilitation For Women Victims of Violence According To Indonesian Law (Study On Central Java Government's Handling Through KPK2BGA)," *Diponegoro Law Review* 02, No. 02 (2017), p. 312–325.

[31] Nizla Rohaya et al., "Unraveling the Legal Labyrinth: An In-Depth Review of Domestic Violence Regulation in Indonesia," *Nurani: Jurnal Kajian Syari'ah Dan Masyarakat* 24, no. 1 (2024), p. 77–90.

DOI: 10.22373/7bpj4837

social experience and moral calculations regarding what is most likely to maintain the stability of their lives.[32]

Pierre Bourdieu explains that human actions are never completely free, but are always shaped by habitus a system of dispositions produced by past social experiences and reproduced in everyday life practices. The habitus of female victims of domestic violence is formed within a social structure that instills values of obedience, patience, and emotional dependence on their husbands. This habitus is not simply the result of internalizing patriarchal ideology but also serves as a rational adaptation mechanism in social conditions that do not guarantee women's safety. Thus, the decision to remain silent is not a result of ignorance, but rather an expression of a habitus formed within unequal social relations.[33]

In a configuration of unequal gender relations, male dominance in domestic life is viewed as legitimate through social norms, cultural values, and institutional practices that position authority as a masculine attribute. This pattern of relations shapes social understandings of obedience, patience, and self-control, reflecting the image of moral women. Consequently, the choice not to report violence is often interpreted as a way to maintain the continuity of relationships and stability within a restrictive social order. In such situations, women are not only in a subordinate position but also engaged in a process of social adjustment and negotiation to survive. The decision to remain silent, therefore, cannot be separated from the way gender power operates through the formation of identities, moral expectations, and the social legitimacy of inequalities rooted in domestic life.

On the other hand, silence also reflects a form of social rationality influenced by limited access to economic and symbolic resources. Women victims of domestic violence often face a structural dilemma: reporting means losing economic support, while remaining silent means preserving the survival of their children. This decision is a manifestation of bounded rationality, where individuals make the best decisions based on the information and resources available within an oppressive social system.[34]

This sociological approach demonstrates that the choice to remain silent is the result of an interaction between individual agency and the binding social structure. In Giddens's terms, women are not passive victims of patriarchal structures, but actors who seek to exploit gaps in those structures to achieve specific goals—namely, social stability, child protection, or avoiding social

[32] Nazokat Khudoyqulova, "Gender Roles and Power Dynamics in Marriage : A Sociological Observation In Uzbekistan," *The American Journal of Political Science Law and Criminology* 7, no. 8 (2025), p. 34–38.

[33] Noni Zulkarnain et al., "Wife Beating in Social and Legal Perspective In Indonesia."

[34] Sajal Verma, "Domestic Violence Against Women:A Socio-Legal Perspective."

DOI: 10.22373/7bpj4837

stigma. However, this agency is limited by social norms and values that define women's position within the family and society.[35]

From a symbolic interactionist perspective, the act of remaining silent can also be interpreted as the result of symbolic interactions between female victims and their environment. Social labels such as "loyal wife," "good housewife," and "guardian of family honor" shape women's self-awareness in viewing the violence they experience. Through everyday social interactions, women learn that reporting violence means exposing their family's shame, so they adjust their actions to comply with these social expectations.[36]

Thus, the decision to remain silent is not a form of resignation or a lack of legal awareness, but rather a meaningful social action. It is a form of practical reasoning—the result of women's reflection on the structural conditions that limit their freedom of movement. In a patriarchal society, silence can be the most rational and realistic social strategy. By examining this phenomenon through the lens of legal and gender sociology, we understand that the decision-making process of female victims of domestic violence is a reflective social action reflecting a complex interaction between values, structures, and agency.

According to A. Nuzul, a professor of law at the State Islamic Institute of Bone, the decision-making process for female victims of domestic violence, whether to remain silent or report to law enforcement, is heavily influenced by several factors. These include cultural factors, religious factors, and family circumstances, such as whether they already have children. Cultural factors include the general culture of Bugis women, who are shy and do not want their domestic disputes or disputes to be known to others, especially if they are handled by the authorities. Women are willing to endure their suffering rather than have their case escalated into a legal case. They feel their self-esteem is further undermined. For women with strong religious beliefs, taking a dispute with their husband to court is not the best solution, as it often fails to meet the wife's expectations. Legal resolution is often unfavorable to the victim, and the costs are prohibitive. They may even choose to divorce rather than report to the police. Furthermore, a mother may not want her children to know about her disputes, or to have them know about them. She believes that reporting the matter would be as if she were teaching them something harmful that would have negative consequences for their future. So, she prefers to suppress her hurt feelings. [37]

---

[35] Pooja Rani & Sinshupa, "Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Law in India."

