

Between Law and Reality: The Implementation Gaps of Indonesia's Domestic Violence Law

Sukendar¹  

¹ Universitas Islam Negeri Walisongo, Semarang, Indonesia

 Corresponding email: sukendar@walisongo.ac.id

Abstract

This study examines the implementation gaps of Indonesia's Law No. 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence (DV Law) using a library research method that integrates doctrinal and socio-legal analysis. The findings reveal both substantive and procedural weaknesses that hinder the law's effectiveness. Substantively, the DV Law lacks clarity in defining psychological and economic violence, imposes lenient penalties, and remains unharmonized with related legal instruments, including the Criminal Procedure Code (KUHAP) and the Sexual Violence Law. Procedurally, inconsistent interpretations among law enforcers, overreliance on visum et repertum (VeR) as primary evidence, limited counselling enforcement, and weak legal socialization restrict victims' access to justice. Culturally, patriarchal and religious norms continue to normalize domestic abuse as a private matter rather than a public crime. To address these gaps, the study recommends clearer legal definitions, standardized procedures for visum et repertum, institutionalized counselling programs, continuous gender-sensitive training for law enforcers, and broader public education. Ratifying the Optional Protocol to CEDAW is also essential to strengthen state accountability and align Indonesia with global human rights standards. Through doctrinal reform, institutional capacity, and cultural

transformation, the DV Law can evolve from a symbolic statute into an effective instrument of substantive gender justice.

Keywords

Domestic Violence Law, Indonesia, Gender Justice, Socio-Legal Analysis, CEDAW

A. Introduction

The Domestic violence remains one of the most pervasive yet underreported human rights violations in Indonesia. Despite the enactment of Law No. 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence (DV Law), women continue to face barriers in obtaining justice, protection, and social recognition as victims of abuse. According to the National Commission on Violence Against Women (*Komnas Perempuan*), more than 400,000 cases of gender-based violence were recorded in 2023, with domestic violence accounting for over 60 percent of all reported incidents.¹ These figures represent only the visible portion of a broader crisis obscured by social stigma, cultural silence, and institutional inefficiency. The World Health Organization (WHO) likewise estimates that one in three women globally experiences physical or sexual violence from an intimate partner, positioning Indonesia within a persistent global pattern of gender-based harm.²

The DV Law was designed as a legal and moral turning point, shifting the perception of domestic violence from a private matter to a public crime requiring state intervention. The statute criminalizes physical, psychological, sexual, and economic abuse, establishes procedural guarantees for victims, and provides for rehabilitative counselling for perpetrators.³ Yet, after nearly two decades, evidence suggests that the law's transformative promise remains largely unrealized. While the DV Law symbolically affirmed the state's duty to protect women, its implementation continues to be undermined by institutional fragmentation, procedural rigidity, and socio-cultural resistance.

¹ Komnas Perempuan, "Catatu 2023: Peluang Penguatan Sistem Penyikapan Di Tengah Peningkatan Kompleksitas Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan," Komnas Perempuan Website (Jakarta, 2024), <https://komnasperempuan.go.id/catatan-tahunan-detail/catahu-2023-peluang-penguatan-sistem-penyikapan-di-tengah-peningkatan-kompleksitas-kekerasan-terhadap-perempuan>.

² WHO, "Violence Against Estimates, Prevalence Women 2018," 2021.

³ Republik Indonesia, "Undang-Undang (UU) No. 23 Tahun 2004 Tentang Penghapusan Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga (Law No. 23, 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence)," Pub. L. No. 23 (2004).

Studies published in the *Journal of Indonesian Legal Studies*,⁴ the *Srinijaya Law Review*,⁵ and other Scopus and SINTA-indexed journals identify multiple constraints such as the absence of uniform interpretation among law enforcers, dependency on *visum et repertum* (*VeR*) as the main form of evidence, the lack of institutional coordination between police, prosecutors, and service centres, and the weak execution of court-mandated counselling for perpetrators. Empirical research further highlights that public awareness of the DV Law remains low, particularly outside urban centres, while entrenched patriarchal values continue to normalize domestic abuse as an internal family issue rather than a criminal act.⁶ These structural and cultural gaps are compounded by inconsistent judicial interpretation, where judges often revert to the general provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code (*KUHAP*) instead of applying the *lex specialis* principle that gives primacy to the DV Law.

From a theoretical perspective, this study is anchored in the principles of CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women), substantive equality, non-discrimination, and state obligation, ratified by Indonesia through Law No. 7 of 1984.⁷ These principles demand that the state not only promulgate laws but also ensure their effective enforcement through adequate institutional structures, cultural transformation, and access to justice mechanisms. However, Indonesia's failure to ratify the Optional Protocol to CEDAW reflects an incomplete commitment to international accountability, leaving victims without external recourse when domestic remedies fail.⁸

Employing a library research approach that integrates doctrinal and socio-legal analysis, this study examines the persistent gap between the normative aspirations of the DV Law and its operational realities. By analysing statutory texts, court decisions, national reports, and

⁴ Dewi Setyowati and Emilia Rusdiana, "Relevance of Criminal Law Formulation in the Law of Domestic Violence Elimination in Indonesia," *Journal of Indonesian Legal Studies* 5, no. 1 (May 2020): 95–124, <https://doi.org/10.15294/jils.v5i1.35362>.

⁵ Hanafi Arief, "Legal Protection Against Women Victims By The Indonesian Domestic Violence Act 23, 2004," *Srinijaya Law Review* 1, no. 1 (January 30, 2017): 110, <https://doi.org/10.28946/slrev.Vol1.Iss1.12.pp110-121>.

⁶ Dina Afrianty, "Agents for Change," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 174, no. 1 (January 2018): 24–46, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-17401024>.

⁷ United Nations, "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women" (1979).

⁸ United Nations, "Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women" (1999).

scholarly literature, it identifies how legal ambiguities, institutional weaknesses, evidentiary challenges, and patriarchal cultural norms collectively hinder the law's effectiveness. The findings reveal that the DV Law's challenges are not limited to administrative inefficiency but rooted in deeper structural and cultural contradictions between gender justice ideals and Indonesia's socio-legal practices.

This article addresses a critical gap in existing scholarship, which has largely examined Indonesia's Domestic Violence Law (Law No. 23 of 2004) either from a doctrinal perspective or through fragmented empirical case studies, without systematically integrating legal analysis with socio-cultural realities. While prior studies have identified specific procedural or institutional constraints, they have not comprehensively explained how normative legal frameworks, evidentiary practices, and entrenched patriarchal values interact to produce persistent implementation failures. The novelty of this study lies in its integrated socio-legal approach, which combines doctrinal analysis with a structural and cultural examination of law enforcement practices, evidentiary barriers (particularly *visum et repertum*), and gendered legal reasoning. By situating the DV Law within the broader framework of CEDAW and substantive equality, this article offers a multidimensional explanation of why the law remains largely symbolic in practice. Its significance lies in advancing socio-legal scholarship by demonstrating that legal effectiveness in domestic violence cases depends not only on statutory reform but also on institutional coordination and cultural transformation, thereby contributing to a more holistic understanding of gender justice in Indonesia's legal system.

B. Methods

This study employs a qualitative library research design integrating doctrinal and socio-legal approaches. Data were collected through a systematic review of primary and secondary legal materials. Primary sources include statutory regulations (Law No. 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence, the Criminal Procedure Code/KUHAP, Law No. 7 of 1984 on CEDAW ratification, and Law No. 12 of 2022 on Sexual Violence Crimes) and relevant court decisions. Secondary sources were obtained through structured searches in academic databases such as Scopus, Google Scholar, and national indexing platforms (SINTA), using keywords including "domestic violence law Indonesia," "implementation of DV Law," "visum et repertum," "gender justice," and "socio-legal analysis." The selection criteria prioritized peer-reviewed journal articles (2015–2025),

reports from authoritative institutions (e.g., Komnas Perempuan, WHO), and publications directly addressing legal implementation, evidentiary practices, and gender-based violence in Indonesia. Sources that were outdated, non-scholarly, or not directly relevant to the Indonesian legal context were excluded.

Data analysis was conducted using a qualitative-descriptive and thematic approach. Doctrinal analysis was applied to examine normative inconsistencies, legal definitions, and statutory harmonization, while socio-legal analysis was used to interpret how legal norms operate within institutional practices and socio-cultural contexts. The analytical process involved coding recurring themes such as evidentiary rigidity, institutional fragmentation, patriarchal legal reasoning, and barriers to victim access to justice. Triangulation across legal texts, empirical findings, and policy reports was employed to enhance validity and ensure a comprehensive interpretation of the gap between law in the books and law in action.

Although not a systematic review in the PRISMA sense, the study adopts a structured and replicable literature selection process to ensure transparency and analytical rigor.

C. Results and Discussion

1. *Substantive Weaknesses of the DV Law and Their Procedural Consequences*

Although the DV Law marked a milestone in Indonesia's gender-based legal reform, its substantive weaknesses have significantly undermined its implementation. Chief among these are the law's unclear definitions of violence, inadequate penal provisions, and fragmented legal harmonization with other statutes. These substantive weaknesses are not merely doctrinal limitations but form the structural foundation for subsequent procedural barriers and culturally conditioned enforcement practices, indicating that legal ambiguity at the normative level directly shapes how domestic violence cases are interpreted, processed, and often minimized in practice.

