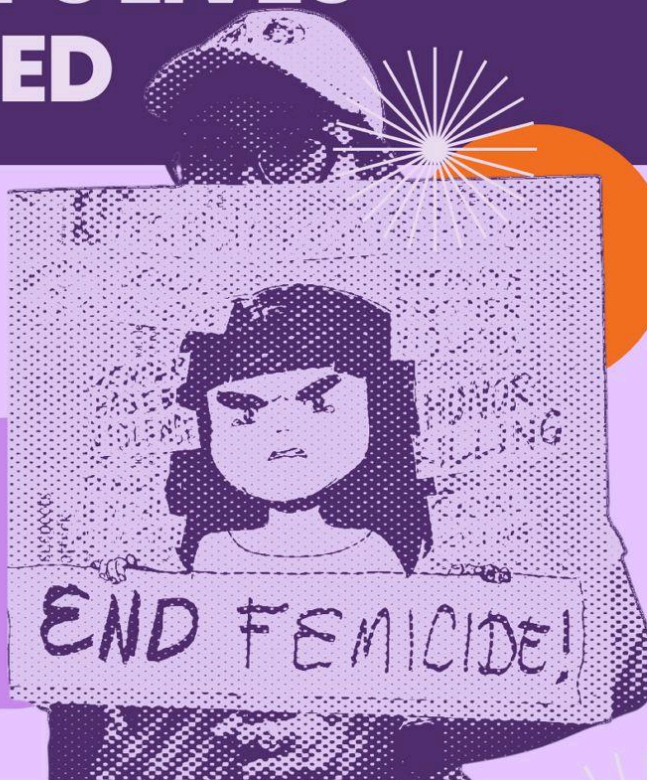


FEMICIDE REPORT 2024



ACTS OF MULTI-LAYERED VIOLENCE: SAFE SPACES IGNORED, WOMEN'S LIVES SACRIFICED



Documenting Homicides against Women in 2024
Perkumpulan Lintas Feminis Jakarta
(Jakarta Feminist)

FEMICIDE REPORT 2024: Documenting Homicides Against Women in 2024

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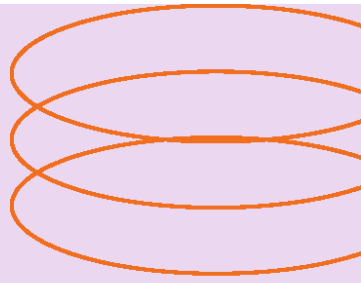
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This report may cause emotional distress. We encourage readers to take breaks from reading and to seek professional support through **carilayanan.com** if necessary.



Foreword

In 2024, femicide continued to occur across Indonesia, representing the most extreme manifestation of gender-based violence against women. Each year, the number of cases not only increases but also reveals the layers of violence women experience – before, during, and even after they are killed. Femicide is not simply a death; it is a long process in which women's lives are slowly taken away, through abusive power relations, a legal system which fails to protect them, and a society that is often complacent.

Jakarta Feminist identified 204 cases of femicide committed in Indonesia in 2024. A total of 209 women were killed by 239 perpetrators, with 90% of perpetrators being men. As many as 42% of cases occurred within intimate relationships – that is, the perpetrators were the women's partners or ex-partners. More than half (53%) of homicides occurred in the victims' homes, even though these spaces are supposed to be the safest.

Violence against women is not something that occurs suddenly. It is a series of actions which are continually overlooked, often starting with emotional control and ending with physical violence and even death. The long-term nature of this violence is evident in the ways in which

women's bodies are treated after death, as well as in how femicide leaves behind 'extended victims' – victims who survive attempts on their lives, victims' children, and victims' family members, all of whom must face prolonged trauma without adequate protection and support from the state.

Public narratives about femicide are also generally unsupportive of victims. Of the total media reports of femicide cases documented in 2024, **35% of media coverage contained hyperbole and 23% failed to protect victims' privacy.** Sensationalism in reporting was common, sacrificing empathy and broader context. Meanwhile, victims' families live with the psychological impact exacerbated by unethical media coverage. The lack of gender-sensitive and empathetic reporting of femicide cases reflects the urgency for systemic improvements in the production of public narratives around violence against women, including by the media.

This report has been developed by Jakarta Feminist as a form of our rejection of the normalisation of violence against women. **We believe that femicide can be prevented. However, as long as patriarchal culture, unequal power relations, and less-than-empathetic public services and legal systems remain in place, homicides against women will continue to be perpetrated.** As a result, we present this report, not just to document and provide data, but to review all cases of femicide committed in Indonesia in 2024 to demonstrate the complexity of the traumatic wounds left behind. For us, this is a way of providing witness and voicing the right of women to live safely.

This report covers six main aspects in order to provide a comprehensive overview of femicide in Indonesia. These are:

1. Demographic data of femicide victims and perpetrators
2. Circumstances surrounding cases of femicide
3. Hidden forms of femicide and the dynamics of service providers
4. Analysis of media coverage of femicide
5. Conclusions and reflections on the data collection and analysis process
6. Recommendations on management and reporting of cases of femicide.

Every statistic and piece of data in this report represents a life that was once lived – the names and stories which should not have ended in violence. Through this report, Jakarta Feminist invites everyone not to wait for the next victim, but to act to end violence against women and girls and to achieve justice for all victims. Impunity must end, perpetrators must be made accountable, and the state must fulfil its responsibility to protect women and marginalised groups. Let's starting acting now to ensure decent, just, and safe lives for all women.

Thank you! In solidarity,
Perkumpulan Lintas Feminis Jakarta (Jakarta Feminist)
2025

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Executive Summary

Data collection for this 2024 Femicide Report was carried out between 1 January and 30 December 2024. Data was collected through Google search engine searches using pre-determined key words (such as *pembunuhan perempuan* [killing of woman], *perempuan dibunuh* [woman killed], *perempuan tewas* [dead woman], *mayat wanita* [woman's body], *transpuan/waria/bencong tewas* [dead transgender woman], and so on). These terms – while not necessarily sensitive to the victims – were used because they reflect terminology used by the media, enabling the team to easily identify cases. In addition, searches were conducted by adding the names of provinces to search terms and filtering by time periods to ensure only cases committed in 2024 were identified.

Overall, **204 cases of femicide were identified as being committed in 2024. A total of 209 women lost their lives and 239 people perpetrated femicide.** This data reflects a review of media coverage from all 38 provinces in Indonesia. Several key data points include:

- In 2024, a total of 165 cisgender women were identified as having been killed, along with seven transgender women and 13 girl children. In addition, 14 cases had criminal motives and five cases involved aggression as a result of other social relations.

- The largest proportion of femicides occurred on Java (42%), with the largest number of cases in West Java (32 cases), Central Java (24 cases), and East Java (20 cases). Only five provinces were not identified as having any femicides reported in the media: South Kalimantan, North Kalimantan, North Maluku, West Papua, and West Sulawesi.
- With regard to victims, 29% of victims were women aged 26-40 years old, 25% were women aged 18-15 years, and 21% were women aged 41-60 years.
- Turning to perpetrators, 90% of perpetrators were men and 35% were aged 26-40 years old.
- Women in intimate relationships with perpetrators were the most common victim in 2024 (48%). These women were the wives, girlfriends, affairs, secret lovers,¹ ex-partners, and casual sexual partners of the perpetrators. Another 30% of victims had non-personal relationships with the perpetrators, such as neighbours, friends, sex workers, colleagues, and students. Finally, 14% of victims had familial relationships with the perpetrators, such as children, mothers, siblings, and in-laws.
- 53% of cases occurred within the victims' homes.
- The most common motive behind acts of femicide was communication problems (25%). More than a few cases were perpetrated because of minor arguments, such as when women used the livestream option on social media, refused to give their partners money for cigarettes, or got angry at their partners because they had physically abused their children.

¹ Disclaimer: Terms like 'affair' and 'secret lover' are terms frequently used by media outlets in their coverage of femicide cases. We use the terms in our report to make classification easier; this does not mean we agree with these terms and their application.

- Femicides were primarily committed with physical force (37%), sharp objects (31%), and nearby objects (28%). However, several cases were identified in which the perpetrators used more than one method of killing, such as using nearby objects to beat the victim until she fell unconscious then stabbing her with a sharp object to make sure she was dead.
- In 58% of cases, the perpetrators abandoned victims' bodies at the site of violence. However, in 14% of cases, other people attempted to help the victims and take them to hospital, albeit too late for survival. In addition, four cases involved the perpetrators hanging the victims' bodies as though they had killed themselves, while two cases involved attempts by the perpetrators to hide the victims' bodies at their own homes.
- Of the total 204 femicide cases identified in 2024, 94% of perpetrators were identified. Of these, 89% were caught, 8% surrendered or killed themselves, and 4% are still being investigated. In addition, there were five cases in which the perpetrators have not been identified and eight cases in which no updates were published by media outlets.

Legal articles used to prosecute cases of femicide in 2024:

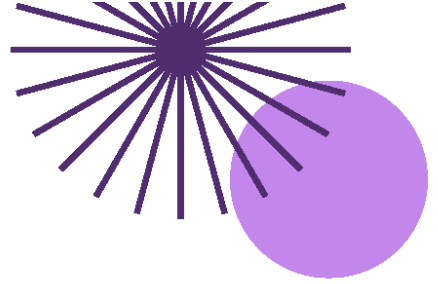
- **Article 338 of the Criminal Code** – homicide (manslaughter), with a maximum sentence of 15 years imprisonment.
- **Article 399 of the Criminal Code** – homicide (manslaughter) committed in conjunction with or preceded by other criminal acts, with a maximum sentence of life imprisonment or 20 years imprisonment.
- **Article 340 of the Criminal Code** – pre-meditated homicide (murder), with a maximum sentence of death, life imprisonment, or 20 years imprisonment.

- **Article 365, clause 3 of the Criminal Code** – theft with violence resulting in death, with a maximum sentence of 15 years imprisonment.
- **Article 44, clause 3 of the Law on Prevention of Domestic Violence** – violence in the domestic sphere resulting in the death of the victim, with a maximum sentence of 15 years imprisonment.
- **Article 368 of the Criminal Code** – extortion with violence, with a maximum sentence of 9 years imprisonment.
- **Article 348 of the Criminal Code** – consensual termination of pregnancy resulting in the death of the pregnant women, with a maximum sentence of 7 years imprisonment.
- **Article 359 of the Criminal Code** – negligence causing death, with a maximum sentence of 5 years imprisonment (or 1 year imprisonment).
- **Emergency Law no. 12/1951** – prohibited possession and use of firearms without legal rights, with a maximum sentence of death, life imprisonment, or 20 years imprisonment.
- **Article 351, clause 3 of the Criminal Code** – abuse resulting in death, with a maximum of 5 years imprisonment.
- **Article 286 of the Criminal Code** – rape of an unconscious or helpless woman, with a maximum sentence of 9 years imprisonment.
- **Article 55 of the Criminal Code** – participation in a crime with the primary perpetrator, with a maximum sentence of the same punishment as the main perpetrator.
- **Article 56 of the Criminal Code** – assisting in a crime which gave the opportunity, means, or information to commit a crime, with a maximum sentence of 15 years imprisonment.

- **Article 80, clause 3 of the Child Protection Law** – perpetrating violence or abuse against a child, resulting in the child's death, with a maximum sentence of 10 years imprisonment.
- **Article 82 of the Child Protection Law** – encouraging a child to commit or allowing an indecent sexual act to be committed, with a minimum sentence of 5 years imprisonment and a maximum sentence of 15 years imprisonment.
- **Article 170, clause 3 of the Criminal Code** – assault resulting in death, with a maximum sentence of 12 years imprisonment.
- **Article 221 of the Criminal Code** – hiding a person who has committed a crime or providing assistance to the person to avoid investigation or detention, with a maximum sentence of 9 months imprisonment or a fine of IDR 4.5 million.
- **Article 76C of the Child Protection Law** – placing, allowing, committing, ordering to commit, or participation in violence against children, resulting in the child's death, with a maximum of 15 years imprisonment and/or a fine of IDR 3 billion. The sentence can be increased by one-third if the perpetrator is a parent of the child.
- **Article 378 of the Criminal Code** – committing fraud, with a maximum sentence of 4 years imprisonment.
- **Article 372 of the Criminal Code** – committing embezzlement, with a maximum sentence of 4 years imprisonment.
- **Article 6C of the Sexual Violence Offences Law**, taking advantage of vulnerability or inequality to commit or allow sexual intercourse or indecent acts to be committed with the individual or another person, with a maximum sentence of 12 years imprisonment.
- **Article 15 of the Sexual Violence Offences Law, clause 1, points f and o** – as stated in Article 6, the sentence will be increased by one-third if f. the act is done by two or more

people in cooperation; or o. the act results in the death of the victim.

- **Article 285 of the Criminal Code** – forcing a woman to have sexual intercourse outside of marriage, with a maximum sentence of 12 years imprisonment.
- **Article 314 of the Criminal Code** – a mother who, because of fear, at the time of birth or shortly thereafter intentionally takes her child's life, with a maximum sentence of 7 years imprisonment.
- **Article 354, clause 2 of the Criminal Code** – committing serious abuse resulting in death, with a maximum sentence of 10 years imprisonment.



Chapter I: Introduction

Background

In 2023, UNODC and UN Women documented that around 85,000 women and girls were intentionally killed around the world, including 18,000 in Asia.² Of this total, as much as 60% (approximately 51,000 women) were killed by their intimate partners or members of their own families.³ This data shows that neither our homes nor our relationships guarantee we are safe in the very places we should be most secure. Femicide, or the killing of women because of their gender identity, is not a standalone incident; rather, it reflects the deeply-rooted structural crises present in our societies.

The term ‘femicide’ (or ‘feminicide’) first emerged in 1970s as part of the second wave of feminism, which aimed to build women’s class consciousness and to reject gender-based repression. Inspired by Carol Orlock,⁴ feminist scholar and activist Diana Russell repopularised the term in the 1976 International Tribunal on Crimes

² UNODC and UN Women, *Femicides in 2023: Global Estimates of Intimate Partner/Family Member Femicides* (United Nations publication, 2024).

³ Ibid.

