

# WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP IN PREVENTING GENDER-BA A CASE STUDY OF THE *POS PENGADUAN SEKOLAH PEREMPUAN* IN DAUH PURI KAJA VILLAGE, DENPASAR

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## Abstract

Gender-based violence (GBV) in Indonesia, including Bali, remains prevalent, predominantly within the domestic sphere, with low reporting rates due to social stigma, patriarchal power relations, and limited access to protection services. This study aims to analyze the role of women's leadership in preventing GBV at the community level, particularly through strengthening the *Sekolah Perempuan* (Women's School) Complaint Desk (*Pos Pengaduan*) in Dauh Puri Kaja Village, Denpasar, Bali. This study employed a qualitative approach with a case study design. Data were collected through in-depth interviews and observations and were analyzed using thematic analysis. The findings indicate that women's leadership functions as both a primary and secondary prevention agent of GBV by transforming awareness, power relations, and social norms. The *Sekolah Perempuan* serves as a safe space that strengthens women's collective courage to recognize and resist gendered violence. Women's leadership also reinforces the Complaint Desk as a community-based social protection mechanism through the cadre development of women paralegals and building social trust in services. The effectiveness of the Complaint Desk is supported by continuous critical education and cross-sectoral networks but is constrained by women leaders' double burden, limited resources, social stigma and cultural resistance, and inadequate long-term recovery services. This study confirms that women's leadership constitutes the core architecture of GBV prevention and social protection systems at the community level in the Philippines. Recommendations emphasize strengthening village policy legitimacy, gender-responsive budgeting, and inclusive and sustainable strategies for social norm changes involving the community.

**Keywords:** women's leadership; gender-based violence; *Sekolah Perempuan*; Complaint Desk; community-based social protection

## 1. Introduction

Gender-based violence (GBV) remains a global and national concern that continues to show increasing trends. The World Health Organization reports that one in three women worldwide has experienced physical or sexual violence during their lifetime. Violence against women not only causes physical harm but also has multidimensional impacts on psychological well-being, social relations, and victims' economic conditions, particularly in situations of crisis and social vulnerability. In Indonesia, violence against women is still dominated by domestic violence, with low reporting rates owing to social stigma, shame, fear of family pressure, and limited access to protection services and legal aid (Komnas Perempuan, 2021).

Violence against women can be understood as any act resulting in physical, psychological, sexual, or economic suffering, including threats, coercion, and arbitrary deprivation of rights, occurring in either the private or public spheres and rooted in unequal power relations between men and women. Gender-based violence in Indonesia cannot be separated from deeply rooted patriarchal social structures that often place women in subordinate positions and limit their access to resources, decision-making, and legal protection. These structures are reinforced by social and cultural norms that normalize gender injustice and discourage women from voicing their experiences of violence (Meyer et al., 2025).

In Bali Province, violence against women has distinctive characteristics closely linked to culture, customary law, and the social roles of Balinese women. Case data show that violence against women in Bali occurs

most frequently in households, with the highest proportion of victims aged 25–44 years. Perpetrators are predominantly individuals with close relationships with the victim, such as husbands, partners, parents, and other family members. These findings indicate that violence against women in Bali commonly occurs within intimate relationships, making it even more difficult to report such incidents (Fan & Koski, 2022).

Several studies have shown that the patriarchal culture in Bali contributes to the persistence of domestic violence. The misuse of patriarchal values often legitimizes the unfair treatment of women, including physical, psychological, and sexual violence, leaving long-term psychological impacts on victims. Simultaneously, Balinese women carry complex and layered roles, from domestic responsibilities and customary/religious obligations to broader social roles in the community. This double burden and high social expectations are often not accompanied by adequate recognition and protection, increasing women's vulnerability to both physical and psychological violence (Made et al., 2025).

Violence against women persists partly because it is widely perceived as taboo and a family disgrace. This perception leads victims to remain silent and avoid reporting violence against them. Low reporting rates are further reinforced by concerns that legal processes may complicate their situation and fail to protect victims, as reflected in Indonesia's Access to Justice Index, which indicates that women continue to face significant barriers in accessing legal assistance (Hertini et al., 2025). Preventing GBV requires approaches that extend beyond law enforcement to include women's empowerment and strengthening community-based protection mechanisms. Women's empowerment is understood as a process of enhancing women's capacity to access and control resources, participate in decision-making, and seize opportunities in all aspects of life. Education, both formal and non-formal, is a critical instrument of empowerment because it develops critical awareness, leadership capacity, and women's courage to claim their rights (Almaarif et al., 2022).