[36] A.P.E Dula, "Protection for Women Victims of Domestic Violence in Indonesia:A Victimology and Criminology Approach. *Law Research Review Quarterly* 8, no 4 (2022), p. 479-494.

[37]Interview with A. Nuzul, Professor of Law, State Islamic Institute of Bone, at February, 2026.

DOI: 10.22373/7bpj4837

In line with that, according to Nur Paikah, Professor of Law and Child Protection, explained that the reasons why some women victims of domestic violence remain silent or do not report violence to law enforcement are: first, the existence of economic inequality in the family, where women who do not work only rely on and depend on their husbands, resulting in men dominating economically; second, the inequality of power relations, where the dominance of power is in the hands of men, while women are asked to obey; third, religious and customary factors, namely the existence of religious indoctrination that making a husband's heart hurt will be cursed by angels. So, they always hide behind religious indoctrination to make women more controllable. and fourth, customary factors are also the same, women must obey and comply with whatever men say.[38]

The Meaning of Law for Women Victims of Domestic Violence in Their Life Experiences

The meaning of violence and the law for female victims of domestic violence is not formed spontaneously or individually, but rather is constructed through repeated social experiences and culturally inherited knowledge systems. From the perspective of the sociology of knowledge, as explained by Berger and Luckmann, social reality is shaped through processes of externalization, objectivation, and internalization. Violence and the law, in this context, are social realities objectified by society through language, norms, and institutions. When society narrates that "wives must be patient" or "household matters are not appropriate for the public sphere," these constructions become objective realities that are then internalized by women as part of their worldview.[39]

Within the legal consciousness framework developed by Ewick and Silbey, the experiences of female victims of domestic violence with the law can be divided into three forms of relationships: before the law, with the law, and against the law. Women living in patriarchal systems tend to experience the law as a distant and frightening force (before the law), where the law is considered the preserve of those in power and beyond the reach of ordinary people. Others try to negotiate with the law, seeking informal assistance from community leaders or religious institutions rather than state institutions. However, many women end up living against the law—not because they reject the law, but

[38] Interview with Nur Paikah, Professor of Law and Child Protection, State Islamic Institute of Bone, February, 2026.

[39] Nizla Rohaya et al., "Unraveling the Legal Labyrinth: An In-Depth Review of Domestic Violence Regulation in Indonesia."

DOI: 10.22373/7bpj4837

because they realize that the law does not side with their experiences as victims.[40]

The interpretation of law in the experiences of female victims of violence demonstrates that law does not exist solely as a set of formal, normative rules, but rather as social knowledge that operates within power relations. Law embodies agreements not only through the threat of sanctions but also through the production of moral discourse that determines what is considered right, proper, and socially acceptable. In this process, patriarchal moral standards are gradually internalized, leading women to judge themselves based on social standards that place loyalty and obedience as primary obligations. As a result, reporting violence is often perceived as a violation of the ideal role of a wife, rather than as an attempt to obtain protection. Studies on policies addressing violence against women in Indonesia show that existing legal and policy frameworks often reproduce moral discourses that promote family harmony and female obedience, thus shaping victims' legal consciousness to choose silence rather than face greater social risks.[41]

Pierre Bourdieu called this phenomenon symbolic violence a form of domination that is unconsciously perceived by the subjugated subject because it has been legitimized through structures of meaning and social habitus. In the case of female victims of domestic violence, symbolic violence is evident in how they interpret physical or verbal violence as part of "domestic responsibilities" or "proof of love." This process demonstrates that state law often fails to penetrate the layers of meaning shaped by social laws that exist within society. Formal law operates at the institutional level, while living law operates at the level of social consciousness—and the two are often in conflict.[42]

From a feminist standpoint theory perspective, the meaning of law understood by female victims is a form of knowledge born from their marginalized social position. This knowledge is not inferior, but rather serves as a crucial epistemological resource for understanding the failure of the legal system to guarantee gender justice. The experiences of female victims of domestic violence demonstrate that laws constructed from a masculine perspective are unable to accommodate the complexity of women's experiences living within patriarchal structures.[43] Therefore, the life experiences of female victims become the basis for the formation of an alternative epistemology in

[40] APE Dula, "Protection for Women Victims of Domestic Violence in Indonesia: A Victimology and Criminology Approach," *Law Research Review Quarterly* 8, no. 4 (2022), p. 479–494

[41] Hana Hanifah et al., "Diffusion Of Policy To Address Violence Against Women: Implementation Evidence From Indonesia," *Politics & Gender*, (2025), p. 1–27,

[42] Zulkarnain et al., "Wife Beating In Social And Legal Perspective In Indonesia."