⁴ Carol Orlock is recognised as the first writer to write about homicides against women in the second wave of feminism in the 1970s, when she prepared an anthology about murdered women. Accessed at: <https://www.femicide-watch.org/node/920747>

against Women, held in Belgium.⁵ Russell emphasised the importance of acknowledging the sexual politics of murder and argued that femicide has occurred for centuries – starting from the witch hunts, practices of infanticide of female babies, and killings committed in the name of ‘honour’. She defined femicide as “the killing of females because they are female” and stated that femicide is positioned at the pinnacle of the spectrum of terror committed against women. This terror includes sexual violence, control of women’s bodies, genital mutilation, and other forms of systemic violence which end in death (becoming femicide).

This definition has since developed further to capture the diversity of contexts in which femicide occurs, including indicators of extreme violence, such as the threat of firearms, sexual violence, or systematic disregard for women’s health and safety. Gender inequalities in education, the economy, and access to employment are also social conditions that enable femicide to occur.⁶ In certain contexts, dangerous practices such as female genital mutilation (FGM), which result in death from infection or the spread of HIV, are also categorised as femicide.⁷ Consequently, we can state that femicide is not only shaped by the perpetrators’ intentions, but also by the structures that position violence against women as something normal.

⁵ Russell, Diana EH; Van de Ven, Nicole. (1990). "Femicide: Crimes Against Women: Proceedings of the International Tribunal". Berkeley, California: Russell Publications. pp. 104–108.

⁶ Palma-Solis, M., Vives-Cases, C., & Álvarez-Dardet, C. (2008). Gender Progress and Government Expenditure as Determinants of Femicide. *Annals of Epidemiology*, 18(4), 322–329. doi:10.1016/j.annepidem.2007.11.007.

⁷ Russell, Diana EH. "AIDS As Mass Femicide: Focus On South Africa". *Off Our Backs*, Vol. 31 (1), pp. 6-9.

Unfortunately, Indonesia does not yet acknowledge the term 'femicide' within its legal system. Cases in which women are killed are processed as 'regular' homicides without considering the context of sexual- and gender-based violence (SGBV) which sit in the background of these incidents. This is despite the fact that most cases of femicide occur after a series of violent physical, psychological, sexual, and economic acts. When this context is not fully understood, the state cannot grasp the complexity of the violence experienced by victims, and misses a crucial opportunity to prevent further cases of femicide. Femicide is not simply a crime; it is a systemic form of gender-based violence. Ignoring these structural roots means allowing impunity to persist and perpetuating a lack of justice for victims.

In 2016, Jakarta Feminist began independently monitoring cases of femicide through media coverage as a way to demonstrate the impact of SGBV in Indonesia. At that time, several cases in which girl children were killed were widely discussed across the country, but even though they fell into the category of femicide⁸, there were no statistics available on femicide on a larger level. Recognising this gap, Jakarta Feminist began collecting data and identifying cases in which women and girls were killed, which we now refer to as femicide. This arose from the need for documentation on femicide in Indonesia, which was not met by official data from the state or other bodies. Therefore, Jakarta Feminist conducted regular monitoring and

⁸BBC News, 2016, Terdakwa pemerkosa dan pembunuh Yuyun dijatuhi hukuman mati, diakses pada tanggal 15 Mei 2025
https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita_indonesia/2016/09/160929_indonesia_yuyun_vonis_terdakwa

reporting of cases in 2016 and 2017 before taking a break and resuming in 2021. Since 2021, Jakarta Feminist has published annual femicide reports.

In the process, **Jakarta Feminist adopted an approach in line with those of Jacquelyn Campbell and Carol Runyan, who argue that femicide refers to all killings of women, regardless of the motive or status of the perpetrator.**⁹ This approach stems from the need for caution in inferring perpetrators' motives, which often cannot be empirically proven, and concerns that the different characteristics of femicide remain under-recognised in theory and policy. Campbell and Runyan emphasise the importance of viewing femicide as a product of systemic violence that makes women more vulnerable to murder.

This approach is very relevant to the context of Indonesia, where many cases of femicide are driven by seemingly trivial issues, but are in fact fraught with structural violence. This report was compiled to document cases of femicide which occurred in Indonesia in 2024.

Considering the report's data limitations (relying solely on media coverage and recognising the limited resources available to Jakarta Feminist's team), we focus on 'direct femicide'. Direct femicide is the killing of women based on misogyny, explicit hatred, patterns of control, violence, and power imbalances that are considered socially acceptable. In other words, this report does not include cases of 'indirect femicide'. This is further discussed in the methodology section and in Chapter II.

⁹ Campbell, J., & Runyan, C. W. (1998). Femicide. *Homicide Studies*, 2(4), 347–352. doi:10.1177/1088767998002004001

The purpose of this report is not simply to count the number of victims, but also to uncover the patterns, contexts, and structural roots that allow this violence to persist in such extreme forms. With an approach grounded in gender justice, we hope **this report is an important contribution to promoting the recognition of femicide as a form of gender-based violence that requires comprehensive legal, social, and cultural responses.**

Objective

Against this backdrop, this report examines in depth the cases of femicide documented as occurring in Indonesia's 38 provinces in 2024. This report aims to:

- Fill the gap in information on femicide data in Indonesia, particularly through systematic media monitoring.
- Identify the characteristics of femicide cases based on the identity of victims and perpetrators, the relationships between them, perpetrators' motives, the location and method of homicide, the treatment of the body by the perpetrator, legal proceedings, and media coverage of cases.
- Examine how patriarchal social systems and gender-based inequalities contribute to shaping the context in which femicide occurs.
- Describe the dynamics of case handling by service providers, as well as obstacles that arise in assisting victims of violence who are at risk of becoming victims of femicide.
- Provide recommendations to multiple stakeholders – including women's organisations, service providers, media

outlets, journalist alliances, law enforcement officials, and policymakers – on how to end gender-based violence and femicide.

Jakarta Feminist compiled this 2024 Femicide Report in response to the recurring patterns of violence which result in the loss of women's lives. Through data-driven analysis and field experience in supporting victims of violence, we hope this report will serve as a powerful advocacy tool to End Femicide and to push for fairer, more victim-friendly policies and protection systems.

Methodology

This report was developed through a data collection and analysis process which aims to better understand cases in which Indonesian women are killed. Quantitative data collection as conducted by compiling online media reports published between 1 January and 31 December 2024 as well as news covering homicides against women that occurred in 2024. The search process was conducted systematically by using keywords combined with province names, month, and year to ensure relevance. Each news report found was then analysed and documented using several primary categories:

1. Type of femicide: femicide, transgender femicide, girl child femicide, criminally-motivated femicide, femicide involving aggression as a result of other social relations.
2. Identity of victim and perpetrator: age, perpetrator's gender, relationship between victim and perpetrator.
3. Prosecution and conviction of perpetrators (if available).
4. Analysis of media coverage of cases.

All data collated was then classified into primary categories to simplify the data collection and analysis process. These categories were used to determine whether a case should be considered as femicide or as homicide. For this 2024 report, Jakarta Feminist added one new indicator about the type of femicide: homicide involving aggression as a result of other social relations. The indicators used in classification were as follows:

1. **FM (*femisida*, femicide):** Homicide motivated by explicit violence against women or girls, including sexual assault or homicide accompanied by theft of the victim's property.
2. **FMT (*femisida transpuan*, transgender femicide):** Homicide of a transgender woman and motivated by hatred of the victim's gender identity.
3. **FAP (*femisida anak perempuan*, girl child femicide):** Homicide of a girl child (aged 0-17 years old, in line with the UN Declaration of Human Rights' definition of child) and motivated by theft, robbery, aggression as a result of other social relations, or social stigma, such as female infanticide.
4. **FBK (*femisida bermotif kejahatan*, criminally-motivated femicide):** Homicide of a woman in the context of theft, robbery, or mugging, without sexual violence or a personal relationship between victim and perpetrator. This classification indicates victims' vulnerability as women.
5. **FRA (*femisida relasional agresif*, femicide involving aggression as a result of other social relations):** Homicide of a woman within a social relationship whose primary

motive is not directly gender-based but still targets women as a vulnerable group.¹⁰

Following data classification, the research team rechecked and cleaned the data before calculating percentages. In the analysis, the team also used descriptive analysis methods to explain various data findings. Furthermore, the team collected and processed secondary data through focus group discussions (FGDs) held with representatives of service providers who are members of Indonesia Femicide Watch (IFW). The FGDs were conducted to explore the dynamics of assistance provided in femicide cases in Indonesia. The findings of the FGDs enriched the primary data and its analysis, while also providing a critical reflection on the limitations of the existing protection system in the field and highlighting the urgent need for early prevention and victim support before violence needs to death.

¹⁰ For example, a woman who is killed by a man because the perpetrator was angry with the woman's husband and decided to take revenge on the man through killing his wife.



Chapter II: A Portrait of Femicide: Demography, Relations, and Triggers of Violence

Part 1. Femicide at a Glance

To comprehensively analyse femicide in Indonesia, this report considers literature that broadens our understanding of the diverse forms that femicide can take. One important reference is the Latin American Model Protocol,¹¹ which distinguishes between two categories of femicide: active (direct) and passive (indirect). This classification emphasises that femicide encompasses not only homicides with the explicit intent to take a woman's life because of her gender, but also homicides resulting from the state's inaction, negligence, or failure to protect women from gender-based violence.

Furthermore, the classification developed by the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE)¹² expands this understanding by identifying femicide as gender-based homicides which can occur in

¹¹ Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (2014), *Latin American Model Protocol for the investigation of gender-related killings of women (femicide/feminicide)*, Panama.

¹² European Institute for Gender Equality (2021). *Femicide: a classification system*, Luxembourg.

various social, political, criminal, sexual, and interpersonal contexts, whether intentional or unintentional. This explanation is presented in Table 1 below:

Table 1. Mapping of context and types of femicide

Context	Types of femicide	Sub-articulation of types
1. Political context: homicides relating to political groups and other organised groups opposing women's empowerment; state violence; or based on the involvement of authorities of healthcare providers.	• Homicides of women due to police abuse or harassment • Deaths due to unsafe abortion • Homicides due to unsafe/risky working conditions • Unnecessary surgery resulting in death (forced hysterectomy, FGM) • Femicides related to accusations of witchcraft • State-tolerated homicides • Killings during armed conflict • Denial of healthcare for reproductive reasons	1.1 Direct femicide • Femicides committed by the police or other state authorities, or other political groups (including homicide of lesbians and racist femicide committed by police or other authorities) • Killings during armed conflict 1.2 Indirect femicide • Homicides tolerated by authorities or healthcare providers • Homicides tolerated by the state in a social context (such as

		femicide linked to accusations of witchcraft)
2. Social (norm) and cultural context: homicides relating to non-compliance or violation of cultural norms and beliefs (including homicide due to discrimination, non-compliance with traditional gender roles and sexual norms). These include homicides aimed at denying women's fulfilment and exercise of their political rights and at preventing women's empowerment.	• 'Honour' killings • Dowry-related homicides • FGM-related deaths • Female infanticide • Female foeticide • Homicides related to sexual orientation and/or gender identity • Homicides related to racism • Homicides due to sociopolitical motives • Homicides resulting from misogynistic social attitudes and practices	2.1 Femicides due to violation of customary or cultural norms 2.2 Femicides due to violation of women's traditional roles or hatred of women as a result of misogynist beliefs 2.3 Femicides due to violations of norms relating to gender and sexuality (including femicides of transgender women and lesbians)
3. Criminal context: Homicides related to organised criminal activities, such as human trafficking or sexual exploitation.	• Homicides related to human trafficking • Homicides in the context of migrant smuggling • Homicides in the context of organised crime • Gang-related killings	3.1 Homicides related to human trafficking 3.2 Femicides in the context of migrant smuggling 3.3 Homicides involving sexual exploitation 3.4 Femicides in the context of the illegal drug trade 3.5 Femicides as part of

		gang-related rituals
4. Sexual context: homicides of women because of sexual violence or related to actions which can be define as sexual (excluding those perpetrated by the partners of victims).	• Non-intimate sexual homicides • Femicides involving sexual violence	4.1 Femicides resulting from rape 4.2 Femicides in sexual contexts
5. Interpersonal context: homicides related to unequal power relations between victims and perpetrators, including in intimate relationships, within families, and outside families.	• Homicides by former intimate partners as a result of intimate partner violence • Homicides by family members • Homicides of pregnant women • Continuum of violence in interpersonal contexts • Subordination, marginalisation, and risk (including in relations of authority, control, and care) • Femicides of women aged 65 years or older	5.1 Intimate partner femicides 5.2 Femicides in the context of families 5.3 Femicides occurring outside the context of intimate relationships where victims are in subordinate positions or other vulnerable contexts

Although not all types of femicide can be measured, the criteria used to refer to these variables frames the motivations for perpetrators to

commit femicide. The existing classification system is not only intended to assist measurement and statistical documentation but also to recognise the full spectrum of femicide, provide structure to the phenomenon, and provide perspective on how femicide emerges and manifests itself in multiple forms that are still difficult to quantify statistically. For example, how do we classify the death of a woman experiencing GBV who takes her own life? This example can be considered a form of passive (indirect) femicide that emerges in response to the evolving dynamics of violence against women, especially in the digital era.

Part 2. Distribution of Femicide Cases Across Indonesia

Documenting all homicides of women is fundamental because it helps uncover systemic patterns of violence and gender inequality. We believe that femicide is not limited to direct forms of homicide, which explicitly targets women with the intent of dominating or subjugating women, displaying aggression, or enabling the perpetrators to 'enjoy' themselves because women are considered as property. Femicide can also take the form of neglect and negligence – including structural and institutional – that leaves women and girls vulnerable. We recognise that there are limitations to our data collection approach, relying as it does on monitoring online media coverage. Nevertheless, this data allows us to see that femicide is not a singular phenomenon which occurs unexpectedly. Femicide is an extreme form of violence that is experienced within a continuum of violence.

