

## Femicide from Criminal Law and Gender Perspective

Martini<sup>1</sup>, Aulia Hafidz Azzahra<sup>2</sup> and Nova Scorviana Herminasari<sup>3</sup>

Law Study Program, Universitas Negeri Jakarta, Jakarta, Indonesia

<sup>2</sup>Social Education Study Program, Universitas Negeri Jakarta, Jakarta, Indonesia



### ABSTRACT (9 pt)

#### Keywords:

Femicide  
Criminal law  
Rape culture  
Gender-based violence

*This study was conducted to examine femicide from the perspective of Indonesian criminal law and gender through rape culture. The study used a qualitative method with a feminist perspective. Data collection used questionnaires, observation, interviews, and documentation with the research subjects, administrators of the Indonesia Hapus Femicide account, and six followers of Indonesia Hapus Femicide. The results of the study indicate from a criminal law perspective; most followers are unaware of legal protections against femicide and find it challenging to identify it due to a lack of understanding of femicide as a criminal offense with severe penalties. However, they mentioned the Criminal Code (KUHP), the Sexual Violence Law (TPKS), the Domestic Violence Law (KDRT), and the Trafficking in Persons Law (TPPO) as general regulations used in femicide cases. They believe that Indonesian law needs to revise existing laws or create new legal instruments regarding femicide. From a gender perspective, followers understand femicide as gender-based murder of women and recognize its position at the top of the rape culture pyramid, which can result from the escalation and manifestation of gender-based violence. Preventing femicide can be achieved by addressing its root causes, namely the normalization of patriarchy, misogyny, and sexism*

## INTRODUCTION

Human rights are human by birth and apply universally, so they apply to all people without discrimination, including gender. However, gender-based violence against women (KBGTP) still occurs because of a patriarchy that places men as perpetrators of violence and women as victims. (Purwanti, 2020). Komnas Perempuan (2022) Femicide defined as the murder of women because of their gender, which is driven by superiority and inequality in power relations. Femicide is included in the criminal act because it involves murder or the loss of life, as stated in Article 338 of the Criminal Code. Indonesia does not yet have a law that explicitly regulates femicide and is still seen as a common act of murder. Meanwhile, femicide needs to have clear regulations because it is necessary to identify the consequences of cases that occur from patriarchal and misogynistic cultures in the private, community, and state spheres, so that legal justice can be pursued for victims and develop further preventive measures. (Corradi, 2021). Komnas Perempuan noted that Indonesian law in ensnaring femicide perpetrators uses the law on the loss of life regulated and spread in the Criminal Code Law, as well as the Domestic Violence Law and the Trafficking Law. There are also femicide cases motivated by sexual violence, so the TPKS Law is used to regulate cases of sexual violence that end in forced marriage, covert prostitution, including violence in dating and domestic violence. However, the TPKS Law does not directly mention the murder of women or femicide that begins with sexual violence. In 2022, there were 184

<sup>1</sup> <https://orcid.org/0000-0000-0000-0000>

<sup>2</sup> <https://orcid.org/0000-0000-0000-0000>

cases of femicide in Indonesia. Of these cases, 194 victims and 289 perpetrators were found, most of whom were male. Perpetrators and victims are on average in the age range of 26-40 years and have intimate or personal, family, or non-intimate relationships (co-workers, neighbours, and commercial sex workers). The data obtained only relies on online news and does not rule out the possibility that many cases have not been identified or reported. The absence of the law and the lack of news and data collection of femicide cases make the issue of femicide essential to be paid attention to by the government and the public.

