Community Resistance to Femicide in West Java: Social Responses, Peace Actions, and Opposition to Violence against Women

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Abstract

This study analyzes how civil society communities in Indonesia—particularly in West Java and Yogyakarta—respond to and resist femicide as the most extreme form of gender-based violence. The research is driven by the growing prevalence of femicide and the absence of legal recognition of its structural and gendered nature in Indonesia. Employing a qualitative approach and a collective case study design, this study focuses on six grassroots organizations: Sekolah Damai Indonesia Bandung, Perspektif Sosiologi, Iteung Gugat, Youth, Interfaith and Peace (YIP) Center, Puan Hayati, and Srikandi Lintas Iman. The data was gathered through interviews, participatory observation, and document analysis. The findings reveal that these communities play critical roles not only in advocacy but also in psycho-social support, formation of safe spaces, and the production of counter-narratives that confront patriarchal and symbolic violence. Functioning as cultural, political, and therapeutic agents, they fill in the gaps left by institutional inaction. However, the study also highlights structural dysfunction: the burden of advocacy is disproportionately placed on these communities, while systemic failures in law, media, and education continue to normalize gender-based violence. Theoretically, the study integrates Berger and Luckmann's theory of social construction with Galtung's concept of structural violence and positive peace to frame femicide as both symbolic and systemic. This research contributes original insights to Indonesian gender studies by mapping community-based resistance to femicide—an area rarely examined—and by emphasizing the urgency of intersectoral policy reform and institutional support.

Keywords: Femicide; Gender-Based Violence; Civil Society; Patriarchy; Symbolic Violence.

Abstrak

Penelitian ini menganalisis bagaimana komunitas-komunitas sipil di Indonesia—khususnya di Jawa Barat dan Yogyakarta—merespons dan melawan femisida sebagai bentuk paling ekstrem dari kekerasan berbasis gender. Urgensi penelitian ini didorong oleh meningkatnya kasus femisida di Indonesia dan ketiadaan pengakuan hukum yang mengategorikannya sebagai kejahatan berbasis gender yang struktural. Dengan pendekatan kualitatif dan desain studi kasus kolektif, penelitian ini berfokus pada enam organisasi akar rumput: Sekolah Damai Indonesia Bandung, Perspektif Sosiologi, Iteung Gugat, Youth, Interfaith and Peace Center (YIPC), Puan Hayati, dan Srikandi Lintas Iman. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam, observasi partisipatif, dan analisis dokumen. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa komunitas-komunitas ini memainkan peran penting tidak hanya dalam advokasi, tetapi juga dalam pendampingan psikososial, pembentukan ruang aman, dan produksi narasi tandingan terhadap kekerasan simbolik dan budaya patriarkal. Mereka hadir sebagai agen kultural, politis, dan terapeutik di tengah kevakuman negara. Namun, penelitian ini juga menyoroti disfungsi struktural: beban advokasi sebagian besar ditanggung oleh komunitas, sementara sistem hukum, media, dan pendidikan masih gagal mengenali dan menangani femisida secara adil. Secara teoretis, penelitian ini mengintegrasikan teori konstruksi sosial Berger dan Luckmann dengan konsep kekerasan struktural dan perdamaian positif dari Johan Galtung. Penelitian ini memberikan kontribusi orisinal dalam studi gender

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di Indonesia, khususnya dalam memetakan perlawanan komunitas terhadap femisida dan pentingnya reformasi kebijakan lintas sektor.

Kata Kunci: Femisida; Kekerasan Berbasis Gender; Komunitas Sipil; Patriarki; Kekerasan Simbolik.

INTRODUCTION

Femicide—the killing of women because of their gender identity—is not merely an ordinary criminal act, but rather the most brutal expression of deeply rooted gender inequality embedded in our social, cultural, and legal systems (Wilmar, 2025). This phenomenon illustrates how women's bodies and lives are treated as objects of domination and control by a patriarchal system that operates systemically. In Indonesia, femicide is often disguised within narratives of domestic conflict, jealousy, or moral issues, thereby eluding recognition as a structured form of gender-based violence (Shizuka & Azizah, 2024). The impact is far-reaching: not only does it take lives, but it also wounds the collective dignity of women, creates intergenerational trauma, and erodes the sense of safety in both private and public spaces. Even more concerning, the majority of these cases remain unrecorded due to the absence of legal nomenclature recognizing femicide as a distinct criminal category.

Based on monitoring by *Komnas Perempuan* (the National Commission on Violence Against Women) through online media coverage, cases of femicide in Indonesia have increased significantly year by year. In 2017, 24 cases were reported, rising to 100 cases in 2018, and reaching 167 cases in 2019. Between June 2021 and June 2022, the number even reached 307 cases. The latest report indicates that from October 2023 to October 2024, there were 290 cases of femicide, nearly double the previous period (159 cases) (*Komnas Perempuan,* 2020). Of these, most perpetrators had a personal relationship with the victims: husbands (48 cases), close friends (19), boyfriends (13), and relatives (7). Beyond being killed, victims also suffered sexual violence, severe physical abuse, and stripping—even post-mortem—revealing a symbolic and systemic intent to degrade women's dignity. The most common triggers include emotional outbursts (95 cases), economic disputes or property control (39), and sexual violence (24 cases)—all rooted in toxic masculinity and unequal power relations (Ananta, 2024).

In particular, West Java has reached an alarming level. The province recorded the highest number of cases in *Komnas Perempuan*'s monitoring, with 41 femicide incidents between October 2023 and October 2024, surpassing East Java (38 cases) and Central Java (29 cases) (Azzahra, 2024). Given the high number and complexity of cases in the region, West Java can be considered one of Indonesia's femicide epicenters. Ironically, the region is known as a hub of religious movements, education, and social activism. This contradiction highlights that progressive social structures alone are insufficient to curb extreme violence against women. On the contrary, femicide in West Java reflects a latent conflict between persistent patriarchal norms and ongoing efforts for women's liberation that have yet to be fully institutionalized in public policy or collective social consciousness.

Although femicide has become part of the global gender justice agenda and receives serious attention in many countries, academic studies explicitly addressing this phenomenon in Indonesia remain scarce. Feminist literature and gender studies in Indonesia have largely focused on other forms of gender-based violence such as domestic violence (KDRT), sexual violence, and economic inequality. Komnas Perempuan (2020) recorded 431,471 cases of violence against women, with sexual violence reported as the most dominant form, experienced by 34.4% of women aged 15–64—surpassing physical violence

(Purwanti, Shaluhiyah, Widjanarko, & Natalis, 2024). Moreover, dating violence also shows high prevalence among unmarried women, while women with lower levels of education and income are more vulnerable to various forms of violence (Yu & Liu, 2020). Nevertheless, femicide, as the most extreme form of violence involving the systematic killing of women based on their gender, has yet to gain adequate attention within these studies.