Based on our documentation, Jakarta Feminist identified 204 cases in which homicides were committed against women in Indonesia between 1 January and 31 December 2024. The breakdown of cases can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2. Types of femicides, 2024

Category	Total cases	Percentage of all cases
Femicide	165	80.9%
Femicide involving transgender woman victim	7	3.4%
Femicide involving girl child victim	13	6.4%
Criminally-motivated femicide	14	6.9%
Femicide involving aggression as a result of other social relations	5	2.5%
TOTAL	204	100%

Overall, we identified **209 victims and 239 perpetrators**. The geographic spread of cases can be seen in Table 3.

Table 3. Geographic spread of femicides, 2024

No	Province	Cases	Percentage of all cases	Vulnerability rating
1	Aceh	6	3%	0.22

2	Bali	3	1%	0.14
3	Banten	7	3%	0.11
4	Bengkulu	2	1%	0.19
5	Yogyakarta Special Region	3	1%	0.14
6	Jakarta Special Capital Region	8	4%	0.14
7	Gorontalo	1	0%	0.16
8	Jambi	5	2%	0.27
9	West Java	32	16%	0.12
10	Central Java	24	12%	0.13
11	East Java	20	10%	0.10
12	West Kalimantan	3	1%	0.11
13	South Kalimantan	0	0%	0.00
14	Central Kalimantan	4	2%	0.29
15	East Kalimantan	6	3%	0.31
16	North Kalimantan	0	0%	0.00
17	Bangka Belitung Islands	5	2%	0.67
18	Riau Islands	4	2%	0.37
19	Lampung	7	3%	0.15
20	Maluku	2	1%	0.21
21	North Maluku	0	0%	0.00
22	West Nusa Tenggara	5	2%	0.18
23	East Nusa Tenggara	3	1%	0.11
24	Papua	2	1%	0.40

25	West Papua	0	0%	0.00
26	Southwest Papua	2	1%	0.67
27	Papua Highlands	1	0%	0.22
28	South Papua	2	1%	0.76
29	Central Papua	1	0%	0.16
30	Riau	7	3%	0.21
31	West Sulawesi	0	0%	0.00
32	South Sulawesi	5	2%	0.10
33	Central Sulawesi	2	1%	0.13
34	Southeast Sulawesi	1	0%	0.07
35	North Sulawesi	5	2%	0.38
36	West Sumatra	5	2%	0.17
37	South Sumatra	8	4%	0.18
38	North Sumatra	13	6%	0.17
	TOTAL	204	100%	

**Vulnerability rating is determined by calculating the number of femicides per 100,000 women residents of each province. Resident data is based on the most recent data from the Indonesian Central Statistics Agency (Badan Pusat Statistik or BPS).*

Table 3 demonstrates that the five provinces with the highest proportion of cases in 2024 were West Java (16% of all cases), Central Java (12%), East Java (10%), North Sumatra (7%), and South Sumatra (4%). Overall, however, 46% of cases occurred in Java in 2024. This was the case for the past three years, with Java consistently sitting on top. This is very likely due to the island's large population. Media

coverage may also influence this statistic, with Java having more media outlets and easier accessibility to cover cases. This is also reflected by the lower number of cases in other areas, where cases were very hard to identify due to limited media coverage, especially when cases are not reported in national media or do not go 'viral'.

As in previous years, in 2024 Jakarta Feminist's research team continued to face difficulties to identify cases of femicide in five provinces: South Kalimantan, North Kalimantan, North Maluku, West Papua, and West Sulawesi. However, for the first time, cases were successfully identified in Gorontalo, South Papua, and North Sulawesi. This represents an improvement in the data collection strategy used by the research team, in which the team contacted organisations and community groups in the provinces where cases were hard to identify. Our researchers are aware that not all cases can be found through Google searches using pre-determined key words. For example, if cases do not go viral or are not reported by national media outlets, it is challenging to find case data in such provinces, not just on pages 1 to 10 of Google news results but even deeper into searches. In response, the researchers decided to also attempt to identify cases through checking local social media accounts from these under-covered provinces.

Although Java had the highest number of cases of femicide in 2024, Papua was the island with the highest vulnerability ratio. Vulnerability ratios were highest for South Papua (0.76 cases per 100,000 women) and Southwest Papua (0.67 cases per 100,000 women). Sumatra's Bangka Belitung Islands recorded a similar vulnerability ratio (0.67 cases per 100,000 women). Overall, this means that women in Papua

are more vulnerable to femicide than on other islands; for example, women living in South Papua were 6.33 times more vulnerable to femicide than women living in West Java in 2024, even though significantly more cases occurred in West Java. The high level of vulnerability in multiple provinces of Papua island is further complicated by ongoing armed conflict and militarism in the region, as the large military presence and repressive security approach not only create collective trauma for the Papuan people but also increase the risk of sexual violence (and ultimately femicide) being perpetrated against Papuan women.¹³

Since Papua's integration into Indonesia in the 1960s, the Papua region has been under intense state security. KontraS noted that between October 2022 and September 2023, the Indonesian state deployed approximately 7,833 soldiers to Papua.¹⁴ Ongoing military operations have resulted in a massive armed presence in Papua's interior, and various reports indicate that militarism in Papua is often accompanied by human rights violations, including sexual violence against women. Papuan women are doubly vulnerable to violence, as

¹³ Komnas Perempuan, launch edition, *Menata Langkah Maju Kajian Perkembangan Kebijakan Penyikapan Konflik Selama 20 Tahun Reformasi untuk Pemajuan, Pemenuhan HAM Perempuan dan Pembangunan Perdamaian*, accessed on 16 June 2025 at <https://komnasperempuan.go.id/download-file/611>

¹⁴ KontraS, 2024, *Penerjunan Aparat Militer: Celah Baru Negara Untuk Melanggengkan Praktik Pelanggaran HAM di Tanah Papua*, accessed on 16 June 2025 at <https://kontras.org/artikel/penerjunan-aparat-militer-celah-baru-negara-untuk-melanggengkan-praktik-pelanggaran-ham-di-tanah-papua>

they are both women and members of marginalised ethnic groups.¹⁵ They are subjected to rape, abuse, intimidation, and even murder by members of state security forces. Komnas Perempuan has previously reported that this repressive security approach has created a situation where Papuan women are afraid to report violence, both due to social stigma and the perpetrators' position as state officials.¹⁶

Meanwhile, in Bangka Belitung Islands, where the 2024 vulnerability ratio was as high as in Southwest Papua, the situation reflects the large number of reports of violence received by the Provincial Women's and Children's Protection Office. At least 151 cases of SGBV were recorded in 2024, with 153 victims, as well as 188 cases of violence against children, involving 215 victims. The SGBV case level represents an increase from 2023, when 114 cases with 126 victims were documented in Bangka Belitung.¹⁷

¹⁵ Infid, Perempuan Papua Melawan Kekerasan yang Dilanggengkan Negara, accessed on 25 May 2025, at <https://bit.ly/perempuan-papua-melawan-kekerasan-yang-dilanggengkan-negara>

¹⁶ Komnas Perempuan, 2021, Teguh Berkarya di Tengah Keterbatasan dan Semakin Kompleksnya Tantangan Penghapusan Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan, accessed on 02 June 2025, at <https://komnasperempuan.go.id/download-file/1037#:~:text=Bagi%20perempuan%2C%20dampak%20kebijakan%20pembatasan,yang%20masih%20menempatkan%20perempuan%20sebagai>

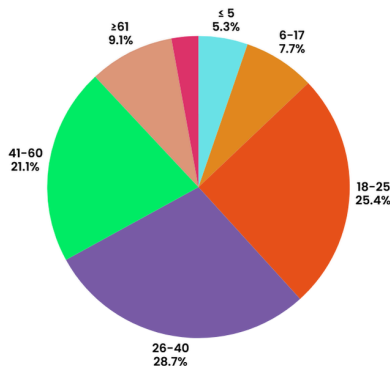
¹⁷ Bustomi Ahmad, RRI.co.id, Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan dan Anak Meningkat di 2024, accessed on 26 May 2025 at <https://www.rri.co.id/daerah/1414140/kekerasan-terhadap-perempuan-dan-anak-meningkat-di-tahun-2024>

Part 3. Victims and Perpetrators of Femicide

In this section, we will analyse the demographic data relating to victims and perpetrators of femicide, the relationships between them, and the motives behind the perpetrators' actions. These data findings also examine the perpetrators' treatment of the victims' bodies after their deaths. We use the term 'motive' in this report although we cannot be absolutely certain what led to the perpetrators committing femicide; we rely on what the perpetrators have told the police or law enforcement officers, as reported in media coverage.¹⁸

1.3.1 Victims' Ages

In 2024, a total of 209 victims of femicide were identified. The majority of victims were aged 26-40 years old (28.7%), 18-25 years old (25.4%), and 41-60 years old (21.1%).



¹⁸ In addition to researching cases in online media reports, the research team conducted further investigations into court rulings on cases reported in the media. Generally, court rulings uncover other facts not previously reported in the media, including perpetrators' motives for committing femicide.

Figure 1. Ages of victims

With regards to victims' ages, the trend is consistent with Jakarta Feminist's femicide reports for the past three years, with the majority of victims aged 26-40 years old. The difference is that in 2024, the 18-25 age group has moved up into second place.

This data aligns with Komnas Perempuan's 2024 Annual Report (*Catatan Tahunan 2024*), where most victims of gender-based violence against women were aged 18-24 years old (1,474 people). However, the fact that women and girls of all age groups were represented in the data shows that all age groups are at risk of becoming victims of femicide. In other words, femicide can occur at any point during a woman's life cycle, including during old age. Dawson found that older women (45 years and up) are more frequently victims of homicide than elderly men, for example. This reveals the gender-based dimension of vulnerability in older age.¹⁹

Turning to the victims' backgrounds, only 52% of victims' occupations were identifiable through media reports. Of this number, working women were the largest group (22%), consisting of labourers and office workers (16%) and sex workers (6%). The second largest group were housewives (11%). However, it should be emphasised that 48% of cases did not include the victims' employment status. Furthermore, the research team was unable to further confirm the identities of all victims who held dual identities, such as being both

¹⁹ Dawson, M., & Carrigan, M. 2020. *Identifying femicide locally and globally: Understanding the utility and accessibility of sex/gender-related motives and indicators*, accessed on 16 May 2025 at doi:10.1177/0011392120946359

workers and housewives. Therefore, these statistics do not fully reflect the vulnerability experienced by women in their work contexts.

The research team did identify one case in which the victim held a dual role. A sex worker in Bali was stabbed by a 21-year-old man before being put into a suitcase and having her new broken. The man then dumped the suitcase in some bushes.²⁰ A second news article identified the woman as not only a sex worker but also a housewife.²¹ By reading the two pieces of coverage in conjunction, we can see that the victim had dual roles, as many women do – as working women and as housewives. This identity compounds women’s vulnerability to femicide, especially when they lack access to legal and social protection.

Table 4. Victims’ Employment Status

Employment Status	Total	Percentage
Sex worker	13	6%
Housewife	22	11%
Labourer or worker	34	16%

²⁰ Alfani Syukri, tvonenews,Kronologi Pembunuhan Wanita Open BO dalam Koper di Kuta Bali, Berawal dari Cekcok soal Harga, accessed on May 2024 at <https://www.tvonenews.com/berita/207581-kronologi-pembunuhan-wanita-open-bo-dalam-koper-di-kuta-bali-berawal-dari-cekcok-soal-harga?page=1>

²¹Septirina Ayu, mediantribunnews, SOSOK Rianti Agnesia Tewas Dalam Koper di Bali, Dibunuh Pria Asal Tapanuli Selatan Usai Open BO, accessed on June 2024 at <https://medan.tribunnews.com/2024/05/05/sosok-rianti-agnesia-tewas-dalam-koper-di-bali-dibunuh-pria-asal-tapanuli-selatan-usai-open-bo>

Student	17	8%
Farmer, trader, businesswoman	21	10%
Domestic worker	1	0%
Unknown	101	48%
Total	209	100%

1.3.2 Relationship between victims and perpetrators

While femicide affects women and girls of all ages and backgrounds, **the majority of cases in 2024 occurred within intimate relationships (42%) and inside the victims’ homes (53%).**

Table 5. Relationships and victims’ social roles

Relationships and victims’ social roles	Total	Percentage
Family relationship (child, mother, sibling, other close relative)	30	14%
Intimate relationship (wife, affair, girlfriend, ex-girlfriend, casual partner, secret lover)	88	42%
Non-personal relationship (neighbour, colleague, friend, student, transgender woman, sex worker)	62	30%
Stranger	15	7%
Not identified	14	7%
TOTAL	209	100%

Table 5 shows that in 42% of femicide cases identified in 2024, the relationships between victims and perpetrators were intimate in nature, with the victims being the perpetrators' wives, girlfriends, ex-girlfriends, or lovers. This reflects the general pattern of intimate femicide, in that homicides often occur within intimate relationships that are considered among the 'closest' of personal relationships, yet are fraught with dynamics of power, control, and violence.

Meanwhile, another 14% of victims and perpetrators were family members, with victims being children, mothers, siblings, or other close relatives of the perpetrators. Another 30% of cases occurred in non-personal relationships, where the victims were neighbours, colleagues, students, sex workers, or transgender women; this shows that acts of gender-based violence do not always occur within situations of relationships and emotional closeness, but can instead still occur due to power imbalances and social vulnerability. Finally, 7% of victims were killed by strangers unknown to them. The relationships between victims and perpetrators could not be identified in another 7% of cases.

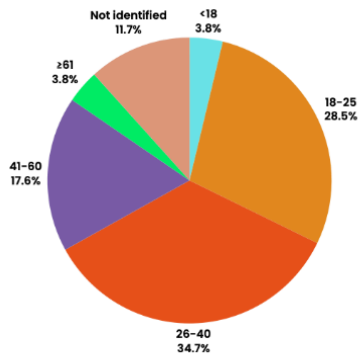
Ultimately, regardless of the relationships between victims and perpetrators, femicide is generally motivated by men's hatred, contempt, pleasure, or a sense of entitlement towards women. It is deeply rooted in misogyny, a feeling of hostility towards women, or a disgust that marginalised and discriminates against women in society. Misogyny manifests itself in many forms: male privilege, patriarchy, gender-based discrimination, sexual harassment, belittlement, violence, and objectification. Misogyny upholds

patriarchal norms, where women who are not submissive or obedient become targets of men’s violence.