Based on *the Rape Culture Theory*, femicide is the culmination of gender-based violence that describes the culture of society separating roles based on gender, built on power and subjugation of women. (Watson-Krasts, 2020). *Rape Culture* has four levels that are often described in the shape of a pyramid. Starting from the bottom, namely normalization, degradation of women (harassment), elimination of women's autonomy, and explicit violence (rape and femicide). This theory suggests that femicide occurs because of a societal system that justifies and allows it to fail to prosecute those responsible. Therefore, awareness of the issue of femicide, which is the peak of KBGTP, needs to be an initial effort to protect women and prevent them. The public needs to be aware that normalizing gender-based violence that is considered trivial can justify the occurrence of femicide. Femicide awareness can be traced back to social awareness because it plays a vital role in helping society identify it, so that prevention and protection can be carried out, as femicide is rooted in the patriarchal system that normalizes it. (Perrin et al., 2019). *Hourglass* in the Campaign to Eliminate Femicide in 2021 said that one of the efforts to build awareness can be done with campaigns and public education to empower women and involve men to prevent gender-based violence that can perpetuate femicide.

Corradi (2021) Her research shows that increased media coverage of femicides can build awareness and engage in advocacy efforts to prevent violence against women. Media coverage of femicide can be done using social media, as well as through education on violence against women that leads to femicide. Social media has a crucial role in raising awareness about social equality, including gender equality, women's rights, and KBGTP, so that it allows building solidarity from various kinds of collective movements to spread the urgency of femicide issues. The Instagram account @indonesiahapusfemisida (IHF) is one of the media with a gender perspective that makes femicide the focus of the problem. IHF sees the number of media that make women the main subjects of news, which leads people to objectify, victim-blame, and spread women's identities as victims. IHF takes steps by writing narratives and processing news on women's murders that make male perpetrators the focus and main subjects to avoid the objectification of women, which is often done by other media. IHF conveys its goal to build public awareness, including *followers*, about femicide.

Some of the previous studies that were used as a reference for this research were research conducted by Zulaichah (2022) with the title "Femicide and Legal Sanctions in Indonesia" conveyed the results of the study showing that so far violence that causes the murder of women is subject to the article of ordinary murder in the Criminal Code, but the sanctions imposed still do not have a deterrent effect on the perpetrators.

Special legal instruments are needed to protect women from femicide perpetrators and to provide access to pro-complaint services for their complaints. There is also a difference in existing research, namely, the lack of harmonizing legal and gender perspectives. Therefore, this article tries to trace femicide through the perspective of Indonesian criminal law and the gender perspective through the theory of *rape culture* based on explanations from *IHF followers* and administrators

**RESEARCH METHOD**

The research uses a qualitative method with a feminist perspective. The source of this research is through library sources and informants, namely the management of the Instagram account @indonesiahapusfemisida and 6 (six) Instagram followers @indonesiahapusfemisida who have followed the account for at least two months, have provided interaction (*likes, comments, or shares*), and understand femicide (definition, identification, and law). Data were collected using questionnaires, observations, interviews, and documentation. Then, data calibration is carried out through member examination and triangulation, and analysed with data organization, coding, analysis, and interpretation.

**RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

**Femicide from a Criminal Law Perspective**

Indonesia does not have specific regulations, descriptions, or definitions of femicide that are explicitly and clearly integrated into Indonesian law so that it has an impact on the recording or documentation of gender-based murders (Komnas Perempuan, 2020). Jakarta *Feminist* (2023) explained that Indonesia does not dissect murder data; femicide documentation can currently only be done through media that is limited to police statements and makeshift witnesses. Official registration from the state is needed to know the experiences, stories, and conditions of femicide victims and their families, which can be done if Indonesia has clear legal regulations on gender-based killings of women or femicides. Sabrina (2024) explained that several countries have legal rules that regulate femicide in their legislation, especially in Latin American countries, including Costa Rica, Chile, Argentina, Mexico, Peru, El Salvador, and others. Indonesia itself is currently still using the existing criminal law basis to crack down on femicide cases and protect victims and families of femicide victims. Komnas Perempuan(2021) makes a list of legal bases as follows:

Table 1: Criminal legal basis of femicide cases.

