

Implementation of Mediation in the Settlement of Domestic Violence Cases by the UPT PPA of South Sulawesi Province and the PPA Unit of the Indonesian National Police Makassar Resort

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ABSTRACT

Marriage plays a role in forming a stable family, but family dynamics are not always harmonious and can be affected by various factors such as communication, division of roles, and conflict. One of the biggest threats to family stability is domestic violence, which is against the value of human rights. Although there are regulations governing domestic violence, the implementation of the law still faces various challenges. This research examines the application of mediation in resolving domestic violence cases at the South Sulawesi PPA Unit and the PPA Unit of the Makassar Police Criminal Investigation Unit using an empirical juridical review method. Data were collected through observation, in-depth interviews, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), and document studies, then analyzed using an interactive qualitative approach. The results showed that the main factors causing domestic violence include gender conflict, economic pressure, personal ego, patriarchal culture, low religious understanding, and infidelity. In addition, social stigma against victims also affects the course of mediation. Victims often face pressure from family and society to reconcile with the perpetrator in order to maintain the family image. Labeling theory explains that victims of domestic violence are often negatively labeled as the ones who destroy households, making it difficult for them to obtain protection and justice. The mediation process includes reporting, mentoring, dialog with psychological and spiritual approaches, and drafting an agreement. However, the limitations of safe houses and social pressure cause many victims to withdraw their reports or return to the perpetrator. Therefore, a more victim-centered approach is needed so that mediation is not only oriented towards reconciliation, but also ensures the safety and well-being of victims.

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1. INTRODUCTION

In Indonesia, the family is recognized as an institution that begins with marriage. The Indonesian legal and social system recognizes marriage as the foundation of family

formation. Marriage is regulated by law, specifically Law Number 1 Year 1974 on Marriage. This law stipulates various provisions related to marriage procedures, the rights and obligations of husband and wife, and legal protection for children born from marriage. According to Article 1 of Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage, Marriage is a physical and mental bond between a woman and a man to bind themselves as husband and wife. The inward and outward bond between a woman and a man as husband and wife with the aim of fostering and forming a harmonious, happy and eternal household based on their respective religious beliefs.¹ (Adila M.2020).[JK1]

Marriage and family are two important aspects of the social structure of society, forming a complex institution with dynamics involving values, norms and critical issues within it. Marriage, as a form of legally and socially recognized relationship between two individuals, has functions that include protecting the rights and obligations of spouses, regulating inheritance of property, and creating a stable environment for the development of children. The family, as a social institution, is a closed environment where interactions between family members take place, involving roles, responsibilities, and social values that form the basis of behavioral norms. Family dynamics are complex and include factors such as communication, conflict, and changing roles that can affect harmony. Social values and norms govern marriage and family, reflecting society's views on gender roles, parental responsibilities, and moral norms in family life. (Clara and Wardani, 2020)². However, serious issues such as domestic violence can undermine family stability and well-being, challenging values that respect human rights.

Law Number 23 Year 2004, particularly Chapter 1 on General Provisions Article 2, provides a broad definition of domestic violence. Domestic violence does not only cover physical aspects, but also includes sexual, psychological, and domestic neglect dimensions. In other words, domestic violence is not only limited to acts of physical violence, but also includes any form of violence that can cause suffering or misery to the victim. From a sociological perspective, the behavior or acts of domestic violence are not new in Indonesian society. This phenomenon has occurred for a long time and continues to this day. This shows that domestic violence is not only a legal

¹ Adila, M., "*Batas Usia Perkawinan pada Undang-Undang Nomor 16 Tahun 2019 tentang Perubahan atas Undang-Undang Nomor 1 Tahun 1974 di Tinjau dari Teori Masalah Mursalah*" (Skripsi, Fakultas Syariah dan Hukum, Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2020).

² Clara, E., and A. A. D. Wardani. *Family Sociology*. UNJ Press, 2020.

issue, but also a social fact that has become part of the social dynamics in society. The people in question are not only those who live in urban areas, but also rural communities. In addition, domestic violence can also occur in families ranging from young marriage age to those who have been together for a long time.

Domestic violence does not only occur in urban communities but also in many rural communities. Alimi dan Nurwati (2021)³ explained that the factors that cause domestic violence include internal and external encouragement. Internally, the push comes from the perpetrator because of the stressors faced with aggressive behavior due to a lack of stress coping skills. Meanwhile, when viewed externally, the patriarchal culture believed by the wider community is the root cause of the problem of violence and the factors that cause violence between husbands and wives to occur. In addition to the factors that cause domestic violence, the case resolution process is also influenced by social factors, one of which is the stigma against victims of domestic violence in the mediation process. Many victims experience social pressure to reconcile with the perpetrator in order to maintain the family's image, even when they have received protection in a safe house.