Several studies have identified the structural roots of violence against women in Indonesia, including patriarchal domination, household power dynamics, as well as cultural and religious norms that reinforce women's subordination (Afrianty, 2022; Mas'udah, 2022a, 2022b). Legal enforcement also faces major challenges. The Law on the Elimination of Domestic Violence (Law No. 23 of 2004) and related regulations have not been effectively implemented (Arief, 2019; Saraswati, 2020). The low capacity of law enforcement officials and the strong presence of gender bias in legal processes result in many victims being denied justice (Hartanto et al., 2019). In cultural contexts, adat-based approaches and local legal mechanisms—such as those in West Sumatra—have shown potential in addressing KDRT through deliberation based on local wisdom (Zurnetti, 2021a, 2021b), but these efforts have yet to reach extreme cases like femicide. Paralegals and women's organizations have also played crucial roles in assisting victims to access justice, particularly in regions where formal legal structures are less responsive (Afrianty, 2018; Hartanto et al., 2019).

Meanwhile, gender and feminist studies in Indonesia have experienced significant development but also face distinct challenges. Several studies show that the bilateral and matrifocal character of some Indonesian communities is often used as a cultural argument that masks systemic violence (Husniah, Taufiq, & Murti, 2024; Smith-Hefner, 2025). However, the rise of public religiosity post-Reformasi has further strengthened gender conservatism in public spaces (Afrianty, 2020; Muqtada et al., 2024). Efforts to mainstream gender within state policies—especially in poverty alleviation programs—frequently face institutional resistance and a limited capacity for local gender analysis (Schech & Mustafa, 2010). On the other hand, feminist activism in Indonesia has also progressed through the reinterpretation of Islamic texts, gender education in universities, and advocacy on issues such as political participation, sports, women's studies, and queer activism (Beta, Prihatini, & others, 2025; Rodriguez, 2023; Tahalele & Prihatini, 2024).

However, studies on femicide as a cultural, structural, and legal product of patriarchy remain significantly underexplored. This lack of exploration often overlooks how cultural violence, as a product of patriarchal systems, is ingrained in the worldview of its practitioners. Understanding these worldviews is critical to unpacking the deep-rooted nature of violence, which is often normalized and perpetuated through cultural practices and beliefs. Patriarchal ideologies serve as the foundation of this cultural violence, shaping the societal perception of femicide and perpetuating its occurrence in Indonesia.

Given the escalating rate of femicide—especially in urban areas such as West Java—and the lack of academic inquiry that uncovers its structural and socio-political roots, this research becomes urgent. Femicide can no longer be viewed merely as an individual act, but must be understood as a social phenomenon organized within a framework of gender inequality that has long been institutionalized. Without serious intervention in the realms of law, culture, and public discourse—and without the active participation of communities in dismantling taboo narratives and opening spaces for collective awareness—femicide will continue as one of the most invisible yet deadliest forms of violence against women in Indonesia.

This study, therefore, aims to analyze how civil society communities in West Java—namely (1) Sekolah Damai Indonesia Bandung, (2) Perspektif Sosiologi, (3) Iteung Gugat, (4) Youth, Interfaith and Peace (YIP) Center, (5) Puan Hayati, and (6) Srikandi Lintas Iman—which represent peace-building communities, youth advocacy networks, and organizations concerned with minority and gender-based violence issues—respond to the phenomenon of femicide. Through a qualitative approach employing participatory case studies, this research seeks to explore the strategies, discourses, and forms of social intervention developed by these communities in confronting and resisting femicide at the local level. It also seeks to understand how these community efforts create spaces for consciousness-raising, build cross-issue solidarity, and encourage resistance against the normalization of violence toward women.

This study argues that local civil communities hold strategic potential in challenging dominant narratives that silence femicide, especially in the context of the state's limited capacity to protect women. By creating spaces for taboo conversations, advocating for victims, and challenging patriarchal structures, grassroots communities actively reshape the understanding of gender-based violence. Drawing on Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann's (1966) theory of the social construction of reality, it posits that civil communities are agents in reinterpreting femicide as a structural issue rather than a personal conflict. Additionally, Johan Galtung's (2013) concept of structural violence supports the view that femicide in Indonesia is a product of systemic oppression, maintained through biased legal frameworks and a culture of silence. Thus, the efforts of civil society in opening advocacy spaces and fostering solidarity contribute to the realization of positive peace—an inclusive peace that dismantles the invisible structures of violence underlying femicide.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study specifically examines the role of civil society communities in Indonesia in responding to and mitigating femicide as the most extreme form of gender-based violence. The units of analysis in this research are six communities actively engaged in gender equality advocacy, women's empowerment, and intergroup peacebuilding at the national level, with their primary activities based in the cities of Bandung and Yogyakarta. These communities are: (1) Sekolah Damai Indonesia Bandung (SEKODI), (2) Perspektif Sosiologi (PS), a learning and advocacy group for social justice based on sociology, (3) Iteung Gugat, a women's equality advocacy group in Bandung and West Java, (4) Youth, Interfaith and Peace Center (YIPC), an interfaith youth community also focusing on gender equality, (5) Puan Hayati, a women's movement based in West Java, and (6) Srikandi Lintas Iman, an interfaith community in Yogyakarta actively raising issues of justice for women. The unit of analysis includes individuals who are active members, community organizers, and penyintas (survivors) who have been involved with or assisted by these communities in healing programs, advocacy efforts, or public campaigns related to femicide.

This research uses a qualitative approach with a collective case study design (Yin, 1994). This approach is chosen for its suitability in deeply exploring social dynamics, individual and collective experiences, and the advocacy strategies deployed by civil society communities in responding to femicide. Qualitative research allows the researcher to capture the social, symbolic, and affective nuances of community actions that cannot be explained statistically. The collective case study method is applied to identify thematic patterns and resistance strategies across different but culturally and geographically connected contexts, particularly in progressive urban areas such as Bandung and Yogyakarta.

Data in this study is drawn from two main sources: first, primary data obtained from in-depth interviews with members, coordinators, and active volunteers in each community, as well as with penyintas who were assisted by Perspektif Sosiologi during healing processes; and second, secondary data in the form of community documentation, social media content, press releases, and campaign materials published online.