*Sekolah Perempuan*, as a form of non-formal education for grassroots women, has emerged as an empowerment strategy focused on strengthening women's leadership. It aims to develop leadership capacity, critical awareness, solidarity, life skills, and women's commitment as agents of social change, thereby improving their quality of life and reducing their vulnerability to poverty and violence (Marofah, 2023). Within this context, the *Sekolah Perempuan* Complaint Desk (*Pos Pengaduan*) in Dauh Puri Kaja Village, established through the INKLUSI Program by KAPAL Perempuan in partnership with Bali Sruti, serves as a strategic community-based social protection mechanism. The Complaint Desk functions as a safe space for women and marginalized groups to access legal identity services, social protection, case assistance, and GBV prevention. Women's leadership constitutes the core of Complaint Desk management, positioning women not merely as beneficiaries but as key actors in organizing, assisting, and advocating.

Through the collective action developed in *Sekolah Perempuan*, women in Dauh Puri Kaja Village have strengthened their social and political participation by establishing a Complaint Desk as a tangible form of community-based social protection. This initiative demonstrates the significant potential of women's leadership at the village level to address GBV issues that are often beyond the reach of formal legal systems. Based on the above, this study aims to analyze the role of women's leadership in preventing gender-based violence at the community level, particularly in strengthening the *Sekolah Perempuan* Complaint Desk mechanism in the village of Dauh Puri Kaja, Denpasar. This study also examines the supporting factors and challenges influencing the effectiveness of the Complaint Desk as a community-based social protection mechanism.

## **2. Literature Review**

### ***2.1 Gender-Based Violence as a Structural Issue***

Gender-based violence is a violation of human rights and a serious barrier to sustainable development. Violence against women has long-term impacts on the mental health, economic productivity, social participation, and quality of life of women and children. In Indonesia, entrenched patriarchal structures in

social and family life increase the risk of GBV, particularly in domestic settings. Violence is often viewed as a private matter; therefore, state and community interventions tend to be delayed or absent. This condition is compounded by low legal literacy and women's limited access to victim-friendly protective mechanisms (Komnas Perempuan, 2025).

GBV is not merely an individual act but rather the product of unequal power relations, discriminatory social norms, and gender-biased public policies. Structural violence against women is reflected in political, social, economic, and legal systems that systematically place women in subordinate positions and restrict their public participation. Although Indonesian law guarantees women's rights, social realities show that patriarchal dominance remains strong and often obstructs gender justice. Therefore, eliminating violence against women requires not only strict law enforcement but also structural changes, including transforming cultural values, reforming gender-responsive policies, and building collective awareness of equality issues. These efforts are strategic for creating a more just, equal, and violence-free social order (Umami 2020).

In Indonesia, despite legal frameworks such as Law No. 23/2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence and Law No. 12/2022 on Sexual Violence Crimes, implementation and enforcement still face significant obstacles. Victims struggle to obtain protection and justice due to social stigma, weak legal implementation, and limited support facilities such as shelters and counseling services. As a constitutional obligation, Indonesia must protect women from all forms of violence; however, these efforts are often hindered by weak inter-agency coordination, low public awareness, and limited infrastructure to support victims recovery. Policy strengthening through harmonization with international instruments such as CEDAW, improving law enforcement capacity in handling GBV cases, and expanding access to victim services—especially in remote areas—remain essential (Putri et al., 2025).

In Bali, GBV is inseparable from the interplay between patriarchal culture, customary systems, and traditional gender roles. Balinese women occupy a complex position: symbolically respected in culture, yet burdened with heavy domestic, customary, and social roles without equal protection. The misuse of patriarchal values in Balinese families often legitimizes men's control over women, including physical, psychological, and sexual violence against them. Such violence is frequently framed within narratives of family harmony (*kerahayuan*) and women's obligation to safeguard the family's and customary village's reputation. Intimate partner violence tends to be more difficult to report because of emotional ties, economic dependence, and social pressure, which helps explain why most cases occur within households and are perpetrated by those closest to the victims (Fan & Koski, 2022).