1.3.3 Perpetrators’ ages

With regard to the perpetrators, 35% were aged 26-40 years old and another 28% were aged 18-25 years old. This emphasises that most cases of femicide occur within relationships that are close in terms of perpetrators’ and victims’ ages, reflecting the gender imbalances that exist. Meanwhile, 18% of perpetrators were aged 41-60 years old, 4% were aged under 18, and another 4% were aged over 60. The ages of 12% of perpetrators could not be identified.

Figure 2. Perpetrators’ ages



1.3.4 Perpetrators’ Genders

The vast majority (90%) of perpetrators in 2024 were men. Just 10% of perpetrators were women. It is important to note that when women become perpetrators of femicide, the power context surrounding the case is structurally different.

Table 6. Perpetrators’ genders

Gender of perpetrators	Total	Percentage
Man	216	90%
Woman	23	10%
TOTAL	239	100%

In cases where women commit femicide, the context cannot be overlooked. For majority of female perpetrators are secondary perpetrators, influenced by men as primary perpetrators. Furthermore, women can become perpetrators of femicide because they have internalised the deeply-rooted social values of patriarchy and class inequality.

Figure 3. Pyramid of subordination

When women commit femicide, it is important to examine the patriarchal context of the case. Patriarchy gives rise to various forms of subordination, multiple burdens on women,

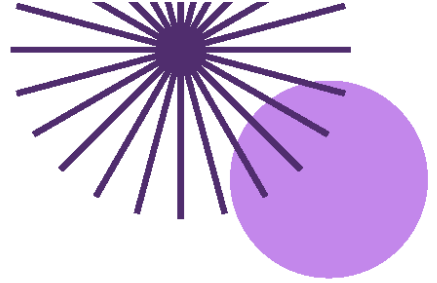


discrimination, and marginalisation. These forms are entrenched in our societies and often place men in domain positions, creating an

environment where women feel the need to compete for recognition and equal rights. When women and other genders are subordinated, one individual feels more valuable than another. This is also supported by other factors, such as factors of politics, economics, and education.²² Figure 3 shows a pyramid of subordination, illustrating how the highest power rests with individual decision makers. At the bottom sits performers of unpaid domestic work. This demonstrates how a person's employment status also determines power relations with other individuals.

One case that illustrates this was the femicide of a 21-year-old domestic worker. The woman was abused by four members of the family who employed her until she died. The perpetrators were a 32-year-old man, his 46-year-old wife and two adult children aged 23 and 21. The victim had been working at the house since 2022, and had been sexually and physically abused by the 21-year-old man. She had also been forced to beg at a bypass area in Padang City. Meanwhile, the two female perpetrators – the mother and one of the children – were involved in planning the victim's murder as well as hiding her body. The terrible case shows how some women can end up believing that they are more valuable as individuals than other women, influenced by the patriarchal values and power relations of the context in which they live.

²² Jakarta Feminist, Feminism 101 module, accessible at jakartafeminist.com



Chapter III:

Unravelling Violence: From Brutal Acts to Legal Processes

This chapter discusses the hows and whys of femicide cases in 2024. It examines the perpetrators' excuses for committing violence, how they killed their victims, what they did to victims' bodies after death, and the legal processes which occurred afterward, including whether perpetrators were caught, gave themselves up, or were not found, and, if their cases made it to court, what sentences were imposed.

A note: violence is discussed in detail in this chapter. We urge readers to proceed with caution and step away if needed. If you feel disturbed or uncomfortable, please close the report and come back at a later stage.

3.1 Motives for Femicide

In this report, motives for committing femicide are based on the perpetrators' explanations, as provided to the police and/or the media. Of the 204 cases of femicide documented in 2024, motives could only be identified in 184 cases (with 223 motives determined in total); in eight cases, the perpetrators killed themselves or media

outlets did not provide this explanation, and in another 12 cases, the perpetrators had not yet been caught at the time of writing, so their motives had not been revealed.

Table 7. Motives for Femicide

Motive (as stated by perpetrators)	Total	Percentage
Intimate/sexual problems	51	23%
Unplanned/unwanted pregnancy (KTD) ²³	6	3%
Communication problems	55	25%
Sexual assault	30	13%
Emotional problems	11	5%
Economic/financial problems	39	17%
Criminal acts	27	12%
Other motives	4	2%
TOTAL	223	100%

In 2024, communication problems were the most common ‘trigger’ for femicide. A total of 25% of perpetrators stated they killed due to communication issues with their victims. Another 23% stated they had intimate or sexual problems, 17% blamed economic or financial problems, and 13% pointed to emotional problems. In addition, 13%

²³ *Disclaimer:* this research uses both the terms ‘unplanned pregnancy’ and ‘unwanted pregnancy’. Unplanned pregnancy is used in cases related to the victim’s sexual and reproductive health and rights, while unwanted pregnancy is used in cases of rape as the victims did not consent to the acts of sexual violence committed.

of femicides were directly related to sexual assault. Some cases also involved contextual factors, such as unwanted or unplanned pregnancies: overall, 3% of cases in 2024 involved perpetrators committing violence against because they did not want to take responsibility for pregnancies or care for the children. These cases include cases of female infanticide as well as femicide of pregnant women and girls. Finally, 12% of cases were motivated by criminal acts such as robbery (in which women and girls are targeted because of their perceived gender-based vulnerability) and 2% of cases occurred due to other motives.

In general, it is important to understand that femicide involves multiple layers of interrelated factors. A case from Bengkulu illustrates this. An 80-year-old woman and her 14-year-old granddaughter were killed by an 18-year-old man, who then robbed their house; the 14-year-old girl was also raped.²⁴ This case illustrates multiple dimensions of violence within one example. The perpetrator stated that his initial motive was robbery, taking advantage of the victims' gender and age (as an elderly woman and a teenage girl, respectively), but his actions ultimately took on a sexual objectification angle as well. The man did not just take the belongings of the two victims, such as their motorcycles, but also raped the granddaughter before killing both her and her grandmother. The family expressed deep hurt and lasting trauma from this incident in

²⁴Yunike Karolina, *bengkulu.tribunnews*, Keluarga Korban Pembunuhan Nenek dan Cucu di Kaur Bengkulu Minta Pelaku Dihukum Seberat-beratnya, accessed in May 2024 at <https://bengkulu.tribunnews.com/2025/05/09/keluarga-korban-pembunuhan-nenek-dan-cucu-di-kaur-bengkulu-minta-pelaku-dihukum-seberat-beratnya>

media coverage, and, when presenting the facts of the case to the Kaur District Attorney's Office in Bengkulu Province, through their attorney, the family also stated their sadness that the case was categorised by law enforcement agencies as a simple robbery.

3.2 Location of Femicides

Regarding where femicides took place in 2024, the majority of cases occurred at the victims' homes (53%). This aligns with the fact that many cases involved personal or familial relationships, as well as with findings from UN Women which show that of 85,000 cases, 60% of women and girls were killed by someone closed to them. This confirms that no place is safe for women, not even their own homes.

Table 8. Location of femicides

Location	Total	Percentage
At the victim's home	108	53%
Not at the victim's home	91	45%
Unknown	5	2%
TOTAL	204	100%

That the majority of femicide cases in 2024 occurred in the victims' homes strengthens the feminist criticism of the public/private space dichotomy, which positions men in the public space and women in the private (domestic) space. The home is generally associated with all things feminine, with intimacy, personal life, protection, and idealised heteronormative relationships (Fraser, 1990; Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Preser, 2023). However, the home, despite being

supposedly a place for women (domestication), has instead become a space of conflict, the site of the most brutal forms of violence against women. In other words, the home is not only a setting of violence but also a space of male domination, which considers women's bodies and decisions about them as their own.

We can see this in one case of domestic violence which escalated in 2024 to femicide. A 28-year-old woman was killed by her 33-year-old ex-husband after previously experiencing domestic violence at his hands.²⁵ In 2019, the victim had reported the perpetrator but later withdrew the report, after which she forgave him and they resumed living together. This is referred to as the 'violence reconciliation cycle'. Five years later, in 2024, the man killed his ex-wife when she refused to get back together; they had been divorced for six months at the time. Although their relationship had legally ended, the perpetrator still felt a type of ownership over the life and the decisions of the woman.

In another case, a 56-year-old mother was killed by her son-in-law after she confronted him for being violent towards his wife (her daughter).²⁶ Even when women take on the role of family protector, which – in the ideal narrative of the home – is considered a noble act,

²⁵Tim redaksi, Regional. Kompas, Pengusaha Gorden Banjarnegara Dibunuh Mantan Suami, Pernah Lapor KDRT, accessed in July 2024 at <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2024/07/12/172714078/pengusaha-gorden-banjarnegara-dibunuh-mantan-suami-pernah-lapor-kdrt>

²⁶Rahmat Utomo, Medan.Kompas, Menantu Bacok Mertua hingga Tewas di Deli Serdang, Coba Bunuh Diri Saat Ditangkap, accessed in March 2024 at <https://medan.kompas.com/read/2024/03/22/213623378/menantu-bacok-mertua-hingga-tewas-di-deli-serdang-coba-bunuh-diri-saat?page=1>

they can become targets of violence when confronting male dominance, as this case shows.

These cases demonstrate how SGBV is often constructed as a domestic/private or family/personal problem, which ultimately causes the issue to be excluded from public debate and public safety precautions.²⁷ These cases also dismantle the myth of the home as a safe haven and the domain of women, demonstrating how domestic space can become an area for the symbolic justification of men's power. As Brickell (2012) argues, equating the home with intimacy, attachment, and protection neutralises social criticism and makes violence appear as something that deviates from the norm, rather than a systemic outcome. Thus, an incident of femicide in the home should not be read as an isolated incident, but as a direct result of a social structure which positions the home as a space of patriarchal power untouched by law or public criticism.

3.3 Methods of Femicide

From the 204 cases of femicide documented in 2024, media coverage of 189 articles provided information on how the violence was perpetrated. A total of 254 methods were identified, with 58 cases (31%) involving multiple methods of violence resulting in death. In 11 cases, no information on methods were provided by media outlets.

Table 9. Methods of femicide

²⁷ Fraser N. (1990). Rethinking the public sphere?: A contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy. *Social Text*, 25-26, 56–80.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/466240>

Method	Total	Percentage
Sharp objects	80	31%
Nearby objects	72	28%
Physical force	94	37%
Disposed of evidence	4	2%
Overdose	2	1%
Other	3	1%
TOTAL	255	100%

In 2024, the most common method of committing femicide in Indonesia was the use of physical force (37%), followed by sharp objects (31%), and nearby objects (28%). As many as 58 cases involved more than one method. These layers of brutal violence emphasise that femicide is not simply an impulsive act driven by momentary emotions, but rather a deliberate act designed to injure, destroy, and complete control victims' bodies. The aggressive methods of killing documented here demonstrate how anger deliberately targets women victims, who are perceived to have rejected or resisted the perpetrators' power.

A case committed in Pati, Central Java, illustrates this. A 21-year-old man killed a woman of the same age after she rejected him and told him she was going to marry someone else.²⁸ The man hit the woman's head against a wall three times, stabbed her with scissors,

²⁸Tim Redaksi, detik.com, Kasih Tak Sampai Berujung Dita Pati Dihabisi Jelang Hari Pernikahan, accessed June 2024 at <https://www.detik.com/jateng/hukum-dan-kriminal/d-7381044/kasih-tak-sampai-berujung-dita-pati-dihabisi-jelang-hari-pernikahan>

then cut her throat with a kitchen knife. This extreme emotional reaction reflects layered acts of violence that were clearly intended to punish the victim because she was considered to have gone beyond her 'natural' gendered role and had dared to take control of her own life.

Birkley and Eckhardt (2023), in their book *Anger, Hostility, Internalizing Negative Emotions, and Intimate Partner Violence Perpetration*, explain how perpetrators of violence in close relationships with their victims often harbour unprocessed feelings of anger, hatred, and inferiority. They tend to feel as though they have been treated unfairly when their partner or ex-partner makes their own decisions, and see violence as a way to reclaim the control they perceive as their personal right.

The same context can be seen in a case which occurred in East Nusa Tenggara, in which a 52-year-old man killed his 52-year-old wife because she had chosen to go to work despite her husband forbidding her from doing so.²⁹ After going out drinking, the man beat, dragged, and stomped on his wife until she died. This violence shows that not only was the perpetrator angry, but he in fact also felt entitled to punish his wife for being – in his eyes – disobedient. This kind of anger arises not only from emotions but from the belief that men are entitled to women's obedience and control. In other words, the anger that exploded and became an act of violence was not

²⁹Erik S, tribunnews.com, Kronologis Pejabat Satpol PP di NTT Aniaya Istri Hingga Tewas: Korban Diinjak Usai Pulang Dinas, accessed August 2024 at <https://www.tribunnews.com/regional/2024/08/15/kronologis-pejabat-satpol-pp-di-ntt-aniaya-istri-hingga-tewas-korban-diinjak-usai-pulang-dinas?page=all>

purely a loss of control; it was part of the man's attempt to regain control of a situation which he considered to be deviating from acceptable local gender norms.

In several other cases documented in 2024, women's bodies were used as a medium for the most brutal demonstrations of masculine power. In one horrifying case in Sorong, Southwest Papua, a 65-year-old woman was gang raped by five men until she died.³⁰ The perpetrators also took the woman's valuables. This act – of sexual violence resulting in death – is a form of total male domination over a woman: robbing the victim of her belongings, her dignity, her body, and even her life. Susan Brownmiller, in her book *Against Our Will*, states that rape is a conscious process of intimidation carried out by all men that leaves all women in a state of fear. When a woman's body is injured to the point of death, rape is not merely a physical attack but a message which confirms that women do not submit can be eliminated. Therefore, femicide is not about who is angry, but about who feels entitled to control, punish, and eliminate.

3.4 Treatment of Victims' Bodies After Dearth

The information presented below covers how perpetrators treated the bodies of their victims after death. In several cases, the perpetrators further interfered with the bodies, such as hanging up the body on a noose to make it appear as though the victim had killed themselves, while in other cases, perpetrators hid the victims'

³⁰Maichel dkk, regional.kompas.com, Nenek 65 Tahun di Sorong Diperkosa 5 Orang hingga Tewas, 1 Pelaku Ditangkap, accessed May 2024 at <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2024/05/16/222434578/nenek-65-tahun-di-sorong-diperkosa-5-orang-hingga-tewas-1-pelaku-ditangkap>

bodies at their homes. Other victims instead died at local hospitals after being abused; these are included as cases of femicide.

