

INTERNATIONAL JOURNALOF LAW AND CONSTITUTION STUDY

Journal home page: https://jurnal.asrypersadaquality.com/index.php/ijlacos

CRIMINAL SANCTIONS AGAINST VICTIMS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE: IMPLEMENTATION IN THE CRIMINAL CODE AND ITS OBSTACLES

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Abstract

Gender-Based Violence (GBV) is a serious human rights violation with a steadily increasing number of cases in Indonesia. This study aims to legally analyze the implementation of criminal sanctions against perpetrators of GBV within the context of the Criminal Code (KUHP), both the old and the new (Law No. 1 of 2023), and to identify significant obstacles to gender-sensitive law enforcement, particularly in protecting victims.The research method used is normative (doctrinal) with a statutory approach and a conceptual approach. Primary (regulations) and secondary (journals and reports from the last 5 years) legal materials were analyzed descriptively-qualitatively.The results show that the implementation of GBV criminal sanctions has moved from a retributive-formalistic model (Old KUHP) to a restorative-victimological model with the enactment of Law No. 12 of 2022 concerning Criminal Acts of Sexual Violence (UU TPKS), which complements the KUHP. The UU TPKS successfully broadened the scope of offenses and explicitly recognized victims' rights to restitution and recovery. However, implementation is still hampered by normative inconsistencies between the UU TPKS as lex specialis and the New KUHP, which risks retaining moral stigma in the classification of sexual offenses.The main obstacles identified include the strong patriarchal culture and gender bias among Law Enforcement Officials (APH), manifested as revictimization of victims, as well as an institutional capacity crisis in handling specific cases (such as GBVO) and in executing restitution sanctions. Consistent regulatory harmonization based on the lex specialis principle and cultural transformation of APH are needed to achieve substantive gender-based justice and comprehensive recovery for victims

Keywords: Gender-Based Violence, Criminal Sanctions, Criminal Code, TPKS Law

INTRODUCTION

Gender-Based Violence (GBV) is a fundamental human rights issue, reflecting an imbalance in power relations manifested in various forms of discriminatory and harmful acts, whether physical, psychological, sexual, or economic. GBV is inherently rooted in the patriarchal social structure that places women in a vulnerable and subordinate position, making it not just an ordinary crime, but a crime with deep social and political dimensions (Mazumah, Siti. 2023). The high prevalence of GBV cases in Indonesia, consistently reported by institutions such as the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan), underscores the failure of the legal and social system to provide effective protection.

Historically, the Indonesian Criminal Code (*Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana* - KUHP), as the main *ius constitutum* in Indonesia, has been the juridical foundation for law enforcement against GBV. However, the KUHP, inherited from the colonial era, was built upon a paradigm that emphasizes public order and morality rather than the bodily integrity and individual autonomy of the victim, especially in the context of sexual violence. Articles used to prosecute perpetrators, such as Article 285 (rape) and Article 351 (assault), have gender-neutral and highly formalistic offense formulations (Apriyani, Maria Novita. 2021). This limitation means that criminal sanctions imposed tend to be retributive and often fail to reflect the holistic harm (physical, mental, and social) suffered by GBV victims (Agustanti, Rosalia Dika, & Waluyo, Bambang. (2023).

The implication of the KUHP's normative limitations is the emergence of secondary victimization practices in the criminal justice system, where victims, instead of getting justice, are judged and blamed (*victim blaming*). Furthermore, the criminal sentencing system in the KUHP does not explicitly regulate victims' rights, such as restitution (compensation) and psychological recovery, which are crucial elements in achieving substantive justice. A focus solely on punishing the perpetrator has neglected the victimological dimension, namely the needs and rights of victims to be restored (Adkiras, Fadillah, dkk. (2021). Amidst the dynamics of legal reform, Indonesia has ratified Law Number 12 of 2022 on Sexual Violence Crimes (UU TPKS) and Law Number 1 of 2023 on the New Criminal Code. The presence of the UU TPKS marks a progressive paradigm shift by broadly defining the spectrum of sexual violence and explicitly prioritizing victims' rights.

Nevertheless, the implementation of criminal sanctions against GBV still faces serious challenges, especially concerning the synchronization between the old/new KUHP and the UU TPKS, as well as the cultural resistance still rooted in the justice system.