Data collection was conducted through a combination of online observation and in-depth interviews. Online observation focused on community activity on social media, examining communication patterns, campaign messages, and collective actions related to gender equality and the prevention of violence against women. This observation covered both online events (webinars, Zoom discussions, Instagram Live) and offline activities such as trainings, demonstrations, and solidarity actions. Meanwhile, interviews were conducted in a semi-structured and in-depth manner with 12 key informants, including community founders and active members involved in community healing programs. The interviews were conducted both in-person and online, using an interview guideline developed around the dimensions of community roles, challenges, and intervention strategies.

Data analysis in this research employed the interactive model by Miles and Huberman (2013), consisting of three stages: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification. Data reduction was carried out by filtering key information from interviews, observations, and community documentation to identify main themes such as the meaning of femicide, community responses, and penyintas experiences. The coded data were then presented in thematic matrices and visual narratives to map patterns of intervention, advocacy strategies, and challenges faced by the communities. The process of conclusion drawing was conducted iteratively by linking findings to the conceptual framework, while ensuring validity through data triangulation, peer debriefing, and member checks with the informants.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Meaning and Identification of Femicide by Civil Society Communities

Interviews with various communities reveal that femicide is understood not merely as a criminal act but as an extreme form of violence rooted in a patriarchal social system that is permissive of violence against women. The community SEKODI, for instance, clearly states that femicide is not fate, but a socially constructed form of violence resulting from public tolerance toward power imbalance and everyday sexist jokes considered trivial. As emphasized by Fanny Syariful Alam, coordinator of SEKODI:

> "Femicide is not fate, but the product of a social system that allows violence against women to grow and take root—even from things that seem trivial, such as sexist jokes, gender stereotypes, and tolerance for unequal power relations." (Interview, 13 May 2025)

SEKODI also highlights how society remains trapped in fatalistic narratives, where the death of women in femicide contexts is seen as divine will rather than a form of violence that could have been prevented. This narrative becomes one of the main barriers to public awareness of the seriousness of gender-based crimes.

Meanwhile, the Perspective of the sociological (Perspektif Sosiologi) community strengthens this position with a more theoretical framework. They assert that femicide is not a micro or individual issue, but a structural one shaped by social institutions such as family, religion, media, and law. Within this

framework, femicide cannot be discussed without addressing the dominant cultural structures that perpetuate the subordination of women. As stated by its co-founder, Paelani Setia:

> "In sociology, the phenomenon of femicide is a problem of social structure, macro-sociology—not an individual matter. Social institutions like the family, religion, media, and law play a major role in creating femicide." (Interview, 19 May 2025)

On the other hand, Iteung Gugat emphasizes the historical dimension of violence against women, noting that femicide is a continuation of systematic violence that has long targeted women. In their narrative, femicide is a contemporary reality with deep roots in a history of discrimination and dehumanization. This was expressed in an interview with a member, Noviyanti Putri:

> "This phenomenon is not new. History shows how women have long been victims of systematic violence—even since birth. There are stories from the past of baby girls being buried alive for being considered a disgrace to the family." (Interview, 13 May 2025)

The YIPC (Interfaith Youth Center for Peace) community highlights that femicide does not only target women, but also transgender women (transpuan) and girls. As they stated in the interview:

> "The murder of women is not ordinary murder. The victims—women, transgender women (transpuan), and girls—are killed because of their gender... Even in interfaith youth movements, this issue is rarely discussed in depth or given collective attention." (Interview, 13 May 2025)

Srikandi Lintas Iman Yogyakarta explains that femicide is the peak expression of gender inequality, born from a system that treats women as symbolic objects rather than dignified subjects. They argue that social, religious, and cultural norms play a role in justifying violence against women. For them, femicide represents the culmination of inequality reinforced by *budaya*, religion, state policies, and broader social systems.

At the same time, Puan Hayati adds that femicide is a consequence of social constructions that frame masculinity as domination and control. They note that before femicide occurs, women often experience repeated and systematic violence. Referring to their data, they emphasize intimate femicide—murders by husbands, ex-boyfriends, or partners—as the most dominant form. These cases show that the threat of femicide often comes not from strangers, but from those closest to the victims. Femicide, in this context, is driven by gender-based hatred rooted in power imbalances and rigid gender role expectations (Interview, 13 May 2025).

Overall, all interviewed communities frame femicide as violence supported by systems and cultures that normalize violence against women. Their interpretations reflect a collective awareness that dismantling symbolic structures, power relations, and public narratives that justify violence is an essential first step in combating femicide in Indonesia.

Table 1. Community Perspectives on Femicide and Focus Areas of Advocacy

No	Community	Perspective on Femicide	Special Focus
1	SEKODI	Product of a patriarchal social system; must be dismantled from its cultural and political roots	Public advocacy & cultural reframing
2	Perspektif Sosiologi	A macro-structural phenomenon shaped by institutions like family, religion, media, and law	Structural analysis & critical pedagogy
3	Iteung Gugat	Continuation of historical violence against women; a legacy of past patriarchy	Feminist politics & historical justice
4	YIPC	Targets women, transpuan, and girls; linked to bias, religious interpretation, and self-awareness	Interfaith youth & spiritual reflection
5	Srikandi Lintas Iman	Peak of gender inequality reinforced by norms, culture, religion, and symbolic systems	Interfaith equality & symbolic critique
6	Puan Hayati	Result of unequal power relations and gender expectations; often occurs in intimate settings	Penghayat women's movement & gendered spirituality

The different ways in which the six civil society communities interpret and identify femicide are not formed in a vacuum but are rooted in their respective advocacy focus, historical experiences, and strategic approaches. SEKODI emphasizes the structural dimension and the urgency of public policy. For them, femicide is the result of a patriarchal system that allows violence to thrive. With a transnational human rights approach, SEKODI urges the state to recognize femicide as a gender-based crime.

In contrast, Perspektif Sosiologi frames femicide as a social phenomenon to be analyzed through a critical sociological lens. Using digital education, they encourage the public to read violence against women as part of symbolic power that operates within institutions such as family, religion, and media.

Meanwhile, Iteung Gugat sees femicide as the peak of cultural and symbolic violence that has long silenced women's bodies in Sundanese culture. Through locally rooted resistance and embodied experience, they express defiance via cultural work and create safe spaces for young women to speak out.