A central doctrinal flaw lies in the vagueness of definitions concerning psychological and economic violence. While Article 5 of the DV Law formally acknowledges these categories, it fails to specify measurable indicators or thresholds. Courts thus rely on divergent interpretations, producing legal uncertainty and unequal protection. Martha and Ekwanto argue that the DV Law's procedural and definitional gaps render its protection mechanisms ineffective in practice, as enforcement agencies lack clear criteria for identifying

psychological abuse.⁹ Similar findings by Setyowati and Rusdiana reveal inconsistent judicial application, some judges require physical proof or psychiatric certification (*visum psikiatrikum*), while others dismiss cases lacking visible injury.¹⁰ Such ambiguity erodes the principle of *lex specialis*, weakening victims' access to substantive justice.

The limited recognition of marital rape further exposes the DV Law's doctrinal conservatism. Although Article 8 identifies sexual violence as a punishable act, its prosecutorial scope remains restricted to "sexual coercion causing physical consequences."¹¹ This formulation excludes non-physical coercion and psychological subjugation, effectively denying protection to women whose consent is overridden through intimidation or economic dependency. This legal gap contradicts Indonesia's obligations under CEDAW, which recognizes all non-consensual sexual acts as violence.¹² Alfitri similarly contends that failure to criminalize marital rape stems from a moral-religious compromise prioritizing family unity over women's bodily autonomy.¹³

The DV Law's penal provisions are also disproportionately lenient relative to the harm inflicted. Under Article 45, perpetrators of psychological violence may receive a maximum sentence of only four months or a fine of three million rupiah, an amount that trivializes the suffering of victims.¹⁴ Such conditional or minimal sentencing produces no deterrent effect and perpetuates the social perception that domestic violence is a minor offense.¹⁵ Mild punishment undermines both justice

⁹ Aroma Elmina Martha and Endah Rizki Ekwanto, "Reformulasi Prosedur Perlindungan Dalam Undang-Undang Penghapusan Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga Yang Tidak Efektif," *Jurnal Lex Renaissance* 4, no. 2 (July 2019), <https://doi.org/10.20885/JLR.vol4.iss2.art7>.

¹⁰ Setyowati and Rusdiana, "Relevance of Criminal Law Formulation in the Law of Domestic Violence Elimination in Indonesia."

¹¹ Republik Indonesia, Undang-undang (UU) No. 23 Tahun 2004 tentang Penghapusan Kekerasan dalam Rumah Tangga (Law No. 23, 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence). Article 8.

¹² Yordan Gunawan and Kundarti Ruqmana, "Application of CEDAW in Domestic Violence Cases in Indonesia: Case Study of Domestic Violence against Venna Melinda," ed. Y. Jusman et al., *SHS Web of Conferences* 204 (November 2024): 01002, <https://doi.org/10.1051/shsconf/202420401002>.

¹³ Alfitri Alfitri, "Protecting Women from Domestic Violence: Islam, Family Law, and the State in Indonesia," *Studia Islamika* 27, no. 2 (August 2020): 273–307, <https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v27i2.9408>.

¹⁴ Republik Indonesia, Undang-undang (UU) No. 23 Tahun 2004 tentang Penghapusan Kekerasan dalam Rumah Tangga (Law No. 23, 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence). Article 45.

¹⁵ Elvina Frederica et al., "Analysis of Conditional Criminal Decision in Domestic Violence Crime Case," *International Journal of Social Science and Human Research* 06, no. 02 (February 2023), <https://doi.org/10.47191/ijsshr/v6-i2-24>.

and deterrence, reflecting a state apparatus that prioritizes reconciliation over accountability.¹⁶

Another substantive weakness involves the law's fragmented institutional mandate and lack of harmonization with other national statutes. Although Articles 54 and 55 prescribe that domestic violence cases be prosecuted under the DV Law, many judges continue to apply the *KUHAP*, requiring two witnesses for conviction.¹⁷ Harsandini et al. demonstrate that the inconsistent application of the *lex specialis derogat legi generalis* principle allows law enforcers to selectively choose the more convenient procedural regime, weakening victims' legal standing.¹⁸ Such inconsistency results in unequal treatment across jurisdictions, eroding confidence in the justice system.¹⁹

Beyond procedural contradictions, judicial bias and socio-cultural influences continue to shape court decisions. Syarifuddin et al. found that judges often minimize domestic violence by framing it as a "household dispute" rather than a criminal act.²⁰ Courts tend to mitigate sentences when the offender is the family's primary breadwinner.²¹ These practices reflect what Fathony et al. term "gendered legal reasoning", a mindset that tolerates male dominance as

¹⁶ Mahfud Mahfud and Rizanizarli Rizanizarli, "Domestic Violence against Women in Indonesia: The Recent Domestic Violence Elimination Law Analysis," *Fiat Justisia: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum* 15, no. 4 (2021): 385–98, <https://doi.org/10.25041/fiatjustisia.v15no4.2276>.

¹⁷ Republik Indonesia, Undang-undang (UU) No. 23 Tahun 2004 tentang Penghapusan Kekerasan dalam Rumah Tangga (Law No. 23, 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence). Article 54-55.

¹⁸ Diska Harsandini, Haeranah, and Nur Azisa, "Application Of The Lex Specialis Derogat Legi Generalis Principle In Household Violent Criminal Cases With Under Hand Marriage Statu," *Al-Risalah Jurnal Ilmu Syariah Dan Hukum*, May 31, 2023, 123–46, <https://doi.org/10.24252/al-risalah.vi.39875>.

¹⁹ Dika Pratama, "Efektivitas Penegakan Undang-Undang Penghapusan Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga Nomor 23 Tahun 2004 Di Yogyakarta," *Jurnal Lex Renaissance* 4, no. 2 (July 2019), <https://doi.org/10.20885/JLR.vol4.iss2.art10>.

²⁰ Syarifuddin Syarifuddin, Gema Rahmadani, and Siti Husniyyah Ali, "Perlindungan Hukum Terhadap Perempuan dan Anak Korban Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga (Studi Penetapan Nomor: 02/PEN.PID/KDRT/2020/PN. Mdn)," *Jurnal Hukum Kaidah: Media Komunikasi Dan Informasi Hukum Dan Masyarakat* 22, no. 3 (July 5, 2023): 482–95, <https://doi.org/10.30743/jhk.v22i3.7377>.

²¹ Abdul Syukur Siregar and Ariman Sitompul, "Criminal Liability for Physical Violence in the Domestic Sphere (Analysis of Medan District Court Decision Number 1264 / Pid.Sus / 2023 / PN Mdn)," *International Asia Of Law and Money Laundering (LAML)* 3, no. 4 (January 2025): 206–12, <https://doi.org/10.59712/iaml.v3i4.108>.

a cultural norm.²² The intertwining of religious and customary norms produces selective enforcement, where law enforcers weigh social stability above justice for victims.²³

The lack of integration between the DV Law and broader human rights frameworks also persists. The state's failure to harmonize women's protection statutes under a unified policy framework has left implementation fragmented across ministries, producing bureaucratic overlaps and unclear accountability.²⁴ Indonesia's domestic violence regulation, as Rohaya et al. Dubbed it, is a "legal labyrinth" lacking a coherent enforcement structure.²⁵ Institutional weaknesses stem from poor coordination between police, prosecutors, and women's service units.²⁶

From a socio-legal perspective, the DV Law also fails to accommodate the socio-cultural realities that influence victims' willingness to report. Studies by Sitompul et al., Afrianty, and Asya indicate that many women refrain from seeking legal remedies due to religious and cultural stigmas, limited knowledge of legal rights, and fear of family breakdown.²⁷ Consequently, the law's protection mechanisms remain largely paper-based, rarely understood, let alone applied, at the community level.

The DV Law's substantive drawbacks stem from a complex interplay of vague definitions, weak sanctions, procedural conflicts, and

²² Moh Rosil Fathony et al., "Resistance to Gender Equality: Criticism of Physical Violence from the PKDRT Law Perspective," *Indonesian Journal of Islamic Law* 7, no. 1 (June 2024): 105–24, <https://doi.org/10.35719/1xjdkk59>.

²³ Siti Sahara et al., "Sosio-Kultural Dalam Masyarakat Aceh: Strategi Perlindungan Hukum Bagi Korban Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga," *Jurnal Mediasas: Media Ilmu Syari'ah Dan Ahwal Al-Syakhsyiyah* 7, no. 2 (December 2024): 434–46, <https://doi.org/10.58824/mediasas.v7i2.185>.

²⁴ Destia Purwaningsih et al., "Efektivitas Undang-Undang Perlindungan Hak Asasi Perempuan Dalam Mengatasi Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan," *Parlementer: Jurnal Studi Hukum Dan Administrasi Publik* 1, no. 4 (December 2024): 165–75, <https://doi.org/10.62383/parlementer.v1i4.366>.

²⁵ 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 (June 2024): 77–90, <https://doi.org/10.19109/07766x73>.

²⁶ Husaimah Husain, Dwia Aries Tina Pulubuhu, and Ery Iswary, "Implementation of Law No. 23 of 2004 Concerning Elimination of Domestic Violence (PKDRT) in Upholding of Women's Rights (Case Study: In the City of Makassar)," *Journal of Social and Political Sciences* 4, no. 1 (March 2021), <https://doi.org/10.31014/aior.1991.04.01.254>.

