



Perkumpulan Lintas Feminis Jakarta (Jakarta Feminist)

REPORT: FEMICIDE IN 2023

Documenting the Killing of Women in 2023

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Foreword

Cases of femicide continue to fill the newspapers and websites we read, illustrating the severity and ongoing spread of gender-based violence. This is not just about statistics; it is about providing a picture of the structural injustices and cultures which continue to place women as the most vulnerable people. This report was prepared by Jakarta Feminist as a call to action for all parts of society, encouraging us to be furious about femicide and no longer sit quietly. We are committed to extending justice to victims. Through documenting the cases and analysing the data we have found for 2023, we want to remind everyone that violence against women cannot be allowed to continue.

In 2023, Jakarta Feminist identified 180 cases where women were killed. These cases took place throughout Indonesia's 38 provinces. From the 180 cases, we identified 187 victims and 197 perpetrators; of perpetrators, 94% were men. The majority of perpetrators (36%) and victims (32%) were aged between 26 and 40 years. More than half of the homicides (51%) occurred in a place other than the victims' homes, and the most common method of homicide was the perpetrator's own physical force (36%). One of the primary motives behind the homicides was communication problems between victims and perpetrators, responsible for 26% of cases identified. The majority of perpetrators were identified (92%) and caught by the police (89%), but unfortunately not all were brought to justice through the legal system. Jakarta Feminist also identified that 1% of perpetrators who were charged with a crime were ultimately found not guilty by courts. The data presented in this report are solely cases covered by online media outlets, so these figures likely represent just a proportion of all women killed in 2023. We are certain that there are many more cases that have not been identified or have not received attention from the media.



This report discusses five main aspects in order to provide a complete picture of femicide in Indonesia:

- 1** Analysis of cases, consisting of statistics of homicides of women in each province of Indonesia. The data covers the victims, the perpetrators, the relationships between them, and the motives behind the acts of homicide.
- 2** Analysis of the situations and conditions of the cases, covering the time of the homicide, the location, the method, what was done to the women's bodies after death, and the legal status of the perpetrator, including whether they were caught and brought to justice (as well as the legal articles used to prosecute them).
- 3** Analysis of media coverage of cases of homicides of women, using a feminist perspective to explore how media outlets report on violence against women.
- 4** Recommendations for relevant stakeholders, including the government, law enforcement agencies, and the media, on how to manage and report on cases in which women are killed.
- 5** Reflection from the writers on the femicide data collection process in Indonesia.

In this report, several sections contain explicit details of cases in which women were killed. The reason for doing so is to highlight the urgency of the problem and to demonstrate how our society's deeply-rooted patriarchal culture continues to denigrate women as individuals. However, we are also aware that **this content may spark trauma and make readers uncomfortable**. Because of this, **we recommend that readers take breaks when needed. If you feel triggered, you can stop reading; if you would like to seek help, you can visit carilayanan.com to find information on service providers in Indonesia.**

Femicide is not just a tragedy that affects individuals. It is a structural failure much bigger in nature, one that fails to protect women from violence. Behind the incidents, there are social imbalances and deep patriarchal norms that lead to violence often being considered 'normal' in power relations between men and women. The media also plays a role in this, acting ambivalently in its reporting: by

failing to take the side of justice for the victim, media outlets are in fact ‘framing’ the news in a biased or sensational manner, ignoring the gender issues present in all cases involving the homicide of women.

With this report, Jakarta Feminist reaffirms our commitment to continue fighting for justice for victims of femicide. The data collected and presented in this report is not just statistics; it is a firm reminder that gender-based violence is a serious threat for women in Indonesia. Each number and each case is a call to action which must spur us to keep up the struggle to create a society which is safe and just for all women.

Thank you, and in solidarity,

Perkumpulan Lintas Feminis Jakarta

2024



Executive Summary

Data collection for the 2023 femicide report was conducted between May and August 2024. The research team used key words to identify cases through Google search engine; key words included *pembunuhan perempuan* (homicide of woman), *perempuan dibunuh* (woman killed), *perempuan tewas* (dead woman), *mayat wanita* (woman's body), and *transpuan/waria/bencong tewas* (dead transgender woman). In addition, cases were also identified through including the names of provinces in searches and by restricting the search timeframe to 1 January-31 December 2023 to ensure only cases occurring in 2023 were included in the results.

Overall, we identified 180 cases in which women were killed in 2023, involving 187 victims and 197 perpetrators. This data covers all 38 provinces of Indonesia. Several important findings are presented below:

145

In 2023, the team identified 145 cases of femicide in which the victims were cisgender women, 6 cases in which the victims were transgender women, 12 cases involving the homicide of girl children, and 17 cases involving (other) criminal acts against women.

42%

The largest proportion of cases occurred on the island of Java (42%), with the highest number of cases taking place in East Java (24 cases), West Java (22 case), and Central Java (16 cases). Only in three provinces – Gorontalo, South Papua, and Southeast Sulawesi – were no cases identified as having occurred in 2023.



Among victims, 32% of victims were women aged 26-40 years.

94%

Among perpetrators, 94% were men, and 36% were aged 26-40 years.

13%

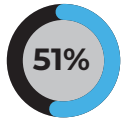
As many as 13% of victims were family members of the perpetrators. The women and girls killed by family members included the children of perpetrators, the mothers, the siblings, and other family members (children-in-law, parents-in-law, siblings-in-law, cousins, nephews, and nieces).



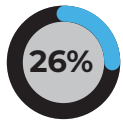
The most common relationship between victims and perpetrators was an intimate relationship (37%). The women in these cases were the wives, girlfriends, secret affairs, ex-wives/ex-girlfriends, and casual partners of the perpetrators.



A large proportion of cases (25%) involved non-personal relationships between victims and perpetrators, in which the two were neighbours, friends, colleagues, students at the same institution, or sex workers and their clients.



The slight majority (51%) of cases occurred in places other than the victims' homes.



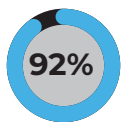
The most common motive for killing a woman (as stated by the perpetrator) was communication problems (26%). **Shockingly, two separate cases were identified in which the victim was killed not because the perpetrator had a problem with the victim, but because the perpetrator had argued with the husband and the father, respectively, of the victim.**



The most common methods used to kill women were the perpetrator's own physical force (36%), sharp objects (32%), and nearby objects (26%). However, several cases also involved more than one method, such as using a nearby object, strangulation, and stabbing.



Perpetrators also often abandoned women's bodies at the site of the crime (69% of cases), disposed of women's bodies elsewhere on land (11%) such as in gardens, rice fields, empty buildings, culverts, or on the side of the street, or disposed of women's bodies in water (6%) such as in rivers, estuaries, wells, and the sea.



The majority of perpetrators were caught (89%) and identified (92%), but only 38% were prosecuted in court (according to online media reports). 61% of media articles did not report the charges faced by perpetrators nor provided updates on the judgements made in court. Unfortunately, the perpetrators of 1% of cases were also found not guilty in court.

The following legal articles were most commonly used to charge perpetrators:



Article 340 of the Criminal Code on murder, with a potential sentence of death, life imprisonment, or maximum of 20 years imprisonment.



Article 338 of the Criminal Code on manslaughter, with a maximum potential sentence of 15 years imprisonment.



Article 365 clause (3) of the Criminal Code on violent theft resulting in death, with a potential sentence of death or life imprisonment.

d

Article 351 clause (3) of the Criminal Code on physical abuse resulting in death, with a maximum potential sentence of 7 years imprisonment.

e

Article 285 of the Criminal Code on rape, with a maximum potential sentence of 12 years imprisonment.

f

Article 348 of the Criminal Code on homicide, with a potential sentence of life imprisonment.

g

Article 80 clause (3) of Law no. 35 of 2014 on Child Protection (revision to Law no. 23 of 2002), with a potential sentence of 15 years imprisonment and a fine of IDR 3 billion.

h

Article 81 clause (1) of Law no. 23 of 2002 on Child Protection, in relation to Article 338 of the Criminal Code, with a potential sentence of 15 years imprisonment.

i

Article 81 clause (5) of Government Regulation Replacing Law no. 1 of 2016 on the second revision to Law no. 23 of 2002 on Child Protection, with a potential sentence of 15 years imprisonment.

j

Article 44 clause (3) of Law no. 23 of 2004 on Domestic Violence, with a potential sentence of 15 years imprisonment and a fine of IDR 45 million.



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Chapter 1

Introduction

Background

Over the last decade (2013-2022), violence against women in Indonesia has increased significantly. This is a very concerning development. Data from the Annual Notes (*Catatan Tahunan*, or *Catahu*) of Komnas Perempuan (National Commission on Violence against Women) shows that there has been a dramatic increase in the number of cases of violence against women, from 180,746 in 2013 to 339,789 in 2022. These numbers are not just statistics; they are a bitter depiction of the violent reality women face in Indonesia at home, in public, and online. The huge jump in the number of cases recorded demonstrates a systematic failure in providing adequate protection for women and girls in Indonesia.

Komnas Perempuan's 2023 *Catahu* also showed that there was an increase in the number of direct reports of violence against women received by the Commission. Up slightly from 4,322 cases in 2021, 4,371 cases were directly reported to Komnas Perempuan in 2022. In other words, on average there are 17 cases of violence against women occurring on a daily basis. This data is, however, just a small proportion of all cases, as many women choose not to report the violence they experience. Challenges such as social stigma, lack of support, and limited access to legal aid are often stated by women as why they stayed quiet.

Although the number of cases of violence against women in Indonesia continues to increase, unfortunately the concept of femicide has not yet been legally acknowledged in our country.¹ This is despite the fact that femicide represents the 'peak' of the pyramid of violence against women, as it is the most extreme form of violence experienced by women. If the increase in violence against women is not taken seriously, there is a risk that more cases will end in femicide. Through media observation using Intelligent Media Analytics (IMA), Komnas Perempuan documented femicide cases occurring in Indonesia between 2016 and 2023. They found that over the course of this period, femicide occurred more frequently from year to year. In 2016, they identified 25 cases; in 2017, 34 cases; in 2018, 100 cases; in 2019, 167 cases; in 2021, 237 cases; and in 2022, 307 cases. A drop in cases occurred only in 2020, when just 95 cases were recorded, and in 2023, when 159 cases were recorded.²

Alongside the research conducted by Komnas Perempuan, as a civil society organisation Jakarta Feminist has been undertaking its own independent observation through media monitoring of cases in which women were killed for the periods 2016-2017, 2021, and 2022. For the period 2016-2017, a total of 316 women were identified as having been killed, with the vast majority of cases involving men as perpetrators.

¹ Countries which have already integrated femicide into criminal law include, among others, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Venezuela (Komnas Perempuan, 2021).

² Komnas Perempuan. 2021. *Kajian dan kertas kerja femisida tidak dikenal: pengabaian terhadap hak atas hidup dan hak atas keadilan perempuan dan anak perempuan*.

In 2021, 256 cases were identified from Indonesia's then-34 provinces, again with the majority of perpetrators being men, while in 2022, Jakarta Feminist identified 162 cases of women killed, including five cases involving the homicide of transgender women, five involving the homicide of girl children, and 12 cases involving (other) criminal acts towards women.³

Even with conditions like this, unfortunately the media often fails to use a gender perspective when reporting on cases involving the homicide of women. Rather than seeing femicide as part of a larger problem of violence against women, these cases of femicide are often treated as individual and ordinary criminal acts, and are reported on in ways that tend to marginalise and objectify the victims.

Femicide is not a phenomenon which stands alone. It is the most extreme form of violence against women and is rooted in systemic gender injustice. Although Indonesia is required to monitor and document femicide under CEDAW (General Recommendation no. 35 of 2017 on Gender-based Violence against Women, in which "States must establish legal systems which provide space and protection for victims of gender-based violence), Indonesia does not have formal data on the homicide of women. Femicide is also not recognised in the national and subnational legal systems, including in the data collected by the Republic of Indonesia National Police. This lack of data frustrates efforts to develop effective policies which can prevent and manage cases of femicide. Consequently, with this report we hope that key stakeholders such as the government and law enforcement agencies are moved by the urgency of this problem and respond to the importance of serious and systematic prevention of violence towards women, especially femicide.