From a spiritual approach, YIPC emphasizes that femicide reflects a spiritual crisis caused by patriarchal religious interpretations. Through interfaith dialogue, YIPC builds ethical awareness and the courage to speak out as a form of non-confrontational resistance.

Srikandi Lintas Iman (SRILI) links femicide to religious and social structures that legitimize symbolic domination of women. Through inter-theological reflection and interfaith networking, SRILI challenges conservative narratives that sustain inequality.

Finally, Puan Hayati, a *penghayat* women's movement, emphasizes that femicide grows from *adat patriarki*. However, they do not reject tradition. Instead, they advocate for the reformulation of traditional values and *spiritualitas perempuan Nusantara*, asserting that life and equality are sacred values to be preserved.

Through varied approaches—structural, theoretical, cultural, spiritual, and customary—each community presents a distinct interpretation and strategy for understanding and resisting femicide. This diversity enriches the spectrum of civil resistance and demonstrates that the struggle against femicide must respect the social and ideological contexts that shape each community.

Action Strategies and the Role of Communities in Resisting and Healing Femicide

The six civil society communities involved in this research not only interpret femicide as a structural phenomenon that endangers women, but also actively engage in a range of advocacy, educational, and assistance strategies as tangible responses to this crisis. The action strategies identified fall into four main patterns: digital campaigns and public education, collective street actions, the creation of safe spaces, and psychosocial assistance based on empathy and trust. Each strategy not only illustrates the diversity of approaches but also affirms the role of communities as key actors in the social, cultural, and emotional struggle against femicide.

Two communities that stand out in the field of digital campaigning and public education are Perspektif Sosiologi and SEKODI. Perspektif Sosiologi—Sociological Perspective consistently holds online discussions that deconstruct patriarchal norms through the lens of critical social science (Perspektif Sosiologi, 2025b). One particularly impactful event was the webinar titled "*Perempuan Menikahi Pria Berstatus Lebih Rendah?*" (Women Marrying Men of Lower Status?), held on 15 June 2024. In this webinar, speakers discussed the phenomenon of *hipogami* as a form of women's autonomy that transcends patriarchal social constructions of male dominance in marriage. This webinar not only touched on gender relations but also directly connected them to efforts at deconstructing the root causes of violence against women, including femicide, which is often rooted in unequal gender expectations and dominance (Perspektif Sosiologi, 2025a).

Figure 1. Webinar flyer: "Perempuan Menikahi Pria Berstatus Lebih Rendah?" by Perspektif Sosiologi

Source*:* (Perspektif Sosiologi, 2025a).

In addition to webinars, PS – Sociological Perspective actively shares educational content through its YouTube channel, particularly the series "*Sosiologi Feminisme: Melihat dari Mata Wanita*" (Feminist Sociology: Seeing Through Women's Eyes), which has been published since 2022 (*Perspektif Sosiologi,* 2022). This content highlights the historical and cultural roots of symbolic violence against women and functions as a form of public education that targets youth audiences through digital platforms.

On the other hand, SEKODI developed a digital campaign through online dialogues focusing on the phenomenon of femicide against women, featuring female activist Namira Adriana, member of the Bandung KPI Council, and Fanny Syariful Alam as Chair of SEKODI. These dialogues opened up a space for deeper discussion about the reality of femicide in Indonesia as an invisible phenomenon that is nevertheless very close to women's daily lives.

Figure 2. Sisterhood Dialogue flyer: Femisida pada Perempuan by SEKODI

Source: (SEKODI, 2025b)

SEKODI is also active in publishing opinion pieces in mainstream media, such as Fanny S. Alam's op-ed titled "*Perjuangan Hak Perempuan Masa Kini*" (Today's Women's Rights Struggle), published in *Pikiran Rakyat* on 24 April 2025. Through this article, SEKODI emphasized the importance of connecting the historical values of the women's movement with contemporary realities still marked by gender-based violence and discrimination *(SEKODI, 2025a)*.

The communities *Iteung Gugat* and SRILI demonstrate consistency in organizing collective street actions to raise public awareness and respond to femicide as an urgent humanitarian issue. *Iteung Gugat* utilized the momentum of *International Women's Day Bandung 2024* as a platform for open resistance

against femicide. This action was marked by powerful slogans of resistance, such as "*Moal Aya Haseup Mun Euweuh Seuneu*" or "There is no smoke without fire, Women Strike!"—serving as symbols of solidarity and liberation. The demonstration was not merely a protest, but also a public declaration that violence against women is not a private issue, but a collective failure of society and the state.

Figure 3. Call to Action for International Women's Day Bandung 2024 by Iteung Gugat

Source: (Iteung Gugat, 2025a)

Beyond protest, *Iteung* also held a public event titled *Panggung Ekspresi: Kenali Hukumnya, Lindungi Korban* (Stage of Expression: Know the Law, Protect Victims) as a space for intersectional community engagement across West Java. With support from Rutgers Indonesia and *JAJ Youth*, this event brought together art, legal advocacy, and anti-violence campaigns in a single forum. Held during the *16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence* and *World Human Rights Day*, the event showcased how art can be an expressive and effective medium for building collective awareness around femicide.

Figure 4. Poster of the Event "Panggung Ekspresi: Kenali Hukumnya, Lindungi Korban" by Iteung Gugat

Source: (Iteung Gugat, 2025b)

SRILI rooted in interfaith and intercultural collaboration, organized an event titled "*Women Peace Security: Dahulu, Kini, dan Nanti*" (Then, Now, and the Future) on 6 November 2024. This activity highlighted the role of women in global peace and security, as well as its connection to gender-based violence, including femicide. In this discussion, SRILI criticized the lack of women's representation in peace processes and the rise of violence against women in both public and private spaces. Femicide was framed within the context of digital media complexity and structural bias that worsen women's conditions (SRILI, 2024a). SRILI also held an event titled "*Perempuan Merdeka dari KDRT*" (Women Free from Domestic Violence) on 18 August 2024, amplifying women's voices in rejecting the normalization of domestic violence—which is often the early stage leading to femicide (SRILI, 2024b).

Figure 5. Event Flyer from SRILI: *"Women Peace Security: Dahulu, Kini, dan Nanti"*

Source: (SRILI, 2024a)

Several communities strive to create *ruang aman*—safe spaces—both physically and digitally, where survivors and women activists can share experiences, receive emotional support, and build solidarity. YIPC is one such community pioneering safe spaces through its *Temu Keberagaman Jawa Barat* program held on 30 August-1 September 2024 (YIPC, 2024). This program engaged youth from various faiths, genders, and disabilities, emphasizing the importance of education about gender-based violence within close social environments. Participants not only learned about human rights and freedom of religion/belief but also reflected on their roles in preventing violence against women.