## ***2.2 Women's Leadership from a Feminist Perspective***

Women's leadership from a feminist perspective is not merely about women's representation in formal leadership positions but about leadership practices oriented toward transforming power relations, advancing social justice, and liberating communities from oppressive structures. Feminist leadership seeks to change unequal systems rather than simply "fitting" women into existing leadership structures. Therefore, feminist leadership prioritizes empathy, equality, solidarity, and alignment with marginalized groups. Unlike conventional leadership models that tend to be hierarchical, masculinized, and control-based, feminist leadership is collective, participatory, and reflective in nature. It emphasizes dialogical processes, shared decision-making, and a more equal distribution of power. The principles of *power with* and *power to* replace *power over*, frame leadership not as domination but as the capacity to facilitate social change collectively (Batliwala, 2010).

Women's leadership at the community level often takes a transformational form, grounded in women's lived experiences. Experiences of injustice, poverty, and violence are sources of knowledge and moral legitimacy for grassroots women's leadership. This social proximity enables women leaders to build strong trusting relationships with community members and survivors—something that formal leaders or state actors may not achieve as effectively (Arivumani & Researcher, 2025). In the context of GBV, women's leadership holds strategic advantages because it can respond to survivors' needs empathetically, with

gender sensitivity, and a recovery-centered approach. Community-based interventions led by women contribute significantly to changing social norms that tolerate or normalize violence against women. Women's leadership not only addresses cases but also challenges patriarchal values that produce and reproduce violence in everyday life (Abramsky and Watts 2011).

Feminist leadership is also understood as ethical and relational practice. Relational leadership places social relations at the center of leadership practice, where trust, care, and collective responsibility are foundational. For grassroots women, relational leadership is reflected in their capacity to create safe spaces for survivors, manage conflict in non-confrontational ways, and connect survivors to formal services without intensifying their trauma. An intersectional feminist perspective is essential to understanding women's leadership, because women's experiences are not uniform but are shaped by the intersections of gender, class, culture, ethnicity, and local context. Effective women's leadership is therefore contextual and adaptive, able to read the complexity of the identities and vulnerabilities faced by women at the community level. In Bali, women's leadership must negotiate between local cultural values, customary structures, and gender justice principles to ensure that change is socially acceptable and sustainable ( Hanapi & Moonti, 2025).

Feminist leadership also has a collective and sustainable dimension. The center is not an individual figure but a shared capacity-building, cadre development, and role distribution. This aligns with the concept of movement-based leadership, in which leadership is produced and reproduced through critical education, solidarity, and collective action. In this framework, *Sekolah Perempuan* becomes a strategic space for nurturing new women leaders equipped with gender consciousness, advocacy skills, and a commitment to social transformation (Batliwala 2010).

### ***2.3 Women's Empowerment, Critical Education, and Sekolah Perempuan***

In development contexts, empowerment is a vital foundation for ensuring that every individual has equal opportunities to contribute to and realize their potential. Empowerment serves as an avenue for communities to meet their needs through knowledge and skills that support improved living conditions in families and society. The concept of empowerment seeks to make justice and civility more effective across all aspects of life. One community group requiring particular attention is women, because many women remain disempowered in education, social life, politics and the economy. Many Indonesian women have limited opportunities to secure employment due to constraints or because they are unable to develop their potential. Thus, empowerment is an effort to improve women's rights, obligations, status, abilities, roles, opportunities, independence, and mental and spiritual resilience as an inseparable part of improving human resource quality (Almaarif et al., 2022).

Improving the quality of human resources, especially for women, can be achieved through education. Indonesian Law No. 20/2003, Article 13(1) of the National Education System states that education is carried out through three pathways: formal, non-formal, and informal education. Training is a form of nonformal education aimed at developing knowledge, attitudes, and skills. Through training, women can be empowered more quickly and effectively because empowerment through training can be implemented within a shorter timeframe while remaining process-oriented, thereby supporting the development of empowerment capacity (Iisdelima & Marzuki, n.d.).

Women's empowerment is a multidimensional process that includes enhancing capacity, critical awareness, access to resources, and the ability to participate in decision making. Education is a core instrument in this process, particularly nonformal education, which is contextual and experience-based. *Sekolah Perempuan* as a non-formal education space has a strategic function in developing gender awareness, leadership, and women's solidarity. It does not merely transfer knowledge but builds collective courage and social support networks for grassroots women. Through lifelong learning, women are encouraged to understand their rights, identify structural injustices, and actively participate in social change, including gender-based violence (GBV) prevention (Marofah, 2023).

