



STRENGTHENING THE SAFETY NET, PROTECTING WOMEN JUSTICE SEEKERS FROM THE CLUTCHES OF JUSTICE BROKERS

Muhamad Nasrudin^{1*}, Siti Zulaikha², Enny Puji Lestari³

¹ Institut Agama Islam Negeri Metro, Indonesia; idenasrudin@metrouniv.ac.id

² Institut Agama Islam Negeri Metro, Indonesia; siti.zulaikha@metrouniv.ac.id

³ Institut Agama Islam Negeri Metro, Indonesia; ennypujilestari@metrouniv.ac.id

*correspondence author: idenasrudin@metrouniv.ac.id

Abstract: Female justice seekers are vulnerable and find it difficult to access justice due to psychological factors (fear, inferiority, nervousness), financial problems, limited access to facilities and resources, limited knowledge in the legal field, and negative stigma about going to court. In these circumstances, East Lampung district may turn to the *pamong desa* (village officials). Unfortunately, village officials sometimes act as justice brokers, preventing women from further accessing justice. This paper refers to how the safety net was built and strengthened to protect justice seekers from the clutches of justice brokers. Therefore, this paper uses qualitative research with a socio-legal approach. Data was collected through conversation and focused group discussion among village officials, religious counselors, the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA), and Rumah Perempuan dan Anak (RPA) Lampung Timur to strengthen the position of female justice seekers. The data was analyzed using feminist legal studies, access to justice, and mediation as a framework. As a finding, female justice seekers are vulnerable and have limited access. Therefore, support should be provided by close community assets, namely religious counselors and village officials. These two parties need to be strengthened in terms of understanding the importance of the perspective of vulnerable women as legal subjects, prioritizing the interests of victims, the urgency of resolving both litigious and non-litigious cases, strengthening close, trusted networks, consolidating and distributing roles among community assets, strengthening mediation and advocacy skills, strengthening the role of the KUA and its assets, strengthening preventative functions, and strengthening the economic family based on the uniqueness of the village.

Keywords: justice seekers, justice brokers, litigation, religious counselors, village officials, women's protection.

A. Introduction

Women who encounter the law (justice seekers) face more significant vulnerabilities compared to men. In the context of the Aceh qanun *jinayat* legal system, for example, women victims of sexual violence do not receive adequate protection due to gender bias (Febriandi, Ansor, & Nursiti, 2021). Similarly, in cases of Domestic (Badruzaman, 2020), where the perpetrator is a close relative (Hakim, 2023), the criminal justice system



continues to show insufficient support (Triwati, 2019). These vulnerabilities are further exacerbated if the woman is a single parent living below the poverty line (Akhmadi, Yusrina, Budiyati, Yumna, & Suryahadi, 2011), residing in areas distant from urban centers (Sumner, Zurstrassen, & Lister, 2011) or she is a child (Abdullah, Yuslem, & Hafsa, 2022).

Such vulnerabilities are particularly evident in Lampung Timur, a district with the highest number of women facing legal challenges in Lampung Province. The number of divorce cases, including both *cerai gugat* (wife-initiated divorce) and *cerai talak* (husband-initiated divorce), at the Sukadana Religious Court (PA Sukadana) is the highest in Lampung Province (PTA Bandar Lampung, 2017). In 2023, the Sukadana Religious Court handled 2,432 cases, surpassing the Tanjung Karang Religious Court in the provincial capital, which "only" handled 1,875 cases.

Table 1: Women who encounter the law in PA Sukadana.

Year	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023
Diforce (husband)	489	448	496	463	503
Diforce lawsuit (wife)	1.612	1655	1916	1882	1929
Total	2.101	2.103	2.412	2.345	2.432

Source: *Compilation of the Annual Reports of the PA Sukadana from 2019-2023.*

In practice, women who encounter legal issues often wait to seek justice through the courts. The majority of women in East Lampung lack access to the judiciary due to psychological factors (fear, feelings of inferiority, nervousness), financial constraints, the scarcity of facilities and infrastructure, limited legal knowledge, and the negative stigma associated with litigating in court (Wijayati, Abdullah, et al., 2021).

In the author's research, supported by Yayasan Rumah Kitab Jakarta, on mapping child marriage in Lampung, nearly all parties handling marriage dispensation cases in the Religious Courts did not do so independently but instead went through village officials. The rationale is that village officials are accessible, trusted, knowledgeable in legal matters, and possess networks within judicial institutions (Nasrudin, 2021). The same applies to other cases.

Unfortunately, in such circumstances, village officials do not always function as agents of reconciliation but often act as part of a *justice broker* network. East Lampung Regency has at least 106 identified justice brokers operating across 232 villages. Their network extends from village officials to law enforcement officers in various institutions (Wijayati, Abdullah, et al., 2021). In many cases, village officials and their networks exploit female justice seekers as commercial commodities by facilitating their and other litigants' requests in court proceedings (Wijayati, Abdullah, et al., 2021). Leveraging their broader legal knowledge, access, and connections with law enforcement officers, these *justice brokers* create shortcuts to resolve cases, providing various services such as legal teams, witnesses, evidence, and more (Susylawati & Hasan, 2011). These services significantly inflate the cost of case resolution. A divorce case costs Rp 491,000 to Rp 1,341,000 if a woman accesses the Religious Court independently. However, involving a *justice broker*

increases the expense from Rp 4,000,000 to Rp 7,000,000, several times higher (Wijayati, Abdullah, et al., 2021).

In the Gender Analysis Pathway (GAP) model developed by APKM (Kementrian PPPA, n.d., pp. 1–21), the impact experienced by women is highly complex. Access: Female justice seekers lack adequate access to judicial institutions, let alone true justice. Participation: Women experience no emancipation in this context. They are subordinated, marginalized, and stigmatized. Control: Women lose autonomy in legal decision-making, as from the beginning to the end of the case, decisions are taken over and set by a network of justice brokers. Benefit: The judicial institution cannot fully serve the interests of women, as it merely caters to the desires of the justice brokers who take control of legal decisions on behalf of the female justice seekers.

Significant vulnerabilities mark the current condition of female justice seekers. Mentally, they are fragile and psychologically weakened, often experiencing fear, insecurity, and anxiety. Their access to law enforcement institutions is limited, compounded by a lack of legal knowledge and minimal networks within these institutions. Financially, they are disadvantaged, with insufficient resources and inadequate facilities to support their legal pursuits. Additionally, they face the threat of negative social stigma when dealing with legal processes, which further discourages them from seeking justice. These factors render them highly susceptible to exploitation, making them easy targets for *justice broker* networks that exploit their vulnerabilities.

It is hoped that female justice seekers will become mentally and psychologically resilient, demonstrating the courage to take a stand and confront challenges. They should have adequate access to law enforcement institutions, sufficient knowledge of legal matters, and robust networks within legal and judicial bodies. Financial stability, access to adequate facilities and infrastructure, and freedom from negative stigma when engaging with the legal system are also essential. Ultimately, they should be liberated from the exploitative grasp of *justice broker* networks, enabling them to pursue justice independently and effectively.