Objectives

Reflecting upon the background outlined above, this report will analyse in depth the cases in which women were killed in Indonesia's 38 provinces in 2023. This report aims to:

- 1 Fill an information gap on femicide in Indonesia.
- 2 Identify cases of homicides of women based on the victims' and perpetrators' identities, their relationships, the motives for and locations of homicides, the methods used, what perpetrators did to women's bodies after death, and the outcomes of cases, as well as analysis of media coverage by online media outlets.

³ Jakarta Feminist, 2022, *Laporan Femisida 22: Lebih dari sekedar angka*, <https://jakartafeminist.com/wp-content/uploads/2024/01/Laporan-Femisida-2022.pdf>

3

Analyse and describe how patriarchal social systems can encourage acts of femicide.

4

Provide recommendations to key stakeholders, including women's organisations, service providers, media outlets, journalist associations/unions, police and law enforcement agencies, and government agencies.

This 2023 femicide report is developed specifically in response to the increased urgency to end violence against women. By providing data-based analysis, we hope that this report can become a strong advocacy tool to demand policymakers to take real action to protect women in Indonesia.

Methodology

This report was developed through a data collection and analysis process which aimed to provide a better understanding of cases in which women were killed in Indonesia in 2023. Data was collected between May and August 2024, using Google search engine to identify online news articles published between 1 January and 31 December 2023. Searches were made systematically through using key words such as:



"Pembunuhan perempuan/wanita/transpuan/waria



Perempuan/wanita/transpuan/waria dibunuh



Perempuan/wanita/transpuan/waria tewas"



("Homicide of woman/woman/trans woman/trans woman



Woman/woman/trans woman/transwoman killed



Woman/woman/trans woman/trans woman dead")

Names of provinces and the year (2023) were also included in searches to ensure relevant results were identified.

After identifying media reports, cases were documented and categorised as follows:

1

Type of homicide: femicide, result of (other) criminal acts, trans woman victim, or girl child victim.

2

Identities of the victim(s) and perpetrator(s) and the relationships between them.

3

Location, motive, method of homicide, what was done to the woman's body after death, and any other notes on the case.

4

Legal outcomes of the case.

5

Analysis of how the case was reported by the media.

For the category of homicides of girl children, we used the age range of 0-17 years, in line with the definition of 'child' in the UN Declaration of Human Rights. However, if the homicide of a girl child was sparked by gender factors, such as gender-based discrimination or gender stereotypes, it was categorised as femicide.

These categories were further divided into sub-categories with codes to ensure easy processing of data. The codes used in 2023 were as follows:

1. Type of homicide

- **FM** : *Femisida korban cis-puan* (femicide with cisgender woman victim)
- **FMT** : *Femisida korban transpuan* (femicide with transgender woman victim)
- **PAP** : *Pembunuhan anak perempuan* (homicide of girl child)
- **PTK** : *Pembunuhan tindak kriminal* (homicide as a result of [other] criminal act)

2. Location of homicide

- **AR** : *Area rumah korban* (victim's home, with details in brackets)
- **LR** : *Luar rumah korban* (beyond the victim's home, with details in brackets)

3. Motive behind homicide

- **PA** : *Problem asmara* (romantic/sexual problems, such as jealousy or the discovery of cheating/an affair, etc)
- **HA** : *Kehamilan yang tidak diinginkan* (unwanted pregnancy, such as when the father did not want to be responsible, etc)
- **PK** : *Problem komunikasi* (communication problem, such as revenge, broken heart, anger, argument, etc. This category does not include economic problems.)
- **PS** : *Penyerangan seksual* (sexual attack, including rape, pornography-inspired attacks, sexual desire, etc)

- **PE** : *Problem emosional* (emotional problems, including mental illness, depression, stress, etc)
- **PEK** : *Problem ekonomi* (economic problems, such as argument, fight, broken heart, anget, etc, in which the main problem related to money and finances.)
- **TK** : *Tindakan kriminal* ([other] criminal act, such as burglary, theft, mugging, accident, etc)
- **DLL** : *Motif lain* (other motive)

4. Method of homicide

- **ST** : *Dengan senjata tajam* (with a sharp object, such as stabbing, hacking, slashing, shooting, etc, using a knife, blade, pistol, etc)
- **BS** : *Dengan benda sekitar* (with a nearby object, such as hitting, tying up, etc, using a rock, hoe, rope, etc)
- **TF** : *Dengan tenaga fisik* (with physical force, such as strangling, hitting, hitting against a wall, hanging, pushing, etc)
- **MB** : *Dengan menghilangkan bukti* (with hiding evidence, such as disposing of the body, drowning the body, burning the body, etc)
- **OB** : *Dengan overdosis obat* (with overdose, such as being forced to take drugs or medicine or drink alcohol until overdosing or falling unconscious before death)
- **DLL** : *Cara lain* (other method)

5. What was done to the woman's body after death

- **DT** : *Ditinggalkan di TKP* (abandoned at the site of the incident)
- **DM** : *Dimutilasi* (mutilated)
- **DPK** : *Diperkosa* (raped)
- **DPR** : *Perusakan bagian tubuh tertentu* (desecration of certain parts of the body, such as breasts, face, genitals, etc)
- **DB** : *Dibakar* (burnt)
- **DD** : *Dibuang di daratan* (disposed of on land, such as on a toll road, in the forest, in a garden, etc)
- **DP** : *Dibuang di perairan* (disposed of in water, such as in a river, a well, the ocean, etc)
- **DKR** : *Dikubur* (buried)
- **DCR** : *Dicor* (cemented)
- **DLL** : *Cara lain* (other act)

6. Case updates

- **PT** : *Pelaku tertangkap* (perpetrator caught)

- **PM** : *Pelaku menyerah* (perpetrator gave himself up to police, perpetrator suicided, etc)
- **PL** : *Masih dalam penyelidikan* (still under investigation)
- **TD** : *Pelaku tidak ditemukan* (perpetrator not found)
- **TUK** : *Tidak ada update kasus* (no update)
- **DLL** : *Hal lain* (other update)

7. Media analysis

- **FR** : *Framing berita yang memojokkan korban/pelaku perempuan* (article framing which negatively portrays the victim or female perpetrator)
- **PR** : *Berita tidak melindungi privasi korban* (article does not protect victim's privacy)
- **HP** : *Berita menggunakan kata hiperbolis/tidak relevan dengan kasusnya dalam menarasikan pembunuhan* (article uses hyperbole or irrelevant words when describing the incident)
- **OB** : *Berita mengobjektifikasi perempuan* (article objectifies the woman)
- **DLL** : *hal lain* (other)

Following the collection of data, data was rechecked and cleaned to ensure information was relevant and accurate, before being turned into percentages.

Based on the collected data, 180 cases were identified from Indonesia's 38 provinces, with 187 victims and 197 perpetrators. The majority of cases were taken from national online media outlets such as Kompas, Detik, and Tribunnews, along with other local online outlets. The data in this report is presented descriptively to provide a clearer picture of the phenomenon of femicide in Indonesia.

Research limitations

We are aware that there are limitations to our methodology. The main limitation is that the data collected relies on online media outlets and their coverage of cases. Clearly, this means not all cases in which women were killed are present in our analysis. Secondly, our justice system does not yet disaggregate data on cases of femicide. This restricts our access to more accurate and in-depth information on victims, case backgrounds, family conditions, and legal outcomes. Media coverage is also often limited to statements from police and witnesses, and is influenced by how 'viral' or 'hot' the case is, so many elements are not presented in full or are not updated when new information becomes available.

Chapter II

Findings of Femicide Cases

Femicide is the homicide of a woman committed directly or indirectly because of her sex or gender. Femicide is spurred by superiority, domination, hegemony, aggression and misogyny towards women, and feelings of ownership towards women, as well as imbalances in power relationships and sadistic satisfaction (Komnas Perempuan, 2022). Komnas Perempuan divides femicide into two types – direct and indirect – based on the perpetrators' intentions. Direct femicide refers to cases in which women are killed as a result of a plan or intention, while indirect femicide refers to cases in which women are killed as a result of gender-based violence that is not planned or intended from the outset. However, femicide is rarely acknowledged as such in Indonesia because it is still treated as a 'normal' homicide, so case data is not disaggregated by gender or other factors.

Cases of femicide should receive additional attention. This is because, according to Diana H. Russell, a researcher who focuses on sexual violence against women, femicide is a form of misogyny towards women and represents the most extreme form of sexual harassment and Violence (Russell, 2012). This argument is in line with that of Corradi and Servos (2016), who state that femicide is both a form of homicide and an extreme form of violence against women, meaning that femicide is a 'double crime' that cannot be categorised as a 'regular' homicide and requires an interdisciplinary approach to be fully understood.

Komnas Perempuan divides femicide into nine categories as follows:

1. Intimate partner femicide

Femicide that is perpetrated by a husband, ex-husband, boyfriend, ex-boyfriend, or casual sexual partner.

2. Cultural femicide

- a. Femicide in the name of respect, such as the homicide of a woman to uphold the status of a family or community. This type of femicide is perpetrated because it is believed that a woman has performed a violation, has had a sexual relationship outside of marriage, has been raped, or has fallen pregnant outside of marriage.
- b. Femicide related to dowry, such as the homicide of a woman because of conflict over dowry, for example when the dowry is considered inappropriate by the groom's family.
- c. Femicide related to race, tribe, or ethnicity, such as the homicide of an Indigenous woman or woman from a certain tribe/ethnicity. Women from minority races, ethnicities, and tribes tend to be most vulnerable to this form of femicide.
- d. Femicide related to accusations of witchcraft, sorcery, or black magic.

- e. Femicide related to female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C), which is a form of control over women's sexuality and reproductive organs and can cause the death of girl children and adult women.
- f. Femicide of female babies, including abortion and infanticide, such as the homicide of female babies (including disabled babies) through selective abortion.

3. Femicide in the context of armed conflict and war

The homicide of women during times of armed conflict, often pre-empted by physical violence from state or non-state actors. UNODC states that the targeting of women during armed conflict and sexual violence as a weapon on war are used intentionally to destroy a society's social cohesion and mental state. Women who are raped during conflict are often distanced or exiled by their community.

4. Femicide in the context of the commercial sex industry

The homicide of women sex workers by their clients or other groups because of disputes over payment or hatred of commercial sex workers.

5. Femicide of women with disabilities

The homicide of women with disabilities because of their disabilities or as an impact of sexual violence and pregnancy.

6. Femicide of women with diverse sexual orientations and gender identities

The homicide of women because of hatred and prejudice towards sexual minorities.

7. Femicide in detention

The homicide of women while in prison, jail, or other forms of detention.

8. Non-intimate femicide (systematic homicide)

The homicide of women who do not have intimate relationships with the perpetrators. This can include random targeting (where the perpetrator does not know their victim and vice versa) or systematic homicide by state or non-state actors.

9. Femicide of women human rights defenders

The homicide of women who fight for human rights in their communities or broader society by state or non-state actors. The struggles which these women are pursuing are considered to threaten or negatively impact certain groups' economic interest or power.

In this report, not all of the homicides we identified through online media coverage can be considered femicide. This is because of a lack of information provided in media articles, especially relating to perpetrators' motives. This limitation made it difficult for our team to identify why these women were killed and whether there were dimensions relating to gender inequality and/or sexual- and gender-based violence. For example, in cases involving the death of girl children and cases of deaths following (other) criminal acts, did these incidents occur because the perpetrators targeted the victims as girls or women? This level of analysis requires more information regarding motives to determine whether the incident can be considered femicide or not. Consequently, **this report uses the term 'cases of homicide of women' in a general sense and the term 'femicide' only for cases where we are certain that the cases are femicide (due to motives).**

What follows are the classifications of cases we identified in 2023.



Part 1. Types of cases and the provinces where they occurred

Based on our research of online media articles covering the period of 1 January-31 December 2023, we identified 180 cases in which women were killed. The details are as follows:

Table 1.1 Types of cases

Type	Total	Percentage
Femicide with cisgender women victims	145	81%
Femicide with transgender women victims	6	3%
Homicide of girl children	12	7%
Homicide with (other) criminal acts	17	9%
Total	180	100%

Each case has a different number of perpetrators and victims. Although 180 cases were identified, these involved 187 victims and 197 perpetrators.



