

The Reality of Violence Against Wives: Dynamics of Social Settlement and Support in Lamongan, East Java

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Abstract

As a hidden crime, violence against wives is considered a disgrace to be discussed in public, especially reported to state and non-state actors. At first, victims feel able to resolve violence without outside intervention from outside their household, but repetition after repetition of violence requires them to choose what kind of resolution is right for them. This choice should be made after they have the support of individuals in their social environment. This study aims to explore the knowledge and experience of victims of violence against wives in choosing one among legal norms favorable to them. This study uses a critical realist approach by collecting qualitative data with dialogue techniques and observations of three women who were victims and six people who provided support to victims. We conclude that victims experience a dynamic psychological state, where initially, they always try to maintain the integrity of their household. The dominance of men and the subordination of women as a reality of cultural norms are essential factors in choosing ways of resolving conflicts at the community level, and we consider that the community has succeeded in providing social support to victims so that victims feel they get help and defense. However, we hope that this social support can be carried out through structured, systematic, and massive protection of victims of violence from state and non-state actors while considering the cultural norms of the community and supporting the identification of violence.

Keywords: Cultural norms, settlement, social support, violence against wives,

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Introduction

Violence against wives is a severe problem that occurs in Indonesia. The Indonesian State strives to protect wives from various forms of violence, whether acts of physical violence, psychological violence, sexual violence, or domestic neglect, by Law No 23/2004 concerning the Elimination of Violence in the Household (UU PKDRT) and Law Number 12 of 2022 concerning Criminal Acts of Sexual Violence. However, in 2022, there were 622 cases of violence against wives reported to the National Commission (*Komnas Perempuan*).¹ These data show that the substance of state law is not enough to minimize or even stop violence against wives. This situation proves that the function of law as social engineering has not run entirely and has been unable to give birth to maximum protection for wives.

In the Indonesian context, violence against wives can be seen in several forms: direct violence, structural violence, and cultural violence.² Acts of violence will not just happen without a cause, such as a perpetrator wants to change the victim's behavior to follow and adjust to the will of the perpetrator, the perpetrator takes revenge on the victim, and the perpetrator maintains and increases the perception of his self-worth as a man.³ The possibility of violence against wives is the result of interactions between individuals,

¹ Komnas Perempuan, *Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan Di Ranah Publik Dan Negara: Minimnya Perlindungan Dan Pemulihan -CATAHU 2023: Catatan Tahunan Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan Tahun 2022-* (Jakarta: Komisi Nasional Anti Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan, 2023), <https://komnasperempuan.go.id/download-file/986>.

² Johan Galtung, 'Cultural Violence', *Journal of Peace Research* 27, no. 3 (August 1990): 291–305, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343390027003005>.

³ Richard L. Davis, *Domestic Violence: Intervention, Prevention, Policies, and Solutions*, 0 ed. (CRC Press, 2008), <https://doi.org/10.1201/9781420061406>.

familial relationships, communities, and society.⁴ Violence can occur due to triggers both internally and externally. These triggers are observed based on the situation, context, and risk factors leading to violent reactions. The antecedent conditions that trigger a behavior are temporary and lead to proximal over time and accumulation.⁵

Acts of violence against wives result in prolonged effects that may be felt throughout his life. This impact can manifest in the form of fear, anxiety, feelings of suffering, psychosocial disorders, experiencing disability,⁶ suicidal ideation, loss of self-confidence, and drug use.⁷ Victims who experience physical and mental health problems are reluctant to report to the police for legal protection assistance⁸ or ask for help from women's protection

⁴ Rebecca Lane et al., 'Intimate Partner Violence and Abuse: A Qualitative Exploration of UK Military Personnel and Civilian Partner Experiences', *Journal of Family Violence*, 4 November 2022, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10896-022-00446-x>.

⁵ Kate Walker et al., 'Desistance From Intimate Partner Violence: A Conceptual Model and Framework for Practitioners for Managing the Process of Change', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 30, no. 15 (September 2015): 2726–50, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260514553634>.

⁶ Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak (Kemen PPPA), *Profil Perempuan Indonesia Tahun 2022* (Jakarta: Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak (Kemen PPPA), 2022), https://www.kemenpppa.go.id/lib/uploads/list/96370-9d6c3-ppi_final-2022-tanggal-27072023.pdf.

⁷ Karen M. Devries et al., 'Intimate Partner Violence and Incident Depressive Symptoms and Suicide Attempts: A Systematic Review of Longitudinal Studies', ed. Alexander C. Tsai, *PLoS Medicine* 10, no. 5 (7 May 2013): e1001439, <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.1001439>.

⁸ Cecilia Mengo, Eusebius Small, and Beverly Black, 'Intimate Partner Violence and Women's Mental Health: The Mediating Role of Coping Strategies Among Women Seeking Help From the Police', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 36, no. 1–2 (January 2021): 527–51, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260517729402>.

agencies to recover from violence.⁹ This choice could be due to the public stigma that tends to blame the wife as a victim when reporting violence, and sometimes women are considered as the ones who take revenge for spousal violence.¹⁰ In the end, the wife chooses to persevere and even adapt to the pattern of violence committed by the husband. Simply put, wives create self-contained protection spaces within violent spaces created by husbands because the external protection spaces they want are sometimes challenging to access.