1.1 Review of Related Literature and Research Gap

Review of Related Literature and State of the Art

Previous related studies have comprehensively addressed various dimensions of GBV and its legal response. (Mazumah 2023) highlighted the problem of gender bias in the enforcement practices of sexual violence laws, indicating that the legal apparatus often fails to apply a victim-centered perspective due to deep-seated patriarchal norms. (Apriyani 2021) specifically analyzed the implementation of restitution for sexual violence victims, finding that while the right exists, its execution is often hindered by formalistic requirements and the state's lack of commitment to financial recovery. Furthermore, (Agustanti & Waluyo 2023) explored the concept of a Special Criminal Justice System for female victims of violence, stressing the inadequacy of the general criminal justice system in handling cases with severe psychological and social dimensions. Finally, (Adkiras et al. 2021) provided an early construction of regulations concerning Cyber Gender-Based Violence, which highlights the continuous legal effort to adapt to new forms of violence, yet often outpacing the enforcement capability of the existing KUHP framework.

The State of the Art thus confirms that the primary legal focus has historically been on the retributive aspect (punishment of the perpetrator) within the limitations of the old KUHP, leading to fragmented implementation of victims' rights, especially restitution and psychological recovery. The overarching theme in the existing literature is the *mismatch* between the normative ideals of victim-centered justice and the reality of judicial practices dominated by the old KUHP's formalism and gender bias.

Research Gap and Justification of Originality

While the existing literature has successfully identified the weaknesses of the old KUHP and the dire need for incorporating victims' rights, there remains a critical gap concerning the synchronization and practical implementation challenges between the three pivotal legal instruments: the Old KUHP, the New KUHP (Law No. 1/2023), and the UU TPKS (Law No. 12/2022).

The existing studies predominantly analyzed the *inadequacy* of the Old KUHP *before* the New KUHP and the UU TPKS were enacted. Therefore, what has been done is the diagnosis of problems within the former legal framework**.** What has to be done by the present research is a comprehensive, comparative, and forward-looking analysis of: (1) The specific normative, structural, and cultural obstacles arising *during* the implementation of sanctions under the Old KUHP framework, and (2) A detailed projection of how the New KUHP and UU TPKS can *interlock* to overcome the identified implementation obstacles, particularly regarding victim restitution and holistic recovery, which is a key area requiring legal synthesis.

This research's originality lies in its holistic focus on the *transition* and *synchronization* of criminal sanctions across the three legal eras (Old KUHP, UU TPKS, and New KUHP) to explicitly formulate a path toward overcoming structural and cultural resistance in achieving victim-oriented justice.

METHOD

This research employs a normative legal research (or doctrinal research) method, which focuses on the study of statutory regulations, legal theories, and relevant court decisions. This approach is primarily concerned with analyzing legal norms and doctrines to prescribe what the law *should be* (the *ius constituendum*) in realizing victim-centered justice, rather than what the law *is* in empirical practice.

2.1 Research Approach and Scope

The study utilizes several normative legal approaches to address the research questions:

a. Statute Approach: Involving the analysis of all legal provisions relevant to the implementation of sanctions for Gender-Based Violence (GBV), specifically the Old Criminal Code (KUHP), Law No. 12 of 2022 (UU TPKS), and the New Criminal Code (Law No. 1 of 2023).
b. Conceptual Approach: Examining the legal principles, doctrines, and concepts related to criminal sanctions, victimology, restitution, and substantive justice as applied in the context of GBV.
c. Case Approach**:** Studying selected court decisions to analyze the application of criminal sanctions and the judiciary's interpretation of victim protection under the existing KUHP framework.

2.2 Data Sources and Types

The data used in this research is exclusively secondary data, categorized as

follows:

a. Primary Legal Materials: The binding legal norms, including the specific articles in the Old KUHP, the New KUHP, the UU TPKS, and relevant Supreme Court Regulations (PERMA) concerning restitution and victim rights.
b. Secondary Legal Materials: Scholarly works that explain the primary legal materials, such as legal journals, academic books, research theses, and dissertations concerning criminal law, GBV, and judicial practice in Indonesia.
c. Tertiary Legal Materials: Supporting materials like legal dictionaries, encyclopedias, and indexes used to clarify terms and locate primary and secondary sources.