Figure 6. Documentation from *Temu Keberagaman* Jawa Barat 2024 by YIPC

Source: (SRILI, 2024a)

The *penghayat* women's community *Puan Hayati* is also actively creating spiritual dialogue spaces that elevate women's awareness of life values and dignity. One of their important initiatives was the webinar "*Citra Diri dan Kepribadian Perempuan Indonesia*" (Self-Image and Personality of Indonesian Women), held in commemoration of *Hari Kartini* on 30 April 2023. The webinar featured prominent women from diverse professions who invited participants to view violence against women as a crisis of values and identity—not merely a legal violation. In this context, the safe space functions not just as a refuge but also as a platform for identity formation and the regeneration of equality values within *spiritualitas Nusantara*-based communities (Puan Hayati, 2023).

Figure 7. Webinar Flyer from Puan Hayati: *"Citra Diri dan Kepribadian Perempuan Indonesia"*

Source: (Puan Hayati, 2023)

Community approaches do not stop at discourse or action alone—they also touch the emotional and psychosocial domains. *Perspektif Sosiologi* has firsthand experience in assisting survivors of sexual violence, particularly those from school environments. Paelani Setia, one of PS's founders, shared in an interview on 13 April 2025 how their community became a healing space for a teenage girl who experienced violence from someone close to her. The assistance was not conducted through a legalistic lens, but through education that rebuilt the survivor's self-confidence, provided motivation, and restored her dignity as a woman entitled to live free from violence. For PS, healing does not need to be institutional—it can take the form of emotional solidarity and existential validation.

Research findings show that the civil society communities examined in this study are not only involved in formal advocacy or symbolic campaigns, but actively build various forms of social intervention to resist and heal the impacts of femicide. Through activities such as digital campaigns, online seminars, collective actions, safe space creation, and psychosocial accompaniment, these communities demonstrate deep and concrete engagement in addressing violence against women. Communities like *SEKODI* and *Perspektif Sosiologi* focus on public education via digital media, while communities such as *Iteung Gugat* and *Srikandi Lintas Iman* are active in organizing public actions to raise awareness. Meanwhile, communities like *YIPC* and *Puan Hayati* play a vital role in creating safe spaces that enable survivors to heal in supportive and empathetic environments. Furthermore, personalized and trust-based accompaniment practices are implemented by communities like *Perspektif Sosiologi* in handling sexual violence cases. All of these activities form a spectrum of community responses that engage not only legal

and policy dimensions, but also the emotional, symbolic, and cultural aspects of gender-based violence experiences.

Challenges in Combating Femicide in Indonesia

Despite the extraordinary commitment of various civil society communities in advocating, amplifying, and accompanying victims of femicide, the reality on the ground reveals that this struggle faces a multitude of complex challenges. These challenges stem not only from external factors such as legal systems and cultural norms but also from internal dynamics within the communities themselves. An exploration of community experiences reveals four major clusters of obstacles: lack of legal recognition, budaya menyalahkan korban (victim blaming), media distortion, and internal resource limitations.

One of the most fundamental challenges is the absence of legal recognition of femicide as a standalone gender-based crime. As emphasized by Fanny Syariful Alam from SEKODI, "murders rooted in gender-based violence are not yet considered aggravating circumstances that could increase the sentence for perpetrators." (Interview, May 13, 2025) Although Indonesia has ratified various legal instruments such as Law No. 23 of 2004, Law No. 7 of 1984, and the UU TPKS (Law No. 12 of 2022), none of them explicitly name or categorize femicide as a specific criminal offense. As a result, many cases of extreme violence against women are processed as ordinary murders, without taking into account the social context, power relations, or gender-based motives. The community Puan Hayati underscores that explicit legal recognition is crucial, stating, the lack of specific regulations on femicide leads to many cases where the gender motive remains unidentified—or worse, the case is not recorded as femicide at all. (Nanda Shelly Susanti, Interview, May 13, 2025). This legal insensitivity reveals that the state still falls short in protecting women from systemic, extreme violence.

Beyond legal shortcomings, these communities also face entrenched social challenges, most notably the widespread culture of victim blaming (budaya menyalahkan korban). Paelani Setia from Perspektif Sosiologi shared an experience of assisting a woman who was a survivor of sexual violence but was constantly blamed by those around her. In such contexts, survivors must not only recover from the trauma of violence but also face social stigma that further weakens their sense of self. Activists from Iteung Gugat also noted that their community is often labeled as "disrupting norms" simply for daring to raise the issue of violence against women in public spaces. Even during peaceful campaigns, parts of the public respond by questioning the victim's clothing or blaming her behavior in the relationship. In such circumstances, women lose not only protection but also social legitimacy as subjects entitled to justice. The SRILI Yogyakarta community also expressed that entrenched patriarki culture causes the issue of femicide to be sidelined in comparison to religious intolerance—even though both are rooted in the same forces: hatred, domination, and violence against those perceived as weak.

In addition, communities face unequal access to the media and the dominance of mainstream narratives that frequently portray victims as responsible for the violence they endured. Perspektif Sosiologi observed that the media often constructs biased narratives, framing victims as "promiscuous" or "provocative," while avoiding any mention of gender elements in their coverage. This is exacerbated by social media algorithms that favor sensational content over educational posts. The YIPC community emphasized, "if media narratives and femicide coverage remain unjust toward victims, it not only skews public understanding but also delays necessary policy change." Biased media narratives hinder public awareness efforts and isolate survivors from collective empathy.

The final but equally serious challenge is the lack of internal resources and activist burnout within the communities. Many operate on a voluntary basis without stable funding, and most members must juggle roles as support staff, facilitators, and public communicators. Paelani Setia admitted that "the process of providing assistance is often hampered by limited knowledge, skills, and the number of people involved." The heavy emotional burden—especially when working with survivors experiencing deep trauma—often leads to mental exhaustion among young activists. Iteung Gugat, for instance, encourages the creation of internal safe spaces within the organization so activists can support and care for one another. One simple practice is checking in with members after events to ensure they return home safely. However, this practice remains small in scale and is not yet supported by adequate professional psychosocial facilities.