Labeling theory explains how society negatively labels individuals who are considered deviants from social norms. In cases of domestic violence, victims who choose to report the violence are often perceived as the ones “ruining the household,” so they face pressure to withdraw their report and accept mediation as a peaceful way forward. This label contributes to the victim's difficulty in escaping the cycle of violence, as they not only face pressure from the perpetrator, but also from family and society. Therefore, it is important to examine how social stigma affects the implementation of mediation in domestic violence cases, including the role of safe houses in protecting victims from social pressures that hinder justice for them.

Although there are laws that regulate this issue, challenges remain in its implementation. Therefore, in addition to the legal aspect, prevention, education and socialization efforts are also needed in the community to change norms and values that may support domestic violence. Thus, a holistic approach involving various sectors and

³ Alimi, R., and N. Nurwati. “Factors Causing Domestic Violence Against Women.” *Jurnal Penelitian dan Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat (JPPM)* 2, no. 2 (2021). <https://doi.org/10.24198/jppm.v2i2.34543>.

layers of society is essential in tackling domestic violence in Indonesia. The role of the community/society is currently needed as a step to prevent criminal acts that occur in the community, one of which is the case of domestic violence which, if not supervised together, can have very fatal consequences, starting from light persecution, serious persecution and even ending tragically with murder and death. (Puspitasari, 2023)⁴, besides that, as reported by Tempo.co (2024)⁵ Domestic violence which was very popular at the end of 2022 also occurred among public figures Cut Intan Nabila who reported her husband Armor Toredor which ended with her husband's arrest. No less interesting is that violence against women has also occurred a lot starting from the approach period or what is currently often called the dating period, violence committed by Leon Dozan against his girlfriend Rinoa Aurora Senduk which ended up being reported to the authorities with evidence of several recordings and the results of the post mortem of persecution. (Liputan6.com, 2023)⁶.

Based on the 2023 Criminal Statistics report published by the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), over the past five years there has been a downward trend in the number of cases of crimes against the body or domestic violence in Indonesia. The data can be seen in the following table.

Table 1: Data on the number of domestic violence cases in Indonesia 2018-2023

Numb	Year	Number of Cases
1	2018	8.067
2	2019	8.229
3	2020	8.104
4	2021	7.435
5	2022	5.526
6	2023	10.783

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS), Criminal Statistics Report, 2024

⁴ Puspitasari, M. *Criminal Law Review on Child Neglect Outside of Marriage*. Doctoral dissertation, Atma Jaya Yogyakarta University, 2023.

⁵ Tempo.co. "Assaulting Cut Intan Nabila in Front of Child, Armor Toredor Faces Calls for Harsher Punishment." *Tempo.co*, December 19, 2024. <https://www.tempo.co/hiburan/aniaya-cut-intan-nabila-di-depan-anak-armor-toredor-makin-diminta-dihukum-berat-16829>.

⁶ Liputan6.com. "6 Latest Facts of Alleged Assault by Leon Dozan Against Rinoa Aurora Senduk, Now a Suspect in Two Cases." *Liputan6.com*, November 17, 2023. <https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/5456916/6-fakta-terkini-dugaan-penganiayaan-leon-dozan-pada-rinoa-aurora-senduk-jadi-tersangka-di-dua-kasus>.

Referring to data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), the number of domestic violence cases in Indonesia experienced a downward trend from 2019 to 2022, with the highest number in 2019 at 8,229 cases and the lowest in 2022 with 5,526 cases. However, in 2023 there was a significant spike reaching 10,783 cases (Annur, 2023) . Meanwhile, data from the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection until October 2022 recorded 18,261 cases of domestic violence that occurred in Indonesia. (Meilinda and Indreswati, 2023) .

Based on the data on domestic violence cases in Indonesia, it is interesting for the author to conduct research related to what are the factors that cause domestic violence in the current era and how the implementation of domestic violence mediation / reconciliation at UPPTD / PPA and PPA Polres on domestic violence cases and how social stigma affects victims' decisions in domestic violence mediation and the role of safe houses in protecting victims from social pressure.