[43] Nazokat Khudoyqulova, "Gender Roles and Power Dynamics in Marriage."

DOI: 10.22373/7bpj4837

understanding legal justice justice that is not only procedural, but also reflective of social experience.

Sociologically, this process of interpretation also demonstrates the dialectic between state law and social law. State law seeks to uphold the principle of gender equality, but social law embedded in societal values, traditions, and morals often perpetuates inequality. When these two legal systems interact, female victims of domestic violence choose a middle ground: they do not reject state law, but they do not fully trust it either. They develop a form of adaptive legal consciousness, namely, a legal awareness that adapts to the surrounding social, moral, and cultural realities.[44]

Thus, the meaning of law and violence for female victims of domestic violence cannot be understood solely as a legalistic issue. It is a social construct resulting from the complex interaction of power, morality, and life experiences. For female victims, the law is not simply a set of rules, but a symbol of unfulfilled hopes. Therefore, understanding the meaning of law from the victim's perspective means understanding how social structures work to shape legal awareness and how women negotiate their position in a social world that remains gender-biased.

Based on interviews and observations with several female victims of domestic violence, the women admitted that they were afraid of having to face the police and were afraid of threats from their husbands that she would not get custody of her two children. Limited social support also makes victims more likely to rely on informal networks such as family or close friends rather than formal institutions. [45] On the other hand, female victims of violence also have erroneous views about customs and culture, especially the Bugis Bone culture, which views women as having to treat and respect their husbands. They feel ashamed (*siri*) to report or discuss the violence they experienced with anyone other than their own family, even though it endangers themselves and their families.[46]

In fact, according to Ridhwan, Member of the Indonesian Ulema Council, Bone Regency, explained that in Islamic law and Bugis culture, women are highly respected and carried out optimally. In Islamic law, disrespectful behavior (*nushūz*) does not only apply to wives towards husbands, but also to husbands' behavior towards wives. A husband who commits violence in the household, both physically and non-physically, such as not providing physical

[44] Sajal Verma, "Domestic Violence Against Women:A Socio-Legal Perspective. International Journal For Research Publication and Seminar." Irna Nur Arisa, et.al., "Women's Political Leadership: An Analysis of Gender Equality in Legislators in Sekadau," *Jurnal Sosiologi Dialektika Sosial* 11, No. 1 (2025).

[45]Interview with BN and SM, Female Victim of Domestic Violence in Bone, September 2025. Field Observation in One of the Villages in Watampone, September, 2025.

[46]Interview with ST and ND, Female Victim of Violence in Bone, September 2025.

DOI: 10.22373/7bpj4837

and mental support, is clearly a husband's *nushūz* behavior towards his wife. then in the Bugis tradition women are highly respected, not only during marriage, before marriage, women are given a dowry (*sompa*), dui menre which is quite expensive, all of this is part of respect and positions women in the context of cruelty.[47]

Regarding the issue of nushuz, Islamic legal literature states that a husband who does not fulfill his obligations to his wife and family has committed *nushūz*. This differs from the Compilation of Indonesian Islamic Law which only applies *nushūz* (disobedience) to the wife. Husband's nushuz is ignored by classical scholars and Indonesian Islamic Law, but when understood in the feminist context of the Qur'an, it provides a deep understanding of the concept of gender justice. Therefore, a feminist fiqh understanding of gender equality based on *tawḥīd* as a concept that has the potential to shape individuals inspired by 'essential' and 'true' equality and justice, through reading religious texts and producing knowledge and policies that include women's experiences and voices alongside men's experiences and voices.[48]

Female Victims of Violence and Future Solutions: Sociological Perspectives, Legal Awareness, and Gender

Domestic violence against women is a social and legal reality that continues to occur. The victims are clearly women, who are disadvantaged psychologically, economically, socially, and culturally. From a sociological perspective, power relations are not simply defined as physical or economic domination between men and women, but as a social system that regulates meaning, identity, and social position based on gender categories. This structure is formed through historical and institutional processes that position men as dominant and women as subjects within society's moral and symbolic order.[49]

In everyday domestic life, this gender order is implemented through the familiarization of social roles and expectations inherent in male and female identities. Male authority is often perceived as a legitimate form of leadership, while women are encouraged to display obedience, patience, and self-sacrifice as a measure of moral worthiness. In such circumstances, women not only experience power within power relationships but also face pressure to maintain these relationships to maintain family stability. Silence in the face of violence often emerges as a socially learned strategy, especially when the roles of a wife who restrains herself and a mother who maintains family honor are used as the basis for social judgment. Several studies on policies and practices addressing

[47]Interview with Ridhwan, Member of the Indonesian Ulema Council, Bone Regency and Professor at State Islamic Institute of Bone, February 2026.

