

FEMINISM: THREATS TO FAMILY RESILIENCE IN INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

This research looks at how AILA Indonesia resisted attacks from feminists who were thought to be attacking the core of the Indonesian family. To collect data, interviews, periodic observations, and documentation studies were carried out within seven months. The data was analyzed through a communication strategy and da'wah strategy approach. The general chairman, secretary general, head of the field of research, and two discussion participants were all interviewed in person. The findings from this research indicate that this alliance has struggled to take a bina'an (defensive) and difa'an (offensive) approach. Defensively, they approach the community by educational programs as Focus Group Discussions (FGD), Training for Trainers (TFT), and seminars which are supported by published writings in the form of articles and books. As for the offensive approach was carried out by submitting a Judicial Review (JR), criticizing several articles that were seen to be meaninglessly biased, and persistently speaking opinions by bringing specialists to the Rapat Dengar Pendapat (RDP) in the constitutional court. The result of the research show that strategy used is inviting the audience to tafakkur, ta'ammul, and tadabbur to the principles put by the feminists. This study has significance for the government's or religious institutions' efforts to increase family resilience in Indonesia through new sustainable techniques and innovation.

Keywords: AILA Indonesia; Family resilience; Feminism.

INTRODUCTION

One of the agendas promoted by feminists is gender mainstreaming, namely a strategy to realize gender equality through planning and implementing gender-based policies in organizations and institutions (Khuseini, 2018). One of the targets feminists in the context of gender equality is the institution of the family. The justification for making women work in various sectors then expanded starting from the family environment, community, and



finally on an international scale (Ruwanpura & Hughes, 2016). Several research results highlight that the institution of the family, in the view of feminists, is the biggest and main enemy that must be eliminated or its role reduced because the patriarchal understanding that is adopted results in an imbalance between the rights and obligations of husband and wife (Amri & Tulab, 2018; Khuseini, 2018; Nurdiani, 2019).

Muslikhati (2004) stated that according to feminists, the family is the root of social inequality which leads to the oppression of women. Therefore, feminists want equality of rights and obligations between husband and wife in the household, there is no obligation for women to take care of the house and children, women are free to have careers like men (Megawangi, 1999) because men and women are partners in the household with the same rights and responsibilities (Amri & Tulab, 2018). Other research results have found that many religious feminists refuse to join religious orders that raise issues about the passive nature of women who only depend on their husbands, and choose not to be controlled only by men through the bonds of marriage (Desnain, 2021). As a result, the harmony of relationships within the family becomes threatened, especially when the role of the husband as head of the family or the woman as wife and mother is no longer cared for by each other because each person assumes that humans are social constructs that are free to set their roles as desired.

Gender equality within the family can also change the roles of fathers and mothers. The husband becomes a househusband, the wife earns a living outside the home. Breast milk is substituted for cow's milk. Furthermore, gender equality also leads to a transsexual lifestyle. Transgender is often used as a general term to indicate individuals who do not fully accept the gender they were born with. Research results show that some transgender individuals experience gender dysphoria, which refers to distress caused by a mismatch between gender identity and the sex assigned at birth (Kennis et al., 2022). Unfortunately, this phenomenon has been experienced by some groups in Indonesia. Where some people demand the freedom to choose and change gender (Pawitasari, 2015).

Furthermore, the problem of family resilience, the main indication of which is divorce and other problems such as Domestic

Violence, economic problems, unmonitored and undirected education, all of still often occur and there is even an increase (Mustaqim et al., 2021). These various problems are caused by internal and external factors. Internal factors include; Feelings of aggression, (Asnawi, 2011; Soeroso, 2010) and personality characteristics (Ybarra et al., 2007), and external factors in the form of economic factors (Gage & Hutchinson, 2006), gender bias (Manumpahi et al., 2016), power relations (Asnawi, 2011), misunderstanding of religion (Sofiani, 2008), intergenerational transmission (Rakovec-Felser, 2014), harmonious understanding of ideology (Harnoko, 2012), lack of self-control (Asmarany, 2007) and consumption of alcoholic beverages (Vyas & Jansen, 2018).