In terms of where cases occurred, Table 1.2 provides province-level data.

Table 1.2 Provinces where cases occurred

No.	Province	Number of cases	Percentage of total cases	Number of cases per 100,000 women population*
1	East Java	24	13%	0.115

No.	Province	Number of cases	Percentage of total cases	Number of cases per 100,000 women population*
2	West Java	22	12%	0.089
3	Central Java	16	9%	0.085
4	North Sumatra	13	7%	0.170
5	Riau	10	6%	0.308
6	DKI Jakarta	9	5%	0.084
7	Jambi	6	3%	0.332
8	Lampung	6	3%	0.132
9	South Sumatra	6	3%	0.140
10	Bali	5	3%	0.228
11	West Kalimantan	5	3%	0.183
12	South Kalimantan	5	3%	0.240
13	Central Papua	5	3%	0.731
14	Riau Islands	4	2%	0.378
15	West Sumatera	4	2%	0.141
16	Banten	3	2%	0.050
17	Central Kalimantan	3	2%	0.224
18	East Kalimantan	3	2%	0.159
19	North Kalimantan	3	2%	0.867
20	West Nusa Tenggara	3	2%	0.108
21	Central Sulawesi	3	2%	0.204
22	North Sulawesi	3	2%	0.229
23	Aceh	2	1%	0.073
24	Maluku	2	1%	0.211
25	East Nusa Tenggara	2	1%	0.073
26	Highlands Papua	2	1%	0.292
27	West Sulawesi	2	1%	0.274
28	South Sulawesi	2	1%	0.021

No.	Province	Number of cases	Percentage of total cases	Number of cases per 100,000 women population*
29	Bengkulu	1	1%	0.098
30	DI Yogyakarta	1	1%	0.027
31	Bangka Belitung Islands	1	1%	0.136
32	North Maluku	1	1%	0.153
33	Papua	1	1%	0.058
34	West Papua	1	1%	0.371
35	Southwest Papua	1	1%	0.339
36	Gorontalo	0	0%	0.00
37	South Papua	0	0%	0.00
38	Southeast Sulawesi	0	0%	0.00

** The rate of cases per 100,000 women population is calculated based on the total number of women living in each province, using the latest BPS data.*

Although new provinces were created in 2022 – with the number of provinces increasing from 33 to 38 – this did not appear to encourage an increase in the number of online media outlets covering the homicide of women. Throughout the data collection phase, our team faced challenges in finding relevant news articles for several provinces, primarily Gorontalo, South Papua, and North Sulawesi. Compared with 2022, when finding news for was challenging for five provinces (Highlands Papua, South Papua, Central Papua, Riau Islands, and Central Sulawesi), in 2023 we were able to find information for four of these five provinces. Only South Papua remained a challenge, with our team unable to identify any online news articles on cases in which women were killed in that province.

Based on Table 1.2, the five provinces with the highest proportion of cases were East Java (13%), West Java (12%), Central Java (9%), North Sumatra (7%), and Riau (7%). Altogether, 42% of all cases occurred on the island of Java, which has consistently seen the highest proportion of cases in our data since 2021. This high percentage is likely for two reasons: Java has the highest population concentration, and more media outlets are based on Java, enabling better accessibility to cover cases. This also causes a Java-centric bias to reporting, as cases on other islands are less likely to be covered by Java-based media.

These challenges in finding information also affected the calculation of women's vulnerability per province. In Table 2.1, it can be seen that although some provinces have high total numbers of cases, it is not always the case that those provinces are

the most dangerous for women. For example, East Java saw a total of 24 cases in 2023 – the most of all provinces – but had a vulnerability factor of just 0.115 cases per 100,000 women population. On the other hand, North Kalimantan was ranked 19 out of 38 provinces for the number of cases (3), yet has a very high vulnerability score, with 0.867 cases per 100,000 women population. This means that women living in North Kalimantan are much more vulnerable and have a higher likelihood of being targeted than in East Java.

Broadly speaking, vulnerability can be examined from angles of environment, economy, and health. Environmental factors can consist of natural conditions that are influenced by geographic and geological conditions as well as the potential for epidemics in certain areas; social issues such as the potential for conflict, violence, and discrimination; and demographic conditions such as population composition, gender ratios, and age ratios. Economic factors are also very dependent on the quality of human resources as well as local government regulations that are closely related to social consumption, income levels, workplace fatalities, employment opportunities, and natural resource management (including scarcity of natural resources). Inappropriate natural resource and human resource management regulations can cause slumps in socioeconomic conditions, which in turn can increase poverty rates in certain areas (Fatullah, 2022). Meanwhile, both physical health and mental health factors play important roles, as a society's health is strongly influenced by the ease of access (or lack thereof) to health infrastructure and services, as well as the environmental and social conditions of the community. Consequently, this concept of vulnerability requires further analysis to determine how local contexts (socio-cultural and economic conditions) influence different levels of women's vulnerability to violence.

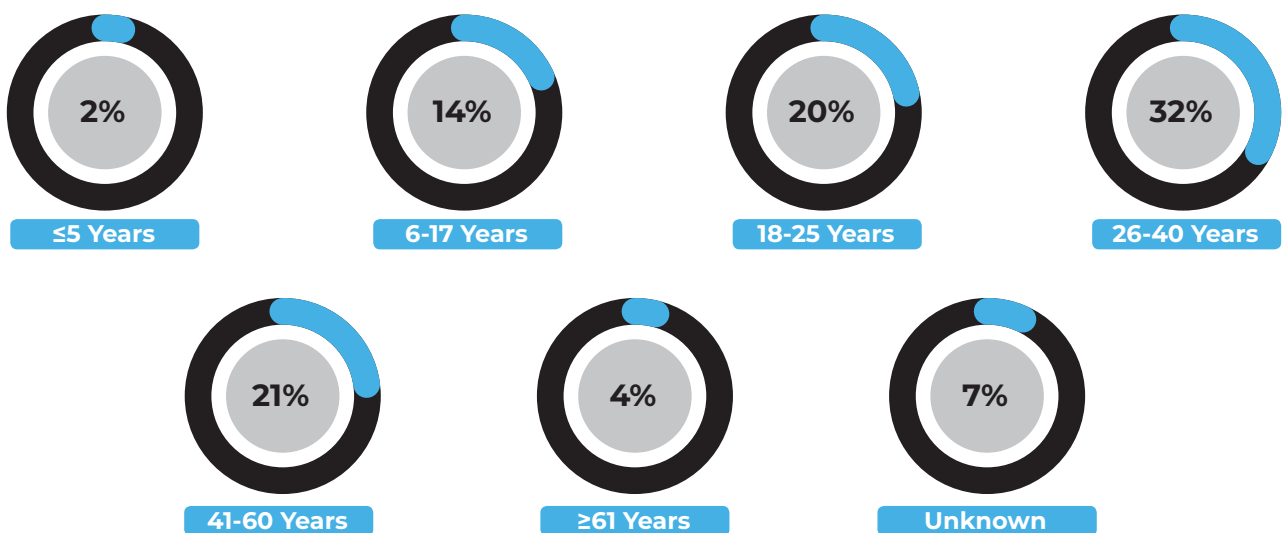


Part 2. Victims, perpetrators, and the relationships between them

In this section, we break down the characteristics of victims and perpetrators, identify the relationships between them, and explore the motives or ‘reasons’ given by perpetrators for their violent actions. We consider these three dimensions as important to explore, as they help us understand the power relations between victims and perpetrators as they stood prior to the acts of homicide. For motives, we consider these as the ‘reasons’ provided by perpetrators to the police or other law enforcement officials, which are then reported by the media; whether these motives are valid (accurate) or not is beyond the scope of this research.

Table 2.1 Age groups of victims

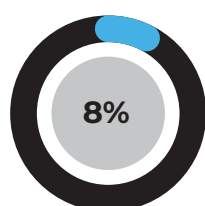
Age group	Total	Percentage
≤5 years	4	2%
6-17 years	27	14%
18-25 years	37	20%
26-40 years	59	32%
41-60 years	40	21%
≥61 years	7	4%
Unknown	13	7%
TOTAL	187	100%



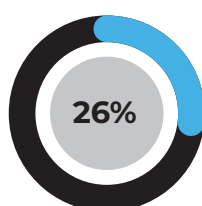
Of the 187 women killed in 2023, the majority were aged 26-40 years (32%), followed by 41-60 years (21%) and 18-25 years (20%). This is the same as in previous reports for 2021 and 2022. This data is confirmed by Komnas Perempuan, whose *Catahu* notes that from the data provided by 123 service providers across Indonesia, the largest group of victims were aged 25-40 years, followed by those aged 18-24 and 14-17. This implies that women of productive age who are killed are also likely to have previously experienced other forms of violence. As illustrated by news articles which provided information on the victim's life prior to her death, victims were often in situations of domestic violence, or were abused until they died as result of their injuries. However, 7% of news articles did not state the victim's age.

Table 2.2 Age groups of perpetrators

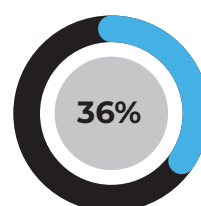
Age group	Total	Percentage
≤ 18 years	16	8%
19 -25 years	51	26%
26 - 40 years	70	36%
41-60 years	36	18%
≥61 years	4	2%
Unknown	20	10%
TOTAL	197	100%



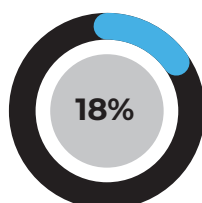
≤18 Years



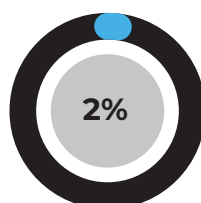
19-25 Years



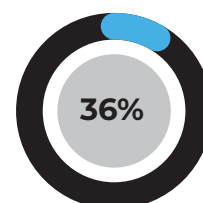
26-40 Years



41-60 Years



≥61 Years



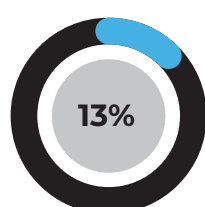
Unknown

Looking at the profiles of perpetrators, **a total of 197 perpetrators was identified, which is significantly more than the total number of victims (187).** Of the 180 cases where women were killed in 2023, we identified 20 cases with more than

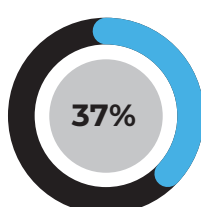
one perpetrator but also 15 cases where the perpetrator remained unknown at the time of writing. Most perpetrators were aged 26-40 years (36%); this is consistent with data from 2021 and 2022. As a result, we can conclude that the majority of both perpetrators and victims were of productive age. Meanwhile, 185 perpetrators (94%) were men and just 12 perpetrators (6%) were women.

Table 2.3 Relationships between victims and perpetrators

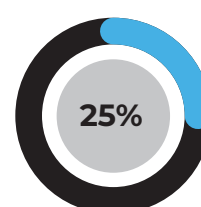
Relationship between victims and perpetrators (victim's identity in brackets)	Total	Percentage
Family relationship (child, mother, sibling, other family member)	24	13%
Intimate relationship (wife, girlfriend, affair, ex-wife/ex-girlfriend, casual intimate partner, secret partner)	69	37%
Non-Personal relationship (neighbour, colleague, friend, student, transgender woman, sex worker, etc)	46	25%
Stranger (no relationship)	16	9%
Relationship not identified	32	17%
TOTAL	187	100%



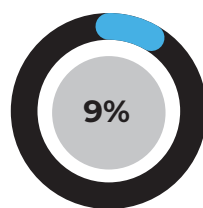
**Family
relationship**



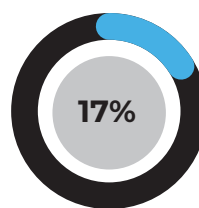
**Intimate
relationship**



**Non-Personal
relationship**



Stranger



**Relationship
not identified**

Our research identified that **37% of victims had intimate relationships with the perpetrators.** They were the perpetrators' wives, girlfriends, ex-wives/ex-girlfriends, casual intimate partners, and secret intimate partners (such as extramarital affairs). In these cases, many perpetrators killed their intimate partners because they felt that their role as the head of the family (or the more dominant partner) was disturbed or threatened by their partners' opinion or reaction. For example, in a femicide case in

Jambi, the perpetrator killed his wife because he was jealous and they had argued about the victim going out with her friends. The woman was initially abused at their home, but was taken to a second location and killed there; when her body was eventually found, it was already black in colour (Detik, 2023).⁴ In another incident in East Java, the perpetrator stabbed his girlfriend as many as seven times before leaving her body in a corn field; it is believed that she had rejected his marriage proposal (Kompas, 2023).⁵

In patriarchal cultures, inflexible constructions of gender place men as those who benefit most, by giving them special rights over women, which in turn strengthens power imbalances. Toxic masculinity, which is created and enforced by patriarchal norms, encourages aggressive behaviour, domination, and oppression of women. This makes women more vulnerable to becoming 'objects of violence', including femicide, because the gender roles forced upon them and their structural reliance on male authority limits women's freedom and equality (Connell, 2005).