²⁷ Roswita Sitompul, Alesyanti, and Muhammad Ridwan, "Domestic Violence as Initiated by Batak Culture in East Medan, Indonesia," *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment* 30, no. 7 (October 2020): 835–42, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10911359.2020.1750526>.

socio-cultural resistance. These flaws collectively hinder the law's ability to uphold equality and justice for victims of domestic violence. As Setiawan et al. and Shofwatun argue, effective protection demands not only textual reform but also harmonization between legal doctrine, administrative practice, and lived realities.²⁸ Unless these weaknesses are systematically addressed, the DV Law will remain a symbolic rather than transformative instrument in Indonesia's struggle against domestic violence. Taken together, these findings demonstrate that the DV Law's substantive deficiencies are not isolated technical flaws but are deeply intertwined with procedural inconsistencies and socio-cultural norms, creating a systemic cycle in which unclear legal standards enable discretionary enforcement, which is then further reinforced by patriarchal interpretations within legal institutions.

These substantive legal ambiguities do not operate in isolation; rather, they directly shape how law enforcers interpret and implement the DV Law, producing divergent perceptions and inconsistent enforcement practices across the criminal justice system.

Building upon these doctrinal weaknesses, one of the most persistent obstacles in implementation lies in the divergence of perception among law enforcement officers (including police, prosecutors, and judges) regarding the nature of domestic violence and the procedures for proving it. Despite the statute's intention to criminalize domestic violence as a public offense, the attitudes and practices of law enforcers often remain anchored in patriarchal and procedural conservatism, which significantly weakens victims' access to justice.

Recent research confirms that these differing perceptions are not merely individual biases but systemic patterns within the criminal justice structure. Noerdin, Waluyo, and Harefa found that many police officers still interpret domestic violence primarily as a family or moral issue, not as a serious criminal violation, and consequently prefer mediation over prosecution.²⁹ This reflects what they describe as a "moralized policing approach," where the priority is restoring household harmony rather

²⁸ Peter Jeremiah Setiawan et al., "Juridical Implications of Unregistered Marriage Against Legal Protection in the Domestic Violence Law," *Media Iuris* 6, no. 3 (October 2023): 457–78, <https://doi.org/10.20473/mi.v6i3.43219>, and Fikriyana Shofwatun, "Legal Protection of Domestic Workers Who Victims of Domestic Violence in Banyumas Regency," *UMPurwokerto Law Review* 2, no. 1 (March 5, 2021): 18, <https://doi.org/10.30595/umplr.v2i1.9260>

²⁹ Fadjarina Avrina Noerdin, Bambang Waluyo, and Beniharmoni Harefa, "Perspective of Law Enforcement Regarding Criminal Sanctions for Domestic Violence by Police Officers," *International Journal of Social Science and Human Research* 7, no. 07 (July 2024), <https://doi.org/10.47191/ijsshr/v7-i07-73>.

than ensuring legal accountability. This divergence in perception illustrates how procedural practices are shaped not only by institutional constraints but also by underlying normative ambiguities within the law itself, particularly where legal definitions fail to clearly distinguish domestic violence as a public crime rather than a private dispute. Similarly, Mandala and Wahyuningsih's study at the Semarang City Police Resort reveals that although officers understand the DV Law, their enforcement remains selective and inconsistent, often constrained by limited resources, patriarchal norms, and inadequate institutional coordination between police, hospitals, and prosecutors.³⁰

In addition, many domestic violence cases are filtered out at the investigative level, never advancing to prosecution because officers perceive them as private marital disputes rather than crimes against the state.³¹ This is compounded by a lack of gender-sensitive training and the absence of clear procedural guidelines specific to domestic violence, leading to discretionary decisions that favour reconciliation or withdrawal of complaints.

Quantitative data reinforces these patterns above. According to Komnas Perempuan's 2023 CATAHU report, out of more than 400,000 recorded cases of violence against women, only around 9 percent proceeded to court, while over half were "resolved" through informal family mediation facilitated by police or community leaders.³² This form of "restorative handling" outside the judicial process contradicts Article 54 and 55 of the DV Law, which require domestic violence to be processed under criminal procedure, not moral negotiation.

Judicial inconsistency further deepens the implementation gap of the DV Law. As Zahra, Sinaga, and Sudarto emphasize, the lack of gender-sensitive interpretation in courts results in victims being required to provide multiple witnesses and physical evidence, even though Article 55 of the DV Law clearly states that the testimony of one credible victim supported by another legal instrument (such as a

³⁰ I Dewa Made Sarwa Mandala and Sri Endah Wahyuningsih, "Law Enforcement Implementation Against Domestic Violence," *Law Development Journal* 2, no. 2 (October 2020): 187, <https://doi.org/10.30659/l dj.2.2.187-194>.

³¹ Undang Abdul Mutolib, Nanun Abdillah, and Asep Irfan, "Law Enforcement Domestic Offender Violence: Domestic Violence," *AHKAM* 2, no. 2 (June 2023): 458–69, <https://doi.org/10.58578/ahkam.v2i2.1260>.

³² Komnas Perempuan, "Catahu 2023: Peluang Penguatan Sistem Penyidikan Di Tengah Peningkatan Kompleksitas Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan."

visum et repertum) is sufficient.³³ This evidentiary rigidity mirrors the persistence of the *lex generalis* bias, where courts continue to rely on the KUHAP instead of applying the *lex specialis* principle that prioritizes the DV Law.

The cumulative effect of these institutional inconsistencies is an entrenched culture of impunity. Law enforcers' reluctance to treat domestic violence as a serious criminal offense not only delays case resolution but also discourages victims from reporting future violence. Such practices reinforce patriarchal ideologies that cast domestic abuse as an internal family matter, sustaining a "shadow system" of informal mediation that subverts the very intent of the law. Unless police, prosecutors, and judges are systematically trained in gender-responsive law enforcement and evaluated on compliance with the DV Law's procedural mandates, domestic violence will remain underreported, under-prosecuted, and under-penalized, leaving Indonesia's formal commitment to gender justice as merely normative rather than transformative. This section thus reveals a critical linkage: doctrinal ambiguity at the level of legal norms translates into discretionary procedural practices, which are further legitimized by socio-cultural beliefs, producing a layered implementation gap that cannot be addressed through legal reform alone.

2. Procedural Barriers and Institutional Fragmentation in Access to Justice

One of the most pressing procedural barriers in enforcing Indonesia's Domestic Violence Law lies in the requirement of a *visum et repertum* (a forensic medical report issued by an authorized doctor) as the primary form of corroborating evidence in domestic violence cases. Despite Article 55 of the DV Law stipulating that the testimony of a single credible victim accompanied by one other piece of evidence is sufficient, in practice, prosecutors and judges still treat *visum et repertum* (*VeR*) as indispensable proof, creating procedural rigidity that disproportionately burdens victims.³⁴ The centrality of *visum et repertum* in practice reflects a broader procedural formalism that emerges from both legal uncertainty and institutional risk-aversion, where law

³³ Laila Zahra, Niru Anita Sinaga, and Sudarto Sudarto, "Legal Protection For Women In Cases Of Domestic Violence," *LITERATUS* 6, no. 2 (October 11, 2024): 510–18, <https://doi.org/10.37010/lit.v6i2.1724>.

³⁴ Republik Indonesia, Undang-undang (UU) No. 23 Tahun 2004 tentang Penghapusan Kekerasan dalam Rumah Tangga (Law No. 23, 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence). Article 55.

enforcers rely on rigid evidentiary standards to compensate for ambiguities in substantive legal definitions.

Raharjo, Muchtar, and Muin argue that *VeR* plays a crucial role in linking medical evidence to criminal accountability, yet its procedural dominance has become a double-edged sword, essential for proof but often inaccessible due to bureaucratic complexity.³⁵ Many health facilities lack standardized procedures for producing *VeR* reports, and the lack of trained forensic doctors causes significant delays.³⁶ In numerous cases, victims are unaware that they have a legal right to request *VeR* documentation, while hospitals often demand payment despite legal provisions mandating free issuance. This financial burden particularly affects economically dependent women, discouraging them from reporting their cases to the police.³⁷

The absence of clear financing regulations for *VeR* issuance reflects weak inter-agency coordination between law enforcement, the Ministry of Health, and local governments.³⁸ While the government theoretically guarantees free *VeR* services through the Ministry of Women Empowerment's Decree No. 5/2010, implementation remains uneven, leading to confusion among victims and health workers alike.³⁹ Empirical findings from Lubuk Pakam Hospital, North Sumatra, demonstrate that resource constraints, staff shortages, and poor coordination delay the preparation of *VeR* reports, thereby reducing their evidentiary reliability.⁴⁰

³⁵ Jatmiko Raharjo, Syamsuddin Muchtar, and Audyna Mayasari Muin, "Visum et Repertum as Evidence for Criminal Acts in Domestic Violence," *Amsir Law Journal* 1, no. 2 (April 2020): 43–53, <https://doi.org/10.36746/alj.v1i2.22>.

³⁶ Martini Martini, "Assessment of Visum Et Repertum Evidence on Victims of Women Violence in Household Conflict," *International Journal of Social Science Research and Review* 5, no. 8 (August 2022): 150–55, <https://doi.org/10.47814/ijssrr.v5i8.543>.

³⁷ Komnas Perempuan, "Catahu 2023: Peluang Penguatan Sistem Penyikapan Di Tengah Peningkatan Kompleksitas Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan."

³⁸ Mistar Ritonga and Balqis Wasliati, "Synchronization of Regulations Governing Visum et Repertum (VeR) Financing As a Form of Protection for Victims," *International Journal of Research Publications* 70, no. 1 (January 2021), <https://doi.org/10.47119/IJRP100701220211721>.

