

Victim-Centered Legal Pluralism and Child Protection Governance in Addressing Sexual Violence in Aceh's *Pesantren*

Rosdalina Bukido^{1*}, Nurlaila Isima², Hamzah Kamma³, Misbahul Munir Makka⁴, Naylah Salsabilah Kamaru⁵

^{1,2,4} Institut Agama Islam Negeri Manado, Indonesia

³ Universitas Islam Negeri Palopo, Indonesia

⁵ MAN Insan Cendekia Gorontalo, Indonesia

*Corresponding Author Email: rosdalina.bukido@iain-manado.ac.id

ABSTRACT

This study examines sexual violence in Aceh's *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) through a victim-centered legal pluralism perspective, focusing on the interaction between religious authority, local sharia-based criminal law, national child protection instruments, and institutional governance. Using a juridical-sociological approach, this study draws on semi-structured interviews with twelve informants, including survivors, *pesantren* actors, legal actors, child protection officers, and advocates from non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Bener Meriah and North Aceh. The interview data are complemented by documentary analysis of legal regulations, child protection reports, NGO documents, media-based case documentation, and selected legal records. The findings show that sexual violence in *pesantren* is enabled by hierarchical relations between *kiai* (*pesantren* leaders), *ustaz* (religious teachers), and *santri* (students), especially when *takzim* (reverential respect toward religious authority) develops into unquestioned obedience without accountability. The study also finds that the pre-amendment implementation of Qanun Aceh No. 6 of 2014 during the 2024 fieldwork period had strong social and religious legitimacy but remained limited in ensuring victim recovery, psychosocial assistance, restitution, educational reintegration, and post-sanction monitoring. Although national instruments such as the Child Protection Law, the TPKS Law, and PMA No. 73 of 2022 provide broader victim-centered protection norms, their implementation in *pesantren* remains weak and fragmented. Institutionally, relevant actors such as the Ministry of Religious Affairs, DP3A, UPTD PPA, law enforcement agencies, NGOs, and *pesantren* administrators do not yet operate within an integrated case-management system. This study contributes to socio-legal scholarship by arguing that child protection in *pesantren* requires not only legal reform, but also mandatory safeguarding governance, integrated referral mechanisms, and enforceable institutional accountability.

Keywords: Child protection; legal pluralism; *pesantren*; *Qanun Jinayat*; religious authority; sexual violence; victim-centered justice.

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini mengkaji kekerasan seksual di pesantren Aceh melalui perspektif pluralisme hukum yang berpusat pada korban, dengan berfokus pada interaksi antara otoritas keagamaan, hukum pidana syariah lokal, instrumen nasional perlindungan anak, dan tata kelola kelembagaan. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan yuridis-sosiologis, penelitian ini bertumpu pada wawancara semi-terstruktur dengan dua belas informan, yang meliputi penyintas, aktor pesantren, aktor hukum, petugas perlindungan anak, dan advokat dari organisasi non-pemerintah di Bener Meriah dan Aceh Utara. Data wawancara dilengkapi dengan analisis dokumen terhadap peraturan hukum, laporan perlindungan anak, dokumen organisasi non-pemerintah, dokumentasi kasus berbasis media, dan catatan hukum terpilih. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa kekerasan seksual di pesantren dimungkinkan oleh relasi hierarkis antara kiai, ustaz, dan santri, terutama ketika takzim berkembang menjadi kepatuhan tanpa pertanyaan dan tanpa akuntabilitas. Penelitian ini juga menemukan bahwa implementasi pra-amendemen Qanun Aceh No. 6 Tahun 2014 selama periode kerja lapangan tahun 2024 memiliki legitimasi sosial dan keagamaan yang kuat, tetapi masih terbatas dalam menjamin

* Copyright (c) 2026 **Rosdalina Bukido et al.**

This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/).

Received: June 23, 2025; Revised: July 9, 2025; Accepted: May 4, 2026

pemulihan korban, bantuan psikososial, restitusi, reintegrasi pendidikan, dan pemantauan pasca-sanksi. Meskipun instrumen nasional seperti Undang-Undang Perlindungan Anak, Undang-Undang Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual, dan Peraturan Menteri Agama No. 73 Tahun 2022 menyediakan norma perlindungan yang lebih berpusat pada korban, implementasinya di pesantren masih lemah dan terfragmentasi. Secara kelembagaan, aktor-aktor terkait seperti Kementerian Agama, Dinas Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak, Unit Pelaksana Teknis Daerah Perlindungan Perempuan dan Anak, aparat penegak hukum, organisasi non-pemerintah, dan pengelola pesantren belum beroperasi dalam sistem manajemen kasus yang terintegrasi. Penelitian ini berkontribusi pada kajian sosio-legal dengan menegaskan bahwa perlindungan anak di pesantren tidak hanya membutuhkan reformasi hukum, tetapi juga tata kelola perlindungan wajib, mekanisme rujukan terpadu, dan akuntabilitas kelembagaan yang dapat ditegakkan.

Kata kunci: Perlindungan anak; pluralisme hukum; pesantren; Qanun Jinayat; otoritas keagamaan; kekerasan seksual; keadilan berpusat pada korban.

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, cases of sexual violence in religious educational institutions, particularly *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools), have received increasing public attention in Indonesia. Civil-society monitoring by *Jaringan Pemantau Pendidikan Indonesia* (JPPI; Indonesian Education Monitoring Network) recorded 573 cases of violence in educational institutions in 2024, including schools, madrasahs, *pesantren*, dormitories, and other educational settings. Sexual violence constituted the largest category, accounting for approximately 42 percent of reported cases. JPPI-based reporting also indicated that violence in religious-based educational institutions remained a significant concern, with cases occurring in both madrasahs and *pesantren* (Siregar, 2025; Wulandari, 2024). These figures should be read as monitoring data compiled from public reports and media-based documentation rather than as comprehensive official government statistics. Nevertheless, they indicate a serious protection gap in religious educational spaces, especially where victims face weak reporting systems, social stigma, and resistance to formal legal intervention (Jamaludin, 2025).

Pesantren are widely recognized as Islamic educational institutions trusted by communities to shape students' morality, spirituality, and character (Abdillah & Ali, 2020; Islamic et al., 2024; Muniron et al., 2025; Solihin et al., 2020). This ideal image of *pesantren* as a moral and religious space may obscure the dynamics of power and vulnerability that operate within them (M. Huda, 2024). In the social structure of *pesantren*, hierarchical authority is built around relationship between *kiai* (*pesantren* leaders), *ustaz* (religious teachers), and *santri* (students). The *kiai* occupies the highest position in this authority structure, not only religiously, but also socially and psychologically. The tradition of *takzim* (reverential respect toward religious teachers), especially toward the *kiai*, is one of the dominant values instilled in students from the beginning of their education (Islamic et al., 2024). Normatively, *takzim* is understood as an ethical expression of respect for religious knowledge, teachers, and the moral discipline of learning. However, in certain institutional contexts, *takzim* may become problematic when it develops into unquestioned obedience without accountability (Kutsiyah et al., 2020). Under such conditions, unequal authority may create opportunities for the abuse of power, including sexual violence, because students occupy a weaker position within the *pesantren* hierarchy. Victims may feel powerless to resist or report abuse when the alleged perpetrator is perceived as a morally authoritative religious figure whose conduct is difficult to question.