Several studies have examined violence against wives from multiple perspectives. Some highlight the factors in which violence against wives occurs. Musiana found that the elements for violence against wives were due to the dominance of husbands in marriage and infidelity.¹¹ Sulaeman et al. found that violence against wives occurred due to low awareness of poverty and untimely marriage.¹² The same thing was also found by Dafeni et al., who emphasized that early marriage, poverty, and male

⁹ Fahrudin Ali Sabri, 'Choosing Friends to Help a Victim of Domestic Violence in Surabaya', *AL-HUKAMA'* 13, no. 1 (4 June 2023): 27–49, <https://doi.org/10.15642/alhukama.2023.13.1.27-49>.

¹⁰ Siti Aisyah and Lyn Parker, 'Problematic Conjugations: Women's Agency, Marriage and Domestic Violence in Indonesia', *Asian Studies Review* 38, no. 2 (2014): 222, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2014.899312>.

¹¹ Musiana, 'Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga: Studi Kasus Terkait Kekerasan Terhadap Istri', *AL-WARDAH: Jurnal Kajian Perempuan, Gender Dan Agama* 15, no. 2 (2021): 75–87, <https://doi.org/10.46339/al-wardah.xx.xxx>.

¹² Ridawati Sulaeman et al., 'Faktor Penyebab Kekerasan Pada Perempuan', *Aksara: Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan Nonformal* 8, no. 3 (2022): 2311, <https://doi.org/10.37905/aksara.8.3.2311-2320.2022>.

dominance are also the primary triggers for the practice of violence against wives in Banyumanik, Semarang.¹³

Several other studies highlight the link between social support and the condition of wives as victims of violence. Azizah stated that social support affects how wives of victims of domestic violence lead marital life.¹⁴ Hitijahubessy et al. also emphasized that social support has a significant role in building the quality of life of women victims of violence.¹⁵

This article aims to explore the knowledge and experience of victims of violence against wives in choosing one among legal norms favorable to them. This study was conducted to understand the life knowledge and experiences of victims of violence against wives to find the best way to protect victims who have survived. This study uses a critical realist approach,¹⁶ where dialogue¹⁷ and observation techniques are used to collect qualitative data from three women who are victims of violence against wives recruited as respondents in this study. The three women who were

¹³ Septi Rani Dafeni et al., 'Hubungan Beberapa Faktor Penyebab Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga (KDRT) Pada Istri Pus Di Kelurahan Tinjomoyo Kecamatan Banyumanik Tahun 2016', *Jurnal Kesehatan Masyarakat* 5, no. 4 (2016): 256–64.

¹⁴ Farah Azizah, 'Dukungan Sosial Dan Kecerdasan Menghadapi Kesulitan Terhadap Kepuasan Perkawinan Pada Istri Korban Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga', *Psikoborneo: Jurnal Ilmiah Psikologi* 8, no. 3 (2020): 472, <https://doi.org/10.30872/psikoborneo.v8i3.5365>.

¹⁵ Christy N M Hitijahubessy, Yati Affiyanti, and Tri Budiati, 'Dukungan Sosial Dan Kualitas Hidup Fisik Perempuan Korban Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga', *Jurnal Kesehatan Terpadu (Integrated Health Journal)* 9, no. 1 (2018): 1–10, <https://doi.org/10.32695/jkt.v1i9.8>.

¹⁶ Roy Bhaskar, *A Realist Theory of Science*, 2. ed., repr (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989).

¹⁷ Odilia Johanna Irdun Häussler Melbøe, 'Dialogue Helps You Understand Others and Yourself: An Ethnographic Study on the Significance of Dialogue', 2013.

victimized and six people as community members involved in resolving the case were recruited in parallel through scheduling interviews providing a comprehensive picture of their experiences and the impact of the violence they experienced. Outside of the victims, data were taken from six people who were Immediate family, neighbors, the Sub Village Chief (*Kepala Dusun*) Tawun, Balongtawun Village, and the Neighborhood Association Leader (*Ketua Rukun Tetangga*), Balongtawun Village deliberately recruited to get a picture of the social support provided to victims of violence against wives. They are all domiciled in Balungtawun Village (*Desa*), Sukodadi Subdistrict (*Kecamatan*), Lamongan District (*Kabupaten*), East Java. Data was collected for four months (December 10, 2022-April 10, 2023). The author deliberately did not mention the names or initials of the respondents in this article to maximize confidentiality, and these three victims were marked with the letters A, B, and C used as substitute letters in mentioning victims of violence against wives, while six people in the social support data were marked with the letters K1, K2, K3, T1, KD, and KRT.

Two main themes were obtained from data describing experiences of violence against wives among three respondents. The first theme describes the reactions of victims to the pattern of violence that develops in which, in some cases, there is an increase in the intensity and type of violence, in addition to describing the way victims and perpetrators resolve marital disputes. The second theme explains the limitations of social support, where victims experience limitations in obtaining social support from six people who intervene in marital disputes experienced by other people's households through providing advice, acting as a mediator, intervening and assisting victims, and

encouraging close family members to resolve conflicts. All of the data is collected with a critical realist approach. Therefore, the discussion is divided into two main topics: victims' responses and social responses from the surroundings witnessing violence against wives.