Learning processes generally involve facilitators delivering material while participants listen and engage in discussions. The materials commonly include social protection and health issues (e.g., JKN/KIS PBI), child protection, child marriage, domestic violence, gender equality education, and women's leadership within the family. Additional strategic knowledge delivered to village women includes gender equality, reproductive health, protection for women and children, domestic violence prevention, child marriage, women's leadership, and monitoring government social protection assistance. The outcomes for *Sekolah Perempuan* members include gaining extensive knowledge of gender equality and gender-just education for women and gaining knowledge about village law, enabling women to take a greater role in community development and rural welfare (Kurniawan, 2022).

#### ***2.4 Community-Based Complaint Desks as Social Protection Mechanisms***

Community-based complaint desks are part of inclusive social protection approaches that position communities as key actors in bridging vulnerable groups with formal state-protection systems. In social protection literature, community-based mechanisms are understood as strategies for addressing the state's limitations in reaching marginalized groups, especially women, persons with disabilities, and poor communities facing geographic, administrative, and social barriers (Mohamed, 2021). In GBV contexts, complaint desks function as safe entry points and survivor-friendly first access points that enable women to report violence confidentially, with dignity, and without pressure. The safe entry point concept recognizes that survivors are often not ready or able to directly access law enforcement or formal institutions due to trauma, stigma, economic dependence, and fear of retaliation (Jewkes, 2021). Therefore, the existence of complaint desks at the community level is crucial for reducing the distance between survivors and formal protection systems.

Theoretically, community-based complaint desks can be understood through community-based social protection and adaptive social protection framework mechanisms that are flexible, contextual, and responsive to local dynamics. Complaint desks do not only focus on handling violence cases but also integrate other social protection services, such as legal identity, social security, health services, and legal assistance. This integrated approach is essential because vulnerability to GBV often intersects with poverty, legal identity insecurity, and limited access to basic services. Furthermore, complaint desks serve as instruments of **access to justice**. Access to justice refers to the existence of laws and formal institutions and individuals' and groups' ability to understand, reach, and effectively use protection mechanisms. Complaint desks support reporting processes, referrals, and accompaniment to ensure that survivors' rights are upheld in practice. In Indonesia, various studies emphasize the relevance of community-based complaint desks, given the low GBV reporting rates and limited local-level protection services (Komnas Perempuan, 2021).

Community-based programs developed by civil society organizations such as *Sekolah Perempuan* and complaint desks initiated by KAPAL Perempuan and Bali Sruti through the INKLUSI Program demonstrate that strengthening local mechanisms can complement and reinforce state protection systems. Thus, community-based complaint desks function not only as technical complaint-handling units but also as transformative social protection mechanisms that contribute to GBV prevention, community capacity strengthening, and social norm change. Their success depends heavily on women's leadership, which integrates gender justice values, cultural sensitivity, and survivor-centered recovery orientation into social protection practices at the community level.

### **3. Research Methodology**

#### ***3.1 Research Approach and Design***

This study uses a qualitative approach with a case study design to understand the role of women's leadership in preventing gender-based violence through the *Sekolah Perempuan* Complaint Desk in Dauh Puri Kaja Village, Denpasar City. This design was chosen to capture leadership dynamics, accompaniment practices, and the socio-cultural context surrounding community-based protection mechanisms in the study area.

### **3.2 Research Site and Participants**

The study was conducted in the Dauh Puri Kaja Village, Denpasar City, which was selected because it has an active Complaint Desk managed by *Sekolah Perempuan*. Participants were selected through purposive sampling, including *Sekolah Perempuan* leaders and members, community paralegals, village officials, and GBV survivors, while ensuring confidentiality and informed consent.

### **3.3 Data Collection Techniques**

Data were collected through in-depth interviews, participatory observation,

### **3.4 Data Analysis**

Data analysis was conducted using thematic analysis through the stages of data reduction, coding, categorization, and theme development. Trustworthiness was ensured through the triangulation of sources and methods.

## **4. Results and Discussion**

### **4.1 The Role of Women's Leadership in Community-Level GBV Prevention**

The findings show that women's leadership in *Sekolah Perempuan* Dauh Puri Kaja functions as both a primary and secondary prevention agent of gender-based violence through preventive, transformative, and relational approaches to GBV. Women's leadership is not limited to activity implementation but operates at deeper levels, transforming awareness, power relations, and social norms that normalize violence against women. Within a feminist leadership framework, women's leadership is understood as a daily political practice aimed at disrupting patriarchal power relations and creating a more just social order (Batliwala, 2010). The study finds that grassroots women leaders build legitimacy not through formal positions or structural authority but through relational authority, social trust, empathy, and emotional closeness. This pattern confirms that grassroots women's leadership has transformational capacity because it is grounded in lived experience and horizontal, egalitarian relations with the community (Mohamed 2021).