Previous studies on sexual violence in *pesantren* and Islamic legal responses in Aceh can be grouped into three main categories. The first category focuses on the effectiveness of *Qanun Jinayat* and its punitive sanctions in addressing sexual violence in Aceh. Previous studies show that *Qanun Jinayat*, as part of Aceh's

special autonomy to implement Islamic criminal law, carries strong religious and local legitimacy, particularly through sanctions such as caning; however, its implementation has been criticized for several systemic weaknesses, including selective enforcement, legal dualism with Indonesia's national criminal law, territorial limitations, and limited alignment with broader human rights standards (Hasbi et al., 2025; Iskandar et al., 2026; Manan & Salasiyah, 2021). In cases of sexual violence, scholars have argued that caning under the *Qanun* framework has not always produced a deterrent effect and may function more as a symbolic sanction than as a mechanism of substantive justice or victim recovery (Jamaludin, 2023, 2025; E. Y. Rahman & Maulana, 2024; Sumawiharja et al., 2024). Recent studies also note that *Qanun Jinayat* remains insufficient in responding to emerging forms of sexual violence, including cyber sexual crimes, and that victim protection mechanisms remain weak, particularly for children and survivors in non-formal or religious educational institutions (Fauzi et al., 2025; Krismawati et al., 2023; Krisnawati & Wikansari, 2024; Salam et al., 2025). At the same time, restorative justice literature has begun to explore the potential of *islah* and victim-centered approaches as complementary frameworks to punitive sanctions, emphasizing dialogue, recovery, community accountability, and the restoration of victims' dignity (Ariefulloh et al., 2023; Darmawan et al., 2025; Sriwidodo, 2024). Therefore, this body of literature suggests that the main weakness of *Qanun Jinayat* lies not merely in the existence of caning as a punishment, but in the absence of a sufficiently integrated framework that connects Islamic criminal law, victim protection, restorative justice, and child safeguarding mechanisms.

The second category examines *pesantren* autonomy, state intervention, and institutional resistance within Indonesia's religious education system. Previous studies show that *pesantren* have historically developed as community-based and relatively autonomous institutions, sustained by local religious authority, community trust, and the leadership of the *kiai* rather than by direct state control (Hussin et al., 2017; Suriansyah et al., 2017). This autonomy is not merely administrative, but also cultural and religious, because the *kiai* often determines the educational orientation, institutional policy, and moral direction of the *pesantren*. More recent studies further show that state policies, including the formal recognition of *pesantren* through Law No. 18 of 2019, have created new opportunities for modernization, curriculum development, and institutional strengthening, while at the same time raising concerns about the possible weakening of *pesantren* independence and the politicization of religious education (Mumtaz et al., 2024). Other scholars highlight that traditional *pesantren* do not always accept state-led modernization or regulatory intervention easily, especially when such intervention is perceived as inconsistent with their classical educational model, religious authority structure, or community-based values (Niam et al., 2025; Nurhamdah et al., 2022; Suwendi et al., 2024). At the same time, studies on *pesantren*'s social role show that these institutions have contributed to community development, moral education, religious moderation, and social transformation (Asror, 2017; Athoillah et al., 2024; Prasojo et al., 2025). However, this body of literature rarely discusses child protection as an explicit governance obligation within *pesantren*. Recent research on child-friendly *pesantren* climate further shows that preventing sexual violence in *pesantren* requires more than formal policies or training programs; it also requires institutional cultural change, culturally mediated prevention strategies, and stronger alliances between *pesantren* staff and families (Kholik et al., 2025). As a result, the tension between *pesantren* autonomy and state responsibility remains underexplored, particularly in relation to how religious educational institutions respond to sexual violence, whether they accept external child protection mechanisms, and how institutional autonomy may affect reporting, supervision, and victim protection.

The third category discusses hierarchical authority, obedience, silence, and abuse within religious educational institutions. Studies on *pesantren* show that its social structure strongly upholds the authority

of religious teachers, particularly *kiai* and *ustaz*, creating an educational environment in which students may hesitate to question, resist, or report misconduct committed by respected religious figures (Nurnazli et al., 2024; E. Y. Rahman & Maulana, 2024). This finding is consistent with broader scholarship on religious authority, which shows that obedience in religious institutions may become problematic when spiritual or moral submission is detached from accountability and critical reflection (Broberg, 2020; Gearon & Kuusisto, 2018; Martínez-Gayol Fernández, 2024). Studies on sexual abuse by religious authorities further demonstrate that abuse often involves betrayal of trust, secrecy, institutional silence, and efforts to protect institutional reputation, while victims may experience depression, anxiety, loss of faith, and estrangement from their religious communities (Abrams et al., 2022; McGraw et al., 2019; Stevens et al., 2019). In legal and institutional terms, religious organizations may also be held accountable when abuse is facilitated by structured authority relations and inadequate supervision (Zambrana-Tévar, 2022). Studies on gender and religious authority further show that patriarchal and clericalized institutional cultures may reproduce resistance to feminist or victim-centered claims, including in educational settings (Galic, 2018; Rofiqi et al., 2026). Taken together, this body of literature suggests that sexual violence in *pesantren* should not be understood only as an individual moral failure, but as a structural problem rooted in hierarchical authority, obedience without accountability, institutional silence, gendered power relations, and weak safeguarding mechanisms.

Nevertheless, existing studies remain fragmented and have not comprehensively answered fundamental questions about the effectiveness of legal and institutional responses to sexual violence in *pesantren*. In Aceh, the existence of *Qanun Jinayat* as a sharia-based regional legal instrument raises an important question: to what extent can *Qanun* guarantee justice and victim protection in relation to national legal instruments, particularly child protection and sexual violence laws? Existing studies have rarely examined these legal approaches comparatively, especially in terms of sanctions, victim recovery mechanisms, and implementation within *pesantren* settings. Moreover, the role of state institutions and child protection actors, including the Ministry of Religious Affairs, the Indonesian Child Protection Commission (*Komisi Perlindungan Anak Indonesia*, KPAI), the Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Office (*Dinas Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak*, DP3A), and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), has not been sufficiently examined as a coordinated system for responding to and preventing sexual violence in *pesantren*.