2. METHOD

The data collection method used in this research is an empirical juridical review by conducting direct observation in the field / observation without participating in carrying out the activities of the object under study. This research only collects data and information about the object under study regarding the application of treaty law to the peace of domestic violence (KDRT) cases. This application can be observed through the implementation of mediation services at institutions such as the South Sulawesi PPA UPTD and the Makassar Police Criminal Investigation PPA Unit, then conducting in-depth interviews to capture data related to the marriage dispensation process, a tool for collecting information and data by interviewing information sources who have authority or knowledge and can provide valid information material about the intricacies of the events questioned by the interviewer. In the use of in-depth interviews, several written main questions are prepared which function as flexible guidelines, and subsequent questions are based on the informant's answers to the previous questions. (Saptomo, 2009)⁷. Involving experts in their fields such as the Head of UPTD PPA and Kanit PPA Polres or the local Police Chief to provide further understanding of the Application of

⁷ Saptomo, A. *Pure Empirical Legal Research*. Trisakti University, 2009.

Mediation in Settling Cases of Domestic Violence by UPTD PPA and the PPA Unit of the Indonesian National Police Resort (Polres) as well as involving parties from Practitioners / advocates / lawyers and parties from the PPA Unit specifically for child protection. Data collection techniques with documentation are complementary to the use of interview and observation methods. Document study is a qualitative data collection of a large number of facts and data stored in materials in the form of documentation (Sujarweni, 2014)⁸. In this case, information that may be extracted through documentation studies are domestic violence figures on websites, journals or annual reports, the contents of mediation agreements related to domestic violence and other information that can complement the data. Finally, the data analysis technique in this study uses qualitative analysis which is carried out using the interactive analysis method, namely the data collected will be analyzed through 3 (three) stages, namely reducing data, presenting data and drawing conclusions. This analysis model is carried out in a cyclical process between stages, so that the data collected will relate to one another and actually support the preparation of research reports. (Rukajat, 2018).⁹

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Factors causing domestic violence

According to Iptu H. Hartawan SH,S.Psi,MH, as Kanit PPA Polrestabes Makassar City said that, "Domestic violence is not only committed by husbands to wives but can also be committed by wives to husbands, parents to children and maybe even between the head of the household (employer) to the Household Assistant. The following is data on domestic violence cases that have been submitted to the PPA complaint of Makassar City Police in the last 3 years.

Table 2: Data on Domestic Violence Cases of the PPA Unit of Makassar Police Station

Year	Number of Cases	Restorative Justice (RJ)	P21
2022	73	19	Nil
2023	87	62	2
As of July 2024	29	5	Nil

⁸ Sujarweni, V. W. Research Methodology. Pustaka Baru Press, 2014.

⁹ Rukajat, A. *Qualitative Research Approaches*. Deepublish, 2018.
<https://books.google.co.id/books?id=qy1qdwaagbaj>.

Source: Domestic Violence Data of PPA Unit of Makassar Police in 2022 - July 2024

The data in Table 2 shows the number of domestic violence cases handled by the PPA Unit of Makassar Police in the last few years, including settlement mechanisms through restorative justice and P21 status. From the data, it can be seen that domestic violence cases continue to occur every year, with some cases being resolved through legal and alternative mechanisms.

Furthermore, the following table will provide a broader picture of the various forms of violence against women and children, including domestic violence as one of the categories of criminal acts with a high number. This data indicates that domestic violence is still a serious problem affecting women and children and requires more effective protection measures.

Table 3: Number of Violence Against Women and Children

Numb.	Crime	2021	2022	2023	2024
1.	Child abuse	5	24	65	31
2.	Obscene acts against children	18	27	50	17
3.	Sexual intercourse with a child	26	57	79	47
4.	domestic violence	13	71	85	28
5.	Persecution	15	79	17	23
6.	Sexual Violence	0	6	85	34
7.	Obscene Acts	5	21	13	2
	Total	82	285	394	183

Source: Data from the Makassar Police PPA Unit in 2022 - July 2024

According to Hartawan, domestic violence cases soared in Makassar City in 2023, totaling 87 cases and succeeded in RJ or the approach process in solving problems involving victims, perpetrators, and elements of society for the creation of justice in 62 cases. According to him, the perpetrators were given an approach starting with providing a psychological approach and a spiritual approach to the perpetrator. After approaching and digging up information related to the factors of the perpetrators of domestic violence, it is concluded that the cause of domestic violence is the first because of the perpetrator's irritation on the basis of jealousy of the spouse or the

perpetrator's irritation which is usually from the husband who feels less respected by the wife such as the wife not serving the husband's food, etc.