In GBV prevention, women's leadership effectively addresses the psychosocial barriers often faced by survivors, such as shame, fear of stigma, and family pressure. *Sekolah Perempuan* functions as a safe space where women can articulate experiences of violence, recognize forms of GBV previously normalized, and build collective courage to reject violence. This approach aligns with Cornwall and Edwards (2014), who emphasized women's collective spaces in building critical consciousness and resistance capacity against gender injustice. The findings also strengthen the social norms change theory: violence prevention is ineffective if focused only on individuals; it must target collective beliefs, social expectations, and daily community practices. Women's leadership in *Sekolah Perempuan* acts as a catalyst for norm change by presenting alternative narratives of egalitarian relationships, nonviolence, and collective responsibility in protecting women. Thus, GBV prevention no longer depends solely on external interventions but is internalized in community social practices (Manji, 2022).

### **4.2 Women's Leadership in Strengthening the Community-Based Complaint Desk**

This study finds that women's leadership is a determining factor in strengthening the *Sekolah Perempuan* Complaint Desk as a community-based social protection mechanism for women. The Complaint Desk does not merely function as a reporting channel but as an alternative social institution bridging women's GBV survivors with the state's formal protection system. From a social protection perspective, the Complaint Desk represents adaptive and transformative social protection—protection that responds to structural vulnerabilities and can transform social relations (Mohamed, 2021). Women's leadership allows the Complaint Desk to operate flexibly, empathetically, and with gender-sensitive characteristics crucial for GBV survivors, who often experience trauma and distrust toward formal institutions. The findings reveal three main mechanisms through which women's leadership strengthens the Complaint Desk.

First, strengthening community capacity through the cadre development of female paralegals. Community paralegals serve as first responders who provide initial accompaniment, case recording, needs assessments, and referrals to formal services. This practice aligns with access to justice concepts, emphasizing that justice is not only the availability of law but also people's ability to access and use it meaningfully (Hertini et al., 2025). Second, women's leadership builds social trust in complaint desks. Because it is managed by locally known women, the Complaint Desk is perceived as a safe, non-judgmental space. Community-based interventions led by local actors are often more effective in increasing reporting and reducing the social tolerance of violence. Third, women's leadership performs a cultural mediation role. In Bali, customary norms and the discourse on family harmony are often used to conceal domestic violence. Women leaders negotiate culturally using the local language and collective values without sacrificing gender justice principles and survivor safety. This approach aligns with intersectional feminist governance perspectives, highlighting contextual strategies for driving social change (Jewkes, 2021).

Various studies also suggest that community-based complaint mechanisms can be more effective than formal mechanisms alone, especially in strongly patriarchal contexts. Integrating gender education, social accompaniment, and strengthening local actors increases reporting courage and reduces social tolerance of violence, driven by enhanced safety, trust, and ownership. Within feminist institutionalism, locally led institutions under women's leadership tend to internalize empathy, confidentiality, non-discrimination, and survivor-centeredness in everyday institutional practices. Without empathetic, gender-sensitive leadership, the Complaint Desk risks being reduced to a formal mechanism that is underutilized by vulnerable groups (Mohamed, 2021).

#### ***4.3 Supporting Factors and Challenges Affecting Complaint Desk Effectiveness***

The effectiveness of the *Sekolah Perempuan* Complaint Desk in Dauh Puri Kaja is determined by the interactions between enabling factors and structural challenges. Three main factors were identified on the enabling side. First, women's leadership capacity is developed through ongoing nonformal education in *Sekolah Perempuan*. Continuous critical education produces women leaders with gender awareness, structural analysis ability, and advocacy skills, consistent with the literature emphasizing feminist education in building transformational leadership. Second, cross-actor network support, including village government, UPTD PPA services, and civil society organizations. This collaboration strengthens case referrals and service sustainability because GBV prevention requires multi-sectoral approaches and inter-institutional coordination (Mohamed, 2021).