Therefore, this study addresses three main objectives. First, it identifies and analyzes the factors enabling sexual violence in *pesantren*, particularly unequal power relations between *kiai* and students. Second, it compares the implementation of *Qanun Jinayat* in Aceh with national child protection and sexual violence prevention instruments, particularly Law No. 35 of 2014 on Child Protection, Law No. 12 of 2022 on Sexual Violence Crimes, and Minister of Religious Affairs Regulation No. 73 of 2022. Third, it evaluates the role and coordination of state institutions and civil society organizations in strengthening the child protection system in *pesantren*.

This study is guided by the preliminary argument that excessive reverence toward religious authority may perpetuate unequal power relations in *pesantren* and create social conditions that hinder the disclosure and handling of sexual violence. In addition, the implementation of Qanun Aceh No. 6 of 2014 during the 2024 fieldwork period appeared limited in guaranteeing substantive justice for victims, particularly because its application emphasized symbolic punishment more than victim recovery and long-term protection. Through a juridical-sociological approach, this study contributes to child protection policy by advancing a victim-centered legal pluralism perspective and by highlighting the need to integrate religious educational institutions into the national child protection system.

METHODS

This study employed a juridical-sociological approach (Blandy, 2016; Creutzfeldt et al., 2019). This approach was chosen because it allows legal norms to be examined not only as written rules (law in books), but also as social practices operating in concrete institutional settings (law in action) (M. C. Huda, 2022). In the context of sexual violence in *pesantren*, this approach is particularly relevant because the implementation of law is shaped by cultural norms, religious authority, institutional hierarchy, and child protection mechanisms. The unit of analysis in this study is the socio-legal handling of sexual violence cases in *pesantren*, particularly the interaction between *pesantren* authority structures, legal instruments, and child protection institutions in Bener Meriah and North Aceh.

This study employed an exploratory qualitative case study design with comparative elements (Yin, 2018). The research focused on two regions, Bener Meriah Regency and North Aceh Regency. These locations were selected purposively for two reasons. First, both regions had documented cases of sexual violence in *pesantren* environments based on records from child protection institutions, advocacy networks, and local media. Second, both are located in Aceh, where Qanun Jinayat operates as a local sharia-based legal framework alongside national child protection instruments, including Law No. 35 of 2014 amending Law No. 23 of 2002 on Child Protection (Undang-Undang Nomor 35 Tahun 2014 tentang Perubahan atas Undang-Undang Nomor 23 Tahun 2002 tentang Perlindungan Anak, the Child Protection Law).

Primary data were collected through semi-structured in-depth interviews with twelve key informants. Informants were selected purposively based on their direct experience, institutional role, or professional involvement in handling sexual violence cases in *pesantren*. The informants consisted of survivors of sexual violence, *pesantren* actors, law enforcement officials, child protection officers, and NGO activists involved in victim advocacy. Survivor informants were accessed through victim advocacy networks to ensure safety and ethical protection. The main fieldwork was conducted in Bener Meriah and North Aceh from March to May 2024. Additional follow-up interviews and member-checking sessions were conducted in July 2024 to clarify selected narratives, verify institutional information, and ensure the accuracy of the researchers' interpretation of the interview data.

To clarify the composition of informants and the anonymization strategy used in this study, Table 1 presents the coding scheme applied to each informant category. The table identifies the number of informants, their institutional or experiential roles, and the type of interview conducted. This coding system was used consistently throughout the Results section to protect participant confidentiality while allowing the reader to trace how survivor, *pesantren* actor, legal actor, government/child protection officer, and NGO advocate perspectives informed the analysis.

Table 1. Informant Coding and Anonymization

| Code | Informant Category | Role/Position | Number of Informants | Interview Type |
|-------|-------------------------|--|----------------------|----------------------------|
| S1-S3 | Survivors | Survivors of sexual violence in <i>pesantren</i> , interviewed with assistance from victim advocates | 3 | Main/follow-up interviews |
| P1-P2 | <i>Pesantren</i> actors | <i>Kiai</i> , <i>ustaz</i> , or <i>pesantren</i> administrators | 2 | Semi-structured interviews |

| | | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------------|--|----|--------------------------------------|
| L1-L2 | Legal actors | Police investigator and Sharia Court/legal officer | 2 | Semi-structured interviews |
| G1-G3 | Government/child protection officers | Officers from DP3A, KPAI/child protection agency, UPTD PPA, or Ministry of Religious Affairs | 3 | Semi-structured/follow-up interviews |
| N1-N2 | NGO/victim advocacy activists | NGO activists or legal assistants involved in survivor advocacy | 2 | Semi-structured/follow-up interviews |
| Total | | | 12 | |

Source: Authors' fieldwork data, 2024

In addition to interviews, this study relied on documentary analysis of relevant legal and non-legal materials, including selected court decisions, annual reports of DP3A Aceh, local and national media reports, NGO advocacy documents, and statutory regulations. These documents were selected based on their relevance to sexual violence cases in *pesantren*, child protection mechanisms, and the implementation of *Qanun Jinayat* and national legal instruments. The primary legal framework analyzed in this study is Qanun Aceh No. 6 of 2014 on Jinayat Law because the empirical fieldwork was conducted in 2024, before the enactment of Qanun Aceh No. 12 of 2025. The analysis also considers Law No. 35 of 2014 on Child Protection, Law No. 12 of 2022 on Sexual Violence Crimes, and Minister of Religious Affairs Regulation No. 73 of 2022.

This article also acknowledges Qanun Aceh No. 12 of 2025 concerning the Amendment to Qanun Aceh No. 6 of 2014 on Jinayat Law (*Qanun Aceh Nomor 12 Tahun 2025 tentang Perubahan atas Qanun Aceh Nomor 6 Tahun 2014 tentang Hukum Jinayat*) as a post-fieldwork legal development. Because the amendment was enacted after the 2024 fieldwork period, this study does not empirically assess its implementation. The findings are therefore situated as an evaluation of the pre-amendment implementation context, while the practical impact of the 2025 amendment remains a subject for future research.

The data were analyzed using qualitative thematic analysis following Braun and Clarke (Braun & Clarke, 2023). The analysis involved familiarization with the data, initial coding, generating themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and writing up the findings. The main analytical categories included power relations in *pesantren*, the implementation of legal instruments, reporting barriers, victim protection, and institutional coordination. The credibility of the findings was strengthened through source triangulation by comparing interview data with legal documents, official reports, media records, and NGO documents. Member checking was also conducted with selected informants to ensure that the researchers' interpretations were consistent with participants' experiences and institutional realities.

The analysis was guided by two theoretical lenses: Foucault's theory of power relations and legal pluralism. Foucault's framework was used to interpret how symbolic and institutional authority operates within *pesantren*, while legal pluralism was used to analyze the interaction between *Qanun Jinayat* and national child protection instruments. These frameworks helped explain how religious authority, local sharia-based law, and national legal norms interact in shaping victim protection and institutional accountability.