The second-most common relationship between victims and perpetrators were **non-personal relationships (25%), where the victims did not have personal relationships with their killers.** In this category, victims were mostly the neighbours or colleagues of the perpetrators, as well as sex workers, so we can assume that hierarchal power was in play. For example, in cases involving the homicide of sex workers, the perpetrators (clients) acted because they were not satisfied, did not want to use condoms, or did not want to pay for the women's services. One case identified in Cimahi, West Java, involved the perpetrator stabbing a sex worker and raping her until she bled to death. The perpetrator also acknowledged that he had previously extorted and been sexually violent towards three other sex workers (Detik Jabar, 2023).⁶ From these cases, we can see that there were power imbalances between perpetrators and victims. The perpetrators often felt that as clients of sex workers, they had power over the women's bodies and had the right to extort them, abuse them, rape them, and even kill them.

Other categories of relationships identified in 2023 included family relationships (13%) and no relationships (that is, strangers; 9%). However, for 17% of victims, media articles did not identify the relationship between victims and perpetrators.

We would like to highlight that in the cases identified, women were not only in vulnerable positions, but also often completely lacked any choice, even when saying 'NO'. We found that this was the case in several incidents where ex-husbands or ex-boyfriends were the perpetrators. Even though their relationships were over, it seems that the men could not let go of their feelings of superiority, domination,

4 Dimas Sanjaya, 03 September 2023, detik.com, <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-6910864/wanita-hangus-tanpa-busana-di-merangin-jambi-ternyata-dibunuh-suami-siri>

5 Muhlis, 19 April 2023, surabaya.kompas.com, <https://surabaya.kompas.com/read/2023/04/19/103611078/wanita-penjual-kopi-ditemukan-tewas-penuh-luka-di-ponorogo-terduga-pelaku>

6 Tim detik Jabar, 18 Maret 2023, detik.com, <https://www.detik.com/jabar/hukum-dan-kriminal/d-6625557/psk-pink-gemoy-hilang-nyawa-di-tangan-pemerkosa-kejam>

hegemony, aggression, misogyny, and ownership over their ex-partners' bodies. The women were essentially left without a voice, or, despite using their voices, were not listened to at all (Morris, 2010). One such example comes from a case in Banten, where a man killed his 22-year-old ex-girlfriend because he was jealous that she had a new boyfriend. The perpetrator strangled the woman and covered her mouth until she fell over. Although the victim had fought back, successfully biting the perpetrator's hand, she fainted, and the perpetrator took her moment of weakness to hit her twice with a piece of a broken toilet until her neck was torn open (Kompas, 2023).⁷ A similar case was found in Cirebon, where a man killed his 47-year-old ex-wife because she refused to get back together with him. The perpetrator stabbed the woman nine times with a knife. These two cases alone show men's 'attachment' to women, to the extent that even when relationships have ended, it does not mean that women automatically become free from the risk of femicide.

Table 2.4 Perpetrators' motives for homicide

Perpetrators' motives	Total	Percentage
Intimate problems	34	20%
Unwanted pregnancy	7	4%
Communication problems	44	26%
Sexual attack	18	11%
Emotional problems	15	9%
Economic problems	26	15%
Other criminal acts	21	12%
Other motives	5	3%
TOTAL	170	100%



26%
Communication problems



20%
Intimate problems



9%
Emotional problems

⁷ Diva Lutfinasa, 12 Februari 2023, [kompas.com](https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2023/02/12/070000365/perempuan-dibunuh-mantan-kekasih-dengan-kloset-komnas--superioritas?page=all), <https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2023/02/12/070000365/perempuan-dibunuh-mantan-kekasih-dengan-kloset-komnas--superioritas?page=all>

As mentioned in the part on the relationships between victims and perpetrators, there were several different ‘motives’ stated by perpetrators behind their actions. For the research team, these motives are one of the key factors in determining whether a homicide was femicide or a(nother) criminal act. Motives also strengthen our understanding of imbalances between victims and perpetrators. We found that as many as 26% of cases involved motives of communication problems, such as revenge, frustration, broken heart, anger, and arguments; these cases do not include communication problems occurring as a result of money. The second-most common motive for homicide was intimate problems (20%), such as jealousy or the uncovering of an affair, and the third-most common motive was economic problems (15%), such as wanting a victim’s money or belongings or because the perpetrator was in debt. **Of the 180 cases we identified in 2023, motives could not be identified in five cases, as the media outlets did not provide complete information, cases were still under investigation, or the perpetrator had suicided. Motives are also unclear for another 14 cases because the perpetrators had not been identified at the time of writing.**

Several cases involved more than one motive because the perpetrators had multiple reasons behind why they killed their victims. For example, in Surabaya, East Java, a perpetrator killed a female university student, put her body into a suitcase, and threw the suitcase into a ditch. Investigation revealed that the perpetrator – who was married – had been in a secret relationship with the student for several years since she was in junior high school; they had met because the perpetrator was giving music lessons at her school. In this case, we need to be critical of their relationship, which was a case of child grooming and a form of sexual violence against a child. At the time of the incident, the perpetrator was unemployed and had argued with the victim. Later claiming that he was upset and broken hearted, and that he wanted the victim’s belongings, he strangled her until she died, then pawned her car (Detik Jatim, 2022).⁸

By analysing the relationships between perpetrators and victims, as well as the perpetrators’ motives for killing, we can see that the victims of these homicides come from all age groups: everyone from toddlers to the elderly are at risk. In addition, both in personal and non-personal relationships, women are still considered to lack the right to decide something, to have value, and to protect themselves. Women are often still positioned as objects for men to ‘vent’ because of men’s failure at regulating their own emotions, their inability to resolve economic difficulties, and their desire to use women’s vulnerability to validate their own masculinity. Toxic masculinity encourages perpetrators to feel as though they must be strong men and have power over women; this dimension greatly influences men’s acts to kill women, especially in cases of femicide. Even being a family member or intimate partner of a man does not reduce a woman’s risk of being killed, so long as gender imbalances between men and women remain.

8 Deny Prastyo, 08 Juni 2023, detik.com, <https://www.detik.com/jatim/hukum-dan-kriminal/d-6762040/tampang-guru-les-musik-yang-bunuh-mahasiswi-lalu-masukkan-jasadnya-ke-koper>

Chapter III

Analysis of cases of femicide

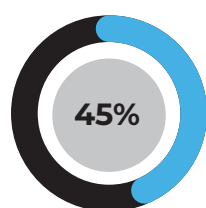
AFTER analysing the profiles of victims and perpetrators, the relationships between them, and the motives behind homicide in the previous chapter, in this chapter we will explore further where incidents took place, what perpetrators did to the victims' bodies after death, and the legal status of the perpetrators (so far as we could identify through media reports). What is done to a victim's body after death is an important dimension that strengthens our argument that femicide is no 'ordinary' type of homicide, but that there is a sadistic and brutal element to femicide, even when it comes to what happens to the bodies of victims. Consequently, **this chapter will be more explicit in explaining incidents in which women were killed, so we advise readers to take their time. If you feel disturbed or uncomfortable, please take a break and close this report.**

Part 1. When a homicide occurs

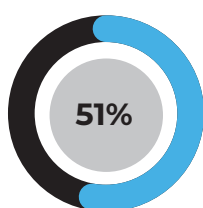
In this part, we identify where women were killed. The location, the method, and what was done to the victims' bodies are important elements to understand. From this, we can see the dynamics and the follow-ups to femicide cases.

Table 3.1 Locations where women were killed

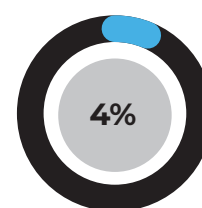
Location	Total	Percentage
At the victim's home	81	45%
Location other than the victim's home	92	51%
Unknown	7	4%
TOTAL	180	100%



**At the victim's
home**



**Location
other than the
victim's home**



Unknown

If we look back at the Jakarta Feminist report on femicide in 2022, we can see that there was no change in the location where more women were killed in 2023. **Once again in 2023, we found that most femicides occur at a location other than the victim's house (51%).** This means that public spaces, too, can be places where women are vulnerable to violence. These places include perpetrators' homes, hotels, *warung*,

and beauty salons, as well as true ‘public’ spaces where members of the community can pass by and find a victim’s body laying there just like that, such as gardens and fields, forests, rice fields, and parking spaces.



Hotel



Homes



Warung



Parking

According to Henri Lefebvre (2000) in his book *The Production of Space*, space as a complex social product or social construction influences practices of space and perceptions of space. In the context of femicide, this theory provides a framework to analyse how violence against women is often associated with the private space or home, while in fact many cases of femicide occur in public spaces which are influenced or controlled by structures which support patriarchal domination. Other public spaces such as roads, parks, workplaces, and public transportation are often constructed as ‘male spaces’, so women in such spaces frequently face threats of violence or close social observation, such as regulations requiring women to wear particular clothes or return home by a certain time of night, are produced by patriarchal norms and normalise the domination of men over women. Consequently, women in public spaces are often see as ‘legitimate targets’, including of violence.

One such example identified in 2023 involved the homicide of a 30-year-old woman. Nine months pregnant at the time, her body was found floating at Maruni Beach, Manokwari, West Papua. It was found that the woman had been walking past a group of people drinking alcohol, when a man broke off from the group to follow her, attack her and rape her, ultimately killing her (Serambinews, 2023).⁹ A similar case was identified in Jambi, in which the perpetrator raped and killed a 15-year-old junior high school student. The girl had reportedly helped the man buy some medicine, and, rather than thanking her, the man grabbed the girl and dragged her to an oil palm forest, where he raped her and cut her throat (Kompas, 2023).¹⁰

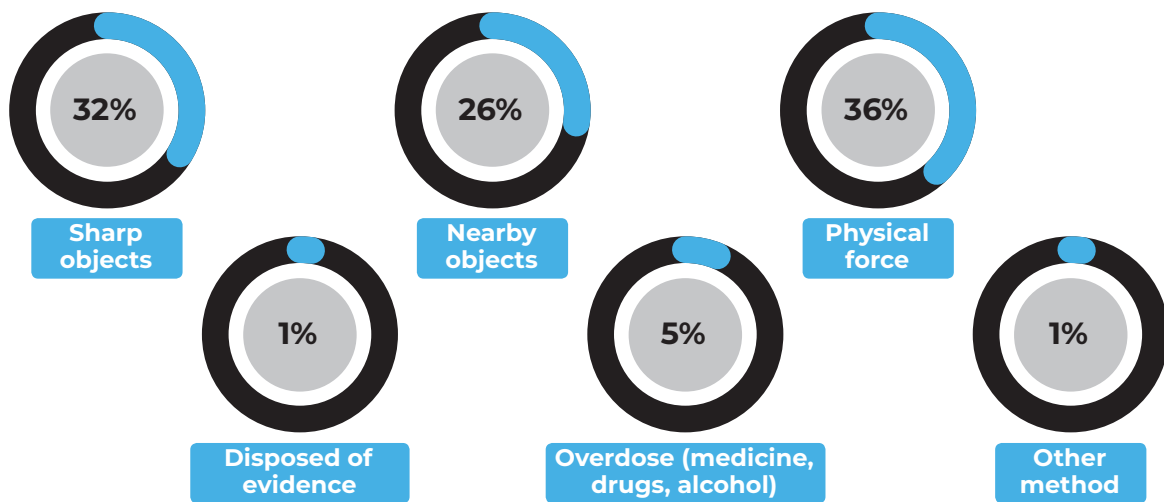
In other words, women’s experiences of space are very different to those of men. Women must face threats of violence that can emerge at any time, in both public and private spaces. The patterns of control and domination – developed by social norms – and policies which fail to adequately protect women in all spaces mean that women are not safe, wherever they are.