In the process of this empowerment research, it is crucial to integrate gender-sensitive and gender-equality perspectives (Kemala Dewi & Arifin, 2019), particularly in the Religious Courts, where many women seek justice (Wahyudi, 2018). This is especially important given that many judicial rulings fail to provide adequate justice for women (A, A, & Djalal, 2017). Although the number of female judges has generally increased in various courts, they continue to face significant challenges, operating within a deeply entrenched patriarchal system (Crouch, 2021) that does not fully optimize their roles in safeguarding women's rights (Nurlaelawati & Salim, 2013).

Although litigation support is important, strengthening non-litigation approaches is far more crucial. It is because there are more justice seekers outside the court system than within it, as litigation is often seen as a last resort. Therefore, enhancing protective networks is essential, for example, by optimizing the roles of change agents like paralegals (Hartanto, Liestyasari, & Budiati, 2018), mediators (Sukendar, Saifullah, Sulistiyanto, Rahman, & Ulamai, 2023), or local organizations (Afrianty, 2018).

This paper uses gender perspectives like Kemala Dewi & Arifin, 2019, but does not involve religious courts with a litigation approach directly like (Wahyudi, 2018), (A, A, & Djalal, 2017), (Crouch, 2021) and (Nurlaelawati & Salim, 2013). This paper focuses on

strengthening non-litigation safety nets outside the court. However, it differs from Haryanto's research because it does not involve paralegals (Hartanto, Liestyasari, & Budiati, 2018). This research combines and complements (Sukendar, Saifullah, Sulistiyanto, Rahman, & Ulamai, 2023) and (Afrianty, 2018), which involve mediators and local organizations. However, beyond Sukendar and Afrianty, this research involves justice brokers, KUA, and village officials.

As a result, the justice seeker will have better access to justice, achieve emancipation, and fully participate in every legal decision-making process. She will possess strong control over her legal choices and maximize the benefits of the existing judicial system.

B. Method

This study employs a qualitative method with a socio-legal approach to address the central research question: How do local social safety networks function; how can they be built and strengthened to protect female justice seekers from the traps of justice brokers? This approach was chosen to explore the interaction between legal norms, institutional practices, and social dynamics that shape the experiences of female justice seekers at the local level. The socio-legal approach enables the researcher to examine not only the normative aspects of the law but also how these norms are applied and interact within complex social contexts.

Data for this study were collected through in-depth interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs). Interviews were conducted with key stakeholders, including village officials (village heads, secretaries, and hamlet leaders), officials from the Religious Affairs Office (KUA), Islamic religious counselors, managers of the Women and Children's House (RPA), and female justice seekers who have encountered or are currently facing legal challenges. The interview questions were designed to explore the roles and capacities of these actors in supporting female justice seekers, as well as the challenges they face while ensuring respondent anonymity and sensitivity to the issues at hand.

Focus group discussions were conducted to deepen the interviews' findings and formulate strategies for strengthening local social safety networks. The FGDs involved local actors, such as village officials, KUA staff, Islamic religious counselors, and RPA managers. These discussions centered on identifying existing collaboration patterns, implementation challenges, and opportunities to enhance their capacities to protect women from exploitation by justice brokers. This approach gave the researcher rich collective insights into the needs and potential for strengthening community-based social safety networks.

This research utilizes three theoretical frameworks: feminist legal studies, access to justice, and mediation. As a theory, feminist legal theory emerged in the 1970s and has evolved dynamically ever since (Levit & Verchick, 2016, p. 1). In general, this theory takes a critical perspective on how the law applies to women and how discriminatory experiences arise for women due to the application of specific rules. This is grounded in the fundamental fact that the law and legal institutions, both formal and extra-legal, are predominantly male-dominated.

This research uses feminist legal theory as a framework to strengthen women's emancipation and justice for all, particularly for women who have historically been marginalized when facing the law (Sulistyawan, 2018). Rather than being passive objects,

women have the right and authority to engage as autonomous subjects in applying the law (Dwiprigitaningtias & Rahmatiar, 2020). Of course, this feminist legal theory is situated within a local perspective closely tied to the Islamic worldview (Chairil & Shalahuddin, 2021).

Access to justice, however, is not easy. Justice for all continues to face serious obstacles, including disparities in access to government services and natural resources, gender-based violence, weak labor rights, limited economic access, and post-conflict issues (Jacqueline Vel, 2010). Alfitri argues that access to justice is hindered for three groups of legal subjects: women, the poor, and marginalized groups (Alfitri, 2011). The lack of legal knowledge, legal illiteracy, and living in rural areas far from urban centers contribute to the further marginalization and impoverishment of women. Like a vicious cycle, the poorer the woman, the more marginalized she becomes, and the farther her access to justice is (Hartanto, Liestyasari, & Firdausy, 2018). The justice seekers in this study are indeed in this situation.

The final theory is mediation. Mediation is resolving disputes with the help of a neutral third party, the mediator (Maskur Hidayat, 2016, p. 25). In this empowerment research, mediation is understood as a non-litigation dispute resolution and justice-seeking process, where the disputants are brought together to one table to formulate the best solution for their problems. Mediation is important for women to obtain justice (Sukendar et al., 2023). In this empowerment research, the mediation function will be strengthened with the community assets involved so they can serve as mediators in existing conflicts and protect the rights of justice seekers.

C. Result and Discussion

Mapping Community Asset Resources: Attitudes and Challenges

Village Officials (Pamong Desa)

In East Lampung, village officials are understood as the governmental apparatus ranging from the Village Head (*lurah*), Village Secretary (*carik*), Village Apparatus Staff, Hamlet Head (*bayan*) to the heads of community units (RW) and neighborhood units (RT). Collectively, they are often referred to as *pamong*. However, in everyday usage, *pamong* typically refers to three key positions: the Village Head, the Village Secretary, and the Hamlet Head.

The researcher interviewed several village officials in the Batanghari and Sekampung sub-districts. Generally, these officials are respected community figures who are often the first point of contact for individuals facing family problems. Puspito, the Village Head of Banjarejo, stated that village officials and heads are considered respected elders in the community. Therefore, it is natural for residents to approach the Village Head when facing family issues. He typically helps to calm the situation and mediate disputes. According to Puspito, one of the indicators of a successful Village Head is their ability to diffuse tension during conflicts, including family disputes, whether they end in reconciliation or divorce (Puspito, 2022).

Sumanto, the Hamlet Head of Hargomulyo in Sekampung, echoes this view. He shared that he has received residents facing family issues and has worked to resolve and reconcile the family. He strives to settle matters locally, ensuring the problem does not escalate further (Sumanto, 2022). Puspito also supports this concept. Village officials are

responsible for maintaining the good name of the village. In response to the impression that village officials are sometimes unresponsive, Puspito emphasized that according to Law No. 6/2019, the Village Head is tasked with resolving all issues, not bringing them outside. "If there is a big problem, it should be made smaller. If it is a small problem, it should be resolved," he stated (Puspito, 2022).