Table 10. Treatment of Victims’ Bodies After Death

Treatment	Total	Percentage
Abandoned at site of femicide	122	58%
Mutilated	6	3%
Raped	4	2%
Destruction of certain body parts	2	1%
Burned	3	1%
Disposed of on land	18	9%
Disposed of in water	13	6%
Buried	11	5%
Buried in cement	0	0%
Other	30	14%
TOTAL	209	100%
Other (further explanation)		
Victim hanged after death	4	13%
Body hidden at perpetrators’ house	2	7%
Victim died in hospital	24	80%

Not only did perpetrators kill women, they often mistreat the victims’ bodies after their death. The research team found that the bodies of

122 victims (58%) were abandoned at the scene of the crime. This included several victims who were still alive when the perpetrator left them, but who later died. Meanwhile, a total of 18 victims' bodies (9%) were disposed of on land in areas such as bushes, ravines, roadsides, rice fields, gardens, forests, and parking areas; another 13 victims' bodies (6%) were dumped in bodies of water, including in rivers, off docks, or in ditches; 11 victims' bodies (5%) were buried; 6 victims' bodies (3%) were mutilated; 4 victims' bodies (2%) were raped; and 3 victims' bodies (1%) were burned. Another 14% of victims' bodies were mistreated in other ways, including 23 victims who were taken to hospital, not because of the perpetrators' remorse, but because the victims' screams or cries for help were heard or the perpetrators' actions were discovered by other people. For example, in one case, a woman was burned alive by her husband and spent 20 days in hospital for treatment before dying. Finally, four victims' bodies were hanged to make it look as though they killed themselves, and two victims' bodies were hidden in the perpetrators' houses.

In one case, the body of a 24-year-old singer was found buried behind her house after she had been missing for seven months.³¹ Her 23-year-old husband had killed her with the help of three of his friends. He stated that he had been planning the murder since

³¹Isnaya Helmi, *kompas.tv*, Fakta-Fakta Wanita Dibunuh Suami Siri di Bandung: Korban Hilang 7 Bulan Ternyata Dimakamkan di Kebun, accessed August 2024 at https://www.kompas.tv/regional/528227/fakta-fakta-wanita-dibunuh-suami-siri-di-bandung-korban-hilang-7-bulan-ternyata-dimakamkan-di-kebun?page=all#google_vignette

December 2023 because he was jealous of her. Ultimately, the man slit his wife's throat while his friends held her down by her hands and then helped bury her. The perpetrator did not force or pay his friends; according to reports, their involvement was voluntary. This shows how the hatred of women – and threats to men's egos – can form violent bonds between men.

In another case, a 56-year-old junior high school teacher was found hanging in her home.³² Initially, it was suspected she had suicided, but an investigation revealed that she had actually been murdered by a 63-year-old retired police officer. The victim had reportedly scolded the perpetrator, who had secretly sold her car. The man strangled the woman until she died, then hung her body to make it look as if she had decided to kill herself. The victim was a widow who lived alone, an identity that often makes women more vulnerable, stigmatised, and easily manipulated in narratives of violence.

Structural violence is also a significant risk for women with marginalised identities. For example, a 21-year-old man in West Sumatra killed his 21-year-old wife when she was eight months pregnant. He killed her, strangled her, and smothered her with a pillow, then took her to hospital and pretended he was surprised when the health workers announced she was dead. Suspensions around the case resulted in the victim's family reporting the case to the police. In many cases, femicide is disguised as death (rather than

³²Uje Hartono, detik.com, Kronologi Larso Bunuh Bu Guru SMP di Banjarnegara, accessed September 2024 at <https://www.detik.com/jateng/hukum-dan-kriminal/d-7545154/kronologi-larso-bunuh-bu-guru-smp-di-banjarnegara>

homicide), illustrating the multi-layered structural violence experienced by women such as pregnant women, women with HIV, women with disabilities, elderly women, and widowed and divorced women³³.

Sadly, the research team also identified two cases in which teenage boys were the perpetrators. In North Kalimantan, a 16-year-old boy killed a 15-year-old girl and her family because he was angry that she had rejected his romantic advances³⁴. The boy also raped the girl's body after death. In South Sumatra, four teenage boys raped and killed a 13-year-old girl, then took turns raping her again after death.³⁵ These two cases illustrate that the hatred of women can be internalised by boys from an early age, with disastrous consequences.

Feminist anthropologist Rita Laura Segato developed the concept of 'pedagogies of cruelty' to understand how this kind of violence does not just appear in society; rather, it is taught, learned, and institutionalised. Segato (2018) describes the pedagogy of cruelty as a socialisation process which teaches individuals to interpret power

³³Tim Redaksi, detik.com, Teganya Suami di Sumbar Bunuh Istri yang Lagi Hamil 8 Bulan, dikases Juli melalui <https://www.detik.com/sumut/hukum-dan-kriminal/d-7434908/teganya-suami-di-sumbar-bunuh-istri-yang-lagi-hamil-8-bulan>

³⁴Tim Redaksi, bbc.com, Bagaimana kronologi dan apa motif pelaku pembunuhan satu keluarga di Penajam Paser Utara?, diakses Februari 2024 melalui <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/c9041j1xdzqo>

³⁵Aji YK Putra dkk, regional.kompas.com, 4 Remaja Jadi Tersangka Pembunuhan dan Pemerkosaan Siswi SMP di Palembang, accessed September 2024 at <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2024/09/04/213425378/4-remaja-jadi-tersangka-pembunuhan-dan-pemerkosaan-siswi-smp-di-palembang>

relations hierarchically and turns the body into an object of consumption. Segato argues that societies maintain these structures of inequality by reproducing behavioural expectations through family and social institutions, so that boys learn from childhood about the asymmetry of power and the differential values of dominance and subordination. They learn that not everyone is considered or treated equally, and that some people's voices and presences are considered more important (dominant) while others are considered inferior, so must submit or can be ignored (subordination). This shows that social systems shape boys and men to see girls' and women's bodies as objects or things that can be consumed, owned, and even destroyed.

Teenager perpetrators of violence against girls and women don't simply 'lose control'. They learn patterns of power relations that normalised domination over women's bodies. In Segato's pedagogy of cruelty, the mandate of masculinity is taught from an early age: boys are socialised to view power over others' bodies as a form of prestige, while empathy for girls and women is not part of a masculine identity. Thus, teenagers perpetrators are not 'lost' as individuals; in fact, they are products of structures of inequality that teach masculinity through violence and control.

Analysing how perpetrators treat women's bodies after femicide is crucial because of the symbolic message their actions convey: that women's bodies can be destroyed, buried, burned, raped, or discarded without value. This process of dehumanisation occurs not only during the acts of violence themselves but continues after victims' deaths. Violence against victims' bodies after death reveals a

truth that cannot be ignored: **femicide is not simply a criminal act, but a reflection of a social system that shapes men as perpetrators of violence and women as targets of destruction.** Examining how women’s bodies are treated after death helps us understand the root causes that allow this violence to occur.

3.5 Legal Proceedings in Femicide Cases

Of the 204 cases of femicide documented in 2024, a total of 239 perpetrators were identified from 191 cases. As many as 212 perpetrators (89%) were caught by the police, 18 perpetrators (8%) handed themselves in or killed themselves, and nine perpetrators (4%) were still under investigation. In five cases, the perpetrators had not been identified at the time of writing this report, while in eight cases, the legal proceedings and outcomes were unclear from media coverage. As a result, in this report, we only include perpetrators who were successfully identified – where we report perpetrators’ ages and genders, this is generally because the individuals in question have been arrested, surrendered themselves, or were found dead.

Table 11. Outcomes for Perpetrators of Femicide

Outcomes	Total	Percentage
Perpetrator was caught	212	89%
Perpetrator gave themselves in	18	8%
Case still under investigation	9	4%
TOTAL	239	100%

As in previous years, the research team experience significant difficulties in finding updates on legal proceedings and outcomes of femicide cases. Not all media articles provided information on the laws under which perpetrators were charged, nor about the prosecutors' demands or judges' decisions. In addition, several cases were ongoing at the time of writing in mid-2025, with court proceedings not yet resolved.

As noted at the beginning of this report, most perpetrators of femicide in 2024 were charged under articles in Indonesia's Criminal Code. Although at least 30 cases (13%) also involved sexual violence, the use of the Law on Sexual Violence Offences (UU TPKS) was limited: only in two cases was it used to charge perpetrators. One case involved the rape of an elderly woman by multiple male perpetrators, while the other involved the rape of a vocational school student. In these two cases, law enforcement officers used Article 6C and Article 15 clause (1) letters f and o. Nevertheless, this actually represents an increase in the use of UU TPKS compared to previous years – in 2023, not a single case was prosecuted under UU TPKS, despite multiple instances of femicide involving sexual violence.

The use of the Criminal Code in prosecuting femicide cases involving elements of sexual violence often do not prioritise the victims' perspectives, but rather emphasise punishment of perpetrators. Articles in the Criminal Code often ignore the principle of justice for victims, particularly regarding recovery, protection, and participation in legal processes. In contrast, UU TPKS takes a legal approach that accommodates justice and the needs of victims, including their families as secondary victims. Therefore, it is crucial to view femicide

cases from a holistic perspective, incorporating the fundamental elements of GBV. This approach is crucial, including during the legal process, so that justice is not solely oriented towards punishing perpetrators of criminal acts but also consider the underlying roots of discrimination and gender inequality.

In addition to considering the legal implications for the perpetrators, the process of prosecuting femicide cases also takes considerable time and faces different challenges than in 'routine' cases of homicide. For example, our 2023 Femicide Report highlighted a femicide case in Surabaya, East Java, in which the perpetrator was the child of a national member of parliament. The perpetrator was acquitted. This case demonstrated how political power can shield perpetrators from legal accountability, even in cases of femicide. It took more than a year to prove that the perpetrator had bribed the three judges handling the case, paying them a total of IDR 4.67 billion (USD 286,390).³⁶ Indonesia's Judicial Commission subsequently sanctioned all three judges.³⁷

This case demonstrates the highly problematic approach taken in handling cases of femicide in Indonesia, both in terms of state

³⁶ Hidayat Salam, [kompas.com](https://www.kompas.com), Tiga Hakim yang Terima Suap demi Vonis Bebas Ronald Tannur Dituntut antara 9 dan 12 Tahun Penjara, accessed in June 2025 at

<https://www.kompas.id/artikel/tiga-hakim-suap-vonis-bebas-ronald-tannur-dituntut-pidana-antara-9-dan-12-tahun-penjara>

³⁷ Aji Prasetyo, Hukumonline.com, KY Beri Sanksi Hakim Agung Pengadil Ronald Tanur, accessed in June 2025 at

<https://www.hukumonline.com/berita/a/ky-beri-sanksi-hakim-agung-pengadil-ronald-tannur-lt682c7be884e81/>

documentation and the law enforcement process. To date, there is no official state system which recognises femicide as a specific category of GBV. Meanwhile, the legal processes often face structural obstacles of patriarchy within law enforcement institutions, power relations prone to impunity, and the absence of a specific legal framework surrounding femicide. Additionally, neither the term nor the concept of femicide are widely known by the public nor by law enforcement agencies, meaning many cases are treated as 'routine' homicides without considering the underlying dimensions of gender inequality and GBV.



Chapter IV:

Exploring the Dynamics of Case Support and Hidden Forms of Femicide

In this chapter, the report highlights several categories of femicide cases unique to Indonesia. These cases will shed more light on the phenomenon of femicide in the country, alongside the experiences of service providers in supporting cases. The perspectives of service providers are crucial because of the significant role they play in supporting victims and their families, starting from case reporting to witness protection and long-term recovery.

The stories shared with us by those who work to support cases in the field reveal the dynamics service providers, victims, and families face, including interrelated issues such as domestic violence, gender identity vulnerability, and access to sexual and reproductive healthcare. Due to its severity and complexity, femicide is not simply a criminal matter. It involves layers of trauma and power relations (including within families), and a legal system which is insensitive to class and status. Altogether, this results in laws and regulations which do not favour victims. The focus group discussions (FGDs) held with service providers associated with Indonesia Femicide Watch

(IFEW) for this report show just how femicide cases leave lasting wounds and trauma for those left behind.

Part 1. Femicide in Intimate Relationships: Signs Often Ignored

Femicide is the most extreme form of violence against women. Sadly, it often occurs within intimate relationships, but often goes unnoticed by other people. In the context of intimate relationships, the path towards femicide often begins with repeated acts of violence; this is frequently dismissed as a 'private matter' by society. However, it is this avoidance of the issue which allows the violence to continue unabated. Respondents from LBH APIK Semarang (Semarang Legal Aid Body for Women and Children) told the research team that reports of domestic violence often result in light sentences against the perpetrators and disregard the safety of victims, leaving them to live in daily fear. Furthermore, the sentences imposed are not accompanied by rehabilitation programs for perpetrators which could help prevent the recurrence of violence

"She [the domestic violence victim] had already reported [the violence] to the police. But it [the case] only resulted in [a sentence] of something like four or six months. So we helped [push] for restitution as well, restitution for the victim and a safe house for her." – respondent, LBH APIK Semarang.

In another domestic violence case, LBH APIK Semarang case workers were faced with a complex situation of exploitation: the perpetrator – who was the victim's husband – threatened to prostitute the victim's child if she reported the incident. It was also discovered that the victim herself had been sexually exploited by her husband. This case

illustrates how difficult it is for women to break out of the cycle of violence, especially within intimate relationships. Even lengthy sentences cannot guarantee victims' safety – in 2023, a perpetrator of domestic violence killed his ex-wife after he was released from five months in jail for dousing the woman in petrol and attempting to set her on fire.³⁸

Unfortunately, some cases of femicide are covered up for years before being discovered. In 2024, a young person from Makassar told the police that their father had killed their mother and buried her in concrete at their old house in 2017. Her murder was only reported in 2024 because the individual was a young child at the time of the incident, and only dared to report it after becoming an adult.