9 Faisal Zamzami, 8 Juni 2024, [aceh.tribunnews.com](https://aceh.tribunnews.com/2023/06/08/nasib-tragis-wanita-hamil-9-bulan-dirudapaksa-dan-dibunuh-jasadnya-ditemukan-terapung-di-pantai), <https://aceh.tribunnews.com/2023/06/08/nasib-tragis-wanita-hamil-9-bulan-dirudapaksa-dan-dibunuh-jasadnya-ditemukan-terapung-di-pantai>

10 Rachmawati, 08 Maret 2023, [regional.kompas.com](https://regional.kompas.com/read/2023/03/08/125700678/kronologi-siswi-smp-di-jambi-diperkosa-dan-dibunuh-secara-sadis-di-tengah), <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2023/03/08/125700678/kronologi-siswi-smp-di-jambi-diperkosa-dan-dibunuh-secara-sadis-di-tengah>

Table 3.2 Methods of homicide

Method used	Total	Percentage
Sharp objects (including firearms)	64	32%
Nearby objects	52	26%
Physical force	71	36%
Disposed of evidence	1	1%
Overdose (medicine, drugs, alcohol)	9	5%
Other method	2	1%
TOTAL	199	100%



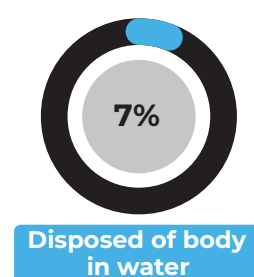
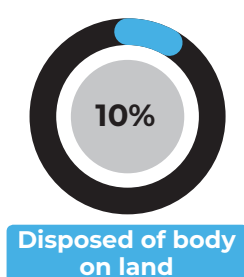
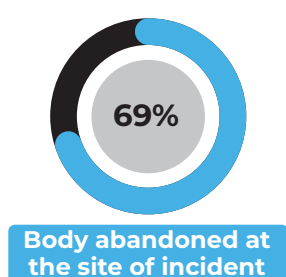
As shown in Table 3.2, the most common method used by perpetrators to kill women was their own physical force (36%), followed by sharp objects (including firearms, 32%), and nearby objects (26%). Physical force includes physical assault, strangulation, and hitting a victim against the wall, and often also involves the use of nearby objectives to tie up the victim (with shoelaces, raffia, cables, and lengths of cloth), to hit the victim with (pieces of wood, rocks, gas bottles, hammers, and pieces of cement), and to strangle the victim (such as with a belt). Several cases involved unusual objects such as hoes and broken pieces of toilets, as perpetrators tend to use whatever is at hand to attack their victims with.

Meanwhile, sharp objects (including firearms) were also frequently used in the cases we identified, such as knives, sickles, machetes, cleavers, scissors, and pistols. Acts of homicide committed with sharp objects do not always mean victims die faster, and do not reduce victims' suffering compared to brutal physical violence resulting in death. For example, in one case we identified, in Gresik, East Java, the perpetrator stabbed their daughter until she died; more than 21 stab wounds were found on her

body.¹¹ According to a psychologist in New York, Naftali Berrill, an attack or homicide of an individual through strangulation, stabbing, or other methods which involves physical contact usually indicates the perpetrator was angry with the victim, hated them, or was paranoid (Niler, 2014). **From the cases identified in 2023, we found that perpetrators did not only take the lives of their victims but also used them to express their anger through their brutal method of homicide.**

Table 3.3 What was done to women's bodies after death

Action	Total	Percentage
Body abandoned at the site of incident	127	69%
Mutilated	3	2%
Raped	6	3%
Desecration of a body part	1	1%
Burnt	4	2%
Cemented	1	1%
Buried	1	1%
Disposed of body on land	19	10%
Disposed of body in water	13	7%
Other	10	5%
TOTAL	185	100%



Different to previous years' reports, this year we attempted for the first time to collect information on what was done to women's bodies after their deaths. What happens after death is important to understand, because it reflects dimensions of gender-based violence. **Our findings indicate that most victims' bodies were abandoned at the site of the incident (69%), while 10% were disposed of on land (such as on a beach, in an empty shophouse, in a ditch, or on the side of the road), while 7%**

¹¹ Raza Kurnia, 03 Mei 2023, surabaya.kompas.com, <https://surabaya.kompas.com/read/2023/05/03/090900178/selembarkertas-bertuliskan-selamat-tinggal-di-tpk-ayah-bunuh-anak-di?page=all>

were disposed of in water (such as in a river, in a drain, or in a swamp). Bodies abandoned at the site of the incident were not always just left as is, however – some perpetrators wrapped up the bodies in plastic, removed the victims' clothes, or covered the bodies in weeds or rubbish.

Our research also identified six cases in which the perpetrators acted brutally towards their victims' bodies after death, including committing rape (6 cases), burning them (4 cases), and mutilating them (3 cases). It should be made clear that burning a victim's body after death is different to burning as a method of homicide. In this context, it means that a victim has been killed first, then her body is burnt after death. In other cases, perpetrators mutilated victims' bodies after death, such as a case identified in Tanjungpinang, Riau Islands, a perpetrator killed a 57-year-old transgender woman because he could not afford to pay her for the sexual services she had already provided. He hit her with a rock and pushed a sharp piece of wood into her anus, then continued hitting again with a larger piece of wood until she died (Tribun Batam, 2023).¹²

Several other forms of post-mortem activity were also identified. For example, one perpetrator 'hanged' the victim's body to make it look as though she had killed herself; one perpetrator took the already-dead victim on a motorcycle ride and pretended she fell off into a ditch; and another perpetrator, after spending some time abusing the victim, took the victim to the hospital and left her there to die. One specific case involved a man who killed his 19-year-old wife with the help of the victim's own mother-in-law and older sibling-in-law. The perpetrator strangled the victim while the sibling-in-law held her down and tied her up until the victim could not move. The three had reportedly planned to murder the woman in a way that made it look like she had suicided. The victim's husband told the police that he was frustrated with the victim's attitude, such as that she did not often want to make coffee for him, so he made the plan to kill her (Kompas, 2023).¹³

The brutal treatment of femicide victims can be seen as the perpetrators' attempts to humiliate, objectify, and dehumanise women, reflecting symbolic violence against women. Symbolic violence is a hidden form of power which is enforced through cultural symbols, language, and norms, so that inequality appears 'natural' and invisible because societies have long accepted it, even though in fact there is arbitrary and unrecognized power behind it (Bordieu, 1994; Gusnita, 2017). In the context of femicide and other forms of killing women, forms of symbolic violence can include:

Internalisation of patriarchal norms

Symbolic violence works by making women take on subordinate roles in patriarchal societies. In the case of femicide, perpetrators sometimes act brutally because they

12 Alfandi Simamora, 13 November 2023, [batam.tribunnews.com](https://batam.tribunnews.com/2023/11/13/reka-ulang-pembunuhan-waria-di-tanjungpinang-tersangka-pukul-korban-pakai-batu?page=all), <https://batam.tribunnews.com/2023/11/13/reka-ulang-pembunuhan-waria-di-tanjungpinang-tersangka-pukul-korban-pakai-batu?page=all>

13 Reza Kurnia, 01 Januari 2023, [regional.kompas.com](https://regional.kompas.com/read/2023/01/08/193000778/aktng-ibu-mertua-di-lombok-tengah-pura-pura-kaget-saat-temukan-mayat?page=all), <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2023/01/08/193000778/aktng-ibu-mertua-di-lombok-tengah-pura-pura-kaget-saat-temukan-mayat?page=all>

have internalised the view that women are ‘lower’ than men in society, to the extent that inhumane treatment towards women’s bodies after death can be seen as a way to ‘strengthen’ male domination.

Contempt as a form of violence

Perpetrators’ actions in killing women and mistreating their bodies do not only intend to destroy women physically, but also to denigrate them symbolically. For example, mutilation, rape, and ways of displaying or showing off women’s bodies reflects symbolic messages that women are simply objects and can be treated however men want.

Naturalisation of violence against women

In symbolic violence, violent acts are often considered to be ‘normal’ or ‘natural’ because cultures promote aggressive forms of masculinity. In this case, femicide is the result of societies which symbolically permit brutality towards women.

As such, femicide is no longer seen as something that can be done towards women, but also something that *should* be done to women.

Table 4.4 What happens next

Outcome	Total	Percentage
Perpetrator caught	175	89%
Perpetrator gave self up	12	6%
Still under investigation	10	5%
TOTAL	197	100%



Of the 180 cases we identified as occurring in 2023, there were 197 perpetrators, of whom 89% were caught. In addition, 6% of perpetrators handed themselves into the police, and 5% of cases remained under investigation at the time of writing. **In another 9 cases, the perpetrator was not identified or not found, while media articles did not note the outcomes for 8 cases. Consequently, our documentation only covers perpetrators who were identified (including those identified but still**

on the run) and whose genders and ages can be identified because they were caught, handed themselves in, or killed themselves.

However, our team encountered challenges in following cases through to the end, as most online media reports do not provide updates on legal status of cases, what the perpetrators have been charged with, or whether the perpetrators have been prosecuted in court (and if so, what the sentences were). **Of the 89% of perpetrators who were caught, media articles only provided information on the legal outcomes in 38% of cases.** Some of the articles used to prosecute perpetrators in 2023 included:

- a** **Article 340 of the Criminal Code** on murder, with a potential sentence of death, life imprisonment, or maximum of 20 years imprisonment.
- b** **Article 338 of the Criminal Code** on manslaughter, with a maximum potential sentence of 15 years imprisonment.
- c** **Article 365 clause (3) of the Criminal Code** on violent theft resulting in death, with a potential sentence of death or life imprisonment.
- d** **Article 351 clause (3) of the Criminal Code** on physical abuse resulting in death, with a maximum potential sentence of 7 years imprisonment.
- e** **Article 285 of the Criminal Code** on rape, with a maximum potential sentence of 12 years imprisonment.
- f** **Article 348 of the Criminal Code** on homicide, with a potential sentence of life imprisonment.
- g** **Article 80 clause (3) of Law no. 35 of 2014 on Child Protection** (revision to Law no. 23 of 2002), with a potential sentence of 15 years imprisonment and a fine of IDR 3 billion.
- h** **Article 81 clause (1) of Law no. 23 of 2002 on Child Protection**, in relation to Article 338 of the Criminal Code, with a potential sentence of 15 years imprisonment.
- i** **Article 81 clause (5) of Government Regulation Replacing Law no. 1 of 2016 on the second revision to Law no. 23 of 2002 on Child Protection**, with a potential sentence of 15 years imprisonment.
- j** **Article 44 clause (3) of Law no. 23 of 2004 on Domestic Violence**, with a potential sentence of 15 years imprisonment and a fine of IDR 45 million.

In contrast to 2022, when Article 12 of Law no. 12 of 2022 on Sexual Violence Offences was used in several cases, in 2023 we could not identify any perpetrators of femicide which were prosecuted using this law. If indeed there were no legal decisions in 2023 involving the Law on Sexual Violence Offences, then the state – especially the police – is ignoring cases of femicide that are accompanied by sexual violence. For example, a 15-year-old junior high school student was raped and killed in Jambi, but media articles only reported that the perpetrator was charged under Article 81 clause 91) of Law no. 23 of 2022 on Child Protection, in relation to Article 338 of the Criminal Code, with a potential maximum sentence of 15 years. In this case, the fact that the perpetrator raped the girl before killing her appears to be overlooked entirely, because the case was placed under legal articles on manslaughter and child protection.