2.3 Data Collection Method

Data collection is conducted through a documentary study or library research technique. The step-by-step procedure involves:

a. Identification and Inventory: Systematically collecting and listing all relevant legal regulations and court decisions pertaining to the imposition of criminal sanctions on GBV perpetrators, focusing on the period before and after the enactment of the UU TPKS.
b. Clarification and Classification: Categorizing the collected legal materials based on the research issues (e.g., sanction norms, victim rights provisions, and legal implementation challenges).
c. Synthesis and Interpretation: Performing a deep systematic, grammatical, and teleological interpretation of the legal norms to understand the legislative intent, identify conflicts between the Old KUHP and the new laws (UU TPKS/New KUHP), and locate gaps in victim protection.

2.4 Data Analysis Technique

The collected data is analyzed using a qualitative-descriptive approach with a prescriptive orientation. The analysis proceeds in three main stages:

a. Normative Critique (Problem Diagnosis): Critically evaluating the weaknesses and limitations of the Old KUHP in formulating criminal sanctions that are victim-centered, specifically concerning the lack of explicit restitution mechanisms and the prevalence of secondary victimization.
b. Legal Comparison: Conducting a comparative analysis of the sanction provisions and victim protection mandates among the Old KUHP, the UU TPKS, and the New KUHP. This step aims to identify how the new laws functionally

resolve the normative obstacles present in the old regime.

c. Conceptual Construction: Formulating the ideal concept for the synchronization of criminal sanctions under the new legal framework (UU TPKS and New KUHP) that is explicitly based on the principles of substantive victim justice. This final stage yields the policy recommendations of the research.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

RESULTS

Implementation of Criminal Sanctions for GBV within the Framework of the Old Criminal Code and its Comparison with the TPKS Law

The implementation of criminal sanctions for Gender-Based Violence (GBV) within the framework of the Old Criminal Code (Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana - KUHP Lama) (Law No. 1 of 1946) was fundamentally based on a retributive and public morality paradigm. The Old KUHP categorized most sexual offenses as "Crimes against Decency" (Chapter XIV), rather than as crimes against individual bodily integrity or sexual autonomy. This placement normatively implied that the primary focus of criminal punishment was to restore disturbed public order and social morality, not to compensate the victim's losses.(Marcoes-Natsir, L., & Rofiah, N. 2022)

The criminal sanctions imposed, such as the threat of imprisonment in Article 285 (rape) and Article 289 (indecent assault), were gender-neutral and formalistic. Doctrinally, this gender neutrality, instead of creating equality, actually resulted in substantive injustice because it failed to recognize the structural dimensions and power relations underlying GBV. (Adkiras, F., dkk. 2021). The imposition of purely retributive sanctions is often viewed as disproportionate to the holistic harm suffered by victims, which is physical, psychological, and social.

This paradigm was then significantly reformed with the introduction of Law Number 12 of 2022 concerning Sexual Violence Crimes (Undang-Undang Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual - UU TPKS), which functions as a *lex specialis* (specific law). The fundamental change occurred in the nomenclature and orientation of the sanctions. The TPKS Law shifted the focus from "decency" to "crimes against human integrity and dignity," and broadened the definition of GBV, including new forms such as online GBV (KBGO) and forced contraception.

The main difference in criminal sanctions lies in the inclusion of **victim-oriented** supplementary sanctions in the TPKS Law. In addition to the principal penalty, the TPKS Law explicitly mandates sanctions in the form of confiscation of

profits from the crime, publication of the perpetrator's identity, and most importantly, the fulfillment of the victim's right to restitution and recovery. This restitutive sanction normatively bridges the justice gap left by the Old KUHP, which only focused on imprisonment without ensuring victim recovery.

Comparatively, the implementation of criminal sanctions in the Old KUHP was marked by an inability to reach the broad spectrum of GBV, especially violence occurring in the private and technology-based spheres. The Old KUHP relied heavily on narrow complaint offenses (*delik aduan*) and rigid proof requirements, often leading to secondary victimization in court. Conversely, the TPKS Law facilitates the handling of GBV by stipulating heavier sanctions, recognizing various types of violence (physical, non-physical, and cyber), and prioritizing the victim's procedural rights. (Wahyuni, S. 2022).