[48] Atun Wardatun and Bianca J. Smith, "Woman-Initiated Divorce and Feminist Fiqh in Indonesia: Narrating Male Acts of Nushūz in Marriage." *Ulumuna* 24, No. 2 (2020), p. 266-295.

[49] Nazokat Khudoyqulova, "Gender Roles and Power Dynamics in Marriage."

DOI: 10.22373/7bpj4837

violence against women in Indonesia show that the discourse on legal protection often intersects with patriarchal values, reinforcing structural dependencies that limit victims' ability to make decisions about reporting.[50]

Sylvia Walby adds that patriarchy operates through six interconnected structures: family, work, the state, violence, sexuality, and culture. In the case of female victims of domestic violence in Indonesia, domestic violence occurs primarily in the first two domains—the household and culture—but its effects permeate the entire social system. Within the household, women are trapped in a system of economic and emotional dependency; within the cultural realm, they are confronted with norms that value obedience as a form of honor. When violence occurs, this system prevents women from seeking help because they feel they will lose their moral legitimacy as wives or mothers if they reveal their suffering.[51]

The formation of women's gender identity in situations of violence occurs through a repetitive and often unconscious social process. Demands for patient prayer, self-restraint, and prioritizing family integrity are gradually enshrined as moral obligations that must be fulfilled, not as negotiable choices. In such circumstances, silence about violence is not simply attributed to fear or personal powerlessness, but rather is linked to how social norms shape women's understanding of their roles and worth. Obedience and sacrifice are then treated as key characteristics of women considered moral, while resistance to violence risks being perceived as a violation of the established social order. This ongoing normative pressure limits women's ability to express their experiences of violence and take action outside their expected roles.

From Nancy Fraser's perspective, this gender power relationship gives rise to a double form of injustice maldistribution (economic inequality) and misrecognition (inequality of social recognition). When women victims of domestic violence do not report the violence, it is not only because they are financially dependent, but also because the social system does not recognize their suffering as a legitimate form of injustice worth fighting for. In other words, silence reflects a crisis of recognition, where women choose to maintain their socially recognized position rather than fight for legal justice that does not guarantee their safety.[52]

Furthermore, the intersectionality approach (Crenshaw, Collins) helps explain how this experience of silence results from the intersection of multiple layers of injustice. A female victim of domestic violence faces not only gender oppression but also inequality in class, education, and social status. In a society

[50] Hana Hanifah et al., "Diffusion of Policy to Address Violence Against Women: Implementation Evidence from Indonesia."

[51] Zulkarnain et al., "Wife Beating in Social and Legal Perspective In Indonesia."

[52] Nizla Rohaya et. al., "Unraveling The Legal Labyrinth: An In-Depth Review of Domestic Violence Regulation In Indonesia."

DOI: 10.22373/7bpj4837

where women are positioned as guardians of family morality, women from the lower middle and middle classes tend to have more limited options for resistance, as they lack the social, legal, or economic resources to support the reporting process.[53]

Regarding this issue, Asni Zubair, Professor of Islamic Law at State Islamic Institute of Bone, explained that unequal gender relations and structural dependency significantly influence female victims' willingness to report. If the perpetrator holds absolute power (the family's sole financial source), making the victim completely dependent, the victim is reluctant to report. If the perpetrator becomes the source of dependence on the family for all outside matters, this influences the victim's willingness to report. For example, a woman depends on the perpetrator for electricity bills, children's school fees, and dealing with all kinds of damage/disorders to the house, vehicle, and so on. This naturally discourages victims from reporting. For example, they may not even dare to report to the authorities, let alone report to others due to their own powerlessness. Furthermore, men have always been portrayed as strong and versatile, while women have always been portrayed as weak. [54]

Similarly, A. Nuzul, Professor of Law at State Islamic Institute of Bone, explained that gender relations and structural dependency influence women who become victims of violence, as do historical factors and paternalistic culture. Men always want to dominate the family and feel superior to women. Men naturally desire power, but also desire to be served. Bugis society remains strongly patriarchal, although this has begun to shift thanks to education. In the past, girls didn't even need to attend college. They simply stayed at home, as their duties ultimately consisted of the kitchen and the well. Thus, culturally, women are structurally subordinated to men. This makes women afraid to report violence they experience to law enforcement. [55]