Pasal 53 KUH P	Pasal 55 KUH P	Pasal 64 KUH P	Pasal 76D KUH P	Pasal 81 KUHP
Pasal 170	Pasal 240	Pasal 285	Pasal 287	Pasal 291 KUHP

KUH P	KUH P	KUH P	KUH P	
Pasal 302 KUH P	Pasal 335 KUH P	Pasal 338 KUH P	Pasal 339 KUH P	Pasal 340 KUHP
Pasal 347 KUH P	Pasal 351 KUH P	Pasal 353 KUH P	Pasal 362 KUH P	Pasal 363 KUHP
Pasal 365 KUH P	Pasal 380 KUH P	Pasal 390 KUH P	Pasal 440 KUH P	Pasal 531 KUHP
UU No. 23 tahun 2002	UU No. 23 tahun 2004	UU No. 35 tahun 2014	UU No. 1 tahun 2016	UU Darura t No. 12 tahun 1951

Source: Komnas Perempuan (2021)

In addition to the list of criminal law bases above, Komnas Perempuan (2022) Also noted that Indonesian law in cracking down on femicide cases uses the law on the disappearance of life, which is regulated and spread in Article 44 of the Domestic Violence Law (Komnas Perempuan, 2022). Further regulations are contained in Law No. 39 of 1999 concerning human rights, which are not explicitly regulated, but can be seen in several articles, such as Article 9 paragraph (1), Article 33 paragraphs (1) and (2), as well as Articles 45 to 51, which regulate women's rights (Salamor et al., 2024). In the 2022 femicide report, *Jakarta Feminist* (2023) It also notes that femicide perpetrators are charged using the TPKS Law if there is an element of sexual violence before, during, or after the murder of a woman occurs. The TPPO Law is also used as a legal basis for the murder of women in the context of trafficking, which was also mentioned in the initial study of femicide and the preliminary study of femicide. Komnas Perempuan (2021). Based on field findings, all informants know that Indonesia does not yet have a law that regulates specific femicide. Followers of Indonesia Delete Femicide mentioned several regulations used in femicide cases, such as the Criminal Code Law, the Domestic Violence Law, the TPKS Law, and the TPPO Law. The law is in line with the list of criminal law bases to crack down on femicide cases that are sorted and mentioned by Komnas Perempuan (2021). However, researchers found that the law is not enough to crack down on femicide cases, and there is still room to develop it so that there is no gap for femicide perpetrators to be free, especially if the perpetrator is part of the apparatus. The findings of the researcher also revealed that the Criminal Code Law

cannot stand alone if it uses feminist legal theory, because the law is general, so that the recording of murders cannot be adjusted based on gender. Therefore, the Criminal Code Law must be combined with other laws or merged. Moreover, Indonesian law does not recognize the perspective of gender and partiality towards the victim.

Regarding the identification and investigation of femicide cases without specific femicide laws, the researcher found that the majority of followers of Indonesia Hapus Femisida argued that there could be difficulties, such as perpetrators were not deterred, there was no categorization and precise handling of femicides from state law, did not use a gender perspective that missed women's experiences, errors in determining the motive for murder, and no documentation of murder based on gender or Gender motives. Against the absence of documentation, according to the statement of Jakarta Feminist (2023) Indonesia does not sort out murder data. However, femicide is a criminal act as a serious human rights crime that has been regulated in the Criminal Code Law and the protection of human rights in the 1945 Constitution, so the sanctions obtained are severe. However, it remains challenging to acknowledge women's experiences and gender-based violence in femicide cases because Indonesian law does not have a gender perspective.

Law enforcement in Indonesia, which has a patriarchal ideology, does not side with the victim, and this can lead to a cycle of violence before the occurrence of femicide. This condition can be aggravated when the victim has reported to the police, and the perpetrator knows about it (Jakarta Feminist, 2023). The existence of various criminal law bases used to handle cases of femicide and gender-based violence in Indonesia is one indication that the government has not taken it seriously and paid attention to it, especially since there is no special regulation regulating it. Thus, the absence of a legal umbrella to distinguish between femicide cases and ordinary murders, as well as social and legal systems that are not in favour of women, exacerbates the condition of women in the protection of Indonesian law.