Thus, village officials can act as agents of dispute resolution. However, they are sometimes seen as concealing matters, making it challenging to address the cases effectively. In some instances, resolutions handled by village officials are informal, often leaving the victim's voice unheard and their interests sidelined. Moreover, the mediation by village officials is often imbalanced, as they prioritize the village's good name rather than focusing on the welfare of the victim and the perpetrator. Therefore, it is essential to introduce a more enlightening perspective to ensure fairer and more equitable resolutions.

Religious Affairs Office (KUA), Marriage Registrars (Penghulu), and Islamic Counselors

Lis Maimunah, an Islamic counselor at the Sekampung Religious Affairs Office (KUA), shared that she frequently encounters numerous community members seeking advice regarding family disputes, including cases of infidelity or domestic violence (Maimunah, 2022). Similarly, Siti Alqomah, an Islamic counselor at the Batanghari KUA, often receives complaints from residents facing family conflicts. "Counselors are the frontline for handling family disputes," said Siti Alqomah. Just last month, for instance, Alqomah received two reports of domestic violence and a case involving extramarital sex (Alqomah, 2022).

In handling cases, Alqomah acknowledges at least five serious challenges. The first is that village officials (*pamong desa*) have often appeared to hide cases within the village for the sake of preserving the village's reputation. This view is shared by several village heads, who believe their primary responsibility is resolving local conflicts. The second challenge is that village officials tend to think that all issues, even those involving criminal matters, can be settled amicably through informal, off-the-record agreements rather than addressing them through legal channels.

The third problem is that often, the victims themselves feel ashamed and reluctant to open up about their issues, viewing the events as a shameful matter that should not be exposed to the public. The fourth challenge is that extended family members often cover up the issues in the name of family reputation, leaving the counselor, who is not a close family member, in a difficult position when trying to provide more intensive support.

The fifth challenge is that when cases are brought to the legal realm, the witnesses are often close family members unwilling to testify before the judge. As a result, the case lacks sufficient witnesses because one witness does not constitute valid testimony (*unus testis nullus testis*), causing the case to be dismissed. The sixth issue is that peaceful resolution sometimes does not provide a deterrent effect on the perpetrator. It seems that everything can be resolved peacefully and that everything is fine. However, predators are everywhere, and they can prey on anyone (Alqomah, 2022).

Meanwhile, KUA Batanghari's and KUA Sekampung's heads have provided preventive guidance to *penghulu* (Islamic marriage officiants) regarding family conflicts. For instance, KUA Batanghari offers marriage counseling and facilitates the creation of a Pakta

Kesalingan (Mutual Agreement) to be signed by both parties immediately after the wedding ceremony (Wijayati, Nasrudin, & Oktora, 2021, p. 12). Similarly, KUA provides technical guidance to Islamic counselors. However, when it comes to specific legal issues, particularly legal matters, KUA cannot do much because such issues fall outside its jurisdiction. Additionally, there are no curative activities beyond the scope of KUA's responsibilities (Ende, 2022b).

The Head of KUA Sekampung stated that everything was fine and there were no issues. Suppose there are any family disputes, and the parties come to his office with the recitation of the Quran and the sprinkling of wudu (ablution) water. In that case, everything calms down, and the matter is resolved, with everyone reconciling (Sobri, 2022). However, what the Head of KUA Sekampung conveyed is still normative. On the ground, the Islamic counselors in Sekampung continue to receive reports of women facing legal issues.

Justice Seeker

It isn't easy to find justice seekers willing to speak up and seek support from the research team. Some justice seekers refuse to be met, and even when they are approached, they claim that all their problems are resolved and that everything is fine. However, from information gathered from key informants, it becomes clear that the issues persist and are unresolved, and the rights of the victims remain unmet. As a result, the researchers partnered with Islamic religious counselors who were already supporting these women. All identities of the justice seekers are kept anonymous for the protection of the informant.

Economic factors often cause some family disputes in Lampung Timur. For instance, in the case of Mr. A and Mrs. B in Batanghari, the dispute arose because the husband was unemployed, and he allowed his wife to work overseas. While handling migrant worker permits, the village head signed a consent letter as one of the administrative requirements. Later, in some cases, the disputing parties blamed the village head for facilitating the migration of the citizens (Riyanto, 2022). While working abroad, Mrs. B became involved with another man and eventually married him.

In the case of the migrant worker woman, CD, from Batanghari, her husband remarried another woman while she was working abroad. In many instances in Batanghari and Sekampung, marriages are often conducted without being registered at the KUA (Religious Affairs Office). In Sekampung, several religious figures repeatedly act as intermediaries, performing marriages in a *sirri* (unregistered) manner, often under the table (Sodikin, 2022).

In the case of the migrant worker EF, the wife sent money from abroad to her husband, who used it to purchase a piece of land. The village received a program from the government, *Prona*, which provides free land certification services through the National Land Agency (BPN). However, the husband had the land certified in his name, which caused a conflict. The wife felt that her contribution was not acknowledged, and the land had been taken from her, leading to a dispute between the couple.

In the case of KL in Sekampung, the wife accumulated a significant amount of debt without informing her husband. She then left the house without saying anything, which led to the husband being harassed by various creditors. The husband refused to pay the

debts, arguing that his wife had taken the loans without his knowledge or consent. However, the creditors insisted that the husband and wife were a unit and that the husband should be responsible for his wife's actions. This disagreement created turmoil within the family, as the husband and wife found themselves at odds over how to handle the debt.

In the case of GH in Sekampung, another factor contributing to the conflict was the involvement of a third party in the husband-wife relationship. The husband had an affair with another woman, referred to as Mrs. I. She was very aggressive and went as far as attacking and taking over the assets that belonged to the legal wife. This situation triggered a violent response from the wife's family, who retaliated against her. The presence of a third party in this case not only led to emotional turmoil and betrayal but also escalated the conflict to physical violence, further complicating the resolution of the issue.

In addition to economic factors and the involvement of third parties, conflicts can also arise due to low levels of education. For instance, in Batanghari, there is the case of LM, a young woman who became a victim of sexual abuse related to alternative medicine practices (shamanistic healing). Another contributing factor is the negative character traits of the perpetrators, combined with unhealthy parenting styles and family relationships. For example, in the case of NO, a husband sold his wife to a man for prostitution in a hotel, which highlights a severe abuse of power and exploitation. Similarly, the case of PQ involved a father who committed incest by raping his daughter, an alarming instance of family violence and sexual abuse.

In resolving conflicts and disputes, one of the critical factual problems faced by justice seekers is not knowing who to turn to for help or guidance. They typically only know the local village officials (*pamong*) and religious counselors (*penyuluh agama*). For instance, in the case of GH, the wife initially turned to her family for support. Fortunately, her brother worked at the KUA in Sekampung, and as an Islamic counselor, he could provide appropriate assistance. However, if she had reached out to family members without sufficient knowledge or resources, the outcome could have been different—perhaps resulting in blind defense and further complicating the situation, as seen in the case of JK in Sekampung.

Women's and Children's House (RPA)

Rumah Perempuan dan Anak/Women's and Children's House (RPA) is an NGO that focuses on issues related to women and children. Currently, RPA only has an office in Sukadana, the capital of Lampung Timur, but it is still operating out of a temporary space. The organization has not yet established permanent offices in the 26 subdistricts across the district. RPA regularly receives complaints and reports about disputes involving women and children, sometimes from media publications.