"In fact, the case had happened a long time ago, when [the individual] was a young child. The child witnessed the incident but could only report it when they were older. They saw their mother buried in the back yard [of their house] but was asked [by their father] to say that their mother had left the family." – respondent, LBH APIK Makassar.

This case shows how femicide can be hidden for a long time because of power relations within families, resulting in intergenerational trauma, which is difficult to identify through statistics and formal

³⁸Maya Citra Rosa, regional.kompas.com, Usai Bunuh Mantan Istri, Bos Hotel di Jepara Sempat Telepon Anak Suruh Cek Kondisi Ibunya, accessed October 2024 at <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2023/10/22/134102978/usai-bunuh-mantan-istri-bos-hotel-di-jepara-semprot-telepon-anak-suruh-cek>

reports. This demonstrates the importance of the support role played by service providers, especially during the recovery and healing processes.

A similar case occurred in East Nusa Tenggara (NTT), where it was handled by LBH APIK NTT. A case of femicide was identified in which the father was the perpetrator and the victim was his wife. The man had long perpetrated domestic violence against his wife, with his violent acts witnessed by his two children, thereby positioning his children as indirect victims. This case shows the complex impacts of femicide. The couple's children both experienced deep trauma and feelings of hatred towards their father.

No family members were able to look after the children, so they wrote a letter to the judge handling the case. They requested that the sentence imposed against their father be reduced – not because they forgave him, but because they did not have any other choices.

“There were child psychology issues which influenced [the handling of the case] because their mother had died [and] they hated their father [because] he had killed her. But the children still relied on their father, so they wrote a letter to the judge during the hearing to convey their position as children who were [indirect] repeat victims: the loss of their mother, the loss of their father, how were they going to live? They don't like their father, either, but how were they going to survive?” - respondent, LBH APIK NTT.

This case illustrates that femicide does not only take women's lives; it also destroys families and robs the futures of the children left

behind. In situations like this, service providers play important roles in providing legal assistance and in ensuring children's right to recovery is upheld even in situations of dependency and powerlessness.

In cases of intimate relationship femicide, the victims are not only the individual women but the broader families. Acts of femicide are remembered by children, resulting in lasting trauma. Domestic violence can be the accumulation of ongoing patterns of violence. Although intimate relationship femicide was the most prevalent form in 2024 (88 cases out of 204), media coverage rarely depicts the plight of the victims' families as secondary victims who also have the rights to recovery and justice.

The pattern of femicide in intimate relationships align with what is known as 'coercive control'. Coercive control is a form of repeated and entrenched non-physical violence aimed at dominating and subjugating the victim. Even Stark (2007) explains that coercive control is a strategic, oppressive act designed to maintain privilege and establish dominance over women in the private lives. While it can also take the form of physical violence, coercive control is primarily enacted through psychological, sexual, and economic violence, carried out gradually to erode the victim's freedom and autonomy.

A case from Pulo Gadung, East Jakarta, provides an example of coercive control ending in femicide.³⁹ A 27-year-old man killed his 26-year-old wife because he alleged she was pregnant with another man's child, even though post-mortem forensic investigation showed the woman was not pregnant at the time of her murder. The investigation found that the perpetrator was a repeat domestic violence offender. In his final act of violence, the man strangled his wife and repeatedly hit her face until she died. His suspicions that she was pregnant to another man were not just about jealousy; they were also about control over his wife's body and faithfulness. Ultimately, the man chose violence as his mechanism of control.

Coercive control is deeply intertwined with gender inequality. Harris and Woodlock (2019) emphasise that although coercive control can be experienced by all genders, the element of control operates within and is strengthened by gender power dynamics. In another case documented in Kampar, Riau, a 30-year-old man killed his 40-year-old wife because she decided to rest after working from early morning until the afternoon.⁴⁰ The perpetrator stated he became angry because his wife was not helping him with his work. He

³⁹Irfan Fathurohman, *idntimes.com*, Pegawai KAI Aniaya Istri yang Hamil hingga Tewas, Begini Kronologinya, accessed in June 2024 at <https://www.idntimes.com/news/indonesia/irfanfathurohman/pegawai-kai-aniaya-istri-yang-hamil-hingga-tewas-begini-kronologinya?page=all>

⁴⁰Rachmawati, *regional.kompas.com*, Kronologi Suami di Kampar Bunuh Istrinya di Lahan Eukaliptus, Pelaku Tikam Korban yang Tak Berdaya, accessed in June 2024 at <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2024/06/16/131400278/kronologi-suami-di-kampar-bunuh-istrinya-di-lahan-eukaliptus-pelaku-tikam>

stabbed her repeatedly, even when she had already lost consciousness.

In relationships based on male superiority, women's acts of personal expression or recreation are often considered a form of defiance. In Aceh, a 49-year-old man killed his 30-year-old wife because she often broadcast live karaoke in TikTok.⁴¹ The man stated that he felt embarrassed when his neighbours found out about his wife's livestreaming. He also explained that his wife often liked to go to karaoke with her friends. Angered, the perpetrator strangled his wife with a nylon rope until she died. We can conclude that the wife's form of personal expression (through karaoke) was read by her husband as a threat to his masculinity and his control over the image of their household.

A case of femicide documented in South Minahasa, North Sulawesi, also showed elements of coercive control. A 26-year-old man killed his 24-year-old wife after he heard her sleep talking about how he forbade her from working outside their district.⁴² The man stabbed his wife's left eye with a kitchen knife then slashed the back of her head with a machete when she tried to flee. Not only that, the

⁴¹Endra Kurniawan, Kronologi Suami Bunuh Istri di Aceh, Tak Kuat Tahan Malu Korban Sering Live TikTok dan Karaokean, accessed September 2024 at <https://www.tribunnews.com/regional/2024/09/15/kronologi-suami-bunuh-istri-di-aceh-tak-kuat-tahan-malu-korban-sering-live-tiktok-dan-karaokean?page=all>

⁴²Manado Bacarita, kumparan.com, Fakta Terbaru Suami di Minsel Potong Istri, Berawal dari Istri Mengigau, diakses Mei 2024 melalui <https://kumparan.com/manadobacarita/fakta-terbaru-suami-di-minsel-potong-istri-berawal-dari-istri-mengigau-22fs5FJ4pxu/full>

perpetrator also attacked the victim's parents, slashing the father with the machete and beating the mother. The victim's parents were so badly injured that they went into intensive care in the hospital. It is clear that the man's motive for femicide came from nothing more than a small 'mistake': sleep talking. In the context of coercive control, this is an extreme attempt by a man to maintain his dominance when threatened.

In a separate case in Depok, West Java, a 20-year-old man killed his girlfriend, also 20, after he forced her to pick him up at his house. The victim initially refused, but eventually gave into his demands. At his home, the perpetrator raped the victim, who screamed and resisted. The man then strangled her to death.⁴³ It was later discovered during the investigation that the man was also a fugitive wanted for two other rape cases. This case illustrates how coercive control can occur even in new relationships.

Johnson (2008) and Anderson (2009) emphasise that coercive control must be understood as a phenomenon tied to patriarchal social structures, where men have greater access to power as well as to the legitimacy to use violence in intimate relationships. When women try to take control of their lives, such as by taking a break or resting, refusing a request or demand, limiting their interactions with certain individuals, or expressing themselves, men's reaction is often centred around deadly violence.

⁴³Rizky Adha Mahendra, news.detik.com, Awal Mula Perkenalan Argiyan dengan Mahasiswi Korban Pembunuhan di Depok, diakses Januari 2024 melalui <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-7154411/awal-mula-perkenalan-argiyan-dengan-mahasiswi-korban-pembunuhan-di-depok>

Femicide in intimate relationships does not occur because of momentary rage or blind love. It is the culmination of a system of gender-based violence that normalises men's dominance over women. The signs of this are clearly visible in our day-to-day lives, but due to the patriarchy's deep roots, this has become normalised and tolerated, allowing the signs to go unnoticed or to be easily ignored. By understanding coercive control as a form of structural and layered violence, we can understand that femicide as more than an individual crime or single incident; it is an institutional failure that does not protect women from relationships full of control and fear.

Therefore, focusing on victim safety and recovery is crucial. This needs to cover more than counselling and rehabilitation for perpetrators to ensure the violence does not reoccur. At the same time, society's perspectives on violence against women need to be reconstructed.

"We still have a lot of work to do to keep improving the capacity of stakeholders, especially regarding laws and regulations. Plus within families, the same patterns keep continuing: many people still blame victims, for example if they go out at night, if they're not accompanied. They get blamed for that. Cases of domestic violence are considered as ordinary things which are normalised. But when something happens to the point that a wife's life is taken, then people realise that this is a major problem facing the family." – respondent, LBH APIK Makassar.

In early 2025, LBH APIK Jakarta reported handling a case of femicide in which a girl died after being abused by her mother's boyfriend. The perpetrator had ordered the victim's mother to go out to buy something, leaving the child behind with him. But when the woman returned, the child was already complaining of pain. The girl was taken to hospital and treated for several days, but ultimately died of her injuries. An autopsy revealed that the man had physically and sexually abused the girl.

"The victim's parents reported to us that the woman had also experienced the same thing. She was experiencing dating violence at the hands of her boyfriend." – respondent, LBH APIK Jakarta.

This case demonstrates that femicide can affect not only adult women directly involved in conflict with men, but also children. This is often overlooked, as patriarchal and misogynistic cultures make society oblivious to the need for accountability of perpetrators and how the state, as an institution, can protect victims of violence.

Part 2. Violence against Transwomen: Unrecognised by the System

The research team identified seven cases of femicide against transgender women in 2024. These cases of 'transfemicide' cannot be separated from the broader phenomenon of transphobia. Julia Serano, in her book *Whipping Girl: A Transsexual Woman on Sexism and the Scapegoating of Femininity*, explains that transgender women's feminine self-expression is considered a threat to the

hierarchy of patriarchy; this can also be referred to as 'transmisogyny'. As a result, violence against transwomen may not be considered as a form of femicide, both in the eyes of the law and official statistics, because transgender women are not considered as 'real' women victims.

One particularly complex case of transfemicide in 2024 occurred in Kuningan, West Java.⁴⁴ A 40-year-old man killed his 30-year-old transgender partner, allegedly because of jealousy. The perpetrator strangled the victim while she was sleeping, then reconstructed the scene of death to make it appear as though she had killed herself through overdosing on her antiretroviral (ARV) medication. The perpetrator even wrote a false suicide letter, claiming that the victim felt frustrated because of her HIV status, then asked his neighbour for assistance, pretending that his partner was unresponsive and wouldn't wake up. The case was initially thought to be suicide, until police discovered strangulation marks on the victim's neck.

The case above shows how stigma towards gender identities and health conditions can be manipulated to cover up violence. In the research team's FGDs with the service providers who handled this case, it was revealed that this type of case is at high risk of not being recorded as femicide because of the socially stigmatised identity of the victim.

⁴⁴Mohammad Taufiq, detik.com. Motif Cemburu di Balik Pembunuhan Waria di Kamar Kos Kuningan, accessed January 2024 at <https://www.detik.com/jabar/cirebon-raya/d-7170707/motif-cemburu-di-balik-pembunuhan-waria-di-kamar-kos-kuningan>

In Morowali, Central Sulawesi, seven men committed the premeditated murder of a transwoman.⁴⁵ They admitted to police that the victim often flirted with them and so they wanted to teach her a lesson. They lured the victim into meeting with them. Two men then assaulted her and left her lying unconscious on the side of the road. The men went off to buy alcohol and when they returned, they saw her still lying on the ground, so they doused her face with water. Unfortunately, the woman was already dead. This brutal femicide, planned and carried out by a group of men, reflected collective hatred of transgender women. The pretext that the victim 'seduced' the perpetrators became a social justification for her murder, indicating the presence of a culture of violence against transgender women.

In a case occurring in Mataram, West Nusa Tenggara, a 26-year-old man killed a 30-year-old transgender women after he discovered that she was not a cisgender woman.⁴⁶ The victim had offered the man a ride home from work on her motorbike, and because the man was attracted to the woman, they went back to her boarding house. There, the man strangled the victim until she died, before taking her phone and motorbike to be sold. Unfortunately, media coverage perpetuated stigma against transgender people by framing that the

⁴⁵Hafiz Hamdan, detik.com, Karyawan Salon Dibunuh 7 Pria di Morowali, Pelaku Pura-pura Ajak Bersetubuh, accessed July 2024 at

<https://www.detik.com/sulsel/hukum-dan-kriminal/d-7422511/karyawan-salon-dibunuh-7-pria-di-morowali-pelaku-pura-pura-ajak-bersetubuh>

⁴⁶Devi Handayani, insidelombok.com, Mengaku Kecwa Setelah Salah Kira, Seorang Pria di Mataram Bunuh Waria, accessed in March 2024 at <https://insidelombok.id/kriminal/mengaku-kecwa-setelah-salah-kira-seorang-pria-di-mataram-bunuh-waria/>

victim has 'trapped' the perpetrator or 'lied' about her identity. As such, media outlets covering the case implied that the man's transphobic violence was an understandable act.

In an FGD with the research team, representatives from LGBTQ+ NGO Arus Pelangi highlighted that cases of femicide against transgender women often go unreported due to the stigma attached to transgender identities. In a case the organisation handled in early 2025, a transwoman was brutally attacked with a sharp object by an unknown assailant.

"She was taken to the hospital at 11.30 at night during Ramadan. Her nose was torn. There were wounds at the base of her throat [inside]. What do I think? People hate transwomen so much that they chased her, used a sharp weapon [against her]. And if she hadn't managed to escape after being attack, she might have died there under the toll road." - respondent, Arus Pelangi.

It is important to remember that deaths resulting from assault motivated by hatred against transgender people also constitute femicide. In other words, a transwoman found dead in her home after days of pain following an assault should be recorded as femicide. Therefore, the legal system must include the recognition of forms of femicide against marginalised groups, such as transgender women, to avoid the miscategorisation of deaths.