Protecting Victims: Indonesia's Legal Framework and Cultural Realities

The Government of the Republic of Indonesia strives to side with victims of Violence Against Wives by providing legal protection through the constitution and laws and regulations. Constitutionally, the 1945 Constitution regulates the rights of every individual generally applicable in Article 28 B paragraph (2); Article 28 D paragraph (1); Article 28 I paragraph (2); and Article 27 paragraph (1). Through laws and regulations, such as the Criminal Code (hereinafter KUHP), Law Number 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights (UU HAM); Law Number 23 of 2004 concerning the Elimination of Domestic Violence (UU PKDRT); Law Number 31 of 2014 concerning Amendments to Law Number 13 of 2006 concerning Protection of Witnesses and Victims (UU PSK); Law Number 12 of 2022 concerning Sexual Violence (UU TPKS); as well as international conventions that the Republic of Indonesia has ratified, all become clear evidence that the government exists to ensure the protection of victims repressively.

However, this guarantee from the Government of the Republic of Indonesia is still inseparable from several problems, such as article 3 of the PKDRT Law which states the purpose of this Law to prevent all forms of domestic violence, protect victims of domestic violence, crack down on perpetrators of domestic violence and maintain the integrity of a harmonious and prosperous household, where

problems arise in the form of threats of criminal punishment to the perpetrators in article 44 paragraph 1 states that any person who commits acts of physical violence within the scope of the household can be punished with a maximum imprisonment of 5 (five) years or a maximum fine of IDR 15,000,000.00 (fifteen million rupiahs), instead of maintaining the integrity of the household but this punishment allows divorce to occur. This condition is stated in the explanation of Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage (UU Perkawinan) in article 39, paragraph 2 letter c that one of the reasons that can be used as a basis for divorce is that one of the parties gets a prison sentence of 5 (five) years or a more severe sentence after the marriage takes place.

Violence against wives is a hidden crime because this case is trying to be covered and hidden by victims and perpetrators, especially the culture that arguably applies in society in Indonesia considers it taboo to discuss, let alone report the case to law enforcement officials.¹⁸ They consider that intervention from outside the household cannot solve problems that occur in the household.¹⁹ Whether or not this assumption is valid depends on the role of culture, religion, belief rituals, and the legal system²⁰ in Indonesia.

While the government tries to be present to ensure the protection of victims, some victims are reluctant to settle

¹⁸ Alfitri Alfitri, 'Protecting Women from Domestic Violence: Socio-Legal Approach to CEDAW Bill in Indonesia', *Studia Islamika* 27, no. 2 (3 August 2020), <https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v27i2.9408>.

¹⁹ Randal W. Summers and Allan M. Hoffman, *Domestic Violence: A Global View* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2002), 25.

²⁰ Max Gluckman and Anthony Nicolas Allott, eds., *Ideas and Procedures in African Customary Law: Studies Presented and Discussed at the Eighth International African Seminar at the Haile Sellassie I. University, Addis Ababa, Jan. 1966* (International African Seminar, London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1969), 22.

cases in court and choose their way of solving their cases. If he resolves his case through the courts, the victim considers what profit and loss, needs, or interests he wants to get. The option of negotiation, reconciliation, and mediation is used on victims and perpetrators who have a typical multiplex relationship status, i.e., an intricate web of social ties that bind together as friends, relatives, and neighbors at once, expectations in these relationships cross several cultural domains and are usually broad and abstract.²¹ The flexible mediation process is chosen and assessed by those closest to the victim and perpetrator by utilizing the ongoing multiplex relationship with each other and the mutual love between them. They improve their psychological and social understanding and try to reach an agreement efficiently by solving cases with a sense of community in a private environment rather than in public.²² Arbitration and adjudication are options chosen by victims and perpetrators who have a typical simplex relationship status that is quite specific in reference and limited in scope (typical of Western countries), where victims and perpetrators do not have an attachment to friendship, neighbors and kinship. Case resolution is based on win-or-lose assessments, typical of modern procedures of Western countries that tend to be formal, rational, and legalistic for case resolution.²³

Rural Javanese – the study's subjects – were generally more cautious in personal relationships, considerate of

²¹ Max Gluckman, *The Judicial Process among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia*, 2. ed., repr. with minor amendments (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1973), 19.