³⁹ menteri Negara Pemberdayaan Perempuan Dan Perlindungan Anak Republik Indonesia, "Peraturan Menteri Negara Pemberdayaan Perempuan Dan Perlindungan Anak Republik Indonesia Nomor 05 Tahun 2010" (2010), <https://jdih.kemenpppa.go.id/dokumen-hukum/produk-hukum/peraturan-menteri-nomor-5-tahun-2010>.

⁴⁰ Asan Petrus, Abdul Gafar Parinduri, and Adriansyah Lubis, "Making Qualified Visum et Repertum of Living Victims in Lubuk Pakam Hospital, Kabupaten Deli Serdang," *ABDIMAS TALENTA: Jurnal Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat* 7, no. 1 (April 2022): 446–53, <https://doi.org/10.32734/abdimaastalenta.v7i1.6897>.

There is also a problem regarding the standard quality of *VeR* among health service providers. Astuti and Kadir et al. note that inconsistencies in *VeR* quality stem from the absence of national standards governing how forensic doctors record, classify, and evaluate injuries.⁴¹ The lack of standard templates and oversight mechanisms leads to subjective medical interpretations that vary across institutions. Hospitals often issue *VeR* without adequate injury categorization, limiting its probative value in court.⁴² Medical documentation process for living victims frequently lacks coordination with police investigators, resulting in incomplete data or unverified signatures.⁴³

In addition, Wijaya, Umar, and Nugroho's five-year audit of *VeR* cases at RSUD Abdul Wahab Sjahranie Samarinda (from 2015 to 2019) revealed that only 60% of reports met forensic completeness standards, indicating systemic weaknesses in medico-legal training and supervision.⁴⁴ These findings affirm that inadequate *VeR* quality undermines the evidentiary process, causing judges to question the validity of the report and, in turn, the credibility of the victim.

While *VeR* procedures may document physical injuries, psychological violence (as one form of Domestic Violence) remains largely invisible. Male, Arti, and Nur show that most law enforcers still equate proof of violence with physical wounds, ignoring psychological trauma as a form of punishable harm.⁴⁵ *Visum psikiatrikum* (psychological assessment reports) are rarely issued because courts seldom request them and few mental health professionals are trained in forensic evaluation.⁴⁶ This evidentiary bias perpetuates unequal legal

⁴¹ Revi Astuti, "Visum Et Repertum Sebagai Alat Bukti Konkrit Dalam Mencari Kebenaran Materiil Pada Pembuktian Tindak Pidana," *Ius Civile: Refleksi Penegakan Hukum Dan Keadilan* 5, no. 2 (October 29, 2021), <https://doi.org/10.35308/jic.v5i2.3434>.

⁴² Asan Petrus Sembiring and Abdul Gafar Parinduri, "Development of Quality Visum Et Repertum Injury of Live Victims in Lubuk Pakam Hospital Deli Serdang," *ABDIMAS TALENTA: Jurnal Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat* 8, no. 1 (March 2023): 135–41, <https://doi.org/10.32734/abdimalenta.v8i1.8368>.

⁴³ Asan Petrus Sembiring and Abdul Gafar Parinduri, "Development of Quality Et Repertum Injury of Live Victims in Lubuk Pakam Hospital Deli Serdang"

⁴⁴ Andre Wijaya, Daniel Umar, and Hary Nugroho, "Gambaran Visum et Repertum (VeR) Perlukaan Di Instalasi Kedokteran Forensik Dan Medikolegal RSUD Abdul Wahab Sjahranie Samarinda Tahun 2015-2019," *Jurnal Sains Dan Kesehatan* 3, no. 4 (August 2021): 417–23, <https://doi.org/10.25026/jsk.v3i4.322>.

⁴⁵ Nismawaty Male, Asdar Arti, and Rafika Nur, "Proving the Crime of Domestic Psychological Violence," *JISIP (Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Pendidikan)* 8, no. 1 (January 2024): 850, <https://doi.org/10.58258/jisip.v8i1.6646>.

⁴⁶ Male, Arti, and Nur.

protection for women victims, reinforcing the patriarchal notion that only “visible” harm counts as crime.⁴⁷

At an institutional level, the lack of integration between the health, legal, and social service systems exacerbate victims’ difficulties. Poor coordination between hospitals, police, and Integrated Service Centers (UPTD PPA) often result in lost documentation and delayed case processing.⁴⁸ Victims of domestic violence must frequently visit multiple offices (police, health centres, and prosecutors) to obtain and validate *VeR* documents, a process that can take weeks or months.⁴⁹ Such systemic inefficiency contradicts the DV Law’s intent to simplify access to justice and protect victims from secondary victimization.

The cumulative effect of these obstacles is that *VeR*, while intended as an instrument of justice, often becomes a gatekeeping tool that filters which cases are recognized by the legal system. Victims who cannot obtain *VeR* reports (especially those from rural or low-income backgrounds) are effectively denied legal recognition of their suffering. This reinforces what Astuti calls “evidentiary injustice,” where the procedural demands of the legal system reproduce gendered inequalities.⁵⁰ The socio-legal consequence is profound: a law that was meant to protect women ends up institutionally privileging those with access to medical and legal infrastructure.

Improving *VeR* accessibility and quality requires regulatory synchronization, budget allocation, and capacity-building. Establishing clear national standards for *VeR* preparation, subsidizing its costs through public funds, and integrating forensic doctors into the criminal justice process would address both procedural and equity concerns.⁵¹ Training law enforcement officers and judges to recognize *visum psikiatrikum* as valid evidence of psychological harm is equally crucial to fulfilling the DV Law’s commitment to comprehensive victim protection. These evidentiary constraints illustrate how procedural

⁴⁷ Shafa Amalia Choirinnisa, “Law and Society Approach on Legal Protection for Victims of Domestic Violence,” *Semarang State University Undergraduate Law and Society Review* 2, no. 2 (July 2022): 227–48, <https://doi.org/10.15294/lsr.v2i2.53756>.

⁴⁸ Ani Agus Puspawati, Bambang Utoyo Sutiyoso, and Yudha Suchmasasi, “Analysis of the Implementation of Protection for Victims of Domestic Violence in Indonesia,” *Journal of Public Administration Studies* 7, no. 2 (August 2022): 1–8, <https://doi.org/10.21776/ub.jpas.2022.007.02.1>.

⁴⁹ A. Kadir et al., “Implementation of Legal Protection on Women Victims of Domestic Violence,” *Jurnal Hukum Replik* 9.2 (2021). <https://doi.org/10.31000/JHR.V9I2.5138>.

⁵⁰ Astuti, “Visum Et Repertum Sebagai Alat Bukti Konkrit Dalam Mencari Kebenaran Materiil Pada Pembuktian Tindak Pidana.”

⁵¹ Mistar Ritonga and Balqis Wasliati, “Synchronization of Regulations”; Komnas Perempuan, “Catahu 2023”

requirements, when combined with limited institutional capacity and socio-economic inequalities, systematically disadvantage victims, reinforcing the gap between the DV Law's normative promise and its practical accessibility.

Beyond evidentiary barriers, procedural weaknesses also extend to post-adjudication mechanisms, particularly in the implementation of court-mandated counselling, which further reflects institutional fragmentation within the DV Law enforcement system.

Article 50 (b) of the DV Law introduces court-mandated counselling as a rehabilitative mechanism; however, its implementation reveals similar patterns of procedural ambiguity and institutional weakness. In theory, this provision reflects a progressive approach that combines rehabilitation and accountability. In practice, however, the system for implementing such counselling remains unclear, under-regulated, and weakly enforced, leading to substantial disparities in sentencing and ineffective offender reform. This regulatory ambiguity reflects a broader pattern in which the DV Law's normative provisions are not supported by operational mechanisms, resulting in a disconnect between legal intent and institutional execution.

Legal analyses reveal that the absence of standardized counselling procedures and a clear supervisory mechanism has rendered this sanction largely symbolic. Judges frequently hesitate to impose counselling because no official guidelines define programme duration, provider qualifications, or monitoring methods.⁵² As a result, counselling is often omitted from verdicts or replaced by suspended sentences. Martha and Hayuna argue that while counselling is envisioned as an additional criminal sanction (*pidana tambahan*), the law provides no operational detail on how such sanctions should be administered, recorded, or evaluated.⁵³ Their study of Yogyakarta's district courts found that most counselling orders are issued without follow-up verification or reporting, making compliance impossible to track.

From the service-delivery perspective, Suchmasasi, Sutiyo, and Puspawati highlight that victim recovery and perpetrator rehabilitation

⁵² Simplexius Asa, "The Study on Additional Criminal Imposition Through Counseling Compliance in Domestic Violence Crime," *Journal of Law and Legal Reform* 2, no. 4 (August 2021): 553–68, <https://doi.org/10.15294/jllr.v2i4.48113>.

⁵³ Aroma Elmina Martha and Ria Hayuna, "Konseling Sebagai Sanksi Pidana Tambahan Pada Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga," *JURNAL HUKUM IUS QULA IUSTUM* 22, no. 4 (October 2015): 617–37, <https://doi.org/10.20885/iustum.vol22.iss4.art5>.

are poorly integrated.⁵⁴ In many districts, the institutions tasked with counselling offenders operate separately from shelters or Integrated Service Centers (P2TP2A/UPTD PPA), resulting in a fragmented process in which the perpetrator's participation is not linked to victim safety assessments. This disconnect undermines restorative intent and may expose victims to renewed intimidation when perpetrators use counselling as leverage for reconciliation.