Femicide is attached to power relations. However, power relations are not found in the international definition of femicide, resulting in a lack of documentation of femicide in Indonesia. Komnas Perempuan (2021). The situation is exacerbated by the absence of a gender perspective in Indonesian law, as the informant explained in the previous chapter. Through the following information, the researcher found that the followers of Indonesia Abolish Femicide agreed for Indonesia to form a new legal product that specifically regulates femicide. Each of them is so that they know how to settle, the amount, distribution, and motive of the case, and that the perpetrators are deterred. Femicide registration is listed in the recommendation by Jakarta Feminist. (2023) To manage the data of victims of murder cases according to gender. Overall, followers of Indonesia Abolish Femicide argue that specific femicide regulations are also needed to distinguish ordinary killings from femicides that discriminate against women.

One other follower with the Indonesian Hapus Femisida party has the opposite opinion from the followers above. They said that Indonesia does not need legal products, as long as it can create laws that have a gender perspective and are on the side of victims and recognize the existence of gender-based violence against women. Indonesian law can also revise existing legal products, such as the TPKS Law and the Criminal Code Law, to add femicide information. Jakarta Feminist (2023) The recommendation does

not specify whether to form a new legal product or revise it, but rather to develop or revise the implementation of the guideline flow in reporting gender-based violence. The researcher also found that the need for laws that protect women until they are passed takes a long time, such as the TPKS Law, and some have not even been passed, so they seem trivialized, such as the PPRT Law.

In addition, Jakarta Feminist also compiled recommendations to law enforcement institutions to carry out efforts to prevent and handle gender-based violence, including femicide, as follows: a) provide gender, human rights, and gender-based violence education and training for law enforcement officials in accordance with the obligations contained in the TPKS Law; b) compile or revise the implementation of guidelines or service flows in receiving reports of gender-based violence cases; c) develop referral channels for victims of gender-based violence involving safe house services, legal aid institutions, medical, counselling, and others; d) provide a telephone line for reporting gender-based violence that is responsive and victim-friendly; and e) managing data on victims of murder cases by gender.

The Indonesian Abolition of Femicide also stated that femicide can be recognized in Indonesian law through: a) providing a letter of recommendation to the court to recognize the existence of gender-based violence in femicide that occurs systemically and also has an impact on the parties around the victim, b) accommodating and advocating for the judiciary with *amicus curae*, and c) juxtaposing the Criminal Code Law with other laws in accordance with the context of murder.

However, the absence of femicide in the law still affects how society views femicide cases, especially in patriarchal societies. Based on findings in the field, people still tend to leave comments blaming femicide victims, especially if the victims are women in marginal positions, such as commercial sex workers.

Therefore, Indonesia Abolish Femicide provides recommendations to law enforcement officials that are in line with Jakarta Feminists' recommendations to have a gender perspective. First, the human resources of law enforcement officials must have a gender perspective or victim perspective so that the handling of femicide cases is minimally biased and recognizes women's experiences and pays attention to and guarantees the rights of victims. Second, cross-sector advocacy is legal, and the community also needs to think equal, inclusive, and intersectional towards women by building a narrative that women can become leaders to break the myth of patriarchal ideology.

## **Femicide from a Gender Perspective**

Gender is associated with masculinity and femininity, which are classified based on the biological differences between males and females (Newman & Grauerholz, 2002). So many people match it to a gender that assumes men are masculine and women are feminine. This gender belief determines the position and role of gender in society and is then accepted and stereotyped. Men make a living as decision-makers and are aggressive, while women love and submit (Purwanti, 2020). Thus, gender is a social construct used by society to regulate the power relationship between genders, namely, the existence of an unequal power relationship between women and men. Komnas Perempuan (2022) defines femicide as the murder of women that is carried out directly or indirectly because of their gender or gender, which is driven by a sense of

superiority, domination, hegemony, aggression, and misogyny against women, as well as a sense of female ownership, inequality in power relations, and sadistic satisfaction. Therefore, femicide can be defined as the killing of a woman because she is a woman and/or is identified as a woman. Femicide occurs due to power imbalances, discrimination, inequality, and gender-based violence against women in its most extreme forms, leading to their deaths.