As explained above, although the majority of perpetrators were caught in 2023, unfortunately they were not always sentenced appropriately, or media articles only partially identified their legal charges. Another finding about outcomes of justice showed that **1% of cases identified, perpetrators were found not guilty in court and freed.** In 2023, this included a case from Surabaya, East Java, where a man – who was also the son of a member of national parliament – abused his 29-year-old girlfriend until she died. Media articles showed that the man brutally and deliberately tortured the woman to cause physical and psychological suffering, including beating her, running her over with a car, recording her while verbally abusing her, and eventually putting her in the boot of a car and taking her to an apartment then the hospital. Unfortunately, the victim died around 30-45 minutes prior to arriving at the hospital (Detik Bali, 2023).¹⁴ This entire series of abuse is clearly femicide in an intimate relationship, where the gender-based power relationship between the victim and the perpetrator is the main trigger behind the attack.

Despite detailed media reports, CCTV evidence, and a *visum et repertum* showing clear violence (including blunt force injuries and being run over by a car), the Surabaya District Court Judge nevertheless acquitted the perpetrator. In a press release, Komnas Perempuan emphasised that “The defendant’s efforts to help the victim do not eliminate the fact that the defendant did commit assault. In fact, it should be seen that the defendant’s efforts to help were too late or negligent, which caused the victim’s death.”

This case clearly demonstrates femicide’s unique pattern of violence: the extreme violence shown through assaulting, dragging, and running the victim over with a car did not only take her life, but ashamed and objectified a woman’s body. The perpetrator’s actions towards the victim – such as putting her body inside the boot of the car – shows how victims are treated as objects, not as humans. This is a form

¹⁴ Tim detik Jatim, 06 Oktober 2023, detik.com, <https://www.detik.com/bali/hukum-dan-kriminal/d-6968021/kisah-tragis-dini-spg-yang-tewas-dianiaya-anak-anggota-dpr>

of symbolic violence, where gender domination is enforced through actions which destroy victims both physically and symbolically.

In addition, there was a flagrant abuse of power in this particular incident. The perpetrator, as the child of a member of parliament, escaped punishment despite significant evidence against him. This shows that political power can protect violent perpetrators, creating a sense of impunity that may not be present if the perpetrator was not an influential figure. The combination of gender-based violence and abuse of power means this case is a clear example of femicide protected by the patriarchal system that exists within law enforcement.

Part 2. Femicide as a manifestation of structural and cultural violence

In the pyramid of gender-based violence, femicide sits at the very top. The middle layers cover physical and sexual violence, such as assault, forced sterilisation, and rape. The bottom layers include micro-aggressions and forms of harassment, such as stalking, catcalling, and staring at certain parts of women's bodies, among others, and at the very bottom sits attitudes and ways of thinking which objectify women, such as sexist jokes and victim blaming. The GBV pyramid shows how acts of violence such as verbal harassment can become physical violence, and, at the end, can even take the form of femicide. Femicide does not stand alone as the taking of a woman's life but is rather the accumulative result of a variety of forms of GBV and the 'normalisation' of repetitive violence.

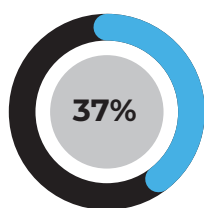
Peace activist Johan Galtung defines violence as "any physical, emotional, verbal, institutional, structural or spiritual behaviour, attitude, policy or condition that diminishes, dominates, or destroys others and ourselves" (in Eriyati, 2017). Galtung divides violence into three categories: direct violence, structural violence, and cultural violence. Direct violence involves the use of physical force, such as through acts of homicide, abuse, and rape, as well as verbal violence, which is now widely acknowledged as a form of violence. Structural violence is violence which is not enacted by an individual but is hidden in social structures. Cultural violence covers attitudes and beliefs that are taught from childhood and surround us in our everyday lives, and relate to power and need for violence.

Using Galtung's concept of violence as a foundation, patriarchy can thus be seen as the main cause of gender-based violence. In the context of structural and cultural violence, patriarchy causes inequality by placing women in subordinate positions, sparking and normalising acts of violence, including femicide as the ultimate form of GBV. In structural violence, patriarchy limits women's access to economic resources, education, and decision making. This injustice does not only affect individuals but is the result of a social system which supports male dominance and creates a fertile



environment for GBV. In cultural violence, patriarchy is present through norms which require women to submit to men, as well as in beliefs that violence against women is a form of control within relationships. These beliefs are so deep-rooted that they are often considered normal, leading to GBV being accepted without serious criticism.

Part 3. Femicide in intimate relationships



In 2023, we found 69 cases (37%) involving the homicide of women within the context of intimate relationships. Motives included jealousy, rejections of marriage proposals, requests for divorce or separation, refusal to have sexual intercourse, and other forms of rejection, all of which are seen as a lack of women's obedience towards their male partners. Monckton-Smith (2012) explains that several 'narratives of love' are used by perpetrators of intimate partner femicide to justify their actions, such as jealous love, tough love, and separation. In the 'jealous love' narrative, victims are killed because perpetrators suspect their partners have cheated on them, have saved other men's phone numbers, have interacted with other men, or even because they have defended their male friends.

One case of femicide in which the perpetrator was jealous occurred in Purwokerto, West Java. The perpetrator raped and assaulted the victim (25 years old) until she died; he claimed that he was jealous and that the victim had another lover. The perpetrator was a recidivist, having committed another murder in 2012 and only released from jail in 2020 (Detik Jateng, 2023). Another case of femicide occurred in Aceh Besar,

Aceh, and involved a man who killed his 67-year-old wife with a machete because he suspected she was having an affair with their neighbour (Tribun, 2023). A third case of femicide involving jealousy was identified in Sarolangun, Jambi, in which the perpetrator cut his 40-year-old wife's throat before attempting to kill himself (Detik, 2023). From these three cases, we can see that suspicions of extramarital affairs can provoke extreme emotional reactions among men, to the point where they can even lead to deadly violence.

Another narrative is that of 'tough love'. This narrative is often used to describe approaches to dealing with disobedient children. In cases of intimate partner femicide, perpetrators feel that their masculinity has been wounded because their wife or partner is not obedient to them or fails to fulfil the men's 'rights' (e.g. to home-cooked food, to sex). This makes men think that the women are deserving of violence, or even death. One case identified in Pesawaran, Lampung, illustrates this: the perpetrator killed his 30-year-old wife because she refused to make a meal of chicken and vegetables for him because she was tired. Her refusal angered the man; seeing this, his mother attempted to help and started cooking the chicken and vegetables he demanded. However, even when the meal was ready and the victim attempted to serve the food to her husband, he remained furious, and ultimately chased his wife out of the house and used a sharp weapon to slash at her until she died in the yard (Grid.id, 2023).

Mockton-Smith also states that separation is the most dangerous situation for women in heterosexual relationships. Perpetrators often do not allow their female partners to leave the relationships, and when women are successful in leaving, they are at high risk of femicide. One such case occurred in Cirebon, West Java, where a man killed his ex-wife because he was jealous and angry that she refused to get back together with him; the perpetrator stabbed her nine times until she died (Kompas, 2023). A similar case took place in Pandeglang, Banten: a man used a broken piece of toilet to repeatedly smash his ex-girlfriend's neck, again because of jealousy (Kompas, 2023). In different case, a man in Bandung, West Java, strangled his ex-wife to death because she also refused to get back together. Her body was found wrapped in plastic, with evidence of major violence (Pikiran Rakyat, 2023).

Attributing homicide to jealousy or possessiveness alone, indeed, seems too simplistic. According to emotion studies expert, Professor Aaron ben Ze'ev (2014), homicide is often the result of a combination of factors which create a situation that allows for deadly violence. Jealousy and anger are part of the problem, but homicide is more accurately seen as the accumulation of conditions that trigger violence. For example, if a man feels that his partner is his 'whole world', then losing her is seen as a loss of identity. This is especially true if the man has no other source of happiness and holds the traditional view that men should have full control over their wives.

In patriarchal culture, this attitude strengthens men's domination over women, both physically and structurally. Femicide is the peak of gender-based violence, and romantic attitudes which idealise ownership and control in relationships often justify violent actions. If a woman leaves or threatens to leave her partner, this can quickly lead to brutal violence. Understanding how the patriarchy creates these dangerous situations is important to prevent more cases of femicide in the future.

A donut chart with a black outer ring and a light gray inner circle. The text "4%" is centered in the gray circle. A small blue segment is visible at the top of the black ring, representing 4% of the total.

such case occurred in Tanah Datar, West Sumatra, where the perpetrator killed a 14-year-old junior high school girl after having sex with her. The pair argued because the perpetrator was afraid that the girl would get pregnant; he then strangled her, suffocated her with a pillow, and abused her until she died. He buried her body in the kitchen of an empty house (Kompas, 2023). This incident underlines that sexual

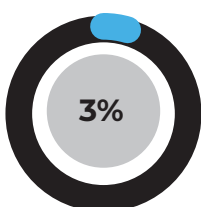
relationships with children are forms of sexual violence, even if the perpetrator is only 17 years old himself.

The Child Protection Law sets the age of consent as 18 years old in Indonesia. Even if a boy is still under the age of 18, in the eyes of the law a girl also under the age of 18 is considered as incapable of giving legal consent to have sexual intercourse. As a result, sexual relations with a girl under the age of consent are categorised as sexual violence, even if no force is used. On the other hand, from the perspective of psychological and relational conditions, if there is pressure, manipulation, or an imbalance of power between the two parties – such as a difference in emotional maturity or force from an external influence – this reinforces that the relationship is unequal and therefore categorised as sexual violence.

Femicide in response to unintended pregnancy is closely related to a lack of comprehensive sexual education. If access to knowledge about contraception, reproductive health, and an individual's rights over their own body is limited, then many couples are not prepared to face situations of unintended pregnancy. Without sufficient knowledge, men often avoid taking responsibility; for some, this can even result in violence. Unintended pregnancy often sparks tragedies, including femicide, because of the lack of education to prevent or manage such situations in ways that are safer and more sensible.

In addition, **femicide also reflects how women's bodily authority is often violated. When a woman decides to continue a pregnancy, her decision is frequently seen as a threat by her partner if he is refusing to take responsibility.** It is as though women's bodies become sites of conflict, where her right to make her own decisions are not acknowledged. Patriarchal norms make this situation worse, because it is considered that others can control or manage women's bodies. Violence then emerges as a way for perpetrators to 'take back' control, through placing women in situations in which they are very vulnerable to fatal violence such as femicide.

Part 5. Femicide of transgender women



The patriarchal attitudes which underlie gender-based violence also affect transgender women. In fact, trans women are often even more vulnerable to violence because they are considered to 'go against' norms of masculinity. This can lead to anger amongst other people, and often ends in extreme violence, such as femicide of trans women (trans femicide). **In 2023, we identified 6 cases of trans femicide, representing 3% of all cases for the year.**

One case identified in 2023 occurred in Tapin, South Kalimantan. The perpetrator hit the 33-year-old victim with a plank of wood until she died; the man was assisted

by a third individual. The perpetrator later admitted that he could not accept that the victim accused him of having an affair with another trans woman (Kompas, 2023). In another case, in Nunukan, North Kalimantan, the perpetrator planned the murder in advance, strangling the 33-year-old victim and stabbing her in the neck; he then took some of her valuables. The perpetrator claimed that he killed her because he was angry with her; he had also previously killed another woman (Kompas, 2023). Meanwhile in Kupang, East Nusa Tenggara, four perpetrators beat up a woman until she died after listening to the complaints of a motorbike taxi driver who had debating with the victim about his fee. The men were drunk at the time, and repeatedly hit the victim on the head with bamboo, before running away from the scene of the crime (Kompas, 2023).

These three cases illustrate what trans femicide looks like in Indonesia, although it does not provide a complete picture of the violence that takes place. Many trans women face dehumanising acts because the community does not consider their gender identity to be valid. This increases the risk of violence for trans women, as it does for cisgender women but now with the added layer of transphobia. This stigma creates a gender hierarchy, placing trans women in the most vulnerable and marginalised positions. Cases of violence which are perpetrated by trans women's partners or sexual clients show how many trans women are trapped in unequal power relations, with the sexual, emotional, and physical violence they experience being triggered by imbalances in power dynamics.