Third, the social and cultural legitimacy of the Complaint Desk. Women leaders' success in cultural negotiation enables the Complaint Desk to be accepted as part of the village social system rather than perceived as a threat to customary norms. This supports the argument that gender-based institutional change is sustainable only if it acquires social legitimacy. However, this study also identified significant challenges. The main challenge is that women leaders carry domestic, customary, and community leadership roles simultaneously. This condition may lead to structural burnout and threaten the sustainability of grassroots women's movements in the long run. Another challenge is limited resources, including funding, support facilities, and long-term recovery services such as counseling and shelters.

Furthermore, social stigma and cultural resistance remain serious barriers, particularly in domestic violence cases involving intimate relationships. Eliminating GBV requires structural changes beyond law enforcement, including transforming cultural values and public awareness. Therefore, the findings confirm that community-based Complaint Desk effectiveness depends heavily on women's leadership as the key actor, structural support across stakeholders, and sustained strategies for changing social norms. Women's leadership is not merely a supporting factor but the main architecture of social protection and GBV prevention systems at the community level (Syadidha n.d.).

## 5. Conclusions

### 5.1 Conclusions

1. Community-level GBV prevention occurs through transforming awareness, power relations, and social norms. *Sekolah Perempuan* functions as a safe space that strengthens women's collective courage to recognize, resist, and respond to violence previously normalized. Women's leadership operates primarily through relational authority, social trust, empathy, and closeness—enabling survivors to access support without fear of judgment.
2. The Complaint Desk has developed beyond a reporting channel into an alternative social institution that bridges GBV survivors with formal services (referrals, accompaniment, legal identity access, and social protection). The strengthening of this mechanism is influenced by women's paralegal cadre development, social trust-building, and women leaders' capacity to negotiate customary values/family reputation with gender justice principles and survivor safety.
3. The effectiveness of the Complaint Desk is supported by leadership capacity shaped through critical education in *Sekolah Perempuan*, cross-sector networks (village government, UPTD PPA services, civil society organizations), and sociocultural legitimacy. However, effectiveness is constrained by women leaders' double burden, limited resources, stigma and cultural resistance, and limited long-term recovery services.

### 5.2 Suggestions and Advocacy Recommendations

#### 5.2.1 Recommendations for Village Government and Local Structures

1. Village policy legitimacy  
Integrate GBV prevention and support for the Complaint Desk into village planning documents (e.g., Village Work Plan/RKPDs) so that sustainability does not depend on temporary projects or programs.
2. Gender-responsive budgeting and service sustainability  
Allocate minimum operational funding (administration, referral transport, secure communication, training, and prevention activities) so that services do not weaken when donor support declines. Develop non-financial village support schemes: safe service spaces, access to village information, and administrative support for referral letters.

#### 5.2.2 Recommendations for Strengthening the Complaint Desk

1. Survivor-centered service SOP  
A clear but simple SOP covering complaint intake, risk assessment, data confidentiality, informed consent, referral, accompaniment, and case closure should be developed. Establish special procedures for high-risk situations (threats, repeated violence, and shelter needs).
2. Capacity strengthening for paralegals and cadres  
Periodic training should be conducted in empathetic communication, basic trauma handling, secure documentation, service mapping, and relevant laws/access to justice. Implement tiered cadre development (junior–senior) to reduce dependence on one or two key personnel.

#### 5.2.3 Recommendations for Primary Prevention (Social Norm Change)

1. Life-cycle-based community education  
Develop GBV prevention modules for adolescents, young couples, families, and community leaders to promote equal relationships, nonviolent parenting, and legal literacy.
2. Engaging men (without taking over women's spaces)  
Design programs focused on behavior change and dismantling harmful masculinity norms that justify violence while maintaining women's leadership in the movement.

### 5.3 Study Limitations and Implications for Recommendations/Advocacy

1. Limited scope (single case study)  
This study focuses on one location and one Complaint Desk mechanism; therefore, generalization across Bali/Indonesia should be approached with caution. Advocacy implications: Comparative

studies should be replicated across several villages/banjar to strengthen the policy evidence that Complaint Desks are effective in diverse contexts.

2. Limited quantitative data and impact measurement

This qualitative study emphasizes processes, experiences, and mechanisms of change but does not quantitatively measure outcomes (e.g., reporting rate changes, reduced tolerance of violence, and referral speed). Advocacy implications: Build secure aggregated data systems and simple indicators to demonstrate the Complaint Desk's impact on policy and budget advocacy.

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