A significant challenge RPA faces is the limited number of personnel, especially within the advocacy division. The leadership is currently only present at the branch level, which is located in the district capital. This geographic and resource constraint means that practical assistance can primarily be provided in the district capital. Support in subdistricts is only possible when RPA staff members reside in areas that can offer assistance, which creates gaps in service provision, particularly in more remote or underserved areas.

This limited reach and capacity affect RPA's ability to provide consistent and widespread support to justice seekers, especially in rural or less accessible areas. As a result, strategies to expand RPA's presence and capacity are needed through partnerships with local government offices, village officials, and religious counselors, who are already established within the communities and can act as intermediaries for providing support. It could help bridge the gap between RPA's central office and remote areas where women and children require advocacy and legal assistance.

Strengthening the Role of Religious Leaders, Islamic Counsellors, and Village Officials in Safeguarding Female Justice Seekers

The researcher conducted an empowerment study at the Batanghari Religious Affairs Office (KUA), the Sekampung KUA, and the Women's and Children's House (RPA) in East Lampung. In each of these locations, the researcher involved 25 participants, including village officials, Islamic counselors, penghulu (Islamic marriage officers), religious leaders, and justice seekers. The key informants invited to the focus group discussions (FGDs) included Em Sapri Ende, Sobri, Ali Sodikin, Romlah, Muhamad Nasrudin, Siti Zulaikha, and Eny Puji Lestari.

At the Batanghari KUA, the attendees included several village heads, Islamic counselors from the Batanghari sub-district, justice seekers, and religious leaders from Batanghari. This event occurred on Wednesday, November 16, 2022, at the Batanghari KUA. The event at Sekampung KUA was held on Thursday, November 17, 2022, with participants including Penghulu, Islamic counselors, religious leaders, and justice seekers. Finally, for the RPA Lampung Timur, the invitees included the RPA administrators, nearby village officials, and justice seekers who had been receiving assistance.

However, the initial response from village officials was less than optimal. Of the 17 village heads invited from Batanghari, only 10 attended, with the rest sending representatives. It suggests that addressing family conflict resolution is not a priority among village officials or that they may have other pressing commitments. Nonetheless, during the discussion, it became apparent that they were highly engaged with the discussed topic.

Em Sapri Ende, the head of Batanghari KUA, emphasized the importance of the KUA's role in resolving family disputes. He highlighted the two functional roles within the KUA: *penghulu* and Islamic counselors. Regulation of the Minister of Religious Affairs No. 16 of 2021 regarding Technical Guidelines for the Functional Position of *Penghulu* outlines the duties, responsibilities, and authority of *penghulu*, which include providing marriage or reconciliation counseling, developing the Penghulu profession, and offering guidance to the Muslim community. Furthermore, the Minister of State Apparatus Empowerment and Bureaucratic Reform Regulation No. 9 of 2021 on the Functional Position of Islamic Counselors regulates Islamic counselors' primary duties and functions, including providing religious guidance and counseling (Ende, 2022a).

Islamic counselors have four functions: informative, educative, consultative, and advocative. Ende emphasized that the educative function provides enlightenment to the disputants. The consultative function offers consultation services for family disputes. Furthermore, counselors advocate by providing defense and assistance to vulnerable individuals, including women, when confronted with legal issues (Ende, 2022a).

Islamic counselors in Batanghari have carried out these four functions, with the entry point being the *majelis taklim* (Islamic study groups). In the *majelis taklim*, in addition to providing counseling, Islamic counselors also offer consultation services and assist community members involved in disputes. The duties of the penghulu (marriage registrar) and the counselors are directly related to family issues, aiming towards a harmonious and loving family life (*sakinah mawaddah wa rahmah*).

Ende provided essential guidance to the penghulu, counselors, and village heads. There are five principles of an ideal family based on the concept of *sakinah mawaddah wa rahmah*, namely: *Zawaj* (marriage), strong commitment (*mitsaqan ghalidzan*), mutual respect (*mu'asyarah bil makruf*), consultation (*syura/musyawah*), and mutual consent (*tarâdhin*). The first principle (*zawaj*) emphasizes that two individuals from different backgrounds build a family. They are not meant to be divided but to strengthen and complement each other in pursuit of mutual happiness (Ende, 2022a).

The second principle (*mitsaqan ghalidzan*) refers to the commitment of both partners to be firmly bound to each other, reinforcing one another, with death being the only thing that separates them. The third principle (*mu'asyarah bil makruf*) emphasizes a good relationship based on tradition and the standards of the surrounding environment. The husband must treat his wife with love and affection, while the wife should treat her husband with respect and sincere love (Ende, 2022a).

The fourth principle (*syura*) states that every marriage will face problems, and therefore, all parties involved should maintain a calm mindset, sit together, and consult. The fifth principle (*taradhin*) emphasizes that certain things in family life cannot be negotiated, such as the character of in-laws, income, children, and the surrounding environment. Both parties must be willing to accept and make peace with these aspects (Ende, 2022a).

These five principles can be material for village heads, religious counselors, penghulu, and female justice seekers to mediate family disputes and find a win-win solution. Ende also mentioned several challenges faced by penghulu and religious counselors in resolving family conflicts, both from the perspective of justice seekers and the penghulu/religious counselors themselves.

From the perspective of justice seekers, the issues they face are as follows: First, there is a low awareness of consulting with the KUA. Justice seekers tend to feel embarrassed if others know their family problems. Second, sharing the problems they are facing is seen as exposing the family's shame, such as revealing the violence committed by a partner. Third, there is a misunderstanding of patience, interpreted as passive acceptance of mistreatment by a partner. Fourth, the community still has limited knowledge about the concept of a *sakinah* family and how to achieve it (Ende, 2022a).

In the FGD discussion, the role that can be played to address the first issue is to optimize the role of Islamic religious counselors in villages close to the community. The role of village officials (*pamong desa*) must also be maximized. The approach of religious counselors should be more informal and family-oriented. As for the second issue, there needs to be an understanding among justice seekers and stakeholders that violence is violence. Revealing information about violence is an effort to stop it (Ende, 2022a).

It is important to clarify that patience and resignation are different. Rejecting violence proportionally is a form of patience. It aligns with the Prophet's message: to help our brethren, whether they are the oppressor or the oppressed. Patience should be understood as an effort to find solutions, not just a passive acceptance. Similarly, the community still poorly understands the concept of a *keluarga sakinah* (harmonious family). Therefore, in this forum, the facilitators reinforced the understanding of the five principles of a harmonious family, as discussed earlier, which are: *zawaj* (marriage), commitment, *mu'asyarah bil makruf* (good treatment), *musyawarah* (consultation), and *ridha* (mutual consent) (Ende, 2022a).