This patriarchal structure is also maintained by masculine legal and social institutions. Gender-biased law enforcement reflects state patriarchy—where state institutions function as extensions of patriarchal ideology by affirming norms of female obedience and tolerating domestic violence as a private matter. In this case, the law is not neutral but plays a role in maintaining social inequality through formal and informal mechanisms.[56]

Through the lens of gender sociology, these power relations and structural dependencies demonstrate that silence is not a lack of agency, but

[53]Sajal Verma, "Domestic Violence Against Women:A Socio-Legal Perspective. International Journal For Research Publication and Seminar"

[54]Interview with Asni Zubair, Professor of Islamic Law, State Islamic Institute of Bone, February 2026.

[55]Interview with A. Nuzul, Professor of Law, State Islamic Institute of Bone, February, 2026.

[56] A.P.E. Dula, "Protection For Women Victims of Domestic Violence In Indonesia: A Victimology And Criminology Approach."

DOI: 10.22373/7bpj4837

rather a survival strategy within an oppressive social system. However, this strategy is paradoxical on the one hand, it protects women from social risks, but on the other, it reinforces the patriarchal structures that cause the violence itself. Thus, the decision to remain silent reflects a complex social dynamic: women acting rationally within a system that is irrational toward them. This phenomenon emphasizes that understanding domestic violence must go beyond the formal legal framework, toward a sociological analysis that positions gender as a structural variable in shaping the consciousness and social actions of women victims of violence.

Therefore, Samsinar, Professor of Islamic Education at the State Islamic Institute of Bone, provided solutions that must be implemented by the government and society so that female victims of violence receive justice and protection. The government must strengthen laws and law enforcement, the process and implementation of the law must run well without harming victims and provide firm sanctions for perpetrators; provide free legal aid, the government provides access to legal assistance or assistance from reporting to the end in court; the government must improve the competence of law enforcement by providing gender training (eliminating gender bias), victim trauma and services with empathy. Then, community leaders and the general public provide early education for families, schools and communities by teaching gender equality and anti-violence; the community must actively report if they see or suspect violence that occurs and not just stay silent; the community must establish a hamlet/village post that will facilitate victims. Thus, the government must provide a system that is easy, safe and biased, while the community must create a supportive and non-judgmental environment. Therefore, both the government and the community must synergize so that victims of violence receive protection and justice. [57]

A. Nuzul offered a similar solution: the government and society must work together to raise awareness and change the prevailing perception that current practices are inappropriate and unfair. The government should promote programs that involve women more, so they feel their rights are protected. Religious education is also crucial so they understand their rights and obligations early on, especially when they have families. [58] Furthermore, Nur Paikah explained that women as victims need immediate and serious support and protection. Furthermore, the government needs to activate and strengthen the violence prevention task force by involving academics to provide support and counseling to victims, especially if cases are handled by the police, the Women's Empowerment Office, or related institutions. Furthermore, the

[57]Interview with Samsinar, Professor of Islamic Education at State Islamic Institute of Bone, February 2026.

[58] Interview with A. Nuzul, Professor of Law, State Islamic Institute of Bone, February, 2026.

DOI: 10.22373/7bpj4837

government and universities must contribute to each other, not acting in isolation like ivory towers. Local governments, in collaboration with academics, need to actively promote anti-violence within the community. [59]

Therefore, providing dignified justice and solutions for women victims of domestic violence is no easy task and will not be completed quickly. It requires a long, comprehensive, and collective effort across institutions and stakeholders, including government and related institutions, community leaders, and religious leaders, specifically clerics as legitimate social actors in the religious sphere. Furthermore, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and legal aid institutions can assist victims of violence, and of course, educational institutions such as universities can provide outreach and education to the community. Finally, the public needs to be raised in legal awareness and take a stand.