Meanwhile, data on domestic violence cases found at the UPTD for the Empowerment of Women and Children of South Sulawesi Province as of July 2024, as follows:

Table 4: South Sulawesi UPTD PPA Domestic Violence Report Data as of July 2024

Month	Case Type	Male Child Victim	Girl Victim	Adult Female Victim	Total Casualties
January	-	-	-	-	0
February	Domestic Violence (Child Custody)	1	3	-	4
	Domestic Violence (Neglect)	1	-	-	0
	Domestic Violence (Physical and Psychological)	-	-	1	1
	Domestic Violence (Physical)	-	-	2	2
March	Domestic Violence (Child Custody)	2	1	-	3
	Domestic Violence (Neglect)	4	2	-	6
	Domestic Violence (Psychic)	-	-	1	3
April	Domestic Violence (Child Custody)	2	3	-	5
	Domestic Violence (Neglect)	3	6	-	7
	Domestic Violence (Psychic)	1	1	1	1
	Domestic Violence (Physical & Psychological)	-	-	1	1
May	Domestic Violence (Child Custody)	1	-	-	1
	Domestic Violence (Neglect)	1	2	-	3
	Domestic Violence (Physical)	-	-	1	1
	Domestic Violence (Physical)	-	-	1	1

	& Psychological)				
June	Domestic violence (psychological and neglect)	-	-	1	1
	Domestic Violence (Physical)	-	-	1	1
July	Domestic violence (psychological and neglect)	2	2	1	5
	Domestic Violence (Physical)			1	
	Domestic Violence (Neglect)	1	-	1	2
	Domestic violence (psychological and child custody)	1	-	-	1
	Domestic violence (psychological and child custody)	1	-	-	1
	Domestic Violence (Physical & Neglect)	-	2	1	3
	Domestic Violence (Physical & Psychological)	-	-	1	1
	Domestic Violence (Psychic)	-	-	1	1
Total		21	22	16	59

Data of UPTD PPA of South Sulawesi Province in 2023 and as of July 2024

Domestic Violence (DV) cases reported in six months show that the majority of victims are children, with a significant number of adult female victims, while the most common types of cases include child custody, neglect, and physical and psychological abuse. The total number of cases by victim type was 59. This is an increase from the previous year, where in one year (2023), the total number of domestic violence cases was 25. From the results found at UPTD PPA, there were few cases reported and it is believed that there are still many cases that are resolved privately or in the family and even directly raised to the police considering that not everyone understands the request for assistance from the state through the Empowerment of Women and Children. However, according to Ms. Andi Rahmi Adikarini, SH, MM (Head of UPTD

PPA South Sulawesi Province), victims of domestic violence are not always wives but can also be experienced by husbands. According to her, the UPTD PPA of South Sulawesi Province handles referral cases from districts and cities in South Sulawesi province and referrals from the police. And UPTD PPA in addition to being a companion for victims is also a safe house for hiding from the perpetrator until the peace process or even the trial process is completed. The factors that can trigger domestic violence according to the UPTD PPA are caused by economic problems, such as debts of husband/wife, too much interference from third parties such as in-laws, lack of religious understanding, frequent drinking/alcohol, long distance marriage (LDM) and many other factors that can trigger domestic violence. Ana Tasia Pase SH,MH as a Lecturer and Advocate said in her interview that the factors that cause domestic violence include:

1. Economy ;
2. Ego or selfishness of the parties;
3. Lack of legal protection;
4. Perpetrators feel they have power or dominance in the household;
5. No deterrent effect;
6. Habits ;
7. Infidelity ;
8. Lack of religious understanding; and
9. Mistakes of both parties.

According to Ana Tasia Pase SH,MH cases of violence in the current era are actually rampant in big cities committed by working couples in big cities, especially gender issues, especially if the wife has an income above the husband, this can be the main trigger for household problems where economically it is actually not the main problem. This means that domestic violence can occur to those who are not only economically disadvantaged. This domestic violence case if the proof of violence experienced physically is easier to prove, it can be evidence in the form of photos and post mortem results, but it is different from proving domestic violence verbally which is considered more difficult to prove. Verbal domestic violence is violence committed with harsh words, insults, ridicule, threats, frightening, or words that make the interlocutor offended, such as threats not to be given a salary or maintenance, both outward and inward. Verbal violence is a form of domestic violence in addition to

physical, psychological and sexual violence. Whereas the impact of verbal violence cases can be in the form of a decrease in communication skills, creating feelings of inferiority, making victims feel insecure and unfit to build new relationships and even as a result of this verbal violence can have more fatal consequences, namely victims can take their own lives / commit suicide, so for this reason it is necessary to resolve domestic violence cases either by penal mediation or by legal channels or Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR). ADR is a cooperative concept of conflict resolution outside the court that aims to find a mutually beneficial agreement.