All these challenges indicate that resistance to femicide continues to face major barriers at structural, cultural, and organizational levels. Civil society communities are operating under less-than-ideal conditions: without explicit policy support, within a society that still blames victims, under pressure from biased media narratives, and with limited internal capacities. And yet, within these limitations, the persistence and collective courage of these communities shine through in their efforts to uphold women's dignity and fight for justice. As YIPC asserted: "Silence is part of the problem. A small voice siding with victims is already a real act of resistance." Therefore, to effectively combat femicide, what is needed is not only a strong grassroots movement but also involving the state, religious institutions, educational bodies, and the media—to dismantle the structural violence that has long normalized the death of women as something ordinary.

Table 2. Types of Barriers in Combating Femicide by Civil Society Communities

No	Type of Barrier	Concrete Form	Source/Community
1	Law and Policy	No explicit legal recognition of femicide in the Criminal Code; gender-neutral law enforcement	SEKODI, Puan Hayati
2	Patriarchal Culture	Victim blaming, stigmatization of women's rights defenders, normalization of violence against women	Iteung Gugat, PS, SRILI
3	Media and Public Narrative	Biased framing of victims, lack of gender context in reporting femicide cases	YIPC, PS
4	Internal Resources	Activist burnout, lack of funding, shortage of professional psychosocial support	PS, YIPC, Iteung Gugat

The table above maps four main types of barriers faced by civil society communities in the fight against femicide. Legal and policy-related obstacles are reflected in the absence of explicit recognition of femicide within Indonesia's legal system, which results in gender-based murders being treated as ordinary crimes without considering power dynamics. Patriarkal culture also serves as a major barrier, particularly in the form of victim blaming and the stigmatization of communities advocating for women's rights. Mainstream media further reinforces these challenges through biased portrayals of victims, leaving communities to struggle within an information ecosystem that lacks support. Lastly, internal barriers such as burnout, limited funding, and lack of professional support reveal that community resistance efforts often take place under extremely constrained conditions.

This table demonstrates that challenges to community resistance are multidimensional—spanning legal structures, cultural norms, public discourse production, and organizational capacity—all of which contribute to the persistence of femicide as a form of invisible yet deadly violence.

The previously presented data shows that civil society communities in Indonesia working on gender justice face serious obstacles in their efforts to combat femicide. These barriers come from multiple directions: the state, which has not yet legally recognized femicide as a gender-based crime; society, which frequently blames women victims of violence; the media, which often presents biased and gender-insensitive narratives; and the internal conditions of communities that suffer from resource scarcity and emotional exhaustion due to high workloads.

Communities such as SEKODI, Puan Hayati, and Perspektif Sosiologi have expressed that existing laws like the UU TPKS or UU KDRT remain insufficient, as femicide has yet to be explicitly included in the national legal system. Meanwhile, communities such as Iteung Gugat and SRILI have directly experienced how society still views women's advocacy as a deviation from the norma, and often blames victims for the violence they endure. The YIPC community has even highlighted how media narratives can exacerbate the situation for survivors, while community activists and volunteers often face burnout due to the heavy emotional toll and the lack of structural support.

Overall, these challenges illustrate that the struggle against femicide is not just about voicing demands for justice, but also about enduring in the face of a social structure that fails to take sides—and at times even reinforces—the very violence that communities are trying to resist.

Discussion

This research shows that civil society communities in Jawa Barat and Yogyakarta play a crucial role in identifying, responding to, and resisting femicide as the most extreme form of gender-based violence. Their strategies include digital campaigns, collective actions, the creation of ruang aman (safe spaces), and psychosocial support based on empathy. However, these communities face a range of structural challenges, including the absence of legal nomenclature for femicide, the deep-rooted culture of victim blaming, biased media framing, and limited internal resources that often lead to activist burnout. Despite these challenges, they function as cultural, political, and therapeutic agents in resisting systemic violence against women.

The findings of this study indicate that femicide is not an isolated criminal phenomenon or merely an extreme expression of interpersonal violence. Rather, it is the culmination of structural inequalities that have been institutionalized within the social, cultural, and legal life of society. When the state fails to recognize femicide as a gender-based crime category, and the legal system treats it as an ordinary murder without addressing the gendered power relations underlying it, violence against women remains untouched at the structural level. Within the framework of Berger and Luckmann's (1966) theory of social construction of reality, the meaning of femicide is formed through ongoing social interactions, legitimized by formal institutions (law, media, religion), and accepted as common knowledge by society. This means that perceptions of femicide as "domestic conflict" or "a moment of rage" are constructed realities reproduced by dominant actors.

In this context, civil society communities act as agents of counter-construction—social actors who seek to redefine the meaning of femicide and challenge the legitimacy of dominant narratives that silence violence against women. They dismantle gender-neutral public discourses and build new understandings that position femicide as a systemic crime rooted in unequal power relations. Through digital campaigns,

discussion forums, and survivor support, these communities actively reproduce new meanings of justice, protection, and women's autonomy.

Furthermore, from Johan Galtung and Fischer's (2013) perspective, femicide can be understood as a manifestation of structural violence—a social condition in which societal structures produce and maintain inequality, suffering, and death systematically. This form of violence does not always appear physically, but operates through gender-neutral legal systems, masculine religious interpretations, biased media, and social norms that blame victims. The absence of legal protection, social tolerance for sexist jokes, and the normalization of women's subordination are therefore not coincidences, but integral components of the structure of violence itself. However, this violence extends beyond structural dynamics to encompass cultural violence, deeply embedded within lifestyle practices, traditions, and everyday social interactions. Cultural norms that condone sexist behavior, celebrate gender stereotypes, and trivialize violence against women contribute to a cycle where such violence is not only accepted but perpetuated across generations. These cultural mechanisms, ingrained in social habits and traditions, play a crucial role in normalizing femicide, reinforcing gender inequality, and allowing systemic violence to thrive unchecked in society. Thus, femicide is not merely a result of structural conditions but is also nurtured and sustained by the cultural fabric that reinforces harmful gender relations.

The role of civil society communities in this context represents a concrete effort to create positive peace—a state of peace not only free from direct violence, but also from domination, inequality, and symbolic oppression. The strategies they develop—whether through narrative reconstruction, safe space creation, or legal advocacy—serve as resistance to invisible yet pervasive structural violence in women's daily lives. Thus, understanding femicide cannot rely solely on legal-formal approaches; it must also be seen as a socially constructed form of violence that can be transformed, and as structural violence that demands collective and cross-sectoral resistance.