²² Laura Nader, 'Styles of Court Procedure: To Make the Balance', in *Law in Culture and Society*, ed. Laura Nader (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

²³ T. W. Bennett, *Customary Law in South Africa*, 1. publ., repr (Lansdowne: Juta, 2010), 164.

others, diplomatic, reserved, and valued social status. They tend to avoid quarrels with others optimally and, in case of arguments, subtly and neatly hide them in their social relationships. The hope is to find a mutually beneficial solution and not embarrass themselves or their families. Minimum requirements are established to maintain the integrity of social order. However, the restrictions have plenty of room for negotiation and are open to mediation. The emphasis is usually not on the enforcement of specific rules but on the elimination or elimination of disputes that may cause social tension or disruption. If anyone speaks out in public, it is usually seen as a destroyer of social peace, a stubborn troublemaker, an antisocial idiot, or worse. They seek help from mediators such as close friends, neighbors, known village chiefs, or village leaders if a dispute cannot be resolved.²⁴

The Life Knowledge and Experiences of Victims of Violence Against Wives

Victims who described violence they experienced during their marriage experienced repeated physical and psychological violence from their husbands. Violence against wives occurs in situations and contexts of infidelity committed by their husbands, as described below.

"A 24-year-old woman named A has no children yet. Da suffered physical, psychological, and domestic neglect from her husband. A and her husband once both worked in a factory in Lamongan City. They got married in 2019. She recounted a marriage that at first took place harmoniously but turned into a nightmare due to the husband's aggressive behavior. By the time she was one month pregnant, her husband had repeated

²⁴ Daniel S. Lev, *Hukum Dan Politik Di Indonesia*, trans. Nirwono and AE Priyono (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1990), 158-160.

beatings, rants, and anger, and a marriage built for harmony became a nightmare for her. At its peak, when she was five months pregnant, she found out through social media that her husband was having an affair with another woman and that he continued to repeat physical and psychological abuse and no longer provided for her. The impact of the violence she experienced was bruised, pain due to haircuts, miscarriage, heartache, resentment, and disappointment over her husband's behavior. The reaction to this violence against the wife is that initially, A asks her parents to be mediators to reconcile the two. The result is that A is still trying to maintain her household. However, because her husband did not stop her violence and infidelity, A filed for divorce at the Lamongan Religious Court in 2020, a court ruling stipulating the divorce in January 2021. He felt satisfied and relieved by his decision and free from the threat of violence. However, she is still traumatized to remarry, and until this study ends, she is not married."²⁵

"Another woman named B, who is 39 years old and has one child, experienced violence against her wife after learning of her husband's infidelity, despite facing a dilemma against the myth of maintaining a household for the sake of the economy and the integrity of the household. Initially, B and her husband lived in harmony and harmony; they married in 2002. Her husband is an employee who works outside Lamongan, while B is a farmer. The husband's work is out of town, resulting in rarely returning home, so communication does not run smoothly. They still strive to respect each other and understand each other's conditions. However, in 2019, when her husband often did not come home because he did a lot of overtime work, B

²⁵ Dialogue With A as victims of violence against wives, December 2022.

became suspicious of her husband's behavior. B learns her husband has another woman. B tries to be patient and restrained for the sake of the integrity of her household. She also advises her husband to leave the other woman or divorce her. Her husband did not answer. His household became empty and inconsequential. She said quarrel after quarrel had taken place, especially after her husband claimed to have remarried another woman and no longer provided for her birth. Her reaction was to file for divorce, but still thinking about her teenager because her child would be a victim of bullying and gossip. In the end, in 2020, she filed for divorce from her husband at the Lamongan Religious Court. She reasoned that her suffering would end if she separated from her husband. B chose to file for divorce to gain freedom from the constant mental torment. After the Religious Court granted her divorce, she felt detached and free from the threat of violence. She had returned to being a free human being. Despite this, she was still traumatized to remarry and focus on making ends meet for herself and her child. Until this study ended, she was not married."²⁶

"The woman named C, who is 43 years old and has three children, works as a trader. He married at the age of 20. The marriage begins harmoniously, and they can live domestic lives like couples. However, at the age of her fourth marriage, she recounted the beating of her first child, who was three years old. This situation caused them to have a big fight. Then, after 11 years of marriage, her husband switched jobs and began to change. His income began to decrease, and he often went home at night. C finds out that her husband remarried another woman. He heard this information from the people around him. C felt disappointed, sad,

²⁶ Dialogue With B as victims of violence against wives, February 2023.

angry and intended to leave the house even though it was not done. C tries to forgive her husband because she wants to maintain the household so the children still have a father figure. Her husband once left for a month without giving news. After the first affair came to light, her husband's behavior took a drastic turn. Her husband became indifferent and resorted to beatings and abuse. Not to mention the continuous cursing and scolding he has experienced, her husband married another woman three times, and during that time, C tried to be patient and resigned. Despite many hardships and traumatic events, she still strives to maintain her family for the happiness and future of her children."²⁷

The cases presented above illustrate the dynamics of the psychological condition of the victims. Initially, they still tried to maintain the integrity of their household. However, after experiencing physical and mental violence, in the end, some choose to divorce through the Religious Court or still choose to survive for the good of their children.²⁸ Both of these options can be interpreted as efforts made by victims to adhere to the family values upheld in Islam as much as possible. These choices are social processes that shift from individual to individual problems, individual problems to legal institutions, and the availability of legal options that require victims to choose one of them. Their interactions

²⁷ Dialogue With C as victims of violence against wives, March 2023.