Given the sensitivity of the topic and the involvement of survivors of sexual violence, this study applied survivor-centered ethical safeguards throughout the research process. All participants were

informed about the purpose of the study, the voluntary nature of their participation, their right to refuse to answer any question, and their right to withdraw from the interview at any stage. Informed consent was obtained before each interview. Survivors were interviewed only with the assistance of victim advocates or trusted companions to ensure psychological safety and reduce the risk of retraumatization. The interviews avoided unnecessary probing into traumatic details and focused on survivors' experiences of reporting, institutional response, and access to protection.

To protect confidentiality, all informants were anonymized using categorical codes, and no real names of survivors, *pesantren*, individual perpetrators, or identifiable institutions are disclosed in this article. Interview recordings and notes were stored securely and used only for academic purposes. Interview excerpts were selected carefully to avoid revealing personal identities or sensitive institutional details. These ethical measures were adopted to ensure that the research process did not reproduce harm and remained consistent with the principles of dignity, safety, confidentiality, and victim-centered justice.

A temporal limitation of this study is that it examines the implementation of Qanun Aceh No. 6 of 2014 during the 2024 fieldwork period. Although Qanun Aceh No. 12 of 2025 subsequently amended the 2014 Jinayat Law, its practical implementation could not be assessed within the scope of this research. This limitation does not undermine the empirical findings, but clarifies that the analysis reflects the legal and institutional context prior to the 2025 amendment.

RESULTS

Power Relations, Reverence, and the Culture of Silence in Islamic Boarding Schools

The findings show that sexual violence in the *pesantren* examined in this study occurred within a hierarchical institutional structure in which relations between *kiai*, *ustaz*, and *santri* were marked by unequal authority. The position of *kiai* and *ustaz* as religious teachers, moral guides, and institutional authorities created a power imbalance that made students highly dependent on them. This imbalance was reinforced by the culture of *takzim*, which encouraged respect and obedience toward religious authority. While *takzim* is normatively understood as an ethical value in *pesantren* education, the findings indicate that it may become problematic when it develops into unquestioned obedience without accountability. In this situation, victims found it difficult to refuse inappropriate conduct or report abuse because the perpetrator was perceived as a respected religious figure. The absence of safe, independent, and accessible reporting mechanisms further strengthened a culture of silence, leaving victims vulnerable to stigma, disbelief, and institutional pressure.

Before presenting the interview excerpts in detail, the main empirical patterns identified from the interviews and field observations can be summarized in Table 2. This matrix shows that the first finding is not based on isolated narratives, but on recurring patterns across survivor testimonies, child protection informants, and field observations.

Table 2. Empirical Patterns of Power Relations and the Culture of Silence in *Pesantren*

| Empirical Pattern | Indicator in the Field | Supporting Informants/Data |
|----------------------------------|--|----------------------------|
| Hierarchical religious authority | <i>Kiai</i> and <i>ustaz</i> controlled students' moral, spiritual, and daily life | S1, S2, G2 |

| | | |
|----------------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| Reverence and obedience | Students hesitated to question religious teachers | S1, S3 |
| Emotional-spiritual manipulation | Abuse began through personal guidance, special attention, or private religious instruction | S1, S2, G2 |
| Weak reporting mechanism | No safe complaint channels, no written SOP, and no independent protection unit | S3, G2, field observation |
| Culture of silence | Victims feared disbelief, stigma, blame, or institutional retaliation | S2, S3 |

The first empirical pattern concerns the hierarchical structure of religious authority within *pesantren*. Survivors and child protection informants described *pesantren* as educational spaces in which *kiai* and *ustaz* were not viewed merely as teachers, but also as moral guardians, spiritual guides, and authoritative figures whose instructions carried strong religious and social weight. Their authority extended beyond classroom teaching into students' daily discipline, moral conduct, spiritual practices, and personal decisions. In this context, students were expected to show respect, follow instructions, and avoid questioning the conduct of religious teachers.

This hierarchical authority created a situation in which students found it difficult to distinguish between legitimate religious guidance and inappropriate personal approaches. Private advice, special attention, spiritual instruction, or individual moral guidance could initially appear normal because they came from respected religious figures. However, in several survivor narratives, such interactions gradually shifted into uncomfortable or inappropriate conduct. The findings therefore indicate that the authority of *kiai* and *ustaz* gave perpetrators access, trust, and influence, while limiting students' ability to recognize, refuse, or report abuse at an early stage.

The second empirical pattern concerns the ambivalent role of *takzim* in *pesantren* life. In its normative meaning, *takzim* is an ethical value that teaches students to respect religious knowledge, teachers, and the moral discipline of learning. However, the findings show that *takzim* may become problematic when respect for religious authority develops into unquestioned obedience without accountability. In such a situation, students may feel morally obliged to obey religious teachers even when the interaction becomes uncomfortable or inappropriate.

One survivor described how the abuse began under the appearance of personal moral and religious guidance:

At first, I felt that I was given more attention. He often called me personally to be guided about morals and worship. However, after a while, the physical contact began to feel inappropriate. I did not know how to refuse because he was a *kiai* whom I respected (S1, survivor, follow-up interview, 6 July 2024).

This testimony shows that the survivor's hesitation was shaped not only by fear, but also by reverence toward the perpetrator's religious authority. The abuse was difficult to recognize and resist because it was initially framed as moral and spiritual guidance. In this case, the respected status of the perpetrator made refusal difficult, while the culture of *takzim* created an emotional and moral barrier that prevented the survivor from immediately questioning or reporting the conduct.

The third empirical pattern concerns emotional and spiritual manipulation. The interviews show that sexual violence did not always begin with direct physical coercion. In several cases, the process started gradually through special attention, personal guidance, specific prayers, moral advice, or private access to

a religious teacher. Because these interactions appeared to be part of religious instruction or spiritual formation, survivors often found it difficult to immediately recognize them as inappropriate.

One survivor described how this process created a sense of special treatment before turning into inappropriate conduct:

I felt special because he often called me to teach me certain prayers. Over time, however, there were hugs, inappropriate touches, and I did not know whom to tell. Everyone respected him. If I spoke up, who would believe me? (S2, survivor, follow-up interview, July 2024).

This pattern was also confirmed by a child protection officer who had assisted similar cases:

We found the same pattern in many cases. The perpetrator was not immediately violent. Instead, he first built an emotional bond. After the victim felt spiritually close, exploitation occurred. This is one of the most difficult forms of violence to handle because the victim often feels confused and uncertain about what happened (G2, DP3A/child protection officer, follow-up interview, July 2024).

These accounts indicate that abuse often developed through gradual emotional and spiritual manipulation. The perpetrator's access to the victim was facilitated by religious trust, private guidance, and the victim's perception that the teacher's attention was part of spiritual formation. As a result, the victim experienced emotional dependency and moral confusion, while the perpetrator's respected position made disclosure and resistance more difficult.