Nevertheless, sanctions in the Old KUHP are still relevant for prosecuting certain general offenses, such as serious assault (Article 354) in the context of non-sexual GBV. Therefore, the implementation of GBV criminal sanctions post-TPKS Law requires a layered approach, where the TPKS Law becomes the main reference for sexual violence, while the Old/New KUHP is used to complement the prosecution of other offenses, with the principle that the sanctions imposed must reflect the principle of gender-based justice. (Agustanti, R. D., & Waluyo, B. 2023).

In summary, the implementation of GBV criminal sanctions has moved from a retributive-formalistic model (Old KUHP) toward a restorative-victimological model (TPKS Law), although sanctions in the Old KUHP still leave a trace that needs to be doctrinally harmonized.

Normative, Structural, and Cultural Barriers in Imposing Victim Justice-Oriented Sanctions

Although the TPKS Law has normatively brought significant progress, the implementation of GBV criminal sanctions oriented toward victim justice is still hindered by three layers of barriers: (Azra, S., & Listyowati. 2024) normative, structural, and cultural.

First, Normative Barriers relate to the potential for regulatory inconsistency. The Old KUHP is still in use until 2026, and during this transition period, the overlap between the KUHP and the TPKS Law creates legal uncertainty. Specifically, although the TPKS Law is *lex specialis*, the lack of adequate implementing regulations to govern the detailed mechanisms for restitution and recovery creates a procedural legal

vacuum.(Hanapi, A., Moonti, R. M., & Ahmad, I. 2025). The right to restitution, for example, is recognized *de jure*, but its execution is hampered *de facto* due to the absence of strong regulations concerning state-backed revolving funds or subsidy obligations if the perpetrator is unable to pay.

Second, Cultural Barriers are the most deeply rooted. The patriarchal culture in Indonesian society is directly manifested in the criminal justice system, particularly among Law Enforcement Officials (APH). This barrier leads to the practice of gender bias and severe revictimization. Victims are often subjected to blaming interrogations (*victim blaming*), questioning their morality, clothing, or behavior, which is doctrinally a deviation from the *trauma-informed approach* principle mandated by the TPKS Law. This stigma affects the considerations of prosecutors and judges, potentially leading to the imposition of disproportionate criminal sanctions or acquittals, thereby failing to achieve the goal of substantive justice.(Mazumah, S. 2023).

Third, Structural Barriers relate to institutional capacity and law enforcement. The interest of APH in gender sensitivity training and handling GBV (especially KBGO, which requires cyber expertise) remains low. This capacity crisis leads to conservative legal interpretations. For example, many KBGO cases, which are fundamentally sexual violence, are instead prosecuted using "rubber-clause" laws, such as the ITE Law, due to the APH's lack of understanding, which ultimately criminalizes the victim instead of protecting them. Furthermore, the minimal allocation of budget and infrastructure for integrated recovery services (psychological, medical, and social) structurally impedes the fulfillment of recovery sanctions, causing criminal sanctions to stop merely at punishing the perpetrator.

The combination of these three barriers creates a wide gap between *das Sollen* (what should be regulated in the TPKS Law) and *das Sein* (what happens in law enforcement practice). A massive cultural transformation is needed through gender sensitivity training and structural reinforcement, particularly in the mechanism for executing restitution and providing victim recovery services, so that progressive criminal sanction norms can be effectively implemented.

Synchronization of the New Criminal Code and TPKS Law Sanctions to Overcome Implementation Barriers

The enactment of Law Number 1 of 2023 concerning the Criminal Code (New KUHP) necessitates an in-depth normative analysis regarding the synchronization of criminal sanctions with the TPKS Law[8] to overcome the barriers inherited from the

Old KUHP. Doctrinally, this harmonization is crucial to prevent the return of gender bias in the justice system. (Undang-Undang Nomor 1 Tahun 2023)

The main challenge of synchronization lies in the potential for the *lex specialis* (TPKS Law) to be reduced in protective power by the *lex generalis* (New KUHP) during the transition and full implementation periods. Although the New KUHP has included new articles on sexual offenses, legal critics argue that some formulations of the offenses still tend to prioritize morality nuances rather than victim autonomy. For example, the formulation of the crime of indecent assault in the New KUHP still risks maintaining old stigmas. (Senang, A., Panjaitan, B. S., & Harahap, A. M. 2025).