²⁸ Sulistyowati Irianto, *Perempuan Di Antara Berbagai Pilihan Hukum: Studi Mengenai Strategi Perempuan Batak Toba Untuk Mendapatkan Akses Kepada Harta Waris Melalui Proses Penyelesaian Sengketa* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2003).

demonstrate involvement in the decision-making process to gain benefits in meeting the interests and needs of victims.²⁹

This study used qualitative data to explore the experiences of survivors after the occurrence of coercive control that resulted in violence against wives. This violence occurs because of the role of both partners who have a violent relationship. At this point, it becomes clear that both men and women can become victims of domestic violence. Women become victims of domestic violence because their husbands exercise coercive control, punishment, and attention prosecution. The report submitted by Komnas Perempuan shows that, more prominently, the majority of victims are women.³⁰

Respondents in this study all described the experience of victimization unilaterally, both in conditions of moderate to severe victimization. This response may be due to motivations to assert power, control, or to perpetuate patriarchy.³¹ The data findings in this article align with the experiences experienced by victims in other studies.³² These findings are expected to complement the narrative of victims who tend to hide the violence they experienced. If it is felt

²⁹ Laura Nader and Jr. Todd, 'Introduction: The Disputing Process', in *The Disputing Process—Law in Ten Societies*, ed. Laura Nader and Harry F. Todd (Columbia University Press, 1978), 1–40, <https://doi.org/10.7312/nade93322-004>.

³⁰ Komnas Perempuan, *Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan Di Ranah Publik Dan Negara: Minimnya Perlindungan Dan Pemulihan -CATAHU 2023: Catatan Tahunan Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan Tahun 2022-*.

³¹ Kathryn Graham et al., 'Does the Relationship Between Depression and Intimate Partner Aggression Vary by Gender, Victim–Perpetrator Role, and Aggression Severity?', *Violence and Victims* 27, no. 5 (2012): 730–43, <https://doi.org/10.1891/0886-6708.27.5.730>.

³² John Hamel, 'Toward a Gender-Inclusive Conception of Intimate Partner Violence Research and Theory: Part 1 - Traditional Perspectives', *International Journal of Men's Health* 6, no. 1 (1 May 2007): 36–53, <https://doi.org/10.3149/jmh.0601.36>.

that the perpetrator's actions continue to commit violence, they will file a lawsuit to the court as an effort to stop violence through divorce. Although not infrequently after divorce, there is still violence against the former spouse with the motivation of fighting for child custody³³ and the neglect of iddah income.³⁴ Victim behavior that makes the perpetrator feel upset, victims attacking the perpetrator's psychic, and victims who criticize the perpetrator.³⁵

The findings of the data above also show a narrative of marital dispute resolution that looks bad and seems to perpetuate violence against wives. Instead of stopping the violence, when the affair occurs, the perpetrator is still violent. The wife's assumption that the immediate family of the husband and wife had known about the roots of domestic conflict motivated her to ask them as mediators to find the best solution for both. Although they have chosen a mediator to maintain the integrity of the husband and wife household, they have chosen a person who cares about the conflict and has not succeeded in reconciling. This situation can be seen in the case of victims A and B, who ultimately chose to file for divorce from their husbands in the Religious

³³ Aziz Sholeh, Dian Rachmat Gumelar, and Aah Tsamrotul Fuadah, 'Pendampingan Hak-Hak Perempuan Dan Anak Pasca Perceraian', *JCIC: Jurnal CIC Lembaga Riset Dan Konsultan Sosial* 1, no. 2 (30 September 2019): 80–99, <https://doi.org/10.51486/jbo.v1i2.19>.

³⁴ Novendia Dara Cintaanito, 'Problematika Penegakan Disiplin Terhadap Pegawai Negeri Sipil Yang Tidak Melaksanakan Putusan Pengadilan Terkait Biaya Penghidupan Anak Dan Mantan Istri', *JISIP (Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Pendidikan)* 5, no. 3 (8 July 2021), <https://doi.org/10.58258/jisip.v5i3.2134>.

³⁵ Marilyn Bonem, Karen L. Stanley-Kime, and Michelle Corbin, 'A Behavioral Approach to Understanding Domestic Violence: A Functional Assessment Based on Batterer-Identified Contingencies.', *The Journal of Behavior Analysis of Offender and Victim Treatment and Prevention* 1, no. 2 (2008): 209–21, <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0100466>.

Court after peace efforts made by residents were unsuccessful.

The case of victim C shows that this woman described her approval of the violence committed by her husband, the husband who has harmful behavior and violated social norms when the husband once went away for a month without giving any news, becoming indifferent and engaging in acts of physical abuse and violence, may commit violence against his wife impulsively as a way for him to control his helpless wife depending on him and the way he resolves marital disputes,³⁶ on the contrary, economic dependence and financial instability mean that victims still maintain households.³⁷ The reason is that the victim is helpless and has no way out except to maintain the marriage and continue to try or plan to reduce violence from the perpetrator because of fears that the perpetrator will commit more extreme violence and fear of losing economic resources.³⁸

Islam does not give husbands space and time to commit violence against their wives, instead giving respect to human rights when the wife experiences violence and then reacts to the perpetrator by divorcing or maintaining the family. In legal substance, Islam promotes peace, harmony, equality, and justice and opposes all acts of

³⁶ Bonem, Stanley-Kime, and Corbin, 'A Behavioral Approach to Understanding Domestic Violence'.