Conclusion

This research reveals that the decision of female victims of domestic violence to remain silent is the result of a complex social process, in which patriarchal structures, moral values, and legal awareness are intertwined in shaping rational choices within constraints. Silence is not a sign of powerlessness, but rather a form of reflective agency that emerges from the negotiation process between obedience and self-protection. In a social life that places women in a subordinate position, silence becomes a consciously chosen survival strategy to maintain social, economic, and emotional stability. The interpretation of law and violence in the experiences of female victims also shows that formal law often does not exist as a tool of justice, but rather as a symbol of power that reflects an unequal social structure. The law that lives in women's experiences is a law with a social face—formed through morality, social interaction, and concrete experiences of unequal power. Theoretically, this research reinforces the view that the sociology of law cannot be separated from the sociology of gender. The findings demonstrate that law is not simply a normative system, but also a social field where meaning and power are produced and negotiated. Through a sociological approach, the decision of female victims of domestic violence to remain silent can be understood as a reflection of socially constructed legal consciousness, where patriarchal values, economic dependency, and gender power relations shape the boundaries of rational action. This research also emphasizes the importance of understanding women's experiences as a legitimate source of social knowledge, capable of challenging masculine legal discourse and opening up space for a more empathetic and contextual perspective on justice regarding the experiences of female victims of

[59] Interview with Nur Paikah, Professor of Law and Child Protection, State Islamic Institute of Bone, February 2026.

DOI: 10.22373/7bpj4837

violence. Practically, the results of this study provide important implications for policymakers, legal institutions, and civil society organizations in designing protection approaches that are more sensitive to the social, economic, and cultural dimensions of the lives of female victims of domestic violence. Legal policies are needed that emphasize not only sanctions but also social transformation through gender equality education and strengthening women's agency. For further research, a more in-depth study of the forms of women's legal consciousness in different social contexts, including rural and urban communities, is needed to develop a broader understanding of power dynamics, social structures, and women's legal consciousness as a foundation for an inclusive and gender-just sociological theory of law.

References

Journals and Books

Abidin, Kurniati, et.al., "Determinants of Domestic Violence in Indonesia from a Gender and Sociology of Law Perspective," *El-Usrah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga* 8, No. 2 (2025). https://doi.org/10.22373/0t3bc059.

Alfiani, Novita, and Nesita Anggraini. "The Theory and Practise of Legal Feminism: Examining Its Impact on the Representation of Women in Indonesia." *Journal of Law, Environmental and Justice* 1, no. 1 (2023). DOI: https://doi.org/10.62264/jlej.v1i1.3.

Ariftha, Annisa and Anang Anas Azhar, "Symbolic Violence Against Women in Medan's Patriarchal Culture." *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 11, No. 2 (2023). https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v11i2.953.

Arisa, Irna Nur, et.al., "Women's Political Leadership: An Analysis of Gender Equality in Legislators in Sekadau," *Jurnal Sosiologi Dialektika Sosial* 11, No. 1 (2025). DOI: https://doi.org/10.29103/jsds.v11i1.16522.

Ashalatha, S.L., et.al., "Nexus of Violence and Employment Discrimination Against Women with Disabilities in India – a Scoping Review," *Cogent Social Science* 9, No. 1 (2023). https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2023.2239631.

Aung, Maulana Akbar Shah and Phoo Pwint Thu Aung. "A Close Study on Domestic Violence Against Women: Islamic Perspectives and Remedies." *Al-Burhān Journal of Qurʾān and Sunnah Studies* 7, no. 2 (2023). DOI:https://doi.org/10.31436/alburhn.v7i2.31.

Arief, Hanafi, et.al., "Legal Protection Against Women Victims by The Indonesian Domestic Violence Act 23, 2004," *Sriwijaya Law Review* 1, No. 1 (2017). DOI: https://doi.org/10.28946/slrev.

Bohmer, Carol, et.al., "Domestic Violence Law Reforms: Reactions from the Trenches." *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare,* 29, no. 3 (2022). DOI: https://doi.org/10.15453/0191-5096.2828.

Briddick, Catherine. "Resisting Domestic Violence." *International Journal of Refugee Law* 36, no. 1 (2024). DOI: https://doi.org/10.1093/ijrl/eead032.

Dula, A.P.E. "Protection for Women Victims of Domestic Violence in Indonesia:A Victimology and Criminology Approach. *Law Research Review Quarterly* 8, no 4 (2022). DOI: https://doi.org/10.15294/lrrq.v8i4.63429

Hanifah, Hana, et.al., "Diffusion of Policy to Address Violence Against Women: Implementation Evidence from Indonesia." *Politics & Gender*, (2025). DOI:https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923x25100172

Johanna, Petra, et.al., "Emotion Regulation on Wives Victims of Domestic Violence in Christianity Undergoing the Forgiveness Phases." *In 2nd International Conference on Social and Political Development (ICOSOP 2017)* 136, no. ICOSOP 2017 (2018). DOI: https://doi.org/10.2991/icosop-17.2018.13.