3.2. Implementation of mediation in domestic violence cases

Domestic violence cases are complex social issues, often involving legal, psychological and social aspects. The handling of domestic violence in various regions, including Makassar, South Sulawesi, shows the importance of cross-sector collaboration between the police, the Technical Implementation Unit for the Protection of Women and Children (UPT PPA), and other social institutions. One of the processes in domestic violence cases is mediation. Mediation is one approach in handling domestic violence cases that aims to reach an amicable solution between the parties involved, especially the victim and the perpetrator. Based on interviews from PPA South Sulawesi and Makassar Police, the mediation process involves:

1. Reporting and Referral

Domestic violence cases are usually reported directly by the victim to the police or through community information. The police can refer the case to UPT PPA for further handling, especially in psychosocial aspects and safe houses.;

2. Victim Assistance

Once the report is received, the victim is given initial protection, such as placement in a safe house and psychological assistance. UPT PPA plays an important role in ensuring the safety of victims;

3. Mediation Process

Mediation involves the victim, perpetrator, and mediator who usually comes from the UPT or the police. The focus of mediation is to find solutions to the conflicts underlying domestic violence, such as economic problems, jealousy and others. The mediator provides a spiritual and emotional approach to make the perpetrator aware of the impact of his/her behavior, as well as strengthening the victim to be able to face her problems.

4. Deal Maker

If the mediation is successful, an amicable agreement is drawn up in writing and witnessed by the relevant parties. This agreement usually involves a commitment from the perpetrator not to re-offend and other supporting actions. However, during the mediation process not all goes easily there are not a few challenges and obstacles faced by the parties involved, especially if the perpetrator is someone who is temperamental, does not want to admit mistakes and does not want to divorce and is not afraid of dealing with the criminal. Protection for parties other than the victim is also a common concern for the safety of the lives of the parties involved, especially from the PPA Unit who tries to secure the victim. However, in the end, it was up to the victim to decide whether to reconcile or pursue legal action. In addition, the lack of evidence and third party support, especially from both the victim and the perpetrator, often makes the mediation process difficult to complete.

The implementation of mediation is considered effective in resolving mild to moderate domestic violence cases, especially if both parties agree to reconcile and repair the relationship. However, mediation is not recommended for severe domestic violence cases involving serious physical injury or threat to life, where the legal process must still proceed for the sake of justice and protection for the victim. The police also hope that the victim will not waste the police's time by reporting the perpetrator solely for the purpose of deterring the victim and ending in peace. If the victim still wishes to reconcile, it is hoped that the perpetrators will be able to mediate outside the police first with penal mediation by involving parties who can mediate and help solve problems neutrally, such as traditional elders, respected families, the head of the RT and its officials and others who can become mediators outside the police and the Court. An approach that integrates legal, psychological and social services has been shown to provide more comprehensive results, helping both victims and perpetrators understand and address root causes. With this collaborative approach, mediation can be an effective tool in dealing with domestic violence cases, as long as it takes into account the primary interests of the victim and the aggrieved party.

3.3. Social Stigma against Domestic Violence Victims and its Effect on Mediation Implementation

Social stigma is still a dominant factor in influencing victims of domestic violence to choose mediation over the law. According to interviews with UPT PPA South Sulawesi, many victims delay or withdraw their cases in the legal realm due to

family and community pressure. Indeed, social stigma is also attached to victims, where bringing a domestic violence case becomes a disgrace in itself, therefore many victims prefer mediation as a form of middle ground. In addition, the idea that households are flawless also plays a role in making victims feel guilty towards their families if they are unable to undergo mediation. Conceptually, this phenomenon can be explained by labeling theory, which is a theory that talks about the actions of society that give bad labels to individuals who are considered deviant. In this theory, what is considered deviant is not determined by the behavior itself or the person doing it, but by other people's reactions to the behavior. (Tarlow & Spencer, 2025).¹⁰