Perpetrators of violence – who are often men – feel that their sexual identities or their masculinities are threatened, leading them to act violently as a reaction to feelings of shame or rejection. The patriarchy and internalised toxic masculinity make men consider their relationships with trans women to have violated strict patriarchal norms (which position masculinity as a form of domination over women). These feelings of having 'betrayed' masculinity can trigger violent reactions because the men feel they must 'take back' their position of power.



The lack of legal protection for trans women in Indonesia also needs criticising. Trans women's gender identity are often ignored by the law; this means that violence against trans women is difficult to investigate, let alone to take to court. The neglect of the state creates economic and social discrimination against trans women. Many trans women live under significant economic and social pressure, and are forced to work in places that are more at risk of violence because there are few formal work opportunities. In many societies, transphobia is legitimised by social, cultural, and religious institutions, creating conditions in which the marginalisation of trans women continues. All these elements contribute to the systematic occurrence of violence.



Part 6. Femicide of women with disabilities

Femicide of women with disabilities combines two overarching frameworks: femicide and ableism. Femicide itself is violence against women because of their gender. In cases of femicide of women with disabilities, violence is made worse by disability-based discrimination (known as ableism). Ableism views individuals with disabilities as 'less than' or 'burdens'; in turn, this makes violence against people with disabilities more socially acceptable, or at least something which is not critically questioned. It is important to understand how the intersection between women with disabilities' identities both as 'women' and as 'people with disabilities' results in double discrimination. In this context, women are not only seen as vulnerable individuals but also as individuals with disabilities who are often ignored by society.

In 2023, we identified 4 cases of femicide involving women with disabilities. One of these cases occurred in Denpasar, Bali, in which a father poisoned his 26-year-old daughter with chemicals because she was paralysed and Deaf. After making sure his daughter was dead, the man also drank the same chemicals and died (Detik,

2023). In the online media reports about the case, police stated they suspected the perpetrator acted alone in killing his daughter. The family thought that the man had killed his daughter and then himself because of the living pressures they were facing, recalling that the father had been looking after his special needs daughter by himself for 26 years. This case shows how the state has a responsibility to protect women with disabilities but often overlooks the fact that families who care for people with disabilities also need adequate care systems which ensure families are not isolated. When such support is not available, feelings of desperation can emerge, where individuals such as the father in the above case feel they have no other option except violence. The failure of the state to provide sufficient support can lead to violence becoming a tragic ‘solution’ for those who feel they are stuck.

The following case occurred in Sorong, Southwest Papua. A group of people acted to burn a woman alive following accusations against her of kidnapping a child, despite a lack of proof that she had done so. The woman reportedly had a mental illness or disability (BBC, 2023). This incident reflects deep structural and cultural violence. The community’s inability to see this woman as a human being deserving of protection shows the impact of long-running stigma. In many cases, people with mental illnesses are considered to be threats or burdens, and the woman in Sorong indeed became a victim of brutal violence because of misconceptions, which themselves emerged due to fear and a lack of understanding. Instead of being helped or protected, she was instead violently punished because she was considered not to align with social norms.

Violence against women with disabilities, especially in the context of femicide, is a reflection of the state’s failure to protect the most vulnerable. As explained by Yeni Rosa Damayanti (2023), the head of *Perhimpunan Jiwa Sehat Indonesia*, cases of violence against women with mental illnesses and disabilities – such as the case described above in Sorong – is not a new phenomenon. Women with mental illnesses and disabilities often become victims of rape and shackling due to the stigma and social belief that they are not ‘complete’ humans. This stigma is strengthened by the law, especially Article 433 of the Civil Code, which revokes their rights to recognition, guarantee, protection, and legal certainty, as well as equal treatment in the eyes of the law, even though these are human rights which cannot be withdrawn in any circumstances. This makes women with mental illnesses and disabilities very vulnerable to violence, including femicide.

The legal gaps, lack of protection, and state inability to provide sufficient mental health services and legal aid, result in women with disabilities being exposed to ‘vigilante’ action from communities, as if this were the ‘answer’ to deep-rooted fear and discrimination. This shows how crucial the state is in acting to overcome inherent stigma and discrimination through more inclusive policies and protection of rights, rather than simply waiting for GBV to become fatal before acting.

Chapter IV

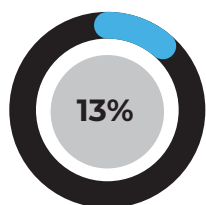
Analysis of media reporting on femicide

THE NARRATIVE built by the media when reporting on cases of femicide has a substantial influence on public perceptions of violence against women. The choice of words, framing, and victim representation not only reflects existing gender biases, but also has the power to strengthen or oppose patriarchal norms which justify violence against women. When media articles blame victims or shame them as though they were mere objects, this is not only a problem of bad reporting but also extends existing structural and cultural violence. As a result, it is important to analyse how the media reports on cases of femicide, because media narratives can function as tools to deconstruct gender-based violence, or, on the other hand, to strengthen it.

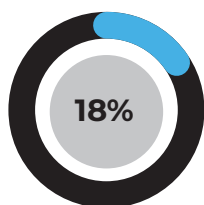
Of the 180 cases we identified from online media outlets in 2023, Table 5.1 shows our assessment of the quality of reporting.

Table 5.1 Identification of reporting on cases involving the homicide of women

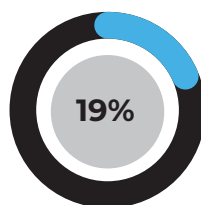
Analysis	Total	Percentage
Adequate reporting	23	13%
Made more than one erroring reporting	32	18%
Framing blames the victim	7	4%
Uses hyperbole	34	19%
Objectifies the victim	8	4%
Fails to protect victim's privacy	71	39%
Incomplete reporting	5	3%
TOTAL	180	100%



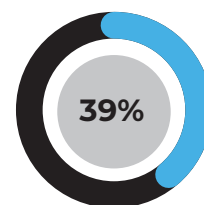
**Adequate
reporting**



**Made more than one
erroring reporting**



**Uses
hyperbole**



**Fails to protect
victim's privacy**

As in 2022, **in 2023 the majority (39%) of online media articles failed to protect the victim's privacy and identity.** Media outlets often published the photographs, home addresses, or private details of the victim, which has the potential to revictimise the victim and their family. For example, in an article from Beritasatu.com¹⁵ titled 'This

¹⁵ Rino Fajar, 11 September, 2023, <https://www.beritasatu.com/megapolitan/1066344/ini-kronologi-ibu-muda-di-cikarang-dibunuh-suami>

is the chronology of the young mother in Cikarang killed by her husband' about an incident in Bekasi, West Java, the victim's social media photographs, rental house, and details about her children were published. This shows a lack of sensitivity from the media towards the victim and worsened the structural violence by failing to provide safety for the victim and her family in facing tragedy.

The media often highlights sensational and irrelevant aspects of cases, such as elements of the victim's personal life and the victim's family's background. This once again places women as objects and takes away attention from the perpetrator and the crime of femicide itself.

Next, the **use of hyperbole to attract readers' attention was identified in 19% of articles and tended to take focus away from gender-based violence itself.** One example of hyperbolic language can be seen in a Siasatinfo.co.id article¹⁶ entitled 'Mysterious death of divorcee Lisnawati not yet solved by Kerinci Police, local citizens worried!!' about a homicide in Kerinci, Jambi. Meanwhile, an article by Kompas.com¹⁷ also used an over-the-top title for one incident: 'Unfortunate fate of a woman poisoned and duct taped by her secret lover in Cikarang: fueled by debt and illicit romance'. This kind of hyperbole lessens the seriousness of gender-based violence, changing a tragic situation into one of public entertainment where the readers tend to see cases as dramatic or sensational events without understanding the structural violence underpinning them.

The media also often frames incidents in ways that blame victims (4%), especially when victims are considered to have violated social or gender norms. In cases of femicide, narratives which highlight the victim's 'faults' or 'mistakes' often emerge. One example of such framing can be found in a Detik.com¹⁸ article entitled 'The moment a man killed his wife after finding out their four children weren't his own'. Another comes from Jabar.inews.com,¹⁹ in an article called 'Motive behind homicide in Cijerah Bandung, victim refused to get back together and insulted the perpetrator'. These articles – with their particular framing of titles and narratives – plant the idea in readers that the victims contributed to their own tragic deaths, despite the fact that this is clearly a form of victim blaming. When media outlets do this, they in fact contribute to structural violence by supporting that opinion that the victim's actions caused the violence, rather than the patriarchal system which made the homicide possible in the first place.

The next category is objectification of the victim (4%). In cases of femicide, the media often gives a lot of attention to the victim's physical attributes and their personal

16 Siasatinfo, 25 November 2023, [siasatinfo.co.id](https://siasatinfo.co.id/misteri-tewasnya-janda-lisnawati-belum-terungkap-polres-kerinci-warga-resah/), <https://siasatinfo.co.id/misteri-tewasnya-janda-lisnawati-belum-terungkap-polres-kerinci-warga-resah/>

17 Larissa Huda, 11 Desember 2023, [megapolitan.kompas.com](https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2023/12/11/18171281/nahasnya-nasib-perempuan-yang-diracun-dan-dilakban-kekasih-gelap-di) <https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2023/12/11/18171281/nahasnya-nasib-perempuan-yang-diracun-dan-dilakban-kekasih-gelap-di>

18 Riana rahayu, 16 Agustus 2023, [detik.com](https://www.detik.com/sulsel/hukum-dan-kriminal/d-6880468/detik-detik-pria-bunuh-istri-usai-tahu-4-anaknya-bukan-darah-dagingnya), <https://www.detik.com/sulsel/hukum-dan-kriminal/d-6880468/detik-detik-pria-bunuh-istri-usai-tahu-4-anaknya-bukan-darah-dagingnya>

19 Agus Warsudi, 12 Juni 2023, [jabar.inews.id](https://jabar.inews.id/berita/motif-pembunuhan-di-cijerah-bandung-korban-tolak-rujuk-dan-hina-pelaku), <https://jabar.inews.id/berita/motif-pembunuhan-di-cijerah-bandung-korban-tolak-rujuk-dan-hina-pelaku>

life, rather than the social impact of the violence. One such article was published by Tvoneneews.com²⁰, with the title 'Beautiful 'lady companion' tragically killed by being tied up, victim's family in Ponorogo shocked'. Another article, this time from Mistar.id,²¹ was titled 'Police acknowledge difficulties in investigating case of tattooed woman killed in Toba'. Narratives like those used in these two articles shift the focus from the fact that the dead women were individuals whose rights and dignity were taken away by violence. These acts of objectification strengthen the patriarchal culture which supports violence against women, as women are considered to be valued only for their appearance and not because they are humans who deserve respect.

Our findings on how the media reports on cases of femicide are in line with the research of Ika Saimima (2022), which explores femicide reporting by online media outlets. Saimima's research highlights two primary perspectives relating to human security: femicide as an ongoing form of violence against women in public spaces, and gender inequality in the handling of cases of violence against women in private spaces, such as domestic violence. In many cases, online media outlets tend to prioritise sensation when reporting about femicide in order to attract readers' attention, without weighing up the psychological impact of their reporting on the victim's family. In addition, reporting often frames cases in ways that blame victims but are sympathetic towards the perpetrators, especially if they come from influential groups or families.

Saimima's research also notes the importance of legal reform, particularly in terms of heavier sentencing for perpetrators of family violence. It is hoped that such legal reform would create a more effective deterrent effect and strengthen justice for victims. In this context, the role of the media is crucial. The media has a responsibility in reporting on cases of femicide in ways that are balanced and humane, not only to raise community awareness but also to push for legal changes that are more supportive of victims. For example, in Nigeria, the media began pay substantial attention to cases of sexual violence and femicide in ways that neither blamed the victims nor portrayed them as passive. Media outlets worked to build community awareness about the urgency of the sexual violence problem; the subsequent reaction of civil society served as a 'reminder' for the government, who in turn acted to speed up their handling of cases of sexual violence (Ogunlana et al, 2021).