Among the Islamic clerics and religious counselors, there is a problem. The expertise of religious counselors in mediating family conflicts is still lacking. Therefore, training in mediation skills for religious counselors, penghulu, and village officials is essential. Ende mentioned that there are only eight Islamic counselors, both civil servants and non-civil servants, in Batanghari District. Meanwhile, there are 17 villages in Batanghari, meaning that each counselor is responsible for at least two villages. This situation affects the effectiveness of the counselors' work (Ende, 2022a).

Another issue is that although religious counselors are allowed by regulations to provide advocacy, there is yet to be a precise technical regulation on how counselors should advocate for families in conflict, especially when the case escalates to the court. "If we go too far without clear guidelines, we might be criticized by other parties who are already involved in advocacy, such as lawyers," said Ende (2022a). Moreover, the involvement of justice brokers complicates the matter. To make the process more effective, Ende suggested the establishment of a joint forum for family dispute resolution at the village level, which would involve village officials, penghulu, and religious counselors.

Strengthening the Safety Net for Justice Seeker

Women as Vulnerable Legal Subjects

The most crucial point from the focus group discussion (FGD) was the shared awareness that female justice seekers are vulnerable legal subjects. Therefore, they require maximum protection. All community resources and assets collectively agree to prioritize women in this context, including village officials, religious affairs offices (KUA), marriage registrars (penghulu), and religious counselors. The forum affirms the importance of women's access to justice, as outlined in the APKM (Kementrian PPPA, n.d., pp. 1–21). It includes the need for women's participation in determining their fate and future, their control over the fulfillment of their fundamental rights as both human beings and as women, as well as ensuring they derive maximum benefits from any legal events they are involved in, whether as legal subjects or objects. This understanding among stakeholders is crucial, as access to justice does not begin at the courtroom door but from an awareness of injustice and vulnerability (Hartanto, Liestyasari, & Firdausy, 2018, p. 123).

Village Reputation vs. Women's Interests as Victims

The village head is responsible for maintaining the village's resilience, as stipulated in Law No. 6/2014, which grants him the authority to resolve disputes at the village level (Nugroho & Santoso, 2022). However, maintaining the village's reputation becomes a

significant burden for the village head. It is related to two main factors. First, the village is traditionally aligned with a vision of harmony, and therefore, every issue is typically approached to resolve through peaceful, non-litigious means (Ariska, Atmadja, & Margi, 2020). Second, the village head is an administrative and social leader regarded as a figure of authority within the community. This dual role often compels him to prioritize the village's stability and tranquility over the victim's interests.

On the other hand, victims have not been given the proper recognition they deserve. In many negotiations, women as victims or justice seekers are often excluded. The forum in the FGD agreed on the importance of providing women with a space to voice their experiences, feelings, and desires. The interests of the victim must take precedence over all other interests. A comprehensive resolution and negotiations with the parties involved in the case should involve women, as they are directly affected by the issue. Whether conducted by village officials or religious counselors, mediation should ensure that women's voices are heard and their participation is acknowledged.

If women cannot speak openly in a forum due to an unfavorable situation, village officials and religious counselors must arrange a caucus—a private, closed-door meeting with the women justice seekers—to ensure they can express themselves freely without pressure or coercion. It is especially crucial when minors are involved. Support from psychiatrists or psychologists with the necessary competence is essential to provide adequate assistance. This support is mandated by the Witness and Victim Protection Law (Triwati, 2019, p. 81) and is a central issue in protecting women and children (Rahmat, Adhyaksa, & Fathanudien, 2021, p. 161).

The FGD agreed that women's perspective as victims should be prioritized. Women must be granted broad access. Similarly, women should be involved in decision-making during discussions regarding their issues; their voices must be heard, and their perspectives should be given primary consideration.

Avoiding the Legal Realm (?)

The majority of justice seekers avoid engaging with the law. They argue that the law is something they do not fully understand, and they fear becoming trapped in it. Additionally, many costs are associated with legal proceedings that may be beyond their financial means. Similarly, village officials hope all problems can be resolved through family-oriented approaches outside the legal framework, avoiding broader public knowledge of the issues. Even in cases that have already reached law enforcement, they attempt to have these cases withdrawn and resolved through restorative justice.

In the FGD, a shared understanding was reached that resolving conflicts through peacebuilding and family-oriented approaches is beneficial. However, this should not be used to justify something wrong. Therefore, all parties must understand the boundaries between what can still be resolved through family reconciliation and what must be addressed through legal channels. Legal resolution is not shameful; it is an open process to ensure that the victim's rights are fully protected, that the perpetrator receives appropriate punishment, and to create a deterrent effect so that others thinking of committing crimes will think twice.

This awareness is essential because although the criminal justice system in Indonesia is a public law system where the state plays an active role, it still offers the possibility of

non-litigation resolution through restorative justice (Syah & Purwoleksono, 2023). However, the weakness of restorative justice lies in the absence of specific regulations, resulting in inconsistent implementation within the criminal justice subsystem, leading to legal uncertainty (Arsyad, M. Wantu, & Ismail, 2023). Additionally, perpetrators often seek to avoid consequences (Tri Wibowo & Hadingrat, 2022). Therefore, legal action must be taken if the case is severe enough.

Revealing Violence is Not a Shame; Patience is Not Silence

Family conflicts typically occur within asymmetric relationships (Rofiah, 2017), where not only physical violence is exposed but also psychological harm (Utama, 2022). In these situations, victims, especially women, tend to internalize the violence (Hessle, 2016; Lynch & Graham-Bermann, 2000). Therefore, protective networks must strengthen women's confidence. The FGD agreed that violence is violence. Exposing violence is not shameful, as violent behavior is a crime. Reporting violence to the appropriate authorities is a necessary step to stop the violence.

Similarly, the forum reached a shared understanding that patience does not mean remaining silent and passive in the face of violence. Patience is an effort to resolve disputes, conflicts, and violence. Seeking mediation, consultation, and reporting violent crimes to the authorities is another form of patience in the quest for resolution. The FGD agreed to stop violence, in any form, against anyone. The understanding and awareness within the protective network are crucial for empowering women to speak out and pursue justice.

Consolidation, Coordination, and Distribution of Roles

Historically, village heads have focused on maintaining peace and stability (albeit superficial), seeking reconciliation at any cost, regardless of the means or expenses involved. On the other hand, female victims are seeking justice. Meanwhile, religious counselors who are actively assisting victims believe that crimes should be addressed through litigation to legitimize the process and create a deterrent effect for the perpetrator and potential offenders. This situation has sometimes led to tension between the counselors and village officials. In one FGD, a heated discussion arose when a village head declared that there were no female justice seekers in their village. The religious counselor then cited several cases from that village, making the village head uncomfortable.

After the intense discussion, the FGD reached a consensus that all parties want issues to be resolved thoroughly, ideally with a win-win solution for both the victims and the village where the incident occurred. Fortunately, the forum agreed that the interests of the victims should take precedence. All participants agreed that family conflicts must be adequately resolved. In this case, role distribution is essential. According to regulations, the village head is responsible for resolving issues within the village (Nugroho & Santoso, 2022) and thus acts as a mediator and intermediary.