Empirical evidence also shows that counselling is rarely accessible in rural areas, where no trained facilitators or government-accredited institutions exist. Many local governments depend on NGOs or religious groups for ad hoc sessions, which vary widely in content and ideology. Yuliana et al. underscore that this institutional vacuum has direct consequences for children's protection, since unmonitored perpetrators often remain in the household, placing minors at continued risk of witnessing or experiencing violence.⁵⁵

These findings resonate with broader assessments of the DV Law's weak enforcement mechanisms. Without clear guidelines, accreditation systems, and inter-agency coordination, court-mandated counselling risks becoming a symbolic remedy that neither deters offenders nor secures victim safety. The lack of budget allocation and trained human resources prevents effective implementation, while the absence of supervision allows perpetrators to treat counselling as a mere formality. A sanction without enforceable compliance mechanisms undermines the credibility of judicial authority and weakens the rule of law.⁵⁶

To make counselling effective, Indonesia must codify procedural standards, establish accredited counselling centres, and ensure periodic judicial review of offender participation. Counselling must operate within a broader system that prioritizes victim protection, incorporates psychological risk assessment, and links rehabilitation outcomes to sentencing enforcement. Only then can counselling move from being a tokenistic provision to a meaningful component of justice and behavioural change. The failure of counselling implementation further

⁵⁴ Yudha Suchmasasi, Bambang Utoyo Sutiyo, and Ani Agus Puspawati, "The Analysis of Recovery Implementation for Domestic Violence Victims," *Journal of Research in Social Science and Humanities* 1, no. 2 (December 2021): 51–55, <https://doi.org/10.47679/jrssh.v1i2.12>.

⁵⁵ Endang Yuliana Susilawati, Kartika Asmanda Putri, and Indira Hanaya, "Law Protects Children from Domestic Violence," *World Journal of Advanced Research and Reviews* 19, no. 3 (September 2023): 263–70, <https://doi.org/10.30574/wjarr.2023.19.3.1762>.

⁵⁶ Asa, "The Study on Additional Criminal Imposition Through Counseling Compliance in Domestic Violence Crime."

confirms that without procedural standardization and institutional integration, even progressive legal provisions remain symbolic, reinforcing the broader socio-legal gap identified throughout this study.

3. Socio-Cultural Barriers and the Limits of Legal Socialization

Nearly two decades after its enactment, Indonesia's DV Law remains poorly understood by both the public and many of those tasked with enforcing it. The gap between the law's formal existence and its practical impact reflects not only institutional weakness but also a profound lack of socialization and public legal awareness. Research consistently finds that large segments of society still perceive domestic violence as a "private family affair" rather than a criminal violation demanding state intervention.⁵⁷ This lack of legal awareness cannot be separated from the law's weak institutional dissemination and its limited integration into culturally resonant frameworks, indicating that normative recognition without social internalization fails to produce effective legal compliance.

Empirical studies confirm that low levels of legal literacy remain one of the main reasons why victims of DV fail to seek formal justice. Yunus and Supianto found that in many Indonesian communities, particularly rural ones, people are unaware of the DV Law's provisions or see its enforcement as socially shameful.⁵⁸ In Yogyakarta, Pratama reported that despite the existence of progressive legislation, implementation remains ineffective due to a limited understanding of rights and reporting procedures among victims and even law enforcement personnel.⁵⁹ Similarly, Firdaus demonstrated that in Batam, poor socialization efforts have left local officials dependent on ad hoc mediation rather than formal prosecution, undermining the law's deterrent intent.⁶⁰

In addition, Rodliyah et al. observed similar trends in Pesawaran, Lampung, noting that legal awareness correlates strongly with education

⁵⁷ Noerdin, Waluyo, and Harefa, "Perspective of Law Enforcement Regarding Criminal Sanctions for Domestic Violence by Police Officers."

⁵⁸ Ahmad Yunus and Supianto Supianto, "Pemahaman Masyarakat Terhadap UUPKDRT Serta Dampaknya Terhadap Terjadinya Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga," *JURNAL RECHTENS* 8, no. 2 (December 2019): 135–52, <https://doi.org/10.36835/rechtsens.v8i2.530>.

⁵⁹ Pratama, "Efektivitas Penegakan Undang-Undang Penghapusan Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga Nomor 23 Tahun 2004 Di Yogyakarta."

⁶⁰ Emilda Firdaus, "Implementasi Undang-Undang Nomor 23 Tahun 2004 Tentang Penghapusan Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga Di Kota Batam," *JURNAL HUKUM IUS QULA IUSTUM* 21, no. 1 (January 2014): 139–54, <https://doi.org/10.20885/iustum.vol21.iss1.art8>.

outreach and limited inter-agency training perpetuate the invisibility of domestic violence as a public policy priority.⁶⁷

Socialization efforts by civil society have proven more effective than government-led initiatives. Local NGOs, faith-based women's groups, and academic outreach programs play critical roles in translating legal norms into accessible cultural language. Organizations such as Rifka Annisa and Kalyanamitra act as "agents of change," bridging the legal and moral domains to reframe domestic violence as a public wrong, not a private misfortune.⁶⁸ Complementary community-based projects, such as the legal counselling programs documented by Suhartono et al. in Buton Selatan⁶⁹ and by Prasetyoningsih et al. through participatory education models, have demonstrated measurable increases in public understanding and community reporting.⁷⁰

The cumulative evidence points to a systemic failure of government-centred legal socialization, with enforcement agencies treating outreach as a one-time obligation rather than an ongoing process of civic education. Without regular, locally adapted, and culturally resonant dissemination of legal norms, the DV Law remains a "paper victory." To bridge this gap, socialization must move beyond slogans and workshops to become an institutionalized practice embedded in schools, religious gatherings, and health services, ensuring that citizens and first responders alike internalize the law's core message that domestic violence is a violation of human rights, not a matter of family shame.

This section highlights that cultural resistance is not external to the legal system but interacts dynamically with procedural practices and doctrinal gaps, collectively sustaining the perception of domestic violence as a private matter rather than a rights-based violation. The limited effectiveness of legal socialization cannot be separated from broader socio-cultural structures that shape public perception, as deeply rooted patriarchal norms and religious interpretations continue to influence how domestic violence is understood and addressed.

⁶⁷ Puspawati, Sutiyo, and Suchmasasi, "Analysis of the Implementation of Protection for Victims of Domestic Violence in Indonesia."

⁶⁸ Afrianty, "Agents for Change."

⁶⁹ Rizki mustika suhartono et al., "Penyuluhan Hukum Tentang Penghapusan Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga Di Desa Lipu Mangau Kab. Buton Selatan," *Empowerment: Jurnal Pengabdian Masyarakat* 2, no. 3 (May 2023): 119–25, <https://doi.org/10.55983/empjcs.v1i3.401>.

⁷⁰ Nanik Prasetyoningsih et al., "Increasing Community Participation in Preventing Domestic Violence in the Community," *Proceeding International Conference of Community Service* 1, no. 2 (January 2024), <https://doi.org/10.18196/iccs.v1i2.227>.

Extending beyond the limits of legal socialization, legal reform alone has proven insufficient to dismantle deeply embedded cultural and social norms that perpetuate domestic violence in Indonesia. Although Indonesian DV Law provides comprehensive legal protection, its enforcement often collides with patriarchal traditions, religious interpretations, and social stigmas that treat family harmony as more valuable than justice. These cultural norms do not operate independently but intersect with legal and procedural weaknesses, shaping how laws are interpreted, enforced, and, in many cases, informally bypassed.

A central obstacle to the DV Law's implementation is the endurance of patriarchal values that position men as household heads and moral guardians. Fathony et al. describe this as a "resistance to gender equality" rooted in misinterpretations of Islamic teachings, where male authority is conflated with divine mandate.⁷¹ Similarly, Sitompul, Ridwan, and colleagues reveal how Batak cultural norms in North Sumatra legitimize domestic violence as a disciplinary practice necessary to preserve family order.⁷² These findings are echoed in Maulida et al. who conceptualize such practices as forms of symbolic violence, invisibly embedded in daily interactions and legitimized through cultural idioms of loyalty and sacrifice.⁷³

Religion plays an ambivalent role, it can either reinforce or challenge patriarchal violence. In Aceh, *shariah*-based interpretations often privilege male dominance, resulting in limited state intervention against domestic violence.⁷⁴ However, community-based religious institutions can also act as allies when they adopt socio-cultural strategies of legal awareness, integrating gender justice principles into Islamic education and village mediation.⁷⁵ Alfitri argues that effective alignment between Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and CEDAW principles is essential to harmonize religious legitimacy with international human

⁷¹ Fathony et al., "Resistance to Gender Equality: Criticism of Physical Violence from the PKDRT Law Perspective."

⁷² Sitompul, Alesyanti, and Ridwan, "Domestic Violence as Initiated by Batak Culture in East Medan, Indonesia."

⁷³ I. Irma Maulida et al., "Law Enforcement of Symbolic Violence against Women in the Context of the Domestic Violence Eradication Law," *Jurnal Legisci* 2, no. 5 (April 2025): 370–79, <https://doi.org/10.62885/legisci.v2i5.651>. et al., "Law Enforcement of Symbolic Violence against Women in the Context of the Domestic Violence Eradication Law," *Jurnal Legisci* 2.5 (2025). <https://doi.org/10.62885/legisci.v2i5.651>.

⁷⁴ Siti Sahara et al., "Legal Protection Against Victims Of Domestic Violence: A Critical Study Of Cultural Legitimacy In Aceh," *Petita: Jurnal Kajian Ilmu Hukum Dan Syariah* 9, no. 2 (August 7, 2024), <https://doi.org/10.22373/petita.v9i2.263>.