The findings of this research reinforce existing studies on the structural roots of violence against women in Indonesia, including patriarkal domination, unequal power relations in households, and religious-cultural norms that reinforce women's subordination (Afrianty, 2022; Mas'udah, 2022b, 2023). This study also aligns with the findings of Arief (2019) and Saraswati (2020), who highlight the weak implementation of laws such as the Domestic Violence Elimination Act and others in handling extreme violence. In line with Hartanto et al. (2019), this study shows that the low capacity of law enforcement and entrenched gender bias hinder victims' access to justice. In a sociocultural context, kearifan lokal-based approaches such as those in West Sumatra (Zurnetti, 2021; Zurnetti, 2021a) may be effective in addressing domestic violence, but have yet to reach the complexity of femicide cases. This study also supports Afrianty's (2018) view on the essential role of women's organizations in filling the legal protection gaps left by the state.

From a sociocultural theoretical perspective, this research also challenges the notion that bilateralitas or matrifokalitas in certain Indonesian communities guarantees freedom from systemic violence (Husniah et al., 2024; Smith-Hefner, 2025). In fact, the rise of public religiosity in the post-Reformasi era has strengthened gender conservatism (Afrianty, 2020; Muqtada et al., 2024), weakening the gender justice agenda. Compared to previous studies, this research contributes novelty in two key aspects: (1) a specific focus on femicide as a systemic product within the local Indonesian context, and (2) an in-depth analysis of the strategies, roles, and challenges of civil society communities in a collective and cross-issue framework.

Historically, the findings of this study reflect the continuity of violence against women, which has persisted since the premodern and colonial eras. As expressed by the communities Iteung Gugat and Puan Hayati, femicide is not a new phenomenon but part of a long legacy of patriarkal domination that has subdued women's bodies, emotions, and voices through various forms of social institutions. The historical silencing of women's voices, the normalization of violence in intimate relationships, and a gender-neutral legal system are structural legacies that have failed to be revised over time. When the modern state is unable to ensure substantive protection based on gender justice, civil society communities emerge as actors that both inherit this historical burden and actively challenge it through symbolic and structural resistance.

Interestingly, interdisciplinary research on affective music and religious identity contributes to our understanding of how historical violence against women is also linked to the control of emotions, spirituality, and symbolic representation. Studies show that music has historically been used to manipulate emotion and construct affective spaces within political and religious contexts (Garrido & Davidson, 2019; Hentschel & Kreutz, 2021). In this context, music is often not neutral but is laden with ideological messages that either reinforce or threaten social identities, including gender and religious identities (Wynn, 2004; Ysseldyk, Karamally, Kelly, Morton, & Haslam, 2021). This resonates with the experiences of penghayat women's communities like Puan Hayati, who emphasize the importance of building collective consciousness based on spiritualitas Nusantara as a way to reclaim affective spaces and historical narratives long dominated by masculine interpretations.

Furthermore, research on emotional bias in music demonstrates that affective responses to religious or symbolic experiences are heavily influenced by the listener's social identity, including religious belief and historical experience (Céspedes-Guevara, 2023). This helps explain how society tends to respond to violence against women—including femicide—with selective and biased reactions, depending on the narratives historically embedded in their social and cultural institutions. In many ways, women are not only physically victimized but also symbolically erased when their emotional experiences are reduced, dismissed, or deemed illegitimate by unsympathetic social systems.

Socially, this research reveals that femicide does not occur in a vacuum but takes place within societal structures that silently tolerate violence against women. Interviews with communities like SRILI and YIPC show that gender-biased religious interpretations and dominant social values are often used to legitimize violence, including femicide. These communities observe that victim blaming, the stigmatization of women activists, and the silencing of victim narratives continue to obstruct change. These findings align with Berger and Luckmann's theory of social construction, which posits that social reality—including the legitimization of violence—is shaped and institutionalized through symbolic structures and interactions widely accepted in society.

Global studies show that patriarkal structures, social stigma, and historical power relations are key factors in the systemic reproduction of femicide (Incháustegui Romero, 2014). Femicide serves as a tool to maintain male dominance, both in personal relationships and in broader societal frameworks. In contexts such as South Africa, cultural stigma and social pressure surrounding the reporting of gender-based violence act as major obstacles to community and institutional intervention (Mkwananzi & Nathane-Taulela, 2024). Even in countries with progressive legal frameworks, the absence of normative transformation has allowed femicide to persist under cultural permissiveness.

In addition to cultural factors, economic and social structures also exacerbate vulnerability. Economic inequality, the criminalization of marginalized groups such as female sex workers, and poor

access to social services all contribute to women's structural exposure to violence and murder (Shannon et al., 2009; Whittington, Haines-Delmont, & Bjørngaard, 2023). Moreover, when perpetrators of femicide do not face social exclusion proportional to their crimes—as evidenced in studies from Argentina—society implicitly legitimizes such acts (FarrHenderson, Di Marco, & Evans, 2025). This reality was also reflected by the communities in this study, where perpetrators are often still accepted within their communities, while survivors are marginalized.

This situation underscores that social structures in Indonesia—like in many other countries—continue to tolerate and even produce gender-based violence. Substantive social change requires the dismantling of normative constructions that normalize women's subordination. As voiced by the SRILI community, transformation must target not only laws and policies but also institutions like the family, religion, education, and media, all of which contribute to shaping societal views on women's roles, bodies, and worth.

Ideologically, femicide represents the most extreme form of symbolic violence and patriarkal domination, wherein the murder of women due to their gender not only extinguishes life but also erases the social meaning of women's right to live and bodily autonomy. This violence does not deviate from the social order; rather, it is embedded within it—legitimized by gender-neutral norms in law, culture, and society (Bryce & Schaffer, 2024; Corradi & Bandelli, 2019; Hazarika & Dowerah, 2023; Turvey, Coronado, & Baltazar, 2022). The concept of symbolic annihilation describes how women are erased from subjectivity through media, policy, and cultural representations that frame femicide as a personal tragedy instead of a structural problem (Bandeira & Magalhães, 2019; Gomes, 2014). In the Indonesian context, the state's silence on legal recognition of femicide reflects the reproduction of patriarkal ideology that places women's lives in a structurally inferior position.

In response, civil society communities like SEKODI and YIPC act as counter-hegemonic forces challenging dominant ideologies. SEKODI employs educational outreach and public advocacy to reject gender-biased legal narratives, while YIPC promotes inclusive spirituality as resistance to oppressive religious interpretations. These efforts represent resistance against the symbolic systems that uphold violence against women—from legal discourse to mass media (Sela-Shayovitz, 2018; Weil, 2016). Therefore, to understand femicide ideologically is to recognize it as part of an ideological apparatus that sustains male dominance over women—and any intervention must include the deconstruction of the social meanings that normalize and silence such violence.