The way the media packages articles on femicide can shape public perception and have a huge impact on pushing for social change. When the media uses hyperbolic narratives, objectifies victims, blames victims, and fails to protect victims' privacy, the media does not only distort the reality of femicide but also strengthens systems which support such violence. By blaming victims or shifting attention from efforts

20 Aris Sutikno, 07 Juli 2023, tvonenews.com, <https://www.tvonenews.com/daerah/jatim/135588-lc-cantik-tragis-dibunuh-dengan-cara-diikat-keluarga-korban-di-ponorogo-syok-sehari-hari-korban?page=all>

21 Jean Efendi Siahaan, 14 Juni 2023, mistar.id, <https://mistar.id/news/hukum-peristiwa/polisi-akui-kesulitan-ungkap-kasus-pembunuhan-wanita-bertato-di-toba/>

of justice, the media contributes to patriarchal narratives which trivialise gender-based violence. Narratives like this reflect how structural and cultural violence works through the media, reinforcing gender norms that justify violence against women.

Of the 180 cases we identified through online media coverage in 2023, Table 5.2 shows the media outlets which most often made errors in reporting on femicide.

Table 5.2 Online media outlets making errors in reporting on femicide

Online media outlet	Total number of articles
Kompas	49
Detik	37
Tribun	12
CNN	3
IDN Times	3
Tempo	1
BBC Indonesia	1
VoA Indonesia	1
Tv One News	1
MetroTv News	1
Local media channel / outlet not identifiable	48
Total	157 articles

The names of the media outlets in Table 5.2 are based on the internet links referred to in our data collection. Meanwhile, the number of articles which were assessed as ‘violating’ ethics of reporting on femicide does not necessarily reflect that the relevant outlets have better or worse gender perspectives than other outlets. Kompas and Detik dominate the table because a higher proportion of the articles in our data originate from these websites; at the same time, these outlets also published many violations when reporting on femicide.

From the media outlets we refer to, we can see that although information about cases in which women were killed has been made available, this does not guarantee that the media has been accurate in their reporting on femicide. In the context of gender-based violence, it is important to remember that the media is an agent which worsens women’s vulnerability, especially in the public space. Publishing news that

does not take a gender perspective is the same as making it seem that homicide is 'normal'. If femicide is reported on using a narrative that is the same as that used for all other forms of homicide, then the media is indirectly agreeing that a person can be objectified and killed simply because she is a woman. Serious improvements are required in how the media reports on femicide, including censoring women's identities and ceasing to objectify victims.



Chapter V

Conclusion and recommendations



“Can women live safely in Indonesia?”

THIS QUESTION keeps emerging in every annual femicide report. If we only look briefly at the number of cases reported in 2023, then it appears as though fewer women were killed last year than in previous years. However, numbers alone are not enough to accurately capture the reality, which is that women’s bodies are still being turned into objects of lust, punished by lengthy abuse, and that women are being killed just because they are considered to have failed to fulfil the roles that our patriarchal society decided were appropriate for them as men’s subordinates. As long as women can be killed just because of their identity as women, it cannot be said that women can live safely in Indonesia, no matter how many or how few cases are recorded in our reports.

This 2023 femicide report shows that many cases of femicide in Indonesia are still treated as ‘regular’ homicides, even though gender-based violence is clearly present in these cases, as seen in the violence that happens prior to acts of homicide, such as in dating violence and domestic violence. These forms of violence must be understood as part of a larger and more complex phenomenon: that is, gender-based violence that is rooted in a system of patriarchy. Our report also shows that women are threatened by femicide in public spaces, strengthening the proof that patriarchal culture results in the spread of cultural violence. However, Indonesia continues to lack laws which regulate femicide. Although the country has the Law on Domestic Violence and, more recently, the Law on Sexual Violence Offences, the patterns of violence which precede homicides often go unnoticed by the law.

One aspect highlighted by this report is how perpetrators treat women’s bodies after killing them. In many cases, victims are not only subjected to physical violence before death, but are also dehumanised after death: victims are seen as objects without life and became the sites for perpetrators to ‘release’ their lust, anger, and power. This proves that femicide is not a spontaneous act but is rather the peak of a cycle of gender-based violence which positions women as the main targets in societies which continue to be dominated by patriarchal values.

This phenomenon becomes increasingly clear when looking at one case of femicide which occurred in 2023. The perpetrator physically abused the victim over a substantial period of time, yet was freed by the court because he came from an influential family. This case not only shows the weakness of law enforcement when it comes to violence against women; it also demonstrates how far power imbalances reach in Indonesia. The law and law enforcement agencies close their eyes to gender-based violence, especially if the perpetrator runs in powerful circles. This situation strengthens existing deeply-embedded structural and cultural injustices.

In this femicide report for 2023, we see how the state continues to ignore women's safety and security and has failed to resolve increasingly serious gender inequities. Although the total number of cases we identified in 2023 is lower than in previous years, this does not mean there have been improvements. In fact, the reverse is true. This report reflects the state's inability to protect women and respond to increasing threats of violence. Gender imbalances, unequal power relations, and deeply-rooted patriarchal culture are all intertwined, demonstrating a regression in efforts to achieve gender equality in Indonesia.

Recommendations

Based on our findings and analysis for 2023, the following recommendations are proposed to improve the prevention and handling of femicide in Indonesia.

Recommendations for the Government of Indonesia:

- 1 Develop medium-term and long-term strategies on the prevention of sexual and gender-based violence, supported by routine monitoring to ensure such strategies are working effectively at national, provincial, and local levels;
- 2 Revoke or revise national and local laws and regulations which discriminate against women;
- 3 Integrate the Law on Domestic Violence and the Law on Sexual Violence Offences with regulations on homicide (such as Article 338 of the Criminal Code on homicide and Article 352 Clause 2 on premediated serious assault) to increase punishment for perpetrators of femicide and to acknowledge femicide as a form of gender-based violence which requires a more comprehensive legal response;

- 4** Implement national campaigns on sexual and gender-based violence, comprehensive sexual education, and healthy relationships at all schools throughout Indonesia, as appropriate for students' ages and genders;
- 5** Ensure easy access to support services for victims of sexual and gender-based violence, including the provision of responsive hotline that is supported by trained officers;
- 6** Strengthen and optimise the support services system for victims of sexual and gender-based violence, through both improved regulations and increased human resource capacity;
- 7** Implement training and education on gender, sexual and gender-based violence, and human rights for service providers, such as health workers and security officers;
- 8** Guarantee availability of and access to support services for victims of sexual and gender-based violence throughout Indonesia, and increase the quantity and quality of support service providers, including through provision of guaranteed and adequate funding;
- 9** Undertake routine evaluations of case management and policies relating to protecting women from gender-based violence in both public and private spheres.

Recommendations for law enforcement agencies:

- 1** Implement capacity building for law enforcement officers include police, prosecutors, and judges through education and training on gender perspectives, human rights, and sexual and gender-based violence, as mandated in the Law on Sexual Violence Offences;
- 2** Develop and implement guidelines, standard operating procedures, and/or service flowcharts that are effective in handling cases of sexual and gender-based violence and which ensure processes are responsive and sensitive to victims;

- 3 Develop integrated referral pathways for victims and sexual and gender-based violence, involving shelters (safe houses), legal aid bodies, health facilities, psychological counselling providers, and other support service providers;
- 4 Provide an easily accessible channel for reporting sexual and gender-based violence which guarantees sensitivity towards victims, with the aim of increasing public trust in reporting systems;
- 5 Document and manage gender-disaggregated data on homicide cases, to observe and analyse trends of femicide and push for policy improvements;
- 6 Increase transparency and accountability in management of cases of sexual and gender-based violence, including through taking firm action against interventions of power of influence that hinder justice, in order to ensure fair enforcement of the law.

Recommendations for media outlets, Press Council, and *Aliansi Jurnalis Independen*:

- 1 Develop or revise and implement guidelines and/or standard operating procedures regarding reporting on cases of sexual and gender-based violence, including femicide, to ensure coverage does not blame or objectify victims or violate the privacy of victims and their families, including the usage of the victims' names and photographs only if given prior consent by the family;
- 2 Provide training on gender, sexual and gender-based violence, and human rights to all journalists and editors to ensure reporting on femicide is sensitive and accurate;
- 3 Include information on service providers for victims of sexual and gender-based violence in all coverage of relevant news, such as by noting that 'Need help? Go to Cari Layanan (www.carilayanan.com) for assistance.'
- 4 Ensure coverage takes a gender perspective in analysing structural violence against women, not just in individual cases, to provide a complete picture of the context;

5

Highlight how survivors, as well as the families of victims and survivors, are supported, and provide up-to-date information which provides justice for the victim, not just based on the narrative provided by the perpetrator;

6

Consistently use the term 'femicide' in all coverage to increase public awareness and enable easier tracking and analysis of cases of femicide in Indonesia.



Chapter VI

Refleksi Writers' reflections

AS AN ORGANISATION which focuses on issues of feminism and gender-based violence, this report's findings give a tremendous urgency in the need to address femicide and reform policies in Indonesia. The data we collected from the nation's 38 provinces show that there is a similar pattern of violence across the entire country, but especially on the island of Java, indicating that this problem is a structural phenomenon and that homicides of women cannot be considered as isolated cases. Femicide is a form of gender-based violence rooted in patriarchal culture.

Throughout the data collection process, we encountered many challenges, both in terms of data collection itself and during the writing process. This primarily related to our repeated exposure to cases of homicide of women and girls. As women ourselves, conducting searches and writing about femicide has had a substantial impact on us. Like it or not, we became involved and felt the emotional impact of the victims' deaths and what happened (or did not happen) afterwards.

Safe spaces for women are increasingly limited. Women are forced to be helpless, to have no choice. This can be seen when we examine the motives of the perpetrators of femicide. Our report found that the majority of cases occurred due to communication problems between the perpetrator and the victim. Communication problems between couples were often identified as the 'spark' to conflict, which itself ended in physical or emotional violence. However, in many cases of femicide, this failure of communication was not just a 'technical' problem, but in fact reflected imbalances in power relationships between men and women.

In the context of a patriarchal culture, it is often hoped that men will be the 'powerful' and dominant partner in a relationship. Men have the freedom to express their anger and dissatisfaction in ways that are aggressive. Women, meanwhile, are expected to be more passive and to adjust themselves to align with deeply-rooted gender norms. When women try to voice their opinions or question men's decision making, this is often seen as women's failure to respect men, leading to violence.

In the cases analysed in this report, there were also men who were identified as being annoyed or frustrated with other people, such as the victim's husband or father. Despite this, their target for violence was instead a woman. This shows that women are often considered to be objects without agency, even in conflicts in which they are not directly involved. As an organisation, we see that this reaffirms the urgent need for comprehensive education about gender and violence, as well as a change in how we view women in our society. **Women are not accessories; they are individuals who must have full rights over their bodies and lives.**

Turning to the legal context, we are very concerned that only 38% of perpetrators were successfully prosecuted in 2023. We are particularly concerned that one perpetrator was found not guilty of his actions. Although the majority of perpetrators were

identified and caught, there remain many opportunities for perpetrators to go free, despite committing femicide. This indicates that there is a lack of seriousness in our legal system in handling cases of femicide and implies that the state is complicit in the legitimisation of gender-based violence. A legal system which is gender biased worsens the trauma of survivors, as well as the families of both victims and survivors, yet creates a sense of impunity for perpetrators. As an organisation, we feel it is crucial to fight for legal change to make our system more progressive and with a gender perspective.

Our findings also encourage us to scale up our advocacy efforts to become even more massive. Not just to push for severe punishment of perpetrators, but to influence media coverage of gender-based violence. The media often describes femicides in ways that romanticise violence or revictimise the victims, such as by publishing photographs from victims' social media accounts or discussing irrelevant aspects of their private lives. These narratives must cease. We are committed to working with the media in creating a media environment which is more empathetic and less sensational.

Finally, in closing, this reflection has brought us to have an even deeper awareness of the importance of comprehensive advocacy work, including working across sectors with organisations, government agencies, law enforcement, and the media. **Every woman who becomes a victim is a reminder that this struggle must continue until violence and injustice are cut at their roots.** It is only with sustained collective efforts that we can end gender-based violence and stop the chain of femicide in Indonesia.



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