Biased judgments regarding gender perspectives, especially about the provision of maintenance and support in marriage, ultimately result in many cases of divorce on the grounds of economic factors (Schenk & Hasbullah, 2022). As a result, the function of the family in society is decreasing, coupled with the increasingly massive impact of various life problems. In the end, the impact of a weak family role will only produce a generation of a nation that is weak and full of problems (Thariq, 2017). Studies on factors that influence an individual's intellectual intelligence and emotional intelligence indicate the large role of the family in human resource development (Berns, 1997; Bronfenbrenner, 2013; Kent, 1992).

The family is the only legal institution that unites men and women to live together (Shalahuddin, 2016), the family plays a role that includes regulating sexuality, reproduction, maintenance, socialization, placement of children in society, satisfying individual needs, and social control (Goodi & Hasym, 2007), and most importantly, the institution of the family is a measure of the happiness of society (Amri & Tulab, 2018). So, the family must be a protected fortress. Because when these functions are carried out well, happiness will envelop the family. In essence, the counterpart of the word family is happy, so the idiom becomes happy family (Mubarok, 2016). A happy family is closely related to the integrity of a country, while the more fragile and vulnerable the family institution in a country is, the more it will impact the stability of that country (Arif, 2017).

For this reason, attention to family problems needs to be studied more seriously. Every party, whether they are going to build a household or are currently building one, needs to understand the factors that could hinder family resilience in Indonesia. These various problems must be addressed so that they do not cause an impact that becomes increasingly widespread in society and even hurts the stability of the country. Therefore, this study aims to examine the various efforts made by Aliansi Cinta Keluarga (AILA) Indonesia in repelling attacks by feminists who are considered to be targeting the foundations of the family in Indonesia. In addition, the aim of this research is also to elaborate on the programs carried out and to what extent these programs can answer the problem of family resilience in Indonesia.

This study uses a qualitative method with an analytical study approach. In analytical research studies, problems are studied and examined in depth to obtain meaning and detailed information related to a theme or issue being discussed in the research (Creswell, 2009). The time required for this research process was seven months starting from August 2018 to February 2019 and was located in DKI Jakarta which includes the area where several programs and discussions were held.

In this study, interviews were conducted with parties involved in several activities consisting of internal and external parties to the alliance. Internal parties include; The General Chairperson, Secretary General/Secretary General, and Head of Study Division. As for external parties, namely two activity participants to find out their response to the activities held. They voluntarily participated in this study after being provided with information regarding the purpose of the study. To ensure the validity of the data obtained, the researcher contacted the secretary general of the alliance directly.

This research was carried out systematically and in stages. Data collection was carried out using in-depth interview techniques, observation, and documentation study. Researchers were present in the field and directly involved in several activities with the alliance so that almost all of the activities carried out did not escape observation. In conducting observations, researchers observe every activity that is followed and several other activities such as dialogue and discussion

in WhatsApp groups or through writings that are distributed and published. Furthermore, researchers also conducted interviews to exchange information and conducted checks and rechecks through questions and answers so that the data obtained could be ensured to be valid.

In the next stage in the data analysis stage, all data obtained through interviews, observations, and documentation are collected and combined to be studied and analyzed carefully until finally they can be expressed in the form of written descriptions and conclusions. Data analysis was carried out in three main steps using the Miles and Huberman model, namely data reduction, data display, and data verification (Miles & Huberman, 2009). Meanwhile, to test the reliability of the data, the triangulation technique was used, namely to obtain findings and interpretations (interpreting or explaining) of data that are more accurate and credible (Patton, 2006; Sugiyono, 2015).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Result

The result of the study describe several programs as strategies carried out by AILA Indonesia in preventing the feminist movement against family resilience in Indonesia, which include; Critical review, book publishing, article writing, building networks, and judicial review (JR).

1. Critical Review

Aila Indonesia is recorded as having filled various seminars, workshops held in various regions, both inside and outside Java. The topics discussed are around issues of women, children, and families and discuss various cases that are currently being widely discussed in society, such as LGBT, feminism, and the dangers that arise to family resilience or even religion. Through these events, AILA Indonesia invites the public to participate in facing movements that seriously threaten family resilience. Events such as seminars, and workshops, and daurah are held in Islamic mass organizations, universities, and Islamic boarding schools, and are even brought into the study of mosque administrators and religious study groups. Among these

events, some were organized by AILA Indonesia itself, and some were held by invitation as speakers or speakers.