⁷⁵ Sahara et al., "Socio-Kultural Dalam Masyarakat Aceh: Strategi Perlindungan Hukum Bagi Korban Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga."

rights frameworks.⁷⁶ This is because the law on the protection of women's rights has improved normative standards, but the law's transformative potential remains limited by cultural resistance and interpretative pluralism among local religious authorities.⁷⁷

Across Indonesia's regions, the enforcement of the DV Law remains inconsistent. In Batam, officials often avoid prosecution by referring cases to informal mediation in the name of "family peace."⁷⁸ Similar trend has been reported from Makassar, where institutional fragmentation and weak coordination between police, prosecutors, and the P2TIP2A/UPTD PPA centres hinder access to justice for women.⁷⁹ In Palopo, Kusmawati, Hambali, and Aswari conclude that the effectiveness of domestic violence prevention policies depends heavily on local government commitment and gender-responsive budgeting.⁸⁰ Likewise, in Palu, Tawil et al. highlight bureaucratic inefficiencies in Palu's Women's Empowerment Office, where lack of cross-sector coordination undermines the city's policy framework for eliminating household violence.⁸¹

In addition, Amiruddin, Zuhriah, and Zarapi identify legal and structural inequalities as key contributors to the persistence of domestic violence, arguing that laws alone cannot counter entrenched gender hierarchies without broader social transformation.⁸² The law enforcement officers often fail to apply gender-sensitive interpretations,

⁷⁶ Alfitri, "Protecting Women from Domestic Violence: Islam, Family Law, and the State in Indonesia," *Studia Islamika*, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v27i2.9408>.

⁷⁷ Destia Purwaningsih et al., "Efektivitas Undang-Undang Perlindungan Hak Asasi Perempuan Dalam Mengatasi Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan."

⁷⁸ Firdaus, "Implementasi Undang-Undang Nomor 23 Tahun 2004 Tentang Penghapusan Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga Di Kota Batam."

⁷⁹ Husain, Pulubuhu, and Iswary, "Implementation of Law No. 23 of 2004 Concerning Elimination of Domestic Violence (PDKDRT) in Upholding of Women's Rights (Case Study: In the City of Makassar)."

⁸⁰ 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 2024), <https://doi.org/10.37676/jhs.v10i1.5804>.

⁸¹ Muzakir Tawil et al., "Implementation of Policies To Eliminate Violence in Households in The Women's Empowerment Office and Child Protection of Hammer City," *Jurnal Syntax Admiration* 4, no. 7 (July 2023): 814–20, <https://doi.org/10.46799/jsa.v4i7.646>.

⁸² Mochammad Zikni Amiruddin, Erfaniah Zuhriah, and Nur Hamizah Zarapi, "Perpetuating Inequality: Barriers and Legal Safeguards for Women in Domestic Violence Situations," *DIKTUM: Jurnal Syariah Dan Hukum* 22, no. 1 (February 2024): 1–10, <https://doi.org/10.35905/diktum.v22i1.8837>.

leading to unequal protection for women despite legal guarantees.⁸³ In many court decisions, women's testimonies are undervalued compared to physical evidence, revealing an underlying bias toward visible harm rather than coercive control.⁸⁴

In examining these patterns, multiple studies converge on the conclusion that cultural transformation is a precondition for legal effectiveness. Mutolib, Abdillah, and Irfan observe that cultural acceptance of male dominance weakens the deterrent impact of legal sanctions and discourages reporting.⁸⁵ Therefore, Purwaningsih et al. (2024) assert that integrating human rights education into religious schools and village meetings can gradually shift community attitudes toward recognizing domestic violence as a criminal act rather than a private failure.⁸⁶

Ultimately, the persistence of domestic violence in Indonesia cannot be explained solely through legal or administrative deficiencies. It reflects a deeper socio-cultural fabric in which patriarchy, religious interpretation, and community identity intertwine. Legal reforms must therefore be accompanied by culturally grounded socialization, community-based education, and gender-sensitive law enforcement training. Without addressing these cultural and social barriers, the DV Law will remain a formal framework operating within a society that still resists its moral and normative foundations.

This demonstrates that the persistence of domestic violence is produced by a mutually reinforcing relationship between legal ambiguity, procedural inconsistency, and cultural legitimacy, requiring an integrated socio-legal response rather than isolated reforms.

To improve both the substance and implementation of the DV Law requires a multidimensional approach integrating legal reform, institutional strengthening, and cultural transformation.

1. Substantive Reform of the DV Law.

First, the DV Law should undergo textual clarification to remove ambiguity in its definitions of psychological and economic violence. As Setowati and Rusdiana note, the lack of measurable indicators produces uneven interpretation among

⁸³ Abdul Kadir et al., "Implementation Of Legal Protection On Women Victims Of Domestic Violence," *JHR (Jurnal Hukum Replik)* 9, no. 2 (October 2, 2021): 193, <https://doi.org/10.31000/jhr.v9i2.5138>.

⁸⁴ Zahra, Sinaga, And Sudarto, "Legal Protection For Women In Cases Of Domestic Violence."

⁸⁵ Mutolib, Abdillah, and Irfan, "Law Enforcement Domestic Offender Violence: Domestic Violence."

⁸⁶ Destia Purwaningsih et al., "Efektivitas Undang-Undang Perlindungan Hak Asasi Perempuan Dalam Mengatasi Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan."

courts and law enforcers.⁸⁷ Clearer definitions, supported by guidelines from the Supreme Court and the Ministry of Women Empowerment, would reduce legal uncertainty and ensure equal protection for victims. The law must also explicitly recognize marital rape and non-physical coercion as punishable sexual violence, in line with Indonesia's obligations under CEDAW and its spirit of substantive equality.⁸⁸

Second, the penal sanctions stipulated in Articles 44–46 of the DV Law should be revised to reflect the gravity of domestic violence. The current maximum of four months for psychological abuse trivializes victims' suffering and fails to deter offenders.⁸⁹ Comparative review with ASEAN neighbours such as the Philippines and Malaysia, which impose stronger custodial penalties for repeated offences, can guide reform toward proportional justice.

Third, harmonization of the DV Law with related legislation, especially the *KUHAP*, Law No. 13/2006 on Witness and Victim Protection, and Law No. 12/2022 on Sexual Violence Crimes, is essential. Discrepancies between these laws often cause procedural confusion in evidence and prosecution. A codified *lex specialis* protocol, adopted through a Supreme Court Circular (*Surat Edaran MA*), could institutionalize consistency in applying the DV Law during trial proceedings.⁹⁰

2. Implementation and Institutional Strengthening

The persistent reliance on *visum et repertum* (*VeR*) as the sole credible proof should be replaced with a more flexible evidentiary framework. Coordination between the Ministry of Health, police, and prosecutors is needed to issue a national standard for *VeR* preparation and to ensure that psychological assessments (*visum psikiatrikum*) are accepted as valid legal evidence.⁹¹ Financing for *VeR* must be explicitly guaranteed in national and regional budgets so that victims never bear the cost of proof.

⁸⁷ Setyowati and Rusdiana, "Relevance of Criminal Law Formulation in the Law of Domestic Violence Elimination in Indonesia."

⁸⁸ Gunawan and Ruqmana, "Application of CEDAW in Domestic Violence Cases in Indonesia: Case Study of Domestic Violence against Venna Melinda."

⁸⁹ Mahfud and Rizanizarli, "Domestic Violence against Women in Indonesia: The Recent Domestic Violence Elimination Law Analysis."

⁹⁰ Harsandini, Haeranah, And Azisa, "Application Of The Lex Specialis Derogat Legi Generalis Principle In Household Violent Criminal Cases With Under Hand Marriage Statu."

⁹¹ Ritonga and Wasliati, "Synchronization of Regulations Governing Visum et Repertum (*VeR*) Financing As a Form of Protection for Victims."

Equally urgent is the professionalization of counselling services mandated under Article 50(b). Government-accredited centres should be established in every province, equipped with trained counsellors and supervised by the Supreme Court and *KemenPPPA*. Standardized modules, periodic evaluation, and integration of counselling outcomes into judicial databases will transform this provision from symbolic to functional rehabilitation.⁹²

Comprehensive training for law enforcers (police, prosecutors, and judges) must become mandatory and continuous. Training curricula should incorporate gender-sensitive investigation methods, the application of *lex specialis*, and victim-centred approaches to evidence.⁹³ Moreover, monitoring and evaluation mechanisms involving *Komnas Perempuan* and civil-society organizations can ensure accountability in law enforcement practice.

3. Socialization and Cultural Transformation

Legal reform will succeed only if accompanied by sustained public education. Socialization of the DV Law should no longer depend on ad hoc NGO projects but be institutionalized within school curricula, religious sermons, and village-level civic programs. Collaboration with faith-based organizations such as *Fatayat NU*, *Aisyiyah*, NU, and *Muhammadiyah* networks can reframe domestic violence as a violation of human dignity rather than a private household matter.⁹⁴

Finally, Indonesia should demonstrate full international commitment by ratifying the *Optional Protocol to CEDAW*.⁹⁵ Ratification would enable victims to seek redress when domestic remedies fail and would reinforce Indonesia's accountability before global human-rights mechanisms.

Through these reforms (doctrinal, institutional, and cultural) the DV Law can evolve from a symbolic statute into an operative instrument of justice, ensuring that gender equality and protection from violence become tangible realities for every Indonesian woman.

⁹² Asa, "The Study on Additional Criminal Imposition Through Counseling Compliance in Domestic Violence Crime."

⁹³ Noerdin, Waluyo, and Harefa, "Perspective of Law Enforcement Regarding Criminal Sanctions for Domestic Violence by Police Officers."