Finally, femicide is not just about murder; it is a systematic attempt to erase women's existence. Violence against transwomen is rooted not just in misogyny but also transphobia and the denial of gender

identities outside the heteronormative cisgender framework. It is crucial to understand femicide against transwomen through an intersectional approach. By doing so, we can see that transwomen face higher risks of violence, as well as that it is more likely that violence against them will be ignored, blamed upon the transwomen themselves, or even unrecognised. This is a vivid portrait of a social system which continues to refuse to acknowledge diversity of identities and bodies. As long as violence against transgender women is not recognised as a form of femicide, our understanding of GBV will remain unequal, leaving many victims to die in silence and unrecorded.

Part 3. When Unplanned Pregnancy Becomes A Motive for Femicide

In 2024, the research team identified six cases of femicide involving unplanned or unwanted pregnancies. A recurring pattern was evident: women were abandoned and denied access to health care. Of the six cases, four involve the murder of newborn girls; the other two cases involved maternal deaths due to unsafe abortion or violence during childbirth. These cases demonstrate a systemic failure to protect women's bodily authority, exposing women's vulnerability throughout their lifetime sexual and reproductive cycles.

One case which deserves our attention occurred in Sidoarjo, East Java.⁴⁷ A 33-year-old woman gave birth in her boarding house room,

⁴⁷Diky Putri Sansiri, radarsidoarjo.com, Sosok Pembunuh Sadis Ibu dan Bayi Laki-Laki di Sukodono Sidoarjo Terungkap, Ini Alasannya Membunuh, accessed in June 2024 at

assisted by her 36-year-old partner. Unfortunately, the man did not want to take responsibility for the child; he pressed down forcefully on the woman's abdomen until the baby was born. Then, to prevent the baby's cries from being heard by neighbours, he covered the baby's nose and mouth until it suffocated, placing the unconscious baby next to its mother. The man then left the boarding house. When he returned, the woman had already died from post-partum haemorrhage. The perpetrator fled, taking the victim's motorbike and mobile phone.

A similar case was documented in Kelapa Gading, North Jakarta.⁴⁸ A 34-year-old woman was found dead from post-partum haemorrhage following an unsafe abortion. The perpetrator – the woman's 27-year-old intimate partner – refused to be responsible for the child and instead decided to leave the woman in a life-threatening condition, after which she died. This case illustrates how femicide in the context of unplanned/unwanted pregnancies is a form of multilayered systemic neglect and violence, beginning from the perpetrator's refusal to take responsibility, turning into physical and psychological violence, and ending in intentional neglect.

<https://radarsidoarjo.jawapos.com/kriminal-delta/854807605/sosok-pembunuh-sadis-ibu-dan-bayi-laki-laki-di-sukodono-sidoarjo-terungkap-ini-alasannya-membunuh?page=1>

⁴⁸Redaksi Tempo, tempo.com, Pembunuhan Wanita Hamil di Kelapa Gading Terungkap, Polisi Tangkap Pacarnya yang Kabur ke Lampung, accessed in April 2024 at

<https://www.tempo.co/hukum/pembunuhan-wanita-hamil-di-kelapa-gading-terungkap-polisi-tangkap-pacarnya-yang-kabur-ke-lampung-65629>

The four other femicide cases involving unplanned or unwanted pregnancies in 2024 all ended in the death of newborn girls. One case occurred in Central Siantan, Riau Islands, and involved a 15-year-old girl.⁴⁹ The girl gave birth alone without any assistance, before she smothered the baby to death and buried the body. This case highlights the dire situation young girls face when they become pregnant without support, information, and access to healthcare.

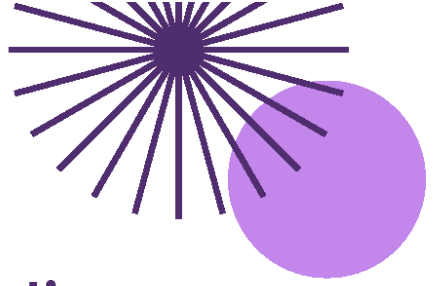
Children below the age of 18 years old are considered to not yet have the legal capacity to consent to participate in sexual activity. As a result, sexual activity which results in pregnancy – such as in the case of the 15-year-old girl above – is categorised as sexual violence, even though it was committed without explicit force. In addition, power imbalances, differences in emotional maturity, and the possibility of manipulation all push this relationship into one of exploitation.

The 15-year-old girl's case raises many questions: How did the pregnancy occur? Who was the boy or man involved, and why did he not take responsibility? Media coverage usually focuses on the actions of the victims without delving deeper into the contexts of the violence which may have preceded it. Women, and even children, are sometimes positioned as perpetrators, while the structures that enable violence and neglect are overlooked. Few media reports question the accountability of the men involved in cases of unplanned/unwanted pregnancies, even though femicide motivated

⁴⁹Tunggul Manurung, batampos.jawapos.com, Bayi Dibunuh dengan Cara Tutup Mulut dan Hidungnya, Kemudian Ibu Bayi, accessed in May 2024 at <https://batampos.jawapos.com/kabar-kepri/2424887235/bayi-dibunuh-dengan-cara-tutup-mulut-dan-hidungnya-kemudian-ibu-bayi>

such pregnancies is the most extreme form of violation of women's bodily rights. When a woman chooses to continue a pregnancy, or is unable to terminate it safely, her decision is seen as a threat to men who refuse to accept responsibility. In many cases, the woman's body becomes a site of conflict between maintaining life and the perpetrator's refusal to acknowledge or support the pregnancy.

These examples highlight the importance of access to safe abortion services, especially for victims of sexual violence. There is also a pressing need for comprehensive and inclusive sexual education. Without a comprehensive understanding of contraception, pregnancy planning, reproductive rights, and healthy and equal relationships, women and girls will continue to be extremely vulnerable to violence and unplanned pregnancy.



Chapter V:

The Role of Media

Framing in Shaping

Public Perception of

Femicide

Media narratives when reporting on femicide cases play an important role in shaping public perception. Unfortunately, mainstream media representations often fail to address the underlying causes of femicide, such as patriarchy, gender inequality, and misogyny. Instead, the media tends to fabricate new layers of violence by framing women's deaths as natural, inevitable, and solely driven by individual factors. This finding aligns with literature reviews compiled by organisations such as the Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability, which demonstrate how the media employs specific frameworks to frame femicide reporting.⁵⁰

These frameworks reflect what Kitzinger (2000) calls 'received wisdom', a frame of mind that is considered normal, such as the

⁵⁰Femicide Canada accessed in June 2025 at <https://femicideincanada.ca/>

assumption that men are naturally brutal and that women must adapt to avoid violence. This framework is often used by the media to create narratives and shape public understanding of femicide by reproducing discourse and symbolic violence against women through unequal gender relations (Jiwani, 2009; Özer, 2019). Media representations of femicide generally reflect symbolic violence by: (1) blaming victims for the violence they experienced; (2) commodifying or naturalising women's deaths through racial and social class categories; (3) determining who is worthy of mourning; and (4) allowing the state to be absent from addressing the colonial, racial, and gender roots of femicide (Stillman, 2007; Jiwani, 2009; Fairbairn et al., 2023).

With the advancement of technology, the media has become not only a readily accessible source of information but also an active social actor shaping change. Unfortunately, reporting on femicide often positions victims as the ones to blame, whether for making the perpetrator jealous, rejecting the perpetrator, working as sex workers, or simply because of their identity as widows, elderly women, or teenagers. However, if this kind of reporting is allowed to continue, the media contributes to violence through misinterpretation and validation of the GBV narrative in the public sphere.

Table 12 shows the results of more than 472 online media articles covering the 204 femicides documented as occurring in 2024.

Table 12. Media Coverage of Femicide, 2024

Quality of media coverage	Total number of articles	Percentage
Coverage determined to be 'decent' ⁵¹	37	18%
Coverage corners or blames the victim ⁵²	12	6%
Coverage uses hyperbolic language	72	35%
Coverage objectifies the victim	5	2%
Coverage does not protect the victim's privacy	46	23%
Coverage does not provide complete information	6	3%
Coverage makes more than one serious mistake	26	13%
TOTAL	204	100%

⁵¹The 'decent' category covers cases which were reported without hyperbolic language, did not objectify the victim, protected the victim's privacy, and provided complete information (such as perpetrator's motive, ages of victim and perpetrator).

⁵²This category refers to ways in which media outlets present information which can shape negative public perception towards victims. This framing is not always explicit; it can also be implicit, evident through the outlet's choice of words, narratives, quotes, images/photos, and lack of context.

Table 12 shows that 35% of cases used hyperbolic language; 23% of cases did not protect the identity or privacy of the victim; 13% of media articles made more than one serious mistake; 6% of cases were reported on using framing which blamed the victim; and 2% of cases were reported on in a way which objectified the victim. Only 18% of media coverage was determined by the research team to be 'decent' in quality.

One of the most striking forms of symbolic violence in media coverage of femicide in Indonesia is the media's use of hyperbolic narratives and the romanticisation of violence. In one case in 2024, a man murdered his wife yet the media used article titles such as 'A Couple's Love Story Ends in Mutilation',⁵³ as though the incident were simply a dramatic love story rather than a gender-based criminal offence. In fact, the victim had long suffered domestic violence at the hands of her husband, but never reported it out of concern for her children. By framing this case as a tragic love story, the media romanticised a relationship dynamic rife with violence and control while also reinforcing the false narrative that men's violence in relationships is a demonstration of love.

There are also some hyperbolic phrases and words which media outlets often fall back on. For example, the phrase 'burning with jealousy' (*'terbakar api cemburu'*), which the media uses to imply that

⁵³Toto Dihantoro, [kompastv.com](https://www.kompas.tv/regional/474108/kisah-cinta-pasutri-james-dan-made-sutarini-yang-berakhir-mutilasi-awalnya-bertemu-di-rumah-sakit), Kisah Cinta Pasutri James dan Made Sutarini yang Berakhir Mutilasi, Awalnya Bertemu di Rumah Sakit, accessed January 2024 at <https://www.kompas.tv/regional/474108/kisah-cinta-pasutri-james-dan-made-sutarini-yang-berakhir-mutilasi-awalnya-bertemu-di-rumah-sakit?page=all>

the man's violent actions were caused by uncontrollable emotions as a result of his intense love for his partner.⁵⁴ This narrative not only obscures the perpetrator's responsibility for his actions but also conveys the idea that men's emotions can validate violence and even murder. This creates the illusion that women should be 'careful' so as not to 'provoke' violence, instead of placing full responsibility on the perpetrator.

The research team also identified media articles which failed to display any empathy for victims and instead exploited their bodies for attention and 'clicks'. For example, articles often use sensational language like 'dead and decaying' and 'smelling of corpse' to describe the condition of victims' bodies.⁵⁵

Furthermore, several news reports mentioned victims' full names, even in cases where the victims were under the age of 18 and had experienced sexual violence. One such case involved the murder and rape of a young school student.⁵⁶ Media outlets not only identified the victim by her full name but also provided explicit details of the

⁵⁴ Edi Irawan, bima.inews.id, Terbakar Api Cemburu, Pria Asal Kota Bima Cekik Kekasihnya Hingga Tewas, accessed August 2024 at <https://bima.inews.id/read/484927/terbakar-api-cemburu-pria-asal-kota-bima-cekik-kekasihnya-hingga-tewas>

⁵⁵ Erfan Erlin, daerah.sindonews.com, Ini Penyebab Gadis Sleman Tewas Membusuk di Kotabaru Yogyakarta accessed February 2024 at <https://daerah.sindonews.com/read/1328837/707/ini-penyebab-gadis-sleman-tewas-membusuk-di-kotabaru-yogyakarta-1708923779/10>

⁵⁶ Ardian, radartv.disway.id, Polisi Gelar Reka Ulang Pembunuhan Siswi SMK di Mesuji Lampung, accessed July 2024 at <https://radartv.disway.id/read/21105/polisi-gelar-reka-ulang-pembunuhan-siswi-smk-di-mesuji-lampung>

attack, without considering the need to protect the child's privacy as a victim of sexual violence. A similar approach was taken in the media's coverage of the murder of a woman named Nia in Padang;⁵⁷ the case went 'viral' on Indonesian social media and was widely discussed. Instead of reporting objectively and reflecting the reality of SGBV, the media's episodic and sensational coverage gave rise to unconstructive public discussion. As a result, Nia's grave even became something of a tourist attraction. This placed the victim in a position of continued exploitation even after her life was violently taken away from her.

In a case which involved the murder of a sex worker, media outlets frequently published personal photographs of the victim as well as explicitly and repeatedly stating her profession.⁵⁸ This practice of referring to victims' identities and professions essentially enables readers to decide who is 'worthy' of mourning and who is not. The media therefore reproduces symbolic violence by establishing a 'hierarchy of mourning' based on victims' perceived social values.

⁵⁷Tim Redaksi, [cnnindonesia.com](https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20240928134504-12-1149416/polisi-tetapkan-tersangka-baru-kasus-pembunuhan-gadis-penjual-gorengan), Polisi Tetapkan Tersangka Baru Kasus Pembunuhan Gadis Penjual Gorengan, accessed September 2024 at <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20240928134504-12-1149416/polisi-tetapkan-tersangka-baru-kasus-pembunuhan-gadis-penjual-gorengan>

⁵⁸Feryanto Hadi, [wartakota.tribunnews.com](https://wartakota.tribunnews.com/2024/09/27/mayatnya-ditemukan-di-dalam-lemari-sahabat-benarkan-resti-widia-berprofesi-sebagai-psk-online#google_vignette), Mayatnya Ditemukan di Dalam Lemari, Sahabat Benarkan Resti Widia Berprofesi sebagai PSK Online, accessed September 2024 at https://wartakota.tribunnews.com/2024/09/27/mayatnya-ditemukan-di-dalam-lemari-sahabat-benarkan-resti-widia-berprofesi-sebagai-psk-online#google_vignette

As in previous years, victims were also frequently objectified in media reporting in 2024. Labels like ‘beautiful girl’ or ‘beautiful teenager’ were often applied to victims in both headlines and articles themselves. For example, in separate cases in OKU (South Sumatra)⁵⁹ and East Barito (Central Kalimantan)⁶⁰, the victims were described as beautiful women who were brutally murdered, as though their appearance was relevant to the incidents. This practice demonstrates how women’s bodies remain objects of public consumption even after death, with visuals and stereotypes used to capture readers’ attention.