To overcome normative barriers, the principle of *lex specialis derogat legi generali* (specific law overrides general law) must be applied strictly and consistently. Juridically, the handling of GBV cases must always refer to the TPKS Law, especially for offenses that are regulated more specifically, sanctions that are heavier, and victim rights that are more comprehensive. Criminal sanctions in the New KUHP should only be used to complement or prosecute offenses not yet regulated by the TPKS Law, with an interpretation that prioritizes the victim's perspective.

Synchronization efforts must also address cultural barriers by ensuring that the restorative justice principle in the TPKS Law is fully integrated into the penal system. (Azra, S., & Listyowati. 2024). The criminal sanctions imposed must include the perpetrator's obligation to undergo rehabilitation and ensure the fulfillment of victim restitution, in accordance with the spirit of the TPKS Law. Normatively, judges must prioritize the victim's right to restitution and recovery, making it a primary consideration in sentencing, not merely a supplementary sanction.

In addition, synchronization must also include solving the problem of KBGO and psychological violence. The TPKS Law has clearly defined KBGO. The New KUHP needs to be interpreted so as not to overlap with the dragnet of the ITE Law which could potentially harm victims, ensuring that the imposition of sanctions is always done with a gender-sensitive interpretation.(Azizah, N. 2023) Adequate criminal sanctions against psychological violence must be enforced through measurable proof of harm, ensuring that non-physical forms of GBV also receive serious penal attention.

Overall, the normative synchronization between the New KUHP and the TPKS Law is the key to institutionalizing gender-based substantive justice in Indonesian criminal law. This process demands doctrinal reform among APH, ensuring that future criminal sanctions are no longer based on the morality of the Old KUHP, but on the

protection of human rights and victim recovery mandated by the TPKS Law.(Wahyuni, S. 2022).

DISCUSSION

This study provides a significant contribution to the existing understanding of GBV in Indonesian criminal law:

1. Layered and Holistic Analysis: This study goes beyond the comparison of articles and systematically analyzes the three layers of obstacles (normative, cultural, and structural) that hinder victim justice , providing a clearer roadmap for institutional reform. (Adkiras dkk. 2021 & Wahyuni 2022)
2. Focus on Restitution Execution: This study critically highlights the procedural gap in the TPKS Law, specifically concerning the execution of the right to restitution. It demonstrates that the problem of justice does not only lie in the recognition of the right (*de jure*) but also in the absence of a state-backed revolving fund mechanism (*de facto*). (Mazumah 2023)
3. Emphasis on Doctrinal Reform: This research emphasizes that the synchronization of the New KUHP and the TPKS Law demands more than just legal interpretation; it requires a cultural transformation and doctrinal reform among Law Enforcement Officials (APH) to shift the focus from public morality toward the protection of human rights and victim recovery.

CONCLUSION

Based on the normative analysis of the implementation of criminal sanctions for Gender-Based Violence (GBV) within the framework of the Old Criminal Code (KUHP Lama), the TPKS Law, and the New Criminal Code (KUHP Baru), the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. Transformation of the Sanction Paradigm: The implementation of criminal sanctions for GBV has shifted from the retributive-formalistic model dominant in the Old KUHP (focused on morality and retribution) toward the restorative-victimological model introduced through the TPKS Law. The TPKS Law, as a *lex specialis*, successfully expanded the spectrum of offenses, increased the severity of sanctions, and explicitly recognized the victim's right to restitution and recovery as an integral part of the criminal sanction.
2. Cultural and Structural Barriers: The main obstacles to imposing victim-justice-oriented sanctions do not lie solely in normative inconsistencies, but in the cultural and structural dimensions. Deeply entrenched gender bias among Law

Enforcement Officials (APH) often manifests as revictimization and conservative legal interpretations (e.g., in cases of online GBV/KBGO), which undermines the principle of victim protection. Furthermore, the crisis in institutional capacity and the lack of infrastructure for the execution of restitution and recovery services structurally impede the fulfillment of victims' rights.

3. Urgency of Normative Synchronization: The introduction of the New Criminal Code (Law No. 1 of 2023) presents a normative challenge regarding the potential reduction of the TPKS Law's protective power. The synchronization of criminal sanctions must be strictly carried out by upholding the principle of *lex specialis derogat legi generali*, ensuring that the TPKS Law remains the primary guideline. A failure to harmonize, especially concerning the classification of sexual offenses, risks maintaining the morality stigma and hindering the achievement of gender-based substantive justice.

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