The village head's prior strong focus on maintaining (superficial) stability must be shifted toward ensuring justice for all village residents. Achieving justice will ultimately lead to proper stability within the community. Furthermore, the religious counselors agreed to act as advisors, and when female victims (justice seekers) are vulnerable, they will advocate on their behalf.

Strengthening Mediation and Advocacy Functions

Village heads or village officials (*pamong desa*) have already played a role in resolving disputes, either as agents, mediators, or justice brokers. Given their authority, village officials are ideally suited to act as mediators. However, the village heads often lack the necessary mediation knowledge and skills, which results in partiality and a lack of neutrality. Additionally, village officials usually cannot extract sufficient information from the victims, leading to an incomplete understanding of the victims' interests and affecting the fairness of the agreements or decisions made.

Although the FGD facilitators briefly introduced mediation techniques during the discussion, the session was not thorough enough, highlighting the need for structured mediator training for village officials. Ideally, certified mediation training should take 40 hours. Some villages are ready to organize mediation training and have expressed interest in inviting certified mediators, such as Muhamad Nasrudin and Siti Zulaikha, to provide the training and assist in mediating family disputes.

On the other hand, some religious counselors (*penyuluh agama*) who actively support female justice seekers lack sufficient legal knowledge, making it difficult to distinguish between areas that can be addressed and those that cannot. For instance, when dealing with cases of consensual sex outside of marriage involving minors, counselors often struggle to provide appropriate support. They are unsure whether the situation constitutes sexual abuse or how to proceed. The counselors also feel uncertain about whether to support the female victim.

During the FGD, the facilitators explained that such incidents must be categorized. If the woman consents to the sexual act, it would be considered an immoral act, and both the male and female could face sanctions according to the law. However, suppose the woman engages in sex without consent. In that case, this constitutes rape, and the woman becomes a victim who deserves protection, while the male is the perpetrator who should be prosecuted in court (Setiawan, 2018).

The support must be based on a comprehensive understanding of the law for such cases. Therefore, the FGD recommended the establishment of specialized training on advocacy for women facing legal challenges, particularly regarding emerging issues such as the Law on Sexual Violence Crimes. This training should be attended by religious counselors, marriage registrars (*penghulu*), and village officials.

Strengthening the Role of KUA, Marriage Registrars, and Religious Counselors

Many Marriage Affairs Offices (KUA) did not have data on female justice seekers during the assessment. For example, the KUA in Sekampung claimed that there were no problems. However, during the FGD in Sekampung, many cases involving women as victims or justice seekers were revealed. This highlighted the information gap between KUA and religious counselors. In the office, KUA lacked data, while on the ground, counselors were dealing with various family dispute cases they were assisting. From this, several insights can be drawn.

Firstly, the relationship between KUA and religious counselors has been limited to an administrative rather than a substantive one. Counselors generally report their activities to KUA, not on a case-by-case basis. Likewise, KUA provides guidance and administrative oversight to counselors but not substantive support, as each counselor works in different

fields. Moreover, assisting female justice seekers is a specific and crucial task. Additionally, KUA, as the front line of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, has many responsibilities but limited personnel and budget.

Secondly, KUA has focused more on counselors' and marriage registrars' educational and informative roles, while counselors' consultative and advocacy functions have been less emphasized. Thirdly, in such circumstances, religious counselors often work alone. When they do so, they usually feel confused and unsure of whom to approach when dealing with complex cases. They may hesitate to consult with legal advocates for fear of being involved in justice brokering. From this, the FGD agreed on the importance of strengthening the role of KUA as a coordinator, facilitator, and leader for marriage registrars and counselors under its coordination, ensuring that they can play a more active role in supporting female justice seekers.

Strengthening Preventive Functions

In addition to the curative function, the preventive function must be strengthened. For example, the KUA Batanghari has provided marriage counseling and asked all couples to sign and read the Mutual Pact, which outlines a commitment by both parties to love and care for each other and to resolve all problems through family discussions (Wijayati, Nasrudin, Hamidah, Oktora, & Muchtar, 2023). However, marriage counseling and marriage guidance are only provided once in sermons. As a result, young couples do not sufficiently internalize the concept of a *sakinah* (peaceful and harmonious) family. Meanwhile, religious counselors typically engage with the community through *majelis taklim* (Islamic study groups), but most attendees are over 40. Young couples are reluctant to attend *majelis taklim*, making it difficult for counselors to provide education, consultation, and advocacy to young couples facing problems.

Therefore, the FGD agreed and recommended specialized counseling for young couples on the values of a *sakinah* family, *mubadalah* (gender equality), true justice, gender in Islam, and basic problem-solving techniques. It will equip them with the knowledge and skills to address issues more maturely and amicably.

Economy, Family Conflict, and Village Policy

One of the enabling conditions for family conflict in East Lampung is the economic factor. This could be due to insufficient family income, which forces one party to work as a migrant laborer. It may also result from poor financial management, bankruptcy, or prolonged inheritance disputes. One interesting finding is that the closer a village is to the city, the more complex the legal cases tend to become.

In villages such as Banjarejo and Bumiharjo, agricultural land has been converted into residential plots. This has reduced productive agricultural land, forcing residents who once worked in agriculture to shift to the industrial, service, or trade sectors (Rahman, 2014) or even become migrant laborers. East Lampung is the most significant contributor to migrant workers in Lampung Province (Darmastuti, Inayah, & Simbolon, 2022). The growing number of new residential plots has also led to an influx of residents with urban cultural norms, such as a sensitivity to privacy and a fast-paced lifestyle. Meanwhile, traditionally living in a slower, more relaxed, and harmonious rural culture, the local population is swept into the fast-moving, competitive cultures of services and commerce. It has resulted in cultural and economic shocks, making conflict almost inevitable.

To address these issues, breakthroughs in women's economic empowerment at the village level need to be implemented, as women are key actors in ensuring the financial welfare of their families. During the FGD, the village government agreed to optimize each village's economic potential to provide economic empowerment opportunities for its residents.

D. Conclusion

Women's vulnerability becomes more pronounced when they face legal challenges, often leading to reluctance to seek help or share their experiences. This study highlights the critical role of local social safety networks, such as village officials and religious counselors, in protecting female justice seekers from exploitation by justice brokers. Strengthening these networks is essential by prioritizing victim-centered approaches, enhancing mediation and advocacy skills, and consolidating roles among community actors. Additionally, empowering the economic and preventive capacities of village institutions and optimizing the role of the Religious Affairs Office (KUA) is crucial for ensuring sustainable access to justice for women.

This research recommends reinforcing the capacities of village-based actors in mediation, advocacy, and economic empowerment, including the development of village paralegals. The Ministry of Religious Affairs should strengthen the KUA's role in mediation and advocacy for litigation and non-litigation cases. Future studies should focus on institutionalizing village-based mediation systems, paralegal frameworks, and strategies to strengthen KUA networks, ensuring a comprehensive and sustainable approach to supporting female justice seekers.