Russell (2011) Defines femicide as the killing of women by men because they are women. The definition is more specific to men than the definition formulated by Komnas Perempuan. Based on field findings, researchers found that followers of Indonesia Erase Femicide interpreted femicide as the murder of women because of their gender identity as women due to inequality in power relations. Femicide is also related to other spectrums within women, such as race, sexuality, spirituality, and others. Based on the findings, researchers were able to reveal the fact that femicides include all people who identify as female.

Rape culture is a condition in society that considers gender-based acts of violence as normal and acceptable, which is reflected in the behavior of the media and mass culture. (Nurbayani & Wahyuni, 2023). To understand social behavior related to gender-based violence, it is necessary to understand everything that the perpetrator understands about their actions. Several factors that shape the perpetrator's knowledge and perception are important to study, especially related to power relations and gender stereotypes. The concept of masculinity and femininity is also important because it can be the basis for acts of sexual violence committed and become part of rape culture in Indonesia, even in various elements of society, including education, so that gender-based violence is systemic.

Johnson & Johnson (2021) Formulate the components of rape culture that can be identified in society. Informants understand femicide as gender-based violence. Gender-motivated murder or hatred of women that is deliberately committed by perpetrators and considers women as a weak group, and the highest peak of gender-based violence, the findings are in line with the component of violence against women that views women negatively. In addition, the patriarchal ideology that lives in society accompanies the inequality of relations that occur in femicide cases. The rape culture component illustrates that gender-based violence, including femicide, is systemic, not individual. The researchers found that this happens in society because the patriarchal system is accompanied by sexism, and misogyny is the root of the problem. Sexist thinking is also applied by the state, so that bodily things such as gender and sexuality are also regulated. Limited women are prepared to be good wives, obedient, serving, and fearful of their husbands. However, when women entered the public sphere, they still had to do their duties as housewives and faced double burdens. The findings are in accordance with the traditional gender role component that considers women to be submissive and passive, thus limiting women's roles. Restrictions occur from childhood systemically and are carried out continuously through the patriarchy, so that they have an impact on the law. The law does not favor women and is formed only to guarantee the public interest, dominated by men's interests.

A component of traditional gender roles is also found in research findings that reveal that patriarchy also shapes male expectations to be masculine and lead from a young

age, thus influencing women who must submit. They were taught through a patriarchal view that affected the excessive persecution of women, even when men were guilty. As mentioned earlier, men feel the need to discipline women with violence when they fail to carry out their roles. Excessive persecution that is violent, both physical and sexual, is related to components of sexism, acceptance of violence, and conflicting sexual beliefs. In the component of accepting violence, discipline with violence means that violence against women is justified. There is also sexual violence that women can experience. Patriarchy forms discrimination against women that occurs in cycles, as follows: a) identity is related to the social environment, b) the social environment places women in the patriarchal order, and c) it is realized in the state system, even in education. The cycle portrays patriarchy as the root of the systemic problems experienced by women in line with the components of rape culture through traditional gender roles and sexism. Furthermore, in the context of education, researchers found that the lack of equal distribution of education hurts the absence of a gender perspective, so that knowledge about gender-based violence and femicide is limited, which should be taught from childhood to both boys and girls.

The rape culture pyramid divides gender-based violence into four levels, including normalization, degradation, removal of autonomy, and explicit violence. All levels of gender-based violence are interconnected. The rape culture pyramid places sexism, misogyny, and patriarchy at the level of normalization, which are the roots of femicide in shaping society to view women in subordinate positions. Most followers know and understand the position of sexism and femicide in the rape culture pyramid. There is also one follower who does not know about the rape culture pyramid but knows that sexism and victim-blaming can escalate the occurrence of femicide. Based on the findings, sexism is often underestimated by society, so that femicide campaigns are seen as less important because everyone knows that killing women is wrong. This narrative causes society to ignore the existence of sexism, patriarchy, and misogyny in the issue of femicide. The researcher found that the femicide campaign itself was carried out to prevent femicides from acknowledging the existence of gender-based violence and the objectification of women.