In domestic violence cases, many victims who seek justice are labeled with negative labels that they may not be able to heal, such as “destroyer”, “disgrace seeker” and so on. This not only changes the way society treats victims, but can also affect the victims themselves. Many victims end up accepting meta-incest because they feel they cannot choose otherwise. Stigma also affects the implementation of mediation. In some cases, victims come to report what they have experienced, but at the end of the mediation period withdraw the case in court. This happened due to pressure from the victim's family who were more concerned with defending the good name of the family than the fate of the victim. Mediation policies that seek the best solution instead favor the more powerful party. This can be seen from victims of domestic violence who are more focused on reconciliation than seeking justice. In fact, in this study, one victim who had been placed in a safe house still chose to return to the suspect after being pressured by the family. During the mediation period, the safe house plays an important role in protecting the victim from further pressure from both the perpetrator and the surrounding environment. Basically, a safe house is a temporary hiding place for victims who are undergoing the mediation process or are still in danger from the perpetrator. However, there are several obstacles in the implementation of this safe house, including limited capacity and duration of stay. Based on interviews conducted, victims are only allowed to stay at the end of the safe house for two weeks so that the mediation process often has to be accelerated in a relatively minimal time. If within two weeks the mediation has not reached an agreement, the victim will be faced with a dilemma between seeking safer protection outside or returning to the same

¹⁰ Tarlow, Peter E., and Andrew Spencer. “Applied Theories, Perspectives, and Methodologies.” In *Human Trafficking and the Tourism Industry*, 29–54. Emerald Publishing Limited, 2025.

environment. In the view of labeling theory, the limitations of safe houses can also contribute to the formation of secondary deviance. Although victims of domestic violence have left the abusive environment and tried to build a new life in safe houses, they often still face secondary deviance in the form of inherent social stigma, such as being considered weak or failing to maintain a household. This stigma not only hinders the psychological recovery process, but can also make it difficult for them to find employment, social support, and the confidence to live independently. (Awaly, et. al. 2023)¹¹

In many cases, after being labeled a victim of domestic violence, individuals are socially suppressed because they are seen as strange and therefore find it difficult to get social and economic support. As a result, some victims feel that they can only return to their abuser, even at the risk of exacerbating domestic violence. In general, stigmatization, which is supposed to protect, makes victims the most favorable defense. This strong stigma suggests that in these cases mediation needs to pay more special attention to the victim's condition. In conditions where there is no protective mechanism where mediation can impose greater sanctions on the perpetrator, it is ultimately the victim who is more burdened because of stigma. Therefore, socialization education needs to be expanded so that victims do not feel burdened on the right when thinking logic for themselves. In addition, the existing safe house system is elastic to provide support to victims, especially for more difficult cases where victims are still under direct threat or pressure from the surrounding environment.

4. CONCLUSION

Based on the research findings, there are several main factors that cause domestic violence, including gender conflict, economic pressure, personal ego, patriarchal culture, low religious understanding, and injustice. These factors show that domestic violence is not just a legal issue, but also a social phenomenon that is influenced by various aspects of community life. Mediation in domestic violence cases is carried out through several stages, starting from reporting, victim assistance, dialogue with psychological and spiritual approaches, to drafting an agreement. Mediation is often

¹¹ Awaly, V. N. H., A. Istikhomah, and E. Nabilla. "Multifactor Theory Analysis on the Crime of Violence in Dating Status (Abusive Relationship)." *Ulil Albab: Jurnal Ilmiah Multidisiplin* 2, no. 7 (2023): 3086–3100.

chosen as an alternative resolution for various reasons, including the desire to maintain the household, social pressure, and limited access to the formal justice system. However, the implementation of mediation still faces challenges, such as limited resources, cultural bias that tends to prioritize reconciliation over justice for victims, and social stigma that weighs on victims in making decisions.

Social stigma against victims of domestic violence plays a significant role in the success or failure of mediation. Victims are often perceived as bringing shame to the family or community if they choose to pursue a legal case. This encourages them to reconcile with the perpetrators even though they are still vulnerable to violence. Labeling theory explains how society labels victims negatively, which prevents them from obtaining protection and justice. In fact, in some cases, victims who have received protection in safe houses still choose to return to their perpetrators due to social pressure and the limited duration of their stay in safe houses.

Overall, while mediation can be a solution in resolving mild to moderate domestic violence cases, a more sensitive approach to the victim's condition is required. Mediation should not be a tool to maintain unequal power relations, but should actually ensure the safety and well-being of the victim. Therefore, it is important to strengthen education in the community to reduce social stigma against victims of domestic violence, increase the effectiveness of safe houses in providing protection, and ensure that mediation is conducted with the principles of justice in favor of victims, not just as a way to maintain an unhealthy household.

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