³⁷ Evi Tri Jayanthi, 'Faktor-Faktor Penyebab Terjadinya Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga Pada Survivor Yang Ditangani Oleh Lembaga Sahabat Perempuan Magelang', *DIMENSIA: Jurnal Kajian Sosiologi* 3, no. 2 (26 February 2015), <https://doi.org/10.21831/dimensia.v3i2.3417>.

³⁸ George B. Palermo, *The Faces of Violence*, 2nd ed, American Series in Behavioral Science and Law (Springfield, Ill: Charles C Thomas, Publisher, 2004).

violence against wives.³⁹ Acts of violence against wives show the inability of husbands to understand the teachings of Islam.

The Role of Community in Resolving Violence Against Wives

Although the case of violence against wives is not widely known by the general public, in the three cases above, victims of violence feel social support from Immediate family, neighbors, the Sub Village Chief (Kepala Dusun) Tawun, Balongtawun Village, and the neighborhood association leader (Ketua Rukun Tetangga), Balongtawun Village. They provide social support in the form of advice mediation and help reduce conflicts so that physical violence does not occur. The three cases above show that Immediate family and neighbors are the initial sources of social support for victims of violence, as narrated by K1, K2, and K3, who are Immediate families of victims of violence against wives:

"A and her husband often quarreled, and there was a sound of crying. At first, I kept quiet and did not give a solution to handle this case. I know this case is a private area where, outside the husband and wife, there is a norm that requires not interfering in household affairs. However, as an Immediate family, we try to advise both parties".⁴⁰ "When B and her husband quarreled and made us uncomfortable, we mediated to help resolve marital disputes and help the

³⁹ S. Douki et al., 'Violence against Women in Arab and Islamic Countries', *Archives of Women's Mental Health* 6, no. 3 (1 August 2003): 165–71, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00737-003-0170-x>.

⁴⁰ Dialogue With K1 (Immediate family of A as victims of violence against wives), January 2023.

victim calm down as much as possible."⁴¹ "As uncles of C, we have tried to reconcile, but her husband is still angry, so we and the neighbours do not want to reconcile with them anymore."⁴²

Neighbour B (victim of violence against wife), named T1, recounted:

"We, as neighbors of the victim, are reluctant and lazy to interfere in domestic conflicts, but we will try to break up and help the victim if there is violence that gets worse and worse. We behave like this because we are worried that if we are directly involved, it will trigger conflicts between neighbors, which is a situation we do not want."⁴³ At first, the neighbors were reluctant to get involved, but eventually, they tried to intervene and help the victim".

Apart from Immediate family and neighbors of victims of violence against wives, social support is also provided by the Sub Village Chief (Kepala Dusun) Tawun, Balongtawun Village, who has authority in the Sub Village and the Neighborhood Association Leader (Ketua Rukun Tetangga), Balongtawun Village as a representative of the Village Head. They recount:

"I, as the Sub Village Chief, rarely get reports from victims of violence against wives. In this case, I was involved in inviting the next of kin to resolve domestic conflicts".⁴⁴ "I, as the Neighborhood Association Leader, do not close my eyes and ears to the occurrence

⁴¹ Dialogue With K2 (Immediate family of B as victims of violence against wives), March 2023.

⁴² Dialogue With K3 (Immediate family of C as victims of violence against wives), April 2023.

⁴³ Dialogue With T1 (neighbour of C as victims of violence against wives), April 2023.

⁴⁴ Dialogue With KD (Sub Village Chief (Kepala Dusun) Tawun, Balongtawun Village), April 2023.

of cases of violence against wives, both physical and psychological, especially if accompanied by reasons of infidelity. In this case, we try to reconcile so that there is peace in the surrounding environment, minimizing gossip and ridicule from neighbors who, instead of helping to resolve conflicts, leave them unresolved.”⁴⁵

However, ironically, state actors represented by the Secretary of Balongtawun Village expressed attitudes that have not shown social support for victims of violence against wives. He recounted:

“I, as the Secretary of Balongtawun Village, have not received official data from the village regarding divorce cases due to cases of violence against wives, so we do not have a formal approach from the village to resolve this conflict.”⁴⁶

State actors have not shown support for victims of violence against wives. The data above shows that victims get social support in resolving violence against wives, namely providing advice, acting as a mediator, intervening and assisting victims, and encouraging close family members to resolve conflicts between perpetrators and victims of violence against wives. However, it is undeniable that there are obstacles and obstacles in solving it. Social support cannot run effectively and optimally at the community level. The data findings in this article illustrate that poor communication on both sides makes victims appear frustrated with the aggression carried out by the perpetrator.⁴⁷ On the other hand, the reason for infidelity is undeniably a trigger in increasing the escalation of marital

⁴⁵ Dialogue With KRT (Neighborhood Association Leader (Ketua Rukun Tetangga), Balongtawun Village), April 2023.

⁴⁶ Dialogue With SD (Secretary of Balongtawun Village), April 2023.