The primary function of this study's findings is to reveal that civil society communities are capable of fulfilling cultural, political, and therapeutic roles that have long been neglected by the state. These communities create ruang aman (safe spaces), bring femicide into public discourse, and assist survivors through empathetic approaches that are largely unavailable within formal systems. This study highlights a critical dysfunction in the handling of femicide: the disproportionate burden of advocacy placed on civil society without sufficient structural support. Communities such as SEKODI, YIPC, and Iteung Gugat continue to be central actors in supporting survivors and raising public awareness—yet they do so amid exhaustion, limited resources, and sustained emotional pressure. This phenomenon reflects what is known as advocacy fatigue—the psychosocial exhaustion resulting from repeated exposure to survivors' trauma and systemic injustice, without institutional backing (Cayir, Spencer, Billings, Hilfinger Messias, & Robillard, 2021). Unsupportive organizational cultures regarding self-care, along with gender- and race-based disparities within advocacy structures, further aggravate the situation. As a result, there is a high

risk of volunteer turnover, depoliticization of movements, and weakening of inter-community solidarity—conditions that directly threaten the sustainability of survivor support efforts.

Meanwhile, from the perspective of its dysfunctions, this research identifies a systemic failure of legal institutions, the media, and educational institutions in recognizing femicide as both structural and cultural violence. In various contexts—including universities and state institutions—patriarkal norms are deeply institutionalized, making the act of reporting violence risky for victims and often resulting in unjust responses (Gardiner & Finn, 2023; Humbert & Strid, 2024). As shown by Kreft (2023) and Pérez-Martín et al. (2025), many institutions in fact reinforce institutional sexism that obstructs the recovery of survivors. In this condition, civil society has become a vital force in disrupting dominant narratives, but as warned by Richie (2022) and O'Reilly (2023), this burden cannot be carried alone. Cross-sectoral interventions, affirmative policy actions, and sustained institutional support are essential to ensure that advocacy against femicide is both just and sustainable.

Based on the findings related to structural dysfunction and advocacy fatigue within community responses to femicide, a series of transformative, cross-sectoral policy actions is urgently needed. First, the state must officially recognize femicide as a distinct category of crime within the national legal framework, either through amendments to the Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana (Indonesian Penal Code) or by enacting dedicated legislation. Such recognition would provide a foundational step toward a gender-responsive approach to justice and ensure that gender-based motives in violence against women are no longer treated as ordinary criminal matters. Furthermore, the government must establish a standardized national tracking system for femicide cases to serve as an evidence base for more responsive and targeted policy formulation.

Second, ministries and government agencies—such as the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KemenPPPA), the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology (Kemendikbudristek), and the Ministry of Law and Human Rights (Kemenkumham)—must build a comprehensive framework for supporting advocacy communities. This includes public budget allocations, psychosocial training for activists, and strengthened institutional regulation. The policy framework should also encompass long-term funding mechanisms for grassroots organizations and the integration of self-care and mental health protection modules into the operational plans of community-based organizations.

Third, prevention strategies must explicitly target potential perpetrators—particularly men—through structured, gender-transformative interventions. While existing action strategies have largely focused on survivors and broad public education, sustainable eradication of femicide also requires direct engagement with men to address the root causes of gender-based violence. This should include nationwide education programs on healthy masculinities in schools, universities, and community spaces; emotional regulation and non-violent conflict resolution training integrated into workplace and vocational curricula; peer mentoring networks that encourage mutual accountability and empathy; and targeted public campaigns led by respected male figures to challenge misogynistic norms. Embedding these male-focused initiatives into the broader legal, policy, and community frameworks would not only help dismantle patriarchal attitudes but also significantly reduce the likelihood of femicide by fostering gender-equitable relationships from the ground up.

In conclusion, the proposed cross-sectoral action plan—comprising legal recognition of femicide, institutional support for advocacy communities, and targeted prevention programs for men—offers a comprehensive framework to address both the symptoms and root causes of gender-based killings. By combining survivor-centered protections with proactive male-focused interventions, this approach not

only strengthens justice and advocacy systems but also transforms the social norms and behaviors that enable femicide. Such an integrated strategy ensures that prevention, protection, and accountability operate in tandem, paving the way for systemic and sustainable reductions in violence against women.

CONCLUSION

This study reveals that femicide in Indonesia—particularly in urban regions such as Jawa Barat and Yogyakarta—is not merely an extreme form of individual violence, but rather a systemic product of gender inequality institutionalized within the legal, cultural, and ideological structures of society. The civil society communities involved in this research play a crucial role in responding to this phenomenon through social strategies including public education, advocacy, psychosocial support, and the creation of ruang aman (safe spaces). Amid minimal state response and a weak formal legal framework, these communities have emerged as agents of cultural, political, and spiritual resistance. They reject not only physical violence, but also challenge the symbolic and structural violence that has long normalized the killing of women. The findings show that resistance to femicide requires a holistic and community-based intervention, as the root of the problem lies not in individual morality alone, but in a social order that allows violence to occur systematically.

The main contribution of this research lies in its in-depth mapping of the roles and challenges of civil society in combating femicide, an area that remains underexplored in academic literature in Indonesia. This study not only offers new empirical data on community strategies for dismantling patriarchal domination and gender-based violence, but also proposes a theoretical approach that integrates social construction theory (Berger & Luckmann) with Johan Galtung's concepts of structural violence and positive peace. In doing so, this research makes a significant contribution to expanding the discourse on violence against women—from one narrowly framed as a legal or criminal issue to a sociological, ideological, and epistemological problem that demands reconceptualization and cross-sectoral engagement.

However, this study also acknowledges several limitations. The scope of the research, which covers only six communities in two major cities, calls for caution in generalizing the findings. Moreover, the qualitative case study approach cannot fully capture the diversity of experiences among communities in rural areas, eastern Indonesia, or komunitas adat (customary communities), who may have different frameworks for understanding and responding to femicide. Limited access to official institutional data on femicide cases and the lack of direct involvement from the state also hindered comparisons between community interventions and public policy measures. Future research may therefore focus on developing cross-regional quantitative studies, involving state officials and religious leaders as informants, and exploring more deeply the dynamics of resistance rooted in local cultures as a means of combating violence against women. It is also necessary to investigate how civil society strategies can be institutionalized within national policy frameworks without compromising their emancipatory and resistant character.

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