In conducting this research, the author extends gratitude for the funding support from the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia for the 2022 fiscal year. [n]

References

- A, S., A, E., & Djalal, A. (2017). PERLINDUNGAN HUKUM BAGI PEREMPUAN DAN ANAK (Analisis Putusan Hakim Tentang Nafkah Madhiyah Pada Pengadilan Agama Di Sumatera Barat). *Istinbath*, 16(1), 106–208. doi: 10.20414/ijhi.v16i1.77
- Abdullah, A., Yuslem, N., & Hafsah, H. (2022). PERLINDUNGAN HUKUM TERHADAP ANAK KORBAN KEKERASAN SEKSUAL DI KABUPATEN ACEH UTARA. *istinbath*, 21(1), 27–56. doi: 10.20414/ijhi.v21i1.485
- Afrianty, D. (2018). Agents for Change: Local Women's Organizations and Domestic Violence in Indonesia. *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia*, 174(1), 24–46. doi: 10.1163/22134379-17401024
- Akhmadi, A., Yusrina, A., Budiyati, S., Yumna, A., & Suryahadi, A. (2011, July 1). *ACCESS TO JUSTICE: EMPOWERING FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD IN INDONESIA Case Studies in Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam, West Java, West Kalimantan, and East Nusa Tenggara*. Retrieved from <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/ACCESS-TO-JUSTICE%3A-EMPOWERING-FEMALE-HEADS-OF-IN-in-Akhmadi-Yusrina/ce02304d5bb359eab5066010c8fde1f6332cbdfd>
- Alfitri. (2011, April 30). *Legal Reform Project, Access to Justice and Gender Equity in Indonesia* [SSRN Scholarly Paper]. Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network. doi: 10.2139/ssrn.1987810

- Alqomah, S. (2022, Oktober). *Wawancara tentang Peran Penyuluh Agama dalam Penyelesaian Sengketa Keluarga di Batanghari*.
- Ariska, F., Atmadja, N. B., & Margi, I. K. (2020). KEHARMONISAN SOSIAL PADA MASYARAKAT MULTIEtnis DAN POTENSINYA SEBAGAI SUMBER BELAJAR SOSIOLOGI (DI DESA CELUKANBAWANG, BULELENG, BALI). *Jurnal Pendidikan Sosiologi Undiksha*, 2(1), 63–72. doi: 10.23887/jpsu.v2i1.28050
- Arsyad, Y., M. Wantu, F., & Ismail, D. E. (2023). MENATA KEMBALI PRINSIP RESTORATIVE JUSTICE DALAM SISTEM PERADILAN PIDANA INDONESIA: SEBUAH GAGASAN MENCAPAI IDEALITAS. *Ilmu Hukum Prima (IHP)*, 6(2), 253–265. doi: 10.34012/jihp.v6i2.4438
- Badruzaman, D. (2020). KEADILAN DAN KESETARAAN GENDER UNTUK PARA PEREMPUAN KORBAN KEKERASAN DALAM RUMAH TANGGA (KDRT). *Tahkim (Jurnal Peradaban Dan Hukum Islam)*, 3(1). doi: 10.29313/tahkim.v3i1.5558
- Chairil, A., & Shalahuddin, H. (2021). STUDI KRITIS FEMINIST LEGAL THEORY MENURUT PERSPEKTIF ISLAMIC WORLDVIEW. *Mimbar Hukum*, 33(1), 188–215. doi: 10.22146/mh.v33i1.1948
- Crouch, M. (2021). The Promise and Paradox of Women Judges in the Judiciary in Indonesia. In M. Crouch (Ed.), *Women and the Judiciary in the Asia-Pacific* (1st ed., pp. 149–177). Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/9781009000208.006
- Darmastuti, A., Inayah, A., & Simbolon, K. (2022, January 6). *Distribution Patterns and Factors Affecting the Selection of the Destination Country of Indonesian Migrant Workers of Lampung*. 1–8. Atlantis Press. doi: 10.2991/assehr.k.220102.001
- Dwiprigitaningtias, I., & Rahmatiar, Y. (2020). PEREMPUAN DAN KEKUASAAN DIHUBUNGKAN DENGAN FEMINIST LEGAL THEORY. *Justisi: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, 5(1), 54–68. doi: 10.36805/jjih.v5i1.1270
- Ende, E. S. (2022a, Desember). *Peran, Potensi, dan Tantangan KUA (Penghulu dan Penyuluh Agama Islam) di Batanghari dalam Menyelesaikan Sengketa Keluarga*. Presented at the FGD Dari Justice Broker Menuju Mediator Desa, Batanghari. Batanghari.
- Ende, E. S. (2022b, September 10). *Wawancara tentang Perempuan dan KUA di Batanghari*.
- Febriandi, Y., Ansor, M., & Nursiti, N. (2021). Seeking Justice Through Qanun Jinayat: The Narratives of Female Victims of Sexual Violence in Aceh, Indonesia. *QIJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)*, 9(1), 103. doi: 10.21043/qijis.v9i1.8029
- Hakim, F. N. R. (2023). Remeasuring Justice for Women Victims of Intimate Partner Violence: A Sociocultural and Legal Framework. *Deviance Journal Criminology*, 7(2), 121. doi: 10.36080/djk.2709
- Hartanto, R. V. P., Liestyasari, S. I., & Budiati, A. C. (2018). Paralegals and Women Access to Justice: Making Access to Justice of Women Victims of Violence Effective. *The Journal of Social Sciences Research*, (SPI 2), 807–813. doi: 10.32861/jssr.spi2.807.813
- Hartanto, R. V. P., Liestyasari, S. I., & Firdausy, A. G. (2018). STRATEGI PENGUATAN AKSES PEREMPUAN TERHADAP KEADILAN MELALUI LEGAL EMPOWERMENT DALAM RANGKA PENGETASAN KEMISKINAN PEREMPUAN. *PKn Progresif: Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Penelitian Kewarganegaraan*, 13(1), 116–133. doi: 10.20961/pknp.v13i1.22484