⁹⁴ Afrianty, "Agents for Change."

⁹⁵ United Nations, *Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*.

D. Conclusion

Indonesia's Law No. 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence (DV Law) remains a milestone in the national struggle for gender justice, yet its transformative potential is constrained by substantive, procedural, and cultural shortcomings. This study demonstrates that the implementation gap of the DV Law is not merely a technical failure of enforcement but reflects a structural disjunction between legal norms, institutional practices, and socio-cultural realities.

Theoretically, this study contributes to socio-legal scholarship by advancing an integrated analytical framework that links doctrinal law, institutional practice, and cultural context in explaining legal ineffectiveness. While previous studies have tended to isolate legal ambiguity, procedural barriers, or cultural resistance as separate explanatory variables, this research demonstrates that these dimensions operate in a mutually reinforcing cycle. The findings extend the application of CEDAW's principle of substantive equality by showing that formal legal recognition alone is insufficient without institutional coherence and cultural internalization. In this sense, the study refines socio-legal theory by conceptualizing implementation gaps as systemic, rather than sectoral, failures. Practically, these findings have direct implications for legal reform, institutional design, and policy implementation in Indonesia. In practical terms, improving both the substance and implementation of the DV Law requires a multidimensional approach. Reform thus requires doctrinal clarity, procedural consistency, institutional strengthening, and cultural transformation through gender-sensitive training and community education. Ratifying the Optional Protocol to CEDAW would also reinforce Indonesia's international accountability for women's rights.

This study is subject to several limitations. First, as a library-based socio-legal analysis, it relies on secondary data and doctrinal interpretation rather than primary empirical fieldwork, which may limit the ability to capture lived experiences of victims and frontline law enforcers. Second, the analysis focuses primarily on national-level legal frameworks and selected case studies, potentially overlooking regional variations in implementation across Indonesia's diverse socio-cultural contexts. Third, while the study integrates legal and cultural analysis, it does not quantitatively measure the impact of specific reforms, leaving questions of causal effectiveness open for further investigation.

Future research should build upon these findings by incorporating empirical and interdisciplinary approaches. Qualitative fieldwork involving victims, law enforcement officers, and service providers would deepen understanding of how legal norms are

negotiated in practice. Comparative studies across regions or ASEAN jurisdictions could identify best practices in domestic violence regulation and enforcement. In addition, quantitative research assessing the impact of legal reforms, such as evidentiary flexibility or counselling programs, would provide valuable evidence for policy evaluation. Further exploration of the intersection between religious interpretation, gender norms, and legal consciousness is also essential to advance culturally grounded strategies for eliminating domestic violence.

Ultimately, transforming the DV Law from a symbolic legal instrument into an effective mechanism of gender justice requires not only doctrinal reform, but also institutional accountability and sustained cultural transformation grounded in the principles of substantive equality.

E. References

- Afrianty, Dina. "Agents for Change." *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 174, no. 1 (January 2018): 24–46. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-17401024>.
- Alfitri. "Protecting Women from Domestic Violence: Islam, Family Law, and the State in Indonesia." *Studia Islamika*, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v27i2.9408>.
- Alfitri, Alfitri. "Protecting Women from Domestic Violence: Islam, Family Law, and the State in Indonesia." *Studia Islamika* 27, no. 2 (August 2020): 273–307. <https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v27i2.9408>.
- Amiruddin, Mochammad Zikni, Erfaniah Zuhriah, and Nur Hamizah Zarapi. "Perpetuating Inequality: Barriers and Legal Safeguards for Women in Domestic Violence Situations." *DIKTUM: Jurnal Syariah Dan Hukum* 22, no. 1 (February 2024): 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.35905/diktum.v22i1.8837>.
- Arief, Hanafi. "LEGAL PROTECTION AGAINST WOMEN VICTIMS BY THE INDONESIAN DOMESTIC VIOLENCE ACT 23, 2004." *Srinwijaya Law Review* 1, no. 1 (January 2017): 110. <https://doi.org/10.28946/slrev.Vol1.Iss1.12.pp110-121>.
- Asa, Simplexius. "The Study on Additional Criminal Imposition Through Counseling Compliance in Domestic Violence Crime." *Journal of Law and Legal Reform* 2, no. 4 (August 2021): 553–68. <https://doi.org/10.15294/jllr.v2i4.48113>.
- ASTUTI, REVI. "VISUM ET REPERTUM SEBAGAI ALAT BUKTI KONKRIT DALAM MENCARI KEBENARAN MATERIIL PADA PEMBUKTIAN TINDAK PIDANA." *Ins Civile: Refleksi*

- Pengakuan Hukum Dan Keadilan* 5, no. 2 (October 2021). <https://doi.org/10.35308/jic.v5i2.3434>.
- Auliana, Rizqie. "SOSIALISASI UU 'PKDRT' MELALUI FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION UNTUK MENINGKATKAN PEMAHAMAN DAN MENGETAHUI PENDAPAT TENTANG KDRT PADA WANITA DI KODYA YOGYAKARTA." *Jurnal Penelitian Humaniora UNY* 13, no. 1 (2008): 59–76. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.21831/hum.v13i1.5020>.
- Choirinnisa, Shafa Amalia. "Law and Society Approach on Legal Protection for Victims of Domestic Violence." *Semarang State University Undergraduate Law and Society Review* 2, no. 2 (July 2022): 227–48. <https://doi.org/10.15294/lsr.v2i2.53756>.
- Destia Purwaningsih, Veny Nisratul Husna, Muhammad Ramadhan, Syahrul Mubarak, Anisa Anisa, Muhammad Audya Bintang, and Muhammad Luthfi Setiarno Putera. "Efektivitas Undang-Undang Perlindungan Hak Asasi Perempuan Dalam Mengatasi Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan." *Parlementer: Jurnal Studi Hukum Dan Administrasi Publik* 1, no. 4 (December 2024): 165–75. <https://doi.org/10.62383/parlementer.v1i4.366>.
- Endang Yuliana Susilawati, Kartika Asmanda Putri, and Indira Hanaya. "Law Protects Children from Domestic Violence." *World Journal of Advanced Research and Reviews* 19, no. 3 (September 2023): 263–70. <https://doi.org/10.30574/wjarr.2023.19.3.1762>.
- Fathony, Moh Rosil, Latifatul Khiyaroh, Suud Sarim Karimullah, and Muhammad Taufik Kustiawan. "Resistance to Gender Equality: Criticism of Physical Violence from the PKDRT Law Perspective." *Indonesian Journal of Islamic Law* 7, no. 1 (June 2024): 105–24. <https://doi.org/10.35719/1xjdkk59>.
- Firdaus, Emilda. "Implementasi Undang-Undang Nomor 23 Tahun 2004 Tentang Penghapusan Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga Di Kota Batam." *JURNAL HUKUM IUS QULA IUSTUM* 21, no. 1 (January 2014): 139–54. <https://doi.org/10.20885/iustum.vol21.iss1.art8>.
- Frederica, Elvina, Mary Grace Megumi Maran, Maureen Vinalia Plaikoil, Tania Valeria, G. Widiartana, and Elisabeth Sundari. "Analysis of Conditional Criminal Decision in Domestic Violence Crime Case." *International Journal of Social Science and Human Research* 06, no. 02 (February 2023). <https://doi.org/10.47191/ijsshr/v6-i2-24>.
- Gunawan, Yordan, and Kundarti Ruqmana. "Application of CEDAW in Domestic Violence Cases in Indonesia: Case Study of Domestic

- Violence against Venna Melinda.” Edited by Y. Jusman, D. Mutiarin, A. Paksie, E. Saptutyningasih, S. Pau Loke, A. Khaliq, A.R. Ridzuan, and C.B. Tenorio. *SHS Web of Conferences* 204 (November 2024): 01002. <https://doi.org/10.1051/shsconf/202420401002>.
- Harsandini, Diska, Haeranah, and Nur Azisa. “APPLICATION OF THE LEX SPECIALIS DEROGAT LEGI GENERALIS PRINCIPLE IN HOUSEHOLD VIOLENT CRIMINAL CASES WITH UNDER HAND MARRIAGE STATU.” *Al-Risalah Jurnal Ilmu Syariah Dan Hukum*, May 2023, 123–46. <https://doi.org/10.24252/al-risalah.vi.39875>.
- Husain, Husaimah, Dwia Aries Tina Pulubuhu, and Ery Iswary. “Implementation of Law No. 23 of 2004 Concerning Elimination of Domestic Violence (PDKDRT) in Upholding of Women’s Rights (Case Study: In the City of Makassar).” *Journal of Social and Political Sciences* 4, no. 1 (March 2021). <https://doi.org/10.31014/aior.1991.04.01.254>.
- Kadir, Abdul, Tiara Putri, Almirah Shalwa, Sephia Wahyuni, Regita Nurcahyani, and Salwa Salsabila. “IMPLEMENTATION OF LEGAL PROTECTION ON WOMEN VICTIMS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE.” *JHR (Jurnal Hukum Replik)* 9, no. 2 (October 2021): 193. <https://doi.org/10.31000/jhr.v9i2.5138>.
- Komnas Perempuan. “CATAHU 2023: PELUANG PENGUATAN SISTEM PENYIKAPAN DI TENGAH PENINGKATAN KOMPLEKSITAS KEKERASAN TERHADAP PEREMPUAN.” Komnas Perempuan Website. Jakarta, 2024.
- 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 SEHA SEN* 10, no. 1 (April 2024). <https://doi.org/10.37676/jhs.v10i1.5804>.
- Mahfud, Mahfud, and Rizanizarli Rizanizarli. “Domestic Violence against Women in Indonesia: The Recent Domestic Violence Elimination Law Analysis.” *Fiat Justisia: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum* 15, no. 4 (2021): 385–98. <https://doi.org/10.25041/fiatjustisia.v15no4.2276>.
- Male, Nismawaty, Asdar Arti, and Rafika Nur. “Proving the Crime of Domestic Psychological Violence.” *JISIP (Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Pendidikan)* 8, no. 1 (January 2024): 850. <https://doi.org/10.58258/jisip.v8i1.6646>.
- Mandala, I Dewa Made Sarwa, and Sri Endah Wahyuningsih. “Law Enforcement Implementation Against Domestic Violence.” *Law Development Journal* 2, no. 2 (October 2020): 187.