The fourth empirical pattern concerns weak reporting mechanisms and the culture of silence. The findings show that several *pesantren* observed in this study did not have written standard operating procedures (SOPs) for reporting sexual violence, independent complaint units, safe reporting channels, or formal referral pathways to external child protection institutions such as the Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Office (*Dinas Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak*, DP3A), the Regional Technical Implementation Unit for the Protection of Women and Children (*Unit Pelaksana Teknis Daerah Perlindungan Perempuan dan Anak*, UPTD PPA), or the Indonesian Child Protection Commission (*Komisi Perlindungan Anak Indonesia*, KPAI). In this situation, victims could not rely on a predictable and confidential mechanism for seeking help. Instead, reporting often depended on informal networks, family intervention, NGO assistance, or the willingness of certain individuals within the institution to respond.

This institutional weakness contributed to victims' fear of speaking up. Survivors reported that they were afraid of being disbelieved, blamed, stigmatized, or accused of damaging the reputation of the *pesantren*. One survivor stated:

I wanted to speak up, but I knew people would not believe me. In this *pesantren*, the ustaz is highly respected. If I reported him, I might be the one considered guilty or immoral (S3, survivor, follow-up interview, July 2024).

This testimony shows that silence was produced not only by personal fear, but also by institutional pressure. Victims were aware that reporting abuse could be interpreted as challenging religious authority or damaging the reputation of the *pesantren*. As a result, the absence of safe complaint mechanisms did not merely delay reporting; it reinforced a culture of silence in which victims were discouraged from seeking protection and were often left dependent on external actors to access justice.

Legal Fragmentation: *Qanun Jinayat* and National Child Protection Instruments

The second finding shows that the handling of sexual violence in Aceh's *pesantren* was shaped by fragmented legal implementation. During the 2024 fieldwork period, *Qanun Aceh* No. 6 of 2014 remained

an important local legal framework because of its connection to Aceh's Islamic legal identity and public morality. However, interviews and documentary analysis indicate that its implementation was more clearly oriented toward sanctioning perpetrators than ensuring victim recovery, psychosocial assistance, and post-sanction monitoring. At the same time, national instruments such as the Child Protection Law, the Law on Sexual Violence Crimes (*Undang-Undang Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual*, TPKS Law), and PMA No. 73 of 2022 provided broader victim-centered protection norms, but these norms were not consistently translated into *pesantren*-level mechanisms.

This subsection is based on interview and documentary data collected during the 2024 fieldwork. The interview data include accounts from legal actors, child protection officers, *pesantren* actors, and NGO advocates involved in the handling or assistance of sexual violence cases in *pesantren*. Legal actors provided information on the use of *Qanun Jinayat* and national legal instruments in case handling, while child protection officers explained the barriers faced by victims in accessing protection, reporting channels, psychosocial assistance, and formal legal processes.

The documentary data include selected materials from DP3A or related child protection institutions, NGO advocacy documents, media-based case documentation, and available legal records relevant to sexual violence cases in *pesantren*. These documents were used to identify patterns in case handling, including whether cases proceeded to formal legal channels, were resolved through familial or informal mechanisms, or were not formally reported. The documents also helped verify interview findings concerning weak reporting pathways, institutional pressure, and the limited availability of victim recovery mechanisms.

In addition, this subsection draws on regulatory analysis of Qanun Aceh No. 6 of 2014, Law No. 35 of 2014 on Child Protection, Law No. 12 of 2022 on Sexual Violence Crimes, and Minister of Religious Affairs Regulation No. 73 of 2022. These regulations were analyzed to compare their normative orientation, available sanctions or protection mechanisms, and relevance to the handling of sexual violence in *pesantren*. By combining interviews, institutional documents, legal records, and statutory analysis, this section examines not only what the legal instruments formally provide, but also how they were understood, applied, or bypassed in practice.

The distribution of case-handling outcomes can be seen more clearly in Table 3. The data should be understood as fieldwork-based documentation from identified cases, not as comprehensive provincial statistics for all *pesantren* in Aceh.

Table 3. Handling Status of Identified Sexual Violence Cases in *Pesantren* in 2024

| Case Handling Status | Number of Cases | Percentage |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|------------|
| Formal legal proceedings | 5 | 29.4% |
| Familial or informal settlement | 8 | 47.1% |
| Not formally reported | 4 | 23.5% |
| Total | 17 | 100% |

Source: Field document from child protection institution, 2024.

Table 3 indicates that most identified cases did not proceed to formal legal channels. Only five of the seventeen cases entered formal legal proceedings, while eight were reportedly resolved through familial or informal mechanisms and four were not formally reported. This pattern shows that legal protection was available in principle, but many cases remained outside formal justice mechanisms due to social pressure, institutional resistance, fear of stigma, and weak reporting pathways.

Interviews with legal actors indicated that *Qanun Jinayat* was often perceived as socially and religiously legitimate because it reflected Aceh's Islamic legal identity and public morality. Sanctions such as caning were viewed by several local actors as consistent with local religious values and therefore more culturally acceptable within Acehnese society. However, the cases examined in this study show that the pre-amendment implementation of Qanun Aceh No. 6 of 2014 did not always provide adequate mechanisms for victim recovery. The legal process tended to focus on sanctioning the perpetrator, while psychosocial assistance, educational reintegration, protection from stigma, restitution, and post-sanction monitoring were not consistently ensured.

One case identified in Bener Meriah illustrates the limitation of caning as a stand-alone sanction. A legal informant explained that an *ustaz* who had previously received caning sanctions for sexual abuse was later reported to have committed another act of sexual violence after returning to a religious educational environment. According to the informant, the subsequent case was processed using the Child Protection Law, which allowed heavier imprisonment-based sanctions and stronger legal protection for the victim. This case shows that punishment under the pre-amendment *Qanun* framework did not automatically create institutional safeguards against repeated abuse.

The perpetrator had previously been sanctioned under *Qanun*, but after returning to another educational environment, he repeated similar conduct. There was no monitoring mechanism to prevent him from teaching again (L1, legal actor, main interview, April 2024).

This account indicates that the weakness of the pre-amendment *Qanun* framework was not limited to the type of punishment imposed, but also concerned the absence of follow-up mechanisms after punishment. In the cases examined, caning could mark the completion of a legal sanction, but it did not necessarily ensure victim recovery, prevent the perpetrator's return to educational spaces, or establish institutional accountability within *pesantren*. As a result, victim protection depended largely on external assistance from families, NGOs, or child protection institutions rather than on a structured recovery mechanism integrated into the legal process.

National legal instruments provide broader protection norms than the pre-amendment implementation of *Qanun Jinayat* observed during the 2024 fieldwork period. The Child Protection Law provides stronger protection for children and allows heavier criminal sanctions against perpetrators. The TPKS Law offers a more victim-centered framework by regulating restitution, rehabilitation, witness protection, and the protection of companions assisting victims. Meanwhile, PMA No. 73 of 2022 requires educational units under the Ministry of Religious Affairs to establish mechanisms for preventing and handling sexual violence. However, the findings show that these national norms were not consistently translated into *pesantren*-level procedures. Several *pesantren* administrators were unfamiliar with the technical requirements for prevention, reporting, referral, victim assistance, and institutional response.