The targets of this program are from various levels of society, this is easy considering the background of each internal alliance which is also diverse. As stated in the interview with the secretary general,

The approach is carried out using the language of the people, because our public is diverse, consisting of young journalists, millennials, housewives, academics, figures, and others. This is facilitated by the composition of the AILA team, which consists of thinkers who also represent many organizations, communities, and institutions where they are very active in their respective communities. With that, we utilize the diversity of backgrounds, Alhamdulillah, we can easily move among study groups, educational institutions, and communities. We usually chat and have coffee together with journalists and students. Sometimes they don't have special time so we have to come to these figures. In that way, thank God, the ideas can be easily accepted. And the speakers are also adjusted to people who are used to speaking in their community, this brings them closer psychologically so that there are no obstacles.

Regarding the response of students to the seminar and discussion programs held, one participant said,

I have attended several seminars and discussions held by AILA Indonesia, and I am very grateful because with that I am not trapped in false assumptions in assessing the existence of women which can have an impact on family resilience as offered by feminists.

Several similar responses were also expressed by other participants as recorded in the comments column of one of AILA Indonesia's social media posts. In fact, in several comments that researchers followed, many hoped and asked for a similar program to be held in the area where they live.

2. Book Publishing

One of AILA Indonesia's efforts to protect society from the dangers of feminism is through various writings by publishing books. Books are an effective means of carrying out da'wah goals, one of which is fighting the feminist movement. In addition to being widely

accessible to the public, problems and studies can be explained in depth.

In its writing, AILA Indonesia uses unique writing methods or techniques. *First*, the discussion approach is with negation (rejection, denial, correction, *nafy*) namely refuting and conveying various weaknesses in the concepts and thoughts put forward by feminists. *Second*, the discussion approach is with affirmation (affirmation, determination, *itsbat*) namely conveying an affirmation of a concept based on its conformity with Islamic law which is based on the Qur'an and the Sunnah. Both approaches are carried out on a balanced basis, both in terms of logical thinking and evidence from the Qur'an and Sunnah. These two concepts are found in the sentence *laa ilaha illallah*. The sentence *laa ilaha* requires the existence of *nafy* and *illallah* requires the existence of *itsbat*.

In one of the books launched in July 2018, in the introduction to the book, the general chairman of AILA Indonesia wrote,

The purpose of writing this book is to explore the philosophical and ideological roots of the concept of gender equality and its impact on society, especially about efforts to deconstruct moral and religious values by feminists. AILA Indonesia also hopes that with the presence of this book, the public can gain an overview of the ongoing battle of concepts, so that they can make critical efforts in responding to various programs and legislation that are claimed to be in the name of women's interests, even though they have an agenda that is not in line with the identity of the Indonesian nation.

In the interview session, the chairman of AILA Indonesia also said that at that time a counter module was being prepared which was expected to be used by various groups according to their needs, including students from middle school to university students and housewives.

3. Article Writing

AILA Indonesia also moves to respond directly through writing/articles to various propaganda ideas of feminist groups in influencing public understanding. This effort is made to protect the thinking of society, especially Muslims, from deviations from sharia, including those concerning women's issues in fiqh terminology. The

article is published through various media such as websites, magazines, newspapers, and also through social media accounts.

As the Head of Media once said,

It is not surprising that AILA Indonesia's accounts (for example Facebook and Instagram) have been blocked from the list of social media users.

This method is certainly in line with current developments where technological progress and development are increasingly sophisticated. This breakthrough can be used as a tool to convey in-depth studies or provide responses to conceptual clashes from feminists. It will even be effective if there is a public discussion that can be done through the comments column.

4. Form a Network

In facing the increasingly massive feminist movement in Indonesia, AILA Indonesia cannot possibly do it alone, of course, it must build cooperation, awareness, concern, and strength with existing components of society. Among the ways that AILA Indonesia has built communication and cooperation networks are; *Training For Trainer (TFT)* dan *Focus Group Discussion (FGD)*.

a. Training For Trainer (TFT)

TFT is carried out by inviting representatives from each community organization, Student Executive Boards (BEM) at several universities, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), and others. AILA Indonesia's technique in this case is through circulars sent to each targeted organization or institution. Therefore, it is hoped that each envoy will have commitment and seriousness and be ready to fight together to strengthen the Indonesian family. The activities that the researcher participated in lasted for one day, starting from morning to evening. From this meeting, it will be continued indirectly through the WhatsApp group. It is not uncommon for each participant to be invited to take part in various AILA Indonesia activities as a form of participation, such as making modules and others.