⁴⁷ Bonem, Stanley-Kime, and Corbin, ‘A Behavioral Approach to Understanding Domestic Violence’.

disputes and the occurrence of violence against wives so that variations of resolution exist through the Religious Court⁴⁸ and outside the Religious Court.⁴⁹

Immediate family, neighbors, the Sub Village Chief, and the Neighborhood Association Leader have tried to resolve marital disputes. However, respondents described the perpetrator's power in perpetuating violence and not wanting to stop violence as significant obstacles in solving cases. The community expects order and harmony in the households of victims and perpetrators, so they try to resolve marital disputes by providing advice, acting as mediators, intervening and assisting victims, and encouraging close family as much as possible. However, it may be challenging to implement due to the conflict and parties, which is considered to contribute to avoiding and minimizing violence against wives.⁵⁰ This perspective shows more attention even though they have not been fully involved in solving this case. In any case, this step can prove that they have built an advocacy paradigm in the context of ideas. Furthermore, this finding confirms Radcliffe-Brown's opinion that the human being, as an essential unit, corresponds to a series of social relations that form a whole

⁴⁸ Sitti Musyahidah and Rustina, 'Respon Kaum Perempuan Dalam Menyikapi Kasus Perceraian Akibat Perselingkuhan Perspektif Hukum Keluarga', *Musawa: Journal for Gender Studies* 15, no. 1 (30 June 2023): 60–89, <https://doi.org/10.24239/msw.v15i1.2069>.

⁴⁹ Irwan Niza and Abdul Sakban, 'Penyelesaian Kasus Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga (KDRT) Di Luar Pengadilan', *CIVICUS: Pendidikan-Penelitian-Pengabdian Pendidikan Pancasila Dan Kewarganegaraan* 5, no. 1 (12 April 2019): 21, <https://doi.org/10.31764/civicus.v5i1.783>.

⁵⁰ Laely Wulandari, 'Kebijakan Penanganan Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga Melalui Mediasi Penal', *LAW REFORM* 4, no. 1 (23 October 2010): 1, <https://doi.org/10.14710/lr.v4i1.312>.

that, in the next stage of social structure, will be continuous and not damaged by changes in its units.⁵¹

Society or social institutions have a role in influencing the system, attitudes, and beliefs of every individual living in a community. Interpersonally and individually, they are controlled to deter or acknowledge the occurrence of violence against wives. Cultural norms that require male domination and subordination place women as "*konco wingking*," where a wife is in charge of kitchen affairs only and cannot interfere in men's affairs.⁵² Therefore, social support for victims of violence through these cultural norms must be considered as an appropriate method in resolving marital disputes and community strategies in preventing violence against good wives; in turn, this social support can find solutions to maintain marriage⁵³ as shown by victim C and divorce that may violate social⁵⁴ norms as narrated by victims A and B.

It is no less critical if this study looks at the external triggers of Javanese culture behind the victims and perpetrators of violence who are ethnic Javanese; virtue values contribute to social integration for the sake of magical balance. Javanese people are consistent in applying

⁵¹ Alfred R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Structure and Function in Primitive Society: Essays and Addresses*, 1. Free Press paperb. ed., [Nachdr.], A Free Press Paperback Sociology/Social Anthropology (New York: Free Press [u.a.], 1965).

⁵² Soehardi Soehardi, 'Pengembangan Tata Krama Dalam Rangka Pembinaan Nilai Budaya', *Humaniora*, no. 6 (1997).

⁵³ Atika Nur Ismalia, Siti Komariah, and Rika Sartika, 'Resiliensi Istri Korban KDRT: Faktor Mempertahankan Keutuhan Keluarga', *Ideas: Jurnal Pendidikan, Sosial, Dan Budaya* 8, no. 4 (10 November 2022): 1211, <https://doi.org/10.32884/ideas.v8i4.1006>.

⁵⁴ Almizan Almizan and Mufti Ulil Amri, 'Ketimpangan Peran Domestik Rumah Tangga Dalam Cerai Gugat Pada Masyarakat Minangkabau', *Indonesian Journal of Religion and Society* 3, no. 2 (30 December 2021): 103–10, <https://doi.org/10.36256/ijrs.v3i2.193>.

the values of "*manut*" (obeying superiors), "*welas*" (having generosity), "*ngalah*" (to avoid conflicts), "*pangerten*" (sensitive to others), and "*ewuh-pakewuh*" (empathy).⁵⁵ The ingrained traditional Javanese view makes women behave according to Javanese virtue values, so marital disputes are considered a disgrace to be known by others. It is these values that lead them to how to act in the early stages when they receive violence from their husbands. The choice of survival is a manifestation of how those values work in leading the wife to take a stand in a depressed state. Value conflicts are inevitable, and eventually, those in the early stages choose to win these values, especially on the values of "*ngalah*" and "*ewuh-pakewuh*." This kind of method is, in fact, also found by Dewi and Hartini with a pattern of forgiveness. Wives tend to offer forgiveness to avoid conflict and revenge, although other motivations include religion and concern for children.⁵⁶

On the other hand, in addition to them trying to reconcile with themselves and their partners, the trauma of violence they experienced does not entirely disappear in their torment. The trauma is quite imprinted and has an impact on the attitude taken by the victim after the violence is carried out. The data in this study illustrates how violence can discourage women from remarrying. One victim was also traumatized but still trying to maintain the marriage. This trauma has an impact on their psychological condition. It is undeniable that victims experience poor mental health

⁵⁵ Hildred Geertz, *The Javanese Family: A Study of Kinship and Socialization*, Reissued (Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press, 1989).