A child protection officer explained that the problem was not only the absence of regulations, but also the weak operationalization of those regulations within *pesantren* governance:

Some *pesantren* still do not understand the urgency of formal child protection mechanisms. They may know that violence is prohibited, but they do not yet have internal procedures for reporting, referral, or victim assistance (G1, child protection officer, follow-up interview, July 2024).

This account shows that national legal instruments were available in principle, but their implementation remained weak at the institutional level. In the observed *pesantren*, child protection norms had not yet been fully connected to internal SOPs, complaint channels, referral pathways, or victim

recovery mechanisms. As a result, the protection offered by national law did not automatically become accessible to victims within the *pesantren* environment.

The comparison between *Qanun Jinayat* and national legal instruments can be seen more clearly in Table 4.

Table 4. Legal Instruments and Fieldwork Findings on Sexual Violence Handling in *Pesantren*

| Legal Instrument | Normative Orientation | Fieldwork Finding | Implementation Gap |
|--------------------------|---|---|---|
| Qanun Aceh No. 6 of 2014 | Local sharia-based punishment and public morality | Viewed as socially and religiously legitimate by several local actors | Limited victim recovery, psychosocial support, and post-sanction monitoring |
| Child Protection Law | Protection of children from violence, exploitation, and neglect | Used or emphasized more by child protection actors than by <i>pesantren</i> actors | Not consistently prioritized in local case handling |
| TPKS Law | Victim-centered criminal justice, restitution, rehabilitation, and witness protection | Recognized as providing broader protection norms | Limited operationalization in <i>pesantren</i> cases |
| PMA No. 73 of 2022 | Prevention and handling of sexual violence in religious educational units | Several <i>pesantren</i> administrators were unfamiliar with its operational requirements | Weak socialization, limited implementation, and no clear internal mechanism |

Table 4 shows that legal fragmentation did not occur merely because several legal instruments existed simultaneously. Rather, fragmentation emerged because these instruments were not integrated into a coordinated protection mechanism at the *pesantren* level. *Qanun Jinayat* provided local legitimacy and visible punishment, while national legal instruments offered stronger victim protection norms. However, in practice, legal actors, *pesantren* administrators, and child protection institutions often operated within separate institutional logics, resulting in uneven case handling, weak victim recovery, and limited institutional accountability.

Although this study focuses on Qanun Aceh No. 6 of 2014 because the fieldwork was conducted in 2024, it also acknowledges *Qanun Aceh No. 12 of 2025* as a post-fieldwork legal development that amended the 2014 *Jinayat Law*. Therefore, the findings in this section should be read as an evaluation of the pre-amendment implementation context. The practical impact of the 2025 amendment on victim recovery, child protection, post-sanction monitoring, and institutional accountability in *pesantren* requires further empirical assessment.

These findings answer the second research objective by showing that the legal response to sexual violence in Aceh's *pesantren* remains fragmented in practice. Qanun Aceh No. 6 of 2014 had strong social and religious legitimacy during the 2024 fieldwork period, but its pre-amendment implementation showed limitations in ensuring victim recovery, psychosocial support, post-sanction monitoring, and safeguards against repeated abuse. By contrast, national legal instruments, particularly the Child Protection Law, the TPKS Law, and PMA No. 73 of 2022, offered broader victim-centered protection norms. However, these national instruments were not consistently operationalized within *pesantren* governance. As a result, victims often faced a gap between formal legal protection and actual access to

justice, especially when local legal practices, *pesantren* authority structures, and child protection mechanisms were not integrated into a coordinated case-handling system.

Institutional Fragmentation and the Weak Implementation of Child Protection Mechanisms

The findings show that the handling of sexual violence in *pesantren* was shaped not only by legal fragmentation, but also by weak institutional coordination among state institutions, child protection bodies, civil society organizations, law enforcement agencies, and *pesantren* authorities. Although several actors formally had roles in child protection, including the Ministry of Religious Affairs, DP3A, UPTD PPA, police, NGOs, *pesantren* administrators, and child protection oversight bodies, they did not operate within an integrated case-management system. Responses to sexual violence were often reactive, fragmented, and dependent on individual initiative, family intervention, NGO advocacy, or public attention rather than on a clear and predictable institutional procedure.

The institutional gaps identified in the interviews can be summarized in Table 5. The table shows that the problem was not the absence of relevant institutions, but the lack of coordination, shared procedures, referral pathways, and enforceable accountability mechanisms among them. This matrix helps clarify how each actor had a formal or expected role in child protection, while fieldwork findings revealed that those roles were not yet connected within an integrated case-management system.

Table 5. Institutional Roles and Implementation Gaps in Child Protection Mechanisms

| Institution/Actor | Expected Role | Fieldwork Finding | Implementation Gap |
|---------------------------------------|--|---|--|
| Ministry of Religious Affairs | Supervision of religious education units and implementation of PMA No. 73/2022 | Limited direct monitoring due to human resource and authority constraints | Weak supervision and uneven technical support |
| DP3A/UPTD PPA | Victim assistance, psychosocial support, referral, and protection | Often involved after reports emerged | No integrated case-management pathway |
| KPAI/regional child protection bodies | Oversight and protection of children's rights | Mentioned as part of the child protection ecosystem | Coordination with local actors remained unclear |
| Police/Sharia authorities | Legal handling, investigation, and case processing | Focused mainly on legal procedure | Weak connection to victim recovery and referral mechanisms |
| <i>Pesantren</i> administrators | Internal governance, student protection, and early response | Many lacked SOPs, complaint units, and victim assistance procedures | Internal mechanisms remained weak or informal |
| NGOs/victim advocates | Survivor assistance, advocacy, and referral support | Played an important role in helping victims access protection | Not formally integrated into institutional response |

Table 5 indicates that the main problem was not the absence of relevant institutions, but the lack of integration among them. Each actor had a partial role in child protection, but these roles were not connected through a shared case-management system. No integrated mechanism clearly linked reporting,

referral, victim assistance, legal follow-up, psychosocial recovery, and institutional accountability. As a result, victims often had to move between separate institutional channels without a predictable pathway for protection and recovery.

State-level coordination was one of the most visible institutional problems in the handling of sexual violence cases in *pesantren*. Interviews indicated that DP3A, UPTD PPA, child protection oversight bodies, police, and the Ministry of Religious Affairs did not yet share a clear response pathway. When a case emerged, child protection officers were not always certain which institution should act first, who should coordinate victim assistance, and how protection measures should be synchronized with the ongoing legal process. This uncertainty often delayed immediate protection because victim assistance was sometimes treated as secondary to formal investigation.