Victim blaming goes hand in hand with sexism, which is another gateway to gender-based violence, justified in society, and can escalate the occurrence of femicide. Victim blaming also places women who experience violence to feel guilty and encourages society to focus more on women's identities or conditions and how women take care of themselves, rather than teaching men not to commit violence. In fact, researchers found that the escalation of sexism into harassment, violence, and femicide can be a snowball effect or small events that trigger a series of significant events in the future. However, the researcher also found that the facts obtained from the followers of Indonesia Hapus Femisida that femicide also does not always occur from the manifestation, escalation, or gradual nature of gender-based violence based on the rape culture pyramid which starts from the lowest level (normalization), rises to the next level (degradation), then rises to another level (removal of autonomy), to the highest level (explicit violence/femicide). The findings are in line with one of the key points of rape culture formulated by the Virginia Sexual Violence and Domestic Violence Action Alliance (2019). Rape culture does not occur sequentially, but continuously. Therefore,

femicide can occur directly, suddenly, with the example of women resisting because they receive verbal harassment such as catcalling, the perpetrator does not accept, and then kills the woman, and femicide occurs. However, it still starts from the level of fairness through sexism.

Back in the rape culture pyramid, its roots (sexism, including victim blaming) also form a society that considers women's reactions to harassment to be exaggerated and focuses on the identity of femicide victims. Whether female victims are considered good in society during their lives or not. Therefore, efforts are needed to build awareness to change the social system of society towards gender equality. Virginia Sexual Violence and Domestic Violence Action Alliance (2019) In the important points of the rape culture pyramid, he said that to prevent the top level of the pyramid (femicide), campaigns and education are usually carried out through its roots while constructing gender stereotypes. Campaigns and education can be carried out by starting to build public awareness through inclusive femicide narratives so that the community focuses on the perpetrators and how the murder occurred. Indonesia Abolish Femicide stated that campaigns and education can be carried out through implementing a narrative that is not sexist and inclusive.

Followers of Indonesia Erase Femicide are encouraged to campaign for the issue of femicide through retelling femicide news to those closest to them as an effort to build awareness. They received a variety of responses, some replying to informants with empathy and sadness, interspersed with light discussions, some blaming and focusing on the condition of the victims. Some followers tell back until their interlocutor understands it, and others settle it to avoid conflict. In addition to telling femicide news, the informant also suggested that femicide prevention can be done both individually to individuals, collectives, and the state. Through education about sexist humour to relatives through discussions, especially men, about the content of the manosphere or accounts of masculinity with a misogynistic perspective. Education to relatives can be delivered in the workplace, act, and encourage the government to establish regulations and laws on femicide. Based on the description above, the researcher can conclude that followers of Indonesia Hapus Femisida are aware of and know femicide as a manifestation of gender-based violence. They know that before the murder of women occurs, it is usually preceded or simply based on misogyny/hatred of women, considering that femicides can occur directly without sequencing according to the rape culture pyramid. Followers of Indonesia Hapus Femisida are aware that sexism, misogyny, and patriarchy are the roots of femicide, as the level of fairness or the lower level of rape culture. Therefore, it is necessary to prevent or change the roots whose behaviour is underestimated by the community as an effort to prevent femicide or the highest level of rape culture.

## CONCLUSION

The legal protection of femicide in Indonesia is unknown to most Indonesian followers of Indonesia Hapus Femisida because they do not know that femicide is a criminal law that has severe sanctions. However, they know that no law explicitly regulates femicide, and most followers feel that law enforcement needs to revise existing laws or add new legal provisions on femicide. The awareness of femicide as gender-based violence is

owned by followers who know the position of feminists at the highest level of the rape culture pyramid and can be manifested from the lowest KBGTP, such as patriarchy, sexism, and misogyny, as the roots. We hope you find the information in this template useful in the preparation of your submission.