⁵⁶ I Dewa Ayu Dwika Puspita Dewi and Nurul Hartini, 'Dinamika Forgiveness Pada Istri Yang Mengalami Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga (KDRT)', *INSAN Jurnal Psikologi Dan Kesehatan Mental* 2, no. 1 (2017): 51, <https://doi.org/10.20473/jpkm.v2i12017.51-62>.

after violence and difficulty in recovering their mental health, so they need support from people in their communities. Nurhazizah found that women victims of domestic violence who were rehabilitated at the Yogyakarta Women's Work Social Institution had unstable emotions and were irritable.⁵⁷ The findings also highlight the need for more support services for victims of violence that occurs in the domestic environment, especially victims of violence against wives. These services must have a unique understanding according to the cultural norms of a particular community.

The above findings illustrate how a community understands cases of violence that can occur at any time, especially non-physical violence, such as psychological violence and domestic neglect. At this point, Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (Family Welfare Development),⁵⁸ Bidan Desa (village midwives),⁵⁹ and Bhayangkara Pembina Keamanan dan Ketertiban Masyarakat/ BHABINKAMTIBMAS (Community Police Officers),⁶⁰ who currently exist in each village not only make reports of Domestic Violence but their role must also be added to the

⁵⁷ Nurhazizah, 'Upaya Meningkatkan Kesehatan Mental Wanita Korban Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga (KDRT) Di Panti Sosial Karya Wanita Yogyakarta' (Universtas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2015), 79.

⁵⁸ Ani Widyani Soetjipto, *Suara Dari Desa: Menuju Revitalisasi PKK*, Cetakan pertama (Serpong, Tangerang Selatan: Marjin Kiri, 2013).

⁵⁹ Hermawati Hermawati, Tjahjono Kuntjoro, and Ayun Sriatmi, 'Implementation ff Midwife-Traditional Birth Attendants Partnership by Midwives in Buton District, Southeast Sulawesi, (A Case Study on Wakaokili Primary Healthcare Center)', *Jurnal Manajemen Kesehatan Indonesia* 1, no. 1 (1 March 2016): 1–10, <https://doi.org/10.14710/jmki.1.1.2013.%p>.

⁶⁰ Edo Ferdian, 'Peran BHABINKAMTIBMAS Dalam Memediasi Permasalahan Rumah Tangga (Studi Kasus Di Desa Persil Raya Kecamatan Seruyan Hilir Kabupaten Seruyan)', 2021.

necessity of having knowledge and awareness to support the identification of violence against wives. Village midwives are not only tasked with restoring physical health but with the provision of knowledge support on non-violence, it is hoped that they can restore the mental health of victims of violence against wives. This arrangement can ultimately stop or reduce violence. In the end, societies that coexist with victims have a choice of norms that live for a long time; whether consciously or not, they have been faced with norms that sometimes conflict with each other, and in the end, they must decide to choose one norm that is favorable to them.⁶¹

Conclusion

This study provides an in-depth understanding of the knowledge and experience of victims of violence against wives. The victim has chosen the available legal norms that correspond to the advantages and interests they seek. Community involvement in resolving marital disputes is considered crucial for the dignity and dignity of wives in the eyes of society. Women are no longer seen as second-class beings and have equal rights before the law. This article needs to provide recommendations to state actors to take a comprehensive and culture-based approach in responding to this problem. Family Welfare Development, Village Midwives, and Community Police Officers need to be equipped with the knowledge to protect and, at the same time, provide access to women in villages who are vulnerable to experiencing violence against wives.

⁶¹ Sally Engle Merry, 'Legal Pluralism and Legal Culture: Mapping the Terrain', in *Legal Pluralism and Development*, ed. Brian Z. Tamanaha, Caroline Sage, and Michael Woolcock, 1st ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 66–82, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139094597.007>.

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Interviews and Dialogues

Dialogue With C as victims of violence against wives, March 2023.

Dialogue With K1 (Immediate family of A as victims of violence against wives), January 2023.

Dialogue With K2 (Immediate family of B as victims of violence against wives), March 2023.

Dialogue With K3 (Immediate family of C as victims of violence against wives), April 2023.

Dialogue With KRT (neighborhood association leader (Ketua Rukun Tetangga), Balongtawun Village), April 2023.

Dialogue With SD (Secretary of Balongtawun Village), April 2023.

Dialogue With A as victims of violence against wives, December 2022.

Dialogue With B as victims of violence against wives, February 2023.

Dialogue With KD (Sub Village Chief (Kepala Dusun) Tawun, Balongtawun Village), April 2023.

Dialogue With T1 (neighbor of C as victims of violence against wives), April 2023.

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