A UPTD PPA officer explained this coordination gap as follows:

We often do not know which institution should act first. Sometimes we are asked to remain silent so as not to interfere with the legal process, even though victim protection should be provided immediately (G2, UPTD PPA officer, follow-up interview, July 2024).

This statement shows that institutional fragmentation affected not only administrative coordination but also the timing and quality of victim protection. When child protection agencies were expected to wait for legal procedures, survivors could be left without immediate psychosocial support, safe referral, or protective intervention.

The coordination problem at the state level was also reflected in the supervisory role of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Although PMA No. 73 of 2022 provides a regulatory basis for preventing and handling sexual violence in educational units under the Ministry of Religious Affairs, the findings show that direct monitoring of *pesantren* remained limited in the research sites. This limitation was related not only to regulatory implementation, but also to institutional capacity, including limited human resources, uneven service-unit availability, and unclear mechanisms for direct intervention when cases occurred.

A Ministry of Religious Affairs official explained this supervisory gap as follows:

We have not been able to monitor all *pesantren* directly. Our human resources are limited, and not all regions have adequate service units to support supervision (G3, Ministry of Religious Affairs official, follow-up interview, 10 July 2024).

This statement indicates that practical and institutional limitations constrained the Ministry's role in child protection. In several cases, regional Ministry officials could provide administrative guidance or recommendations, but they did not always have the authority or operational capacity to intervene directly in *pesantren* management. As a result, the implementation of child protection standards depended heavily on the willingness of *pesantren* administrators, while state supervision remained uneven and largely reactive.

At the *pesantren* level, the findings show that internal protection mechanisms were still weak and uneven. Several *pesantren* did not yet have written SOPs for handling sexual violence, independent complaint units, trained personnel, or formal referral systems to external child protection institutions. This meant that when a case occurred, the *pesantren* often relied on ad hoc responses rather than a clear institutional procedure. Victims could therefore lose access to immediate protection, educational continuity, and a safe environment after reporting abuse.

One *pesantren* teacher explained that internal procedures for victim assistance were not yet available:

We do not yet know how to handle such cases. If a case occurs, we usually hand it over to the sharia police. However, there is no internal procedure for assisting student victims (P1, *pesantren* teacher, follow-up interview, July 2024).

This statement shows that referral to law enforcement did not automatically mean that victim protection was secured within the *pesantren*. Once a case was transferred outside the institution, the *pesantren* did not always have a clear role in preventing retaliation, protecting the victim from stigma, maintaining educational continuity, or providing psychosocial support. As a result, the absence of internal SOPs and trained personnel created a protection gap between formal case reporting and the victim's actual safety inside the educational environment.

Informal settlement practices also emerged as an important institutional barrier in case handling. Some *pesantren* actors preferred resolving cases internally or familially, mainly to protect the reputation of the *pesantren*, avoid public scandal, and prevent social embarrassment for the victim's family. While such settlements were often framed as efforts to maintain harmony, the findings show that they weakened formal reporting and reduced the possibility of victim-centered intervention.

One *pesantren* teacher described this preference for internal resolution as follows:

If there is a problem, we usually resolve it internally. It is not good to bring it outside because it may damage the reputation of the *pesantren* and embarrass the students' families (P2, *pesantren* teacher, follow-up interview, July 2024).

This statement shows that institutional reputation often becomes a stronger concern than transparent case handling. When cases were kept within internal or familial mechanisms, victims risked being marginalized, blamed, or pressured to remain silent. As a result, informal settlement did not merely delay formal justice; it also reinforced institutional silence and weakened access to protection, recovery, and legal accountability.

The Child-Friendly *Pesantren* policy framework was also not yet effectively translated into enforceable institutional practices in the research sites. The findings show that the problem was not the complete absence of policy initiatives, but the weak connection between those policies and binding governance mechanisms within *pesantren*. Several *pesantren* administrators were unfamiliar with the technical requirements of child protection programs, including complaint mechanisms, referral procedures, dormitory supervision, victim assistance, and prevention standards. In practice, the program appeared to operate more strongly in *pesantren* that already had partnerships with child protection institutions, while many others had not yet formally adopted or operationalized the policy.

A provincial child protection officer emphasized that child protection standards should not depend only on internal willingness from *pesantren*, but should be connected to external supervision, accreditation, operational permits, administrative sanctions, and measurable indicators:

Pesantren often assume that internal supervision is sufficient. In matters of child protection, however, there must be an independent external audit. The Child-Friendly *Pesantren* program should not remain a slogan; it should be integrated into *pesantren* accreditation indicators (G1, provincial women and child protection officer, follow-up interview, July 2024).

This statement indicates that the Child-Friendly *Pesantren* framework had not yet functioned as a binding accountability mechanism. Without integration into accreditation indicators, operational licensing, independent audits, measurable standards, and administrative sanctions, child protection remained largely advisory rather than enforceable. As a result, the implementation of child protection

programs depended heavily on the awareness, willingness, and institutional capacity of each *pesantren*, rather than on a standardized safeguarding system applied across religious educational institutions.

Civil society organizations and NGO advocates also played an important role in filling protection gaps when internal *pesantren* mechanisms and state responses were weak. The findings show that NGOs helped survivors access reporting channels, legal assistance, psychosocial support, and referral services to relevant child protection institutions. In several cases, NGO involvement became crucial because victims and families did not know how to navigate formal procedures or feared pressure from the *pesantren* environment. However, NGO assistance was not yet formally integrated into a structured case-management system. As a result, survivor protection often depended on informal advocacy networks, personal contacts, or the initiative of individual organizations rather than on institutional guarantees. This indicates that civil society actors provided essential support, but their role remained supplementary and could not replace the need for a coordinated state- and *pesantren*-based child safeguarding mechanism.

These findings answer the third research objective by showing that child protection in *pesantren* was hindered by fragmented governance, weak inter-institutional coordination, limited supervision, and the absence of enforceable internal safeguarding mechanisms. At the state level, relevant institutions had not yet operated through an integrated case-management system. At the *pesantren* level, many institutions lacked written SOPs, complaint units, trained personnel, and formal referral pathways for assisting victims. Informal settlement practices remained influential, while the Child-Friendly *Pesantren* framework had not yet been fully operationalized through accreditation indicators, operational permits, independent audits, administrative sanctions, or measurable standards. These findings indicate that legal norms and policy initiatives alone are insufficient unless supported by integrated case management and mandatory child safeguarding standards within *pesantren* governance.