Khan, Samina, et.al., "Reimagining Legal Approaches to Technology-Facilitated Violence Against Women in India." *Hasanuddin Law Review* 11, No. 3 (2025). https://doi.org/10.20956/halrev.v11i3.6288.

Kharisma, Bintang Ulya. "Dampak Implementasi Prinsip Mempersulit Perceraian Terhadap Pemenuhan Hak Perempuan." *Jurnal Sosial Dan Sains (SOSAINS)* 5, no. 8 (2025). http://sosains.greenvest.co.id/index.php/sosains/article/view/32437/1935

Khudoyqulova, Nazokat. "Gender Roles and Power Dynamics in Marriage : A Sociological Observation In Uzbekistan." *The American Journal of Political Science Law and Criminology* 7, no. 8 (2025). DOI:https://doi.org/10.37547/tajpslc/Volume07Issue08-05.

Kurbanova, Lida, et.al., "Sociocultural Context of Gender-Based Violence in Local Societies." *SHS Webof Conferences* 72, no. 2 (2019). DOI: https://doi.org/10.1051/shsconf/20197203007.

Lindbekk, Monika and Rania Maktabi, "Gender and Judging in the Middle East and Africa," *Oñati Socio-legal Series* 13, No. 3 (2023).

Marzuki, Peter Mahmud, *Metode Penelitian Hukum*, Jakarta: Kencana, 2014.

Mohd. Ithnin, Norazam Khair, et.al., "Violence Against Women: Comparing Female Genital Mutilation and Female Circumcision in Malaysia." *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 22, No. 2 (2023). https://doi.org/10.31958/juris.v22i2.10426

Nasution, Hotnidah and Ahmad Rifqi Muchtar, "Access to Justice for Women and Children in Divorce Cases in the Indonesian Religious Courts," *Ahkam* 20, No. 2 (2020). DOI: 10.15408/ajis.v20i2.15702.

Nurani, Siti Syahida, et.al., "Domestic Violence in the Criminology and Victimology Perspectives: Case Study in Kupang, East Nusa Tenggara." *Varia Justicia* 18, no. 2 (2022). DOI: https//doi.org/10.31603/variajusticia.v18i2.6856

Nurtjahyo, Lidwina Inge. "The Issue of Rights of Religious Freedom in Some Domestic Violence Cases in Indonesia." *Religions* 12, no. 9 (2021). DOI: https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12090733.

Patawari, A. Muh Yusri, et.al., "From Formal Rights to Substantive Justice: Rethinking Legal Protection for Divorced Women in Indonesia." *Mazahibuna: Jurnal Perbandingan Mazhab* 8, No. 1 (2026). https://doi.org/10.24252/mazahibuna.vi.66393.

Purwanti, Ani. "Protection And Rehabilitation for Women Victims of Violence According To Indonesian Law (Study On Central Java Government'S Handling Through KPK2BGA)." *Diponegoro Law Review* 02, no. 02 (2017). DOI: https://doi.org/10.14710/dilrev.2.2.2017.68-81.

Randawar, Daleleer Kaur, et.al., "Domestic Violence in The Wake of Covid-19: Intervention Measures to Ameliorate the Impact," *UUM Journal of Legal Studies* 14, No. 2 (2023). https://doi.org/10.32890/uumjls2023.14.2.3

Rani, P., Sinshupa "Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Law in India." *Knowledgeable Research* 02, no. 05 (2023). DOI: https://doi.org/10.57067/kr.v2i05.197

Revita, Ike. et.al.. "Psycho-Pragmatic Factors of The Action of Verbal Violence Against Women: A Case Study in DKI Jakarta." *The International Conference on ASEAN*, (2019). DOI:https//doi.org/10.1515/9783110678666-065

Rohaya, N., et.al., "Unraveling the Legal Labyrinth: An In-Depth Review of Domestic Violence Regulation in Indonesia." *Nurani: Jurnal Kajian Syari'ah Dan Masyarakat* 24, no. 1 (2024). DOI:https://doi.org/10.19109/nurani.v24i1.20011.

Saidah, et.al., "From Mediation to Advocacy: Post-Divorce Women's Empowerment Through Religious Court Practices in South Sulawesi, Indonesia," *Jurnal al-Dustur* 9, No. 1 (2026). DOI: https://doi.org/10.30863/aldustur.v9i1.11184.

Salim HS and Erlies Septiana Nurbani, *Penerapan Teori Hukum pada Penelitian tesis dan Disertasi,* Jakarta: RajawaliGrafindo, 2016.

Salim, Randi, et.al., "The Role of Islam toward the Patriarchal Culture in Malay People," *Sociology and Anthropology* 5, No. 12 (2017). DOI:10.13189/sa.2017.051207.