In the interview session, one of the BEM representatives emphasized,

As young people with a high fighting spirit, we are ready to provide support and carry out movements to convey the truth to more people, especially young people in Indonesia. As millennials who are active on social media, we will start the movement by presenting various products with language that is easy for today's social media users to understand.

b. Focus Group Discussion (FGD).

To face the increasingly intense movement of feminists, AILA Indonesia held closed discussions involving figures from various mass organizations, for example from Majelis Intelektual and Ulama Muda Indonesia (MIUMI), Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (DDII), Muhammadiyah, Nahdhotul Ulama (NU), student movements, and several organizations that are part of the AILA Indonesia network in supporting its various programs. What was discussed in the discussion forum were issues concerning the community that had a very large impact, such as responding to the P-KS Bill after the JR efforts were previously carried out.

As of the time this research was conducted, researchers noted that 27 central networks had established communication and collaboration with AILA Indonesia and were spread across various corners including branch networks.

5. Judicial Review (JR).

After conducting a study with experts in family resilience, psychology, sociology, and law, AILA Indonesia felt the need for legal certainty regarding the social phenomenon that is currently rampant in society. Therefore, AILA Indonesia is recorded as having submitted a material submission (Judicial Review) to the Constitutional Court regarding several articles on morality contained in the Criminal Code (KUHP) and also conveyed criticism of the P-KS Bill submitted by the National Commission on Violence Against Women or Komnas Perempuan. Of the 700 articles in the Criminal Code, AILA Indonesia only focuses on monitoring three (3) articles relating to adultery (284), rape (285), and homosexual indecency (292).

According to the Chairman of AILA Indonesia, the application submitted to the Constitutional Court was to expand the meaning of

adultery, rape, and homosexual indecency. Because what is in the Criminal Code regarding the crime of indecency only uses the terminology of adultery, while only part of its meaning is taken. For example, in the article on adultery contained in the Criminal Code and currently in force in Indonesia, adultery is only limited to those who are bound by marriage (infidelity). In fact, in the Islamic concept, if you commit adultery outside of marriage, then it is called zina.

Meanwhile, criticism of the Draft Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence (RUU P-KS) submitted by the National Commission on Violence Against Women is in the form of confusion in Chapter 1, Article 1, Article 2, and Article 11. As stated by the General Chair of AILA Indonesia from the results of an interview,

This bill comes with arguments that are understandable and easily accepted by the public, namely by referring to various cases of sexual violence that have occurred in Indonesia. However, it is very unfortunate that in the academic paper, we feel that there is a hidden mission or hidden agenda that is problematic. In the academic text of the P-KS Bill that was being promoted, there is a radical feminist spirit. The interpretation of the articles talks about sexual violence that is outside the concept of consent or reason, namely prioritizing the concept of authority over body ownership.

AILA Indonesia assesses that the concept of sexuality offered in the P-KS Bill is individual and does not show any relationship or connection with the concept of family.

Through the data obtained by researchers in the academic manuscript of the P-KS Bill, previously the National Commission on Violence Against Women affirmed that there were 15 (fifteen) forms of sexual violence, namely; 1) rape, 2) sexual intimidation, 3) sexual harassment, 4) sexual exploitation, 5) trafficking of women for sexual purposes, 6) forced prostitution, 7) sexual slavery, 8) forced marriage, 9) forced pregnancy, 10) forced abortion, 11) forced contraception and sterilization, 12) sexual torture, 13) inhumane and sexually charged punishment, 14) traditional practices with sexual nuances that endanger or discriminate against women, and 15) sexual control.

According to AILA Indonesia, forced prostitution implies that prostitution itself is not considered a form of sexual violence. In fact, in the norms of all religions in Indonesia, prostitution is a form of

crime against morals and society. Likewise, the negative impacts are not only caused to children and adolescents but also to the social environment in which the immoral acts occur. For this reason, prostitution should be prohibited in the PKS Bill. Likewise, with forced abortion, does this mean that unforced abortion becomes legal? even though in principle abortion itself is a prohibited method because it falls into the category of fetal murder, even though it is said to be possible in certain medical conditions?. However, with the existence of the norm of forced abortion, it is not clear regarding the limits related to the prohibition of abortion.