- <https://doi.org/10.30659/ldj.2.2.187-194>.
- Martha, Aroma Elmina, and Endah Rizki Ekwanto. "Reformulasi Prosedur Perlindungan Dalam Undang-Undang Penghapusan Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga Yang Tidak Efektif." *Jurnal Lex Renaissance* 4, no. 2 (July 2019). <https://doi.org/10.20885/JLR.vol4.iss2.art7>.
- Martha, Aroma Elmina, and Ria Hayuna. "KONSELING SEBAGAI SANKSI PIDANA TAMBAHAN PADA TINDAK PIDANA KEKERASAN DALAM RUMAH TANGGA." *JURNAL HUKUM IUS QULA IUSTUM* 22, no. 4 (October 2015): 617–37. <https://doi.org/10.20885/iustum.vol22.iss4.art5>.
- Martini, Martini. "Assessment of Visum Et Repertum Evidence on Victims of Women Violence in Household Conflict." *International Journal of Social Science Research and Review* 5, no. 8 (August 2022): 150–55. <https://doi.org/10.47814/ijssrr.v5i8.543>.
- Maulida, Irma, Dadan Taufik Faturachman, Noupel Noupel, Rois Harliyanto, Anom Sutrisno, Dessy Ika Putri, and Nur Alma Azizah. "Law Enforcement of Symbolic Violence against Women in the Context of the Domestic Violence Eradication Law." *Jurnal Legisci* 2, no. 5 (April 2025): 370–79. <https://doi.org/10.62885/legisci.v2i5.651>.
- MENTERI NEGARA PEMBERDAYAAN PEREMPUAN DAN PERLINDUNGAN ANAK REPUBLIK INDONESIA. PERATURAN MENTERI NEGARA PEMBERDAYAAN PEREMPUAN DAN PERLINDUNGAN ANAK REPUBLIK INDONESIA NOMOR 05 TAHUN 2010 (2010).
- Mutolib, Undang Abdul, Nanun Abdillah, and Asep Irfan. "Law Enforcement Domestic Offender Violenc: Domestic Violence." *AHKAM* 2, no. 2 (June 2023): 458–69. <https://doi.org/10.58578/ahkam.v2i2.1260>.
- Noerdin, Fadjarina Avrina, Bambang Waluyo, and Beniharmoni Harefa. "Perspective of Law Enforcement Regarding Criminal Sanctions for Domestic Violence by Police Officers." *International Journal of Social Science and Human Research* 7, no. 07 (July 2024). <https://doi.org/10.47191/ijsshr/v7-i07-73>.
- Petrus, Asan, Abdul Gafar Parinduri, and Adriansyah Lubis. "Making Qualified Visum et Repertum of Living Victims in Lubuk Pakam Hospital, Kabupaten Deli Serdang." *ABDIMAS TALENTA: Jurnal Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat* 7, no. 1 (April 2022): 446–53. <https://doi.org/10.32734/abdimastalenta.v7i1.6897>.
- Prasetyoningsih, Nanik, Mujiyana Mujiyana, Triyono Triyono, Devi Mareta Suyoto, Ihdinal Fachri Satrio Aji, Agusti Sendriastuti

- Sahara, Siti, Muhammad Natsir, Zuleha Zuleha, Darmawi Yusuf, and Mansari Mansari. "Sosio-Kultural Dalam Masyarakat Aceh: Strategi Perlindungan Hukum Bagi Korban Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga." *Jurnal Mediasas: Media Ilmu Syari'ah Dan Ahwal Al-Syakhsyyah* 7, no. 2 (December 2024): 434–46. <https://doi.org/10.58824/mediasas.v7i2.185>.
- Sembiring, Asan Petrus, and Abdul Gafar Parinduri. "Development of Quality Visum Et Repertum Injury of Live Victims in Lubuk Pakam Hospital Deli Serdang." *ABDIMAS TALENTA: Jurnal Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat* 8, no. 1 (March 2023): 135–41. <https://doi.org/10.32734/abdimastalenta.v8i1.8368>.
- Setiawan, Peter Jeremiah, Xavier Nugraha, Desak Ayu Gangga Sitha Dewi, and Marchethy Riwani Diaz. "Juridical Implications of Unregistered Marriage Against Legal Protection in the Domestic Violence Law." *Media Iuris* 6, no. 3 (October 2023): 457–78. <https://doi.org/10.20473/mi.v6i3.43219>.
- Setyowati, Dewi, and Emmilia Rusdiana. "Relevance of Criminal Law Formulation in the Law of Domestic Violence Elimination in Indonesia." *Journal of Indonesian Legal Studies* 5, no. 1 (May 2020): 95–124. <https://doi.org/10.15294/jils.v5i1.35362>.
- Siti Sahara, Syarifuddin Hasyim, Mohd. Din, and Iman Jauhari. "LEGAL PROTECTION AGAINST VICTIMS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE: A CRITICAL STUDY OF CULTURAL LEGITIMACY IN ACEH." *PETITA: JURNAL KAJIAN ILMU HUKUM DAN SYARIAH* 9, no. 2 (August 2024). <https://doi.org/10.22373/petita.v9i2.263>.
- Sitompul, Roswita, Alesyanti, and Muhammad Ridwan. "Domestic Violence as Initiated by Batak Culture in East Medan, Indonesia." *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment* 30, no. 7 (October 2020): 835–42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10911359.2020.1750526>.
- Suchmasasi, Yudha, Bambang Utoyo Sutyoso, and Ani Agus Puspawati. "The Analysis of Recovery Implementation for Domestic Violence Victims." *Journal of Research in Social Science and Humanities* 1, no. 2 (December 2021): 51–55. <https://doi.org/10.47679/jrssh.v1i2.12>.
- Syarifuddin, Syarifuddin, Gema Rahmadani, and Siti Husniyyah Ali. "PERLINDUNGAN HUKUM TERHADAP PEREMPUAN DAN ANAK KORBAN KEKERASAN DALAM RUMAH TANGGA (STUDI PENETAPAN NOMOR: 02/PEN.PID/KDRT/2020/PN. Mdn)." *Jurnal Hukum Kaidah: Media Komunikasi Dan Informasi Hukum Dan Masyarakat* 22, no. 3 (July 2023): 482–95. <https://doi.org/10.30743/jhk.v22i3.7377>.

- Syukur Siregar, Abdul, and Ariman Sitomul. "Criminal Liability for Physical Violence in the Domestic Sphere (Analysis of Medan District Court Decision Number 1264 / Pid.Sus / 2023 / PN Mdn)." *International Asia Of Law and Money Laundering (IAML)* 3, no. 4 (January 2025): 206–12. <https://doi.org/10.59712/iaml.v3i4.108>.
- Tawil, Muzakir, M. Kafrawi Al- Kafiah Samsu, Yulizar Pramudika Tawil, and Risma Ariyani. "Implementation of Policies To Eliminate Violence in Households in The Women's Empowerment Office and Child Protection of Hammer City." *Jurnal Syntax Admiration* 4, no. 7 (July 2023): 814–20. <https://doi.org/10.46799/jsa.v4i7.646>.
- United Nations. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979).
- . Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1999).
- WHO. "Violence Against Estimates, Prevalence Women 2018," 2021.
- Wijaya, Andre, Daniel Umar, and Hary Nugroho. "Gambaran Visum et Repertum (VeR) Perlukaan Di Instalasi Kedokteran Forensik Dan Medikolegal RSUD Abdul Wahab Sjahranie Samarinda Tahun 2015-2019." *Jurnal Sains Dan Kesehatan* 3, no. 4 (August 2021): 417–23. <https://doi.org/10.25026/jsk.v3i4.322>.
- Yunus, Ahmad, and Supianto Supianto. "Pemahaman Masyarakat Terhadap UUPKDRT Serta Dampaknya Terhadap Terjadinya Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga." *JURNAL RECHTENS* 8, no. 2 (December 2019): 135–52. <https://doi.org/10.36835/rechtsens.v8i2.530>.
- Zahra, Laila, Niru Anita Sinaga, and Sudarto Sudarto. "LEGAL PROTECTION FOR WOMEN IN CASES OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE." *LITERATUS* 6, no. 2 (October 2024): 510–18. <https://doi.org/10.37010/lit.v6i2.1724>.

Acknowledgment

None

Funding Information

None

Conflicting Interest Statement

The authors state that there is no conflict of interest in the publication of this article.

Publishing Ethical and Originality Statement

All author declared that this work is original and has never been published in any form and in any media, nor is it under consideration for publication in any journal, and all sources cited in this work refer to the basic standards of scientific citation.

Generative AI Statement

The author maintain full accountability for the final content. No original data analysis or interpretations were performed by the AI without human oversight.