## REFERENCES

- 11th: Principle Consent. (2018). *Rape Culture Pyramid*. 11th: Principle Consent. <https://www.11thprincipleconsent.org/consent-propaganda/rape-culture-pyramid/>
- Corradi, C. (2021). *Femicide, its causes and recent trends: What do we know?* Brussels: European Union
- Hourglass. (2021, April). *The End Femicide Campaign – what the data showed*. Hourglass. <https://wearehourglass.org/end-femicide-campaign-what-data-showed>
- Jakarta Feminist. (2023). *Laporan Femisida 2022: Lebih Dari Sekedar Angka*. Jakarta: Jakarta Feminist
- Johnson, N. L., & Johnson, D. M. (2021). An Empirical Exploration into the Measurement of Rape Culture. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 36(1-2). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260517732347>
- Komnas Perempuan. (2020). *FEMISIDA: TUNTUTAN PEMBARUAN HUKUM DAN KEBIJAKAN MENYIKAPI ANCAMAN*. <https://komnasperempuan.go.id/siaran-pers-detail/siaran-pers-komnas-perempuan-tentang-femisida>
- Komnas Perempuan. (2021). *Femisida Tidak Dikenal: Pengabaian Terhadap Hak Atas Hidup dan Hak Atas Keadilan Perempuan dan Anak Perempuan*. Jakarta: Komnas Perempuan.
- Komnas Perempuan. (2022). *Lenyap dalam Senyap: Korban Femisida & Keluarganya Berhak Atas Keadilan*. Jakarta: Komnas Perempuan.
- Komnas Perempuan. (2024). *Catatan Tahunan Komnas Perempuan Tahun 2023*. Jakarta: Komnas Perempuan.
- Newman, D. M. & Grauerholz, Elizabeth. (2002). *Sociology of families*. Pine Forge Press.
- Nurbayani, S., & Wahyuni, S. (2023). *VICTIM BLAMING IN RAPE CULTURE: Narasi Pemakluman Kekerasan Seksual di Lingkungan Kampus*. Malang: Unisma Press
- Perrin, N., et al. (2019). Social norms and beliefs about gender-based violence scale: A measure for use with gender-based violence prevention programs in low-resource and humanitarian settings. *Conflict and Health*, 13(1). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13031-019-0189-x>
- Purwanti, A. (2020). *Kekerasan Berbasis Gender*. Bantul: BILDUNG.
- Russell, D. E. H. (2011). *The origin and importance of the term femicide*. Diana E. H. [https://www.dianarussell.com/origin\\_of\\_femicide.html](https://www.dianarussell.com/origin_of_femicide.html)
- Sabrina, D. (2024). Perempuan Indonesia Dalam Pusaran Kekerasan dan Ancaman Femisida. *J-CEKI: Jurnal Cendekia Ilmiah*, 3(6), 7460-7467. <https://doi.org/10.56799/jceki.v3i6.5646>
- Salamor, dkk. (2024). Pengaturan tentang Femisida dalam Hukum Pidana Indonesia (Kajian Perbandingan UU HAM dan UU TPKS). *Jurnal Litigasi*, 25(1), 65-109.

- Virginia Sexual and Domestic Violence Action Alliance. (2019). *Ending Rape Culture*. Virginia Sexual and Domestic Violence Action Alliance. [https://www.communitysolutionsva.org/files/Rape\\_Culture\\_Pyramid\\_discussion\\_guide.pdf](https://www.communitysolutionsva.org/files/Rape_Culture_Pyramid_discussion_guide.pdf)
- Watson-Krasts, D. (2020). Re-membering Beauty: Rape Culture, Femicide, and the Shadow. *Journal of Jungian Scholarly Studies*, 15(1). <https://doi.org/10.29173/jjs128s>