DISCUSSION

The resilience of the family institution in Indonesia has experienced many problems and major shocks due to the feminist movement. This is characterized by each party, both men and women, not positioning themselves as a team (Rochmat, 2015), but rather as an individual who demands their rights more than fulfilling the obligations that are very much required for maintaining harmony in the household.

In the feminist view, male hegemony over women is legitimized by social values, religion, and state law, and is socialized from generation to generation (Dalem, 2012). This way of thinking is supported by the results of research conducted by Syafe'i (2015), Syawitri and Afdal (2020) Several things that are considered disadvantageous to women. *First*, the subordination of women to men, especially in decision-making. *Second*, the assumption is that activities carried out by women are unproductive and of low value or what is known as the marginalization of women. *Third*, the double burden is considered as oppression against women because of the longer and heavier workload. *Fourth*, the occurrence of torture and violence against women, both physically and mentally. Based on these various social conditions, they then raised the flag of their struggle to achieve freedom (emancipation) and tried to free themselves from the shackles of any bonds.

Fakih (2016) concludes that to overcome this, social transformation is needed through a process of deconstructing gender roles in all aspects of life, including by eliminating or eliminating all forms of injustice, oppression, domination, and discrimination in

various interrelated relationships such as economic, social, cultural, ideological and environmental relationships, including relationships between men and women.

Indonesia is one of several countries that has become the target of the feminist movement. That is why AILA Indonesia is here and making breakthroughs in efforts to ward off feminist movements that target family resilience in Indonesia. AILA Indonesia is present through coaching programs to educate the Indonesian people which includes all levels of society from various circles and professions while still carrying ideas by the norms of life of the Indonesian people which are truly the identity of the Indonesian nation itself.

AILA Indonesia delivers all of this content holistically, where Indonesian society is essentially facing gender-based colonization which is a value that is forced in with various devices. The struggle of feminists has succeeded in controlling world institutions so that various conventions have been produced at the United Nations (UN) such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) with its feminist values have succeeded in becoming a book that has been ratified by Indonesia which can then be passed down as a national legislative product down to the regions.

Through forums in the form of critical reviews, book publications, and writing articles, AILA Indonesia makes the public understand that it is not enough to just understand but there must be ongoing participation from the public. So, through these educational programs, AILA Indonesia can raise motivation and present movements from many parties to continue the baton of struggle in their respective communities. To maintain cooperation and understanding of this idea, AILA Indonesia also facilitates by providing training to those who are spokespersons (spokespeople) from related communities and more intensively through Training For Trainer (TFT) dan juga Focus Group Discussion (FGD). Then, they can happily carry out various expressions of rejection of the feminist movement to various parties. AILA Indonesia also continues to involve them in various campaigns, one of which is when conducting a Judicial Review (JR) at the Constitutional Court.

Through these defensive and offensive strategies, AILA Indonesia invites the public to think reflect, and examine the consequences of the concepts proposed by feminists through critical review, book publishing, article writing, and others. Then carry out a resistance movement by guarding legal certainty and submitting criticism related to articles and laws that are considered biased in meaning and carry a feminist agenda within them. This effort is made to uphold legal certainty that is in line with the values and norms believed in by the Indonesian people and in principle maintains these values so that they remain firmly established.

CONCLUSION

Family is an important factor in realizing happiness in life. Harmony and happiness in the family can be achieved if there is a good relationship between the couple (husband and wife) and both carry out their respective roles sincerely. AILA Indonesia in its movement has fought to ward off feminist movements that are considered to be targeting the resilience of Indonesian families. The struggle was carried out through coaching in the form of critical reviews, book publications, article writing, and anti-feminist content spread through social media, as well as building motivation and encouragement through Training For Trainers (TFT) and Focus Group Discussions (FGD) and ultimately guarding legal certainty by filing a Judicial Review (JR).

For this reason, it is common knowledge that the role of the family in maintaining the stability of a nation is very important. So it needs to get more serious attention from many parties, especially in facing the feminist movement which is still increasingly existing today. The coaching programs carried out by AILA Indonesia need to be developed more comprehensively and massively and present more persuasive works that are easy for the public, especially the general public, to understand.

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