- Hessle, S. (2016). Violence against women. *Newsletter*. Retrieved from <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Violence-against-women.-Hessle/11dae4af850889453f09ee9ec5e83c9455a9920b>
- Intania, A. (2022, Agustus). *Wawancara tentang Perempuan dan KUA di KUA Batanghari*.
- Jacqueline Vel. (2010). Policy Research on Access to Justice in Indonesia: A Review of World Bank and UNDP Reports. *Law, Social Justice & Global Development Journal (LGD)*. Retrieved from https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/law/elj/lgd/2010_1/vel/#abstract
- Kemala Dewi, M. B., & Arifin, R. (2019). Emancipation and Legal Justice; Portrait of Women's Legal Protection In Indonesia. *JURNAL CITA HUKUM*, 7(1). doi: 10.15408/jch.v7i1.10261
- Kementrian PPPA. (n.d.).
- Levit, N., & Verchick, R. R. (2016). *Feminist legal theory: A primer* (Vol. 74). New York: NYU Press.
- Lynch, S. M., & Graham-Bermann, S. A. (2000). Woman Abuse and Self-Affirmation: Influences on Women's Self-Esteem. *Violence Against Women*, 6(2), 178–197. doi: 10.1177/10778010022181787
- Maimunah, L. (2022, Oktober). *Wawancara tentang Peran Penyuluh Agama dalam Menyelesaikan Sengketa Keluarga di Sekampung*.
- Maskur Hidayat, S. (2016). *Strategi & Taktik Mediasi*. Jakarta: Kencana.
- Nasrudin, M. (2021). *Laporan Penelitian Studi Pemetaan Situasi Perkawinan Anak Pasca UU No.16 Tahun 2019 dan PERMA No.5 Tahun 2019 (Kasus Lampung)*. Rumah KitaB.
- Nugroho, J., & Santoso, P. (2022). EKSISTENSI KEPALA DESA MENCIPTAKAN KETAHANAN SOSIAL BUDAYA MASYARAKAT SESUAI UNDANG-UNDANG NOMOR 6 TAHUN 2014 TENTANG DESA (STUDI DI DESA PAKEL KECAMATAN GUCIALIT KABUPATEN LUMAJANG). *Transparansi Hukum*, 5(1). doi: 10.30737/transparansi.v5i1.2275
- Nurlaelawati, E., & Salim, A. (2013). Gendering the Islamic Judiciary: Female Judges in the Religious Courts of Indonesia. *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, 51(2), 247. doi: 10.14421/ajis.2013.512.247-278
- PTA Bandar Lampung. (2017). *Laporan Tahunan Pengadilan Tinggi Agama Bandar Lampung 2016*. Bandar Lampung: Pengadilan Tinggi Agama Bandar Lampung.
- Puspito, S. (2022, Oktober). *Wawancara tentang Peran Pamong dalam Penyelesaian Sengketa Keluarga di Batanghari*.
- Rahman, F. (2014, January 24). *PERUBAHAN POLA PERILAKU SOSIAL DAN EKONOMI BURUH TANI AKIBAT INDUSTRIALISASI*. Retrieved from <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/PERUBAHAN-POLA-PERILAKU-SOSIAL-DAN-EKONOMI-BURUH-Rahman/33725f2a5ce9165df82148cb36b7fd2e227c9145>
- Rahmat, D., Adhyaksa, G., & Fathanudien, A. (2021). Bantuan Hukum dan Perlindungan Hukum terhadap Perempuan dan Anak di Indonesia. *Empowerment: Jurnal Pengabdian Masyarakat*, 4(02), 156–163. doi: 10.25134/empowerment.v4i02.4921
- Riyanto. (2022, November 16). *FGD tentang Menghindarkan Justice Seeker dari Jerat Justice Broker di KUA Batanghari*.
- Rofiah, N. (2017). Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga dalam Perspektif Islam. *Wawasan: Jurnal Ilmiah Agama Dan Sosial Budaya*, 2(1), 31–44. doi: 10.15575/jw.v2i1.829
- Setiawan, I. (2018). TINDAK PIDANA PERKOSAAN DALAM TINJAUAN HUKUM PIDANA INDONESIA. *Jurnal Ilmiah Galuh Justisi*, 6(2), 227. doi: 10.25157/jig.v6i2.1716

- Sobri. (2022, Oktober). *Wawancara Peran KUA dalam Penyelesaian Sengketa Keluarga di Sekampung*.
- Sodikin, A. (2022, November 17). *FGD tentang Menghindarkan Justice Seeker dari Jerat Justice Broker di KUA Sekampung*.
- Sukendar, S., Saifullah, M., Sulistiyanto, P., Rahman, L., & Ulamai, A. H. A. (2023). Women's Access To Justice: Mediation For The Victims of Domestic Violence In Central Java, Indonesia. *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam*, 7(1), 602. doi: 10.22373/sjhk.v7i1.9471
- Sulistiyawan, A. Y. (2018). Feminist Legal Theory dalam Telaah Paradigma: Suatu Pemetaan Filsafat Hukum. *Masalah-Masalah Hukum*, 47(1), 56–62.
- Sumanto. (2022, Oktober). *Wawancara tentang Peran Pamong dalam Penyelesaian Sengketa Keluarga di Batanghari*.
- Sumner, C., Zurstrassen, M., & Lister, L. (2011, March 1). *Increasing access to justice for women, the poor, and those living in remote areas: An Indonesian case study*. Retrieved from <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Increasing-access-to-justice-for-women%2C-the-poor%2C-%3A-Sumner-Zurstrassen/0c81409c3caad6c046dadb6004fe37324e259884>
- Susylawati, E., & Hasan, M. (2011). Putusan Verstek pada Perkara Perceraian di Pengadilan Agama Pamekasan. *NUANSA: Jurnal Penelitian Ilmu Sosial Dan Keagamaan Islam*, 8(1). doi: 10.19105/nuansa.v8i1.9
- Syah, B. E., & Purwoleksono, D. E. (2023). Ius Constituendum Restorative Justice in Indonesia. *Media Iuris*, 6(3), 365–378. doi: 10.20473/mi.v6i3.44405
- Tri Wibowo, K., & Hadingrat, W. (2022). TANTANGAN DAN HAMBATAN PENERAPAN KEADILAN RESTORATIF PADA SISTEM PERADILAN PIDANA DI INDONESIA. *IBLAM LAW REVIEW*, 2(3), 56–81. doi: 10.52249/ilr.v2i3.95
- Triwati, A. (2019). Akses Keadilan Sebagai Perlindungan Hukum Bagi Perempuan Berhadapan Dengan Hukum Dalam Sistem Peradilan Pidana. *Hukum Dan Masyarakat Madani*, 9(1), 72. doi: 10.26623/humani.v9i1.1445
- Utama, I. L. M. (2022). KEKERASAN DALAM RUMAH TANGGA: ANGIN PUTING BELIUNG BAGI HIDUP BERKELUARGA. *LOGOS*, 87–106. doi: 10.54367/logos.v19i2.2015
- Wahyudi, M. I. (2018). Women Dealing with The Law in Religious Courts. *AHKAM : Jurnal Ilmu Syariah*, 18(2). doi: 10.15408/ajis.v18i2.7491
- Wijayati, M., Abdullah, I., White, S., Rosadi, A., Yamin, A., & Larasati, Y. G. (2021). Justice brokers: Women's experiences with injustice and dependence in the divorce process. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 7(1), 1966208. doi: 10.1080/23311886.2021.1966208
- Wijayati, M., Nasrudin, M., Hamidah, T., Oktora, N. D., & Muchtar, I. H. (2023). "The New Men": The Rahima's Experiences in the Gender Sensitivity Construction among Marriage Registrar in Lampung Indonesia. *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam*, 7(3), 1489–1513. doi: 10.22373/sjhk.v7i3.17666
- Wijayati, M., Nasrudin, M., & Oktora, N. D. (2021). *KETAHANAN KELUARGA DI MASA PANDEMI PELIBATAN LAKI-LAKI DALAM UPAYA PENCEGAHAN KEKERASAN DALAM RUMAH TANGGA DI MASA PANDEMI (Lesson Learned dari Piloting Program Penguatan Peran dan Fungsi KUA untuk Memperkuat Ketahanan Keluarga di Lampung Timur)* [Monograph]. Metro: IAIN Metro. Retrieved from IAIN Metro website: <https://repository.metrouniv.ac.id/id/eprint/7580/>