In addition, stigmatising labels such as ‘widow’ (or ‘divorcee’, as the word as dual meanings in Indonesian)⁶¹ and ‘old woman’ were often used to construct narratives that such women can be killed because of their social statuses. The word ‘widow’ (or ‘divorcee’) was not used to simply state the woman’s identity but was used in way that implied sexual and moral nuances. In this context, women’s bodies and identities are constructed as the ‘cause’ or ‘justification’ of the horrific

⁵⁹Tim Redaksi, rctiplus.com, Gadis Cantik di OKU Dibunuh secara Membabi Buta, Ayah Korban Harap Pelaku Segera Ditangkap, accessed January 2024 at <https://www.rctiplus.com/news/detail/berita-utama/4251495/gadis-cantik-di-oku-dibunuh-secara-membabi-buta-ayah-korban-harap-pelaku-segera-ditangkap>

⁶⁰Herman Antoni Saputra, tribunnews.com, Pembunuh Mega Ekatni Bartim Kalteng Terungkap, Tersangka Orang Dekat Tewas Polisi Hentikan Kasus, accessed September 2024 at <https://kalteng.tribunnews.com/2024/09/05/pembunuh-mega-ekatni-bartim-kalteng-terungkap-tersangka-orang-dekat-tewas-polisi-hentikan-kasus>

⁶¹Hedro, sumateraekspres.bacakoran.co, Bunuh Janda 17 Tusukan, Rumah Pelaku Dirusak Massa, Ini Dugaan Penyebabnya, accessed May 2024 at https://sumateraekspres.bacakoran.co/read/41243/bunuh-janda-17-tusukan-rumah-pelaku-dirusak-massa-ini-dugaan-penyebabnya#google_vignette

violence perpetrated against them. As a result, these narratives reproduce gender imbalances.

All elements of media articles – from word choice and headlines to sentence structures – influence the framing of the incident. The research team found that many of these frames blame the victims. Rather than addressing the structural motives for men’s violence and highlighting protection failures, the media instead chooses to highlight the victims’ behaviour prior to the murder. In a case in which a transgender woman was murdered, for example, media outlets attributed her death to her ‘nightlife’ and ‘solicitation of clients’.⁶² The perpetrator, on the other hand, was portrayed as simply a jealous boyfriend who disliked her activities. This moralistic framing not only demeaned the victim but also obscured the perpetrator’s position as the actor responsible for her murder.

A similar framing attempt can be seen in the case of a teenage girl who was described as “having consumed alcohol before being murdered” and was then “raped while unconscious”.⁶³ This problematic choice of language aimed to distract readers: by avoiding the term ‘rape’, the public was led to focus on the victim’s

⁶²Mohammad Taufiq, detik.com, Motif Cemburu di Balik Pembunuhan Waria di Kamar Kos Kuningan, accessed January 2024 at <https://www.detik.com/jabar/cirebon-raya/d-7170707/motif-cemburu-di-balik-pembunuhan-waria-di-kamar-kos-kuningan>

⁶³Dewi Agustina, tribunnews.com, Remaja di Papua Tenggak Miras Bareng Pelaku Sebelum Dibunuh, Disetubuhi saat Tak Sadarkan Diri, accessed October 2024 at <https://m.tribunnews.com/regional/2024/10/04/remaja-di-papua-tenggak-miras-bareng-pelaku-sebelum-dibunuh-disetubuhi-saat-tak-sadarkan-diri>

behaviour (such as drinking alcohol) and encouraged to consider her as a contributor to the violence she experienced. This kind of reporting constructs public perceptions on who 'deserves' to be a victim and who is responsible for the violence perpetrated.

The research team also identified several news reports which were biased against the victims. In articles such as those entitled 'Mi Chat girl's throat cut after asking for more money' and 'woman selling sex [found] in suitcase in Bali', the media framed the cases in a specific way, used hyperbolic language, violated the victims' privacy, and stigmatised the victims.⁶⁴ Through their choice of language, media outlets essentially adopted the perpetrators' perspectives and normalised the acts of violence by implying that the victims did not meet the perpetrators' expectations as clients. Violence is positioned as a risk of the victims' work, instead of the human rights violation that it really is. This framing strengthens the culture of impunity given to perpetrators of violence, especially when the victims are sex workers.

Finally, media outlets often chose to name victims but not perpetrators. This occurred in a case described by a media outlet as "old woman stabbed because she was accused of stealing

⁶⁴Aan Bagus, balinews.com, Minta Bayaran Lebih ke Pelanggan, Cewek Mi Chat Digorok Hingga Tewas, diakses Mei 2024 melalui <https://baliwakenews.com/minta-bayaran-lebih-ke-pelanggan-cewek-mi-chat-digorok-hingga-tewas/>

cigarettes”⁶⁵ and in another case described as “tattooed woman killed because she refused to serve a client”.⁶⁶ Describing victims as ‘old’ or ‘tattooed’ is a form of objectification of women because it defines them based on their physical attributes and their social status. In this context, the media participated in upholding the patriarchal value system which considers women’s bodies as commodities which can be judged, owned, and even destroyed.

What the media reports is not simply a snapshot of society. In fact, media reporting shapes reality itself. When femicide is reporting using hyperbolic language, when victims are objectified, or when victims’ are identified without empathy, the media fails its journalistic function. Instead, the media perpetrates the cycle of violence against women. Media narratives which lack empathy towards victims normalise acts of brutal violence and even murder, especially in cases where victims did not conform to dominant social norms. Unfortunately, this practice leads to a culture of silencing: victims are blamed, perpetrators are excused, and society remains silent.

The media has a moral and social responsibility to reframe how it reports on femicide and violence against women. It must break the cycle of violence that is the root of femicide. A first step should be to

⁶⁵Joniman Tafonao, daerah.sindonews.com, Sadis! Wanita Tua Tewas Ditikam Pemuda Nias Gegara Dituduh Maling Rokok, accessed February 2024 at <https://daerah.sindonews.com/read/1328931/717/sadis-wanita-tua-tewas-ditikam-pemuda-nias-gegara-dituduh-maling-rokok-1708930957>

⁶⁶Nungki S, rmoljawatengah.id, Terkuak Motif Pembunuhan Wanita Bertato, Gegara Tolak Layani Pelanggan Sesuai Perjanjian, accessed July 2024 at <https://www.rmoljawatengah.id/terkuak-motif-pembunuhan-wanita-bertato-gegara-tolak-layani-pelanggan-sesuai-perjanjian>

shift the focus from sensationalism and clickbait to ensuring that reporting questions structural components and the broader context: switching from victim blaming to highlighting systematic failures and from exploiting women’s bodies to respecting their (and their families’) rights to life and dignity.



Chapter VI: Reflections and Recommendations

The 2024 Indonesia Femicide Report documents an increase in the number of cases of femicide, from 180 cases in 2023 to 204 cases in 2024. This increase demonstrates the increasingly alarming reality of violence against women in Indonesia, and confirms the urgency of establishing a more comprehensive system for recording and handling cases of femicide in the country. This report also demonstrates the dynamics and challenges facing service providers and other stakeholders involved in handling cases of femicide. In addition to limited resources across the sector, the concept and terminology of femicide remain unfamiliar to both the public and law enforcement officers. To date, there is no specific legal protocol for preventing or responding to femicide in Indonesia.

Unlike in the previous year, in 2024 the researchers did not identify any reports of femicide perpetrated against women with disabilities. However, this does not mean that no cases occurred – in fact, it indicates there is likely a gap in the recording and media coverage of femicide cases, especially as media outlets generally fail to cover cases of violence against women with invisible disabilities, such as psychosocial and sensory disabilities. As a result, violence against women with such disabilities ends up escaping public – and likely legal – attention, ultimately meaning no justice is achieved for victims.

In the context of femicide, 'invisibility' can be understood as a double-edged sword. First, the bodies and lives of women with disability are erased, and second, the violence they experience is never recorded. Consequently, violence and femicide against women with disabilities are not recognised as forms of GBV. Yet the vulnerability of women with disabilities is structural in nature: it stems from unequal power relations, social stigma against disabilities, and limited access to basic rights and legal protection.

Taking this into account, what needs to be done is not simply to wait for media coverage of violence and femicide to emerge, but rather actively question why the experiences and voices of women with disabilities are missing from documentation. We must promote an intersectional approach in recording and reporting cases and ensure that the media and law enforcement agencies have a genuine understanding of and sensitivity to disability issues. Otherwise, violence against women with disabilities will continue to occur in systemic silence: unseen, unheard, and untouched by justice.

Furthermore, the majority of femicide cases documented in 2024 occurred within intimate and personal relationships, with the perpetrators representing the victims' partners, ex-partners, and family members. This fact cannot be separated from the social constructs which identify domestic spaces as spaces for women and portray an ideal in which women are deeply intertwined with these spaces. The high number of cases of violence and femicide occurring in the home directly refutes the myth that women are better off and safer at home.

This report also shows that there is a close link between femicide and other forms of violence, including sexual violence and domestic

violence. The research team even identified a case in which the perpetrator was a wanted fugitive for two previous rape cases. The state's failure to apprehend the individual exposed other women to sexual assault and, ultimately, murder. The state's inability or unwillingness to protect victims of violence allows for repeated violence, meaning that neglecting acts of GBV poses a real threat to women's lives.

On the legal side, handling and prosecution of femicides still face multiple significant challenges. Although UU TPKS was passed in 2022, its use in cases of femicide remains limited. Only around 1% of identified cases of femicide in 2024 were prosecuted under UU TPKS. In addition, the justice process remains hampered by integrity and accountability issues in both law enforcement and the judiciary. Bribery cases continue to accompany impunity for perpetrators of femicide. Overall, the Indonesian legal system is biased and fragile, confirming that femicide is a structural issue deeply intertwined with power imbalances and corruption.

At every level of violence that accompanies femicide, service providers are present. Service providers not only work as legal and psychological advocates; they are also the guardians of collective memory and resistance against the normalisation of violence against women. They work silently, re-weaving a sense of security for children who have lost their mothers, protecting transwomen from enforced disappearances, and accommodating the grief of families still struggling for justice. The results of FGDs conducted with service providers for this report make it clear that service providers are not only concerned with what happened, but also how society, authorities, and the state responded to the incident at hand. Femicide is the result of a series of structural failures, from

permissive laws and victim-blaming norms to inaccessible and untimely service provision.

Amidst all this, service providers persist. Not only do they provide crucial services, they also contribute to shaping how violence against women is understood, recognising that these incidents are not stand-alone but part of a broader system; that these are not sources of family shame, but social wounds. Without the experience and insights of service providers, the figures on femicide would remain silent. Through their struggle, the lives of women lost can be given a voice, while those who are still with us can be saved sooner.

Recommendations

What follows are recommendations based on our reflections and lessons learned from documenting cases of femicide in Indonesia, not just in 2024 but also in previous years.

Central to these recommendations is that the state must recognise femicide as a systemic gender-based crime. Without this recognition, laws and legal responses will continue to fail to understand the context of the violence perpetrated against women. Femicide must be recognised as the culmination of a cycle of violence that has been tolerated, ignored, and justified for too long. If the state fails to take serious action and does not side with justice, there will be no safe space for Indonesian women.

To stop the cycle of femicide and prevent ongoing GBV, we make the following general recommendations:

1. **Broadly raise awareness of the concept of femicide.** The term is still relatively new in Indonesia, so ongoing education is needed for the public, the media, and law enforcement agencies.
2. **Build law enforcement officers' understanding of victims' perspectives.** Law enforcement officers are still largely unable to understand links between intimate partner violence (including domestic violence) and femicide. Intensive capacity building and internal policy changes are needed so that all forms of violence can be handled seriously and comprehensively, before cases become fatal.
3. **Recognise that women with marginalised identities are also victims of femicide.** Due to high social stigma, vulnerable women such as transgender women and sex workers are often not recognised as victims of GBV and femicide because of their identities. This constitutes a form of systemic discrimination that hampers the pursuit of justice.
4. **Recognise and protect indirect victims of femicide.** The children left behind in cases of femicide experience multi-layered trauma and sometimes remain dependent on perpetrators of femicide. The state must develop a trauma recovery support system for children who are indirect victims of femicide, including long-term counselling, security systems (including separation from perpetrators), and guarantees to the right to education and continuation of life.

For policymakers and the government:



- Recognise femicide in national law as a gender-based crime with structural and systemic dimensions.
- Promote strengthening and funding for GBV victim protection systems, including inclusive and responsive violence hotlines, safe houses, psychological services, and legal aid bodies.
- Develop an integrated and gender-disaggregated data collection system for cases of GBV and femicide.
- Mandate comprehensive sexuality education, including anti-misogynistic education.
- Ensure safe spaces in the digital realm to reduce the escalation of femicide cases.

For law enforcement agencies and officers:



- Provide routine training on GBV and femicide for police officers, prosecutors, and judges.
- Ensure that the legal process in femicide cases is fair, non-discriminatory, and free from corruption and other biases.
- Integrate the use of UU TPKS, Domestic Violence Prevention Law, and other relevant laws in handling cases of femicide.

For the media:



- Stop sensational reporting and framing which objectifies victims, and began using framing that is empathetic towards victims and protects the privacy of victims and their families.

- Use the term ‘femicide’ to raise public awareness of the phenomenon.
- Encourage journalists and editors to incorporate data and facts published by relevant stakeholders in their reporting to raise awareness about femicide.

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Jakarta Feminist Jakarta Feminist is a feminist organization established in 2019, with roots tracing back to the 2014 Jakarta Feminist Discussion Group. Committed to creating a just and equitable society, Jakarta Feminist focuses on ending sexual and gender-based violence, promoting sexual and reproductive health and rights, strengthening the feminist movement, and advocating for feminist policies. Through initiatives like the Women's March Jakarta, Biennale Feminist Festival, and carilayanan.com (a support directory for survivors), they empower marginalized communities and raise awareness about critical issues such as femicide. Jakarta Feminist also the first organization documenting femicide cases in Indonesia, raising vital awareness about the alarming rates of gender-based killings.



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