Saraswati, Rika. "Gender Bias in Indonesian Courts: Is PERMA No. 3 of 2017 the Solution for Gender-Based Violence Cases?" *Laws* 10, no. 2 (2021). DOI:https://doi.org/10.3390/laws10010002

Sinamo, Nomensen, and Sabungan Sibarani. "Prospects of Law Enforcement of Acts of Elimination of Domestice Violence Reviewed From the Perspective of Law Sociology." *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research* 478 (2020).DOI:https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.201209.002.

Soekanto, Soerjono, *Pokok-Pokok Sosiologi Hukum*, Jakarta: Rajawali Press,

2010.

Suryani, Ade Irma, and Dodi Jaya Wardana. "Legal Aspects of Women ' s Political Participation from a Gender Perspective." *Jurnal USM Law Review* 7, no. 3 (2024). DOI: https://doi.org/10.26623/julr.v7i3.10634

Titin Nurfatlah, et.al., "The Power Relations in Domestic Violence in West Lombok Regency." *Unram Law Review* 8, no. 2 (2024). DOI: https://doi.org/10.29303/ulrev.v8i2.365

Triana, Nita. "Progressivity of Judges in Domestic Violence Disputes Settlement in the Case of Divorce in the Religious Court." *Ulul Albab: Jurnal Studi Dan Penelitian Hukum Islam* 2, no. 1 (2018). DOI: https://doi.org/10.30659/jua.v2i1.3543

Ulinnuha, Muhammad and Asfa Widiyanto "Advocacy for Muslim Women and Children as Victims of Domestic Violence in Central Java, Indonesia." *IJoReSH : Indonesian Journal of Religion, Spirituality, and Humanity* 4, no. 1 (2025). DOI:https://doi.org/10.18326/ijoresh.v4i1.108-133

Verma, Sajal. "Domestic Violence Against Women: A Socio-Legal Perspective." *International Journal for Research Publication and Seminar* 16, no. 2 (2025). DOI: https://doi.org/10.36676/jrps.v16.i2.272.

Wardatun, Atun, and Bianca J. Smith, "Woman-Initiated Divorce and Feminist Fiqh in Indonesia: Narrating Male Acts of Nushūz in Marriage." *Ulumuna* 24, No. 2 (2020). https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v24i2.416.

Yakub, Bahruddin Umar, et. al., "Living Qur'an, Gender, and Sibaliparriq, in Mandar, Indonesia: Cultural Construction in the Perspective of Islamic Law," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 7, No. 2 (2023). https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v7i2.17892.

Yustisianto, Irawan Agus, et al. "Reconstruction of Legal Protection Regulations against Victims of Crime of Household Violence Based on Justice Value." *Scholars International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice* 5, no. 12 (2022). DOI:https://doi.org/10.36348/sijlcj.2022.v05i12.001

ZM, Hamidsyukrie, et.al., "The Impact of the Idea of Rangga (Masculinity) Towards Domestic Violence In The Maja Labo Dahu Culture: Study of Sociology and Social Sciences Education." *Qalamuna: Jurnal Pendidikan, Sosial, dan Agama* 14, no. 2 (2022). DOI:https://doi.org/10.37680/qalamuna.v14i2.3604.

Zulkarnain, Noni, et.al., "Wife Beating in Social and Legal Perspective In Indonesia." *Pena Justisia: Media Komunikasi Dan Kajian Hukum* 22, no. 3 (2023). DOI: https://doi.org/10.31941/pj.v22i3.3954

DOI: 10.22373/7bpj4837

Observations and Interviews

Field Observation in One of the Villages in Watampone, September, 2025.
Field Observation at the Regional Technical Implementation Unit for the Protection of Women and Children (UPTD PPA), Watampone, September, 2025.
Interview with A. Nuzul, Professor of Law, State Islamic Institute of Bone, February, 2026.
Interview with Asni Zubair, Professor of Islamic Law, State Islamic Institute of Bone, February 2026.
Interview with BN and SM, Female Victim of Domestic Violence in Bone, September 2025.
Interview with Nur Paikah, Professor of Law and Child Protection, State Islamic Institute of Bone, February 2026.
Interview with Ridhwan, Member of the Indonesian Ulema Council, Bone Regency and Professor at State Islamic Institute of Bone, February 2026.
Interview with Samsinar, Professor of Islamic Education at State Islamic Institute of Bone, February 2026.
Interview with ST and ND, Female Victim of Violence in Bone, September 2025.