DISCUSSION

Power Relations, *Takzim*, and Structural Vulnerability in *Pesantren*

The findings of this study indicate that sexual violence in *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) cannot be adequately understood as an isolated act of individual deviance. Although the perpetrator remains personally and legally responsible, the empirical findings show that abuse occurred within a broader structure of unequal authority, institutional dependency, and religiously framed obedience. In the cases examined, the alleged perpetrators occupied socially and religiously authoritative positions within the *pesantren* structure, such as *kiai*, *ustaz*, or other internal actors with direct access to students. This confirms that sexual violence in religious educational institutions must be examined not only through the lens of criminal conduct, but also through the institutional and cultural arrangements that make victims vulnerable and make abuse difficult to disclose.

In the *pesantren* context, authority is not merely administrative. The *kiai* and *ustaz* are often regarded as moral guardians, spiritual guides, and transmitters of religious knowledge. This authority is not only personal, but also socially and institutionally produced through communal recognition, religious narratives, and symbolic legitimacy (Firdaus & Sidik, 2024; Muniron et al., 2025). Previous studies have shown that *kiai* leadership in *pesantren* is deeply embedded in organizational culture, social legitimacy, and religious symbolism (Aisyah et al., 2022; Bashri, 2021; Subakir, 2018). This moral position gives religious teachers a form of authority that extends beyond classroom instruction. Their influence reaches students' daily discipline, personal conduct, spiritual formation, and sense of moral obligation. The present findings extend this literature by showing that when such authority is not accompanied by institutional

accountability, it may create a structural condition in which students become dependent on the very figures who may abuse them.

The culture of *takzim* (reverential respect toward religious authority) is central to this vulnerability. In Islamic educational ethics, *takzim* is not inherently negative. It reflects respect for knowledge, teachers, and the moral discipline of learning. However, the findings show that *takzim* may become problematic when it shifts from ethical respect into unquestioned obedience without accountability. In this situation, the student's moral duty to respect the teacher may weaken their ability to refuse, question, or report inappropriate conduct. This finding is consistent with studies showing that *pesantren* culture often emphasizes loyalty, discipline, and reverence toward teachers (Islamic et al., 2024; Kutsiyah et al., 2020; Muttaqin, 2020). However, this study adds a more specific argument: the problem is not *takzim* itself, but the absence of safeguards that prevent reverence from becoming a mechanism of silence.

The survivor narratives presented in the Results section show that abuse often began through personal attention, spiritual guidance, or private religious instruction. This pattern confirms earlier discussions on the relational and manipulative nature of sexual violence in educational or religious environments, where perpetrators use emotional closeness and authority to create dependency before exploitation occurs (Riyadi et al., 2024; Santi, 2024). The distinctive feature in the *pesantren* context is that emotional manipulation is often wrapped in religious language. Personal attention may be framed as moral guidance, private access as spiritual concern, and obedience as religious virtue. This makes it difficult for victims to immediately identify the boundary between legitimate instruction and abusive control.

This pattern also resonates with broader international studies on abuse by religious authorities, which show that sexual abuse in religious institutions is often enabled by unequal authority, obedience, trust, institutional silence, and weak safeguarding systems. Studies on Muslim victims abused by religious authority figures show that victims may experience pressure to seek approval from religious leaders and may interpret obedience as part of their relationship with God, making abuse difficult to resist or disclose (Chowdhury et al., 2022). Similar findings appear in studies of clergy abuse and abuse within religious organizations, where hierarchicalism, clerical authority, cover-up practices, and the protection of institutional reputation frequently prevent victims from speaking openly (Abrams et al., 2021; Matulić, 2024; McPhillips, 2018). Comparative studies on faith communities also describe a paradox of safety in which religious leaders who are expected to protect congregants may become sources of vulnerability when authority is detached from accountability (Khosha-Nkatini, 2025). Other studies further show that abuse by religious authorities produces layered harm, including betrayal of trust, depression, anxiety, spiritual trauma, loss of faith, and estrangement from religious communities (McGraw et al., 2019; Prusak & Schab, 2022; Stevens et al., 2019). Although the *pesantren* context has its own Islamic, cultural, and institutional specificities, the present findings reveal a comparable mechanism: abuse becomes difficult to disclose when religious authority, obedience, institutional reputation, and the absence of safeguarding mechanisms operate together. This comparison strengthens the argument that the problem is not religious reverence itself, but reverence that becomes detached from accountability, transparency, and victim-centered protection.

Foucault's theory of power relations is useful for interpreting this pattern. Power, for Foucault, does not operate only through direct coercion, but through discipline, normalization, surveillance, and the internalization of obedience (Driver, 2002; Foucault, 2009; Haugaard, 2022). In the context of *pesantren*, students may internalize the expectation that religious authority should not be questioned. Silence, therefore, is not merely the result of fear after violence occurs; it is produced by a prior moral and

institutional formation that teaches students to obey, endure, and avoid challenging authority. This is why victims may feel confused, guilty, or morally conflicted when abuse occurs. They are not only confronting a perpetrator; they are confronting an entire symbolic order that gives the perpetrator legitimacy.

This interpretation also explains why the absence of safe reporting mechanisms is so damaging. Where there is no independent complaint unit, no written reporting SOP, no confidential channel, and no referral pathway to external child protection institutions, victims are forced to report abuse through the same authority structure that may protect the perpetrator. In such a situation, silence is not simply a cultural habit; it becomes an institutional outcome. This finding supports victimological studies on institutional betrayal, which explain how institutions may deepen victims' trauma when they fail to provide protection, recognition, or justice (Yanto et al., 2023; Yunara & Kemas, 2024). In this study, institutional betrayal appears not only through explicit denial, but also through the absence of mechanisms that would allow victims to speak safely.

The findings also confirm previous studies that have identified resistance to external intervention in *pesantren* and the tendency to resolve cases internally or informally (Jamaludin, 2025). However, this article extends those studies by showing how internal settlement practices are connected to symbolic religious authority and the fear of damaging the institution's reputation. Victims may remain silent not because they do not experience harm, but because reporting can be interpreted as disobedience, defamation, or betrayal of the *pesantren*. In this way, the protection of institutional honor may override the protection of victims.

The novelty of this study lies in linking three dimensions that are often discussed separately: religious authority, victim silence, and weak institutional safeguarding. Previous studies have examined *kiai* leadership, violence in boarding schools, or the limitations of legal sanctions, but fewer studies have connected these issues through a victim-centered socio-legal framework. This study shows that sexual violence in *pesantren* is produced by the intersection of symbolic authority, institutional closure, and the lack of accessible reporting systems. Therefore, the contribution of this article is not merely to document cases of violence, but to explain why such violence can remain hidden within institutions that are socially trusted as spaces of moral education.

The implication is that child protection reform in *pesantren* cannot rely only on punishing perpetrators after abuse occurs. Criminal punishment is necessary, but it is insufficient if the institutional structure that enables silence remains unchanged. Preventive reform must include mandatory reporting SOPs, independent complaint mechanisms, child safeguarding units, external referral pathways, dormitory supervision standards, and training for *kiai*, *ustaz*, administrators, and students. These mechanisms should not be seen as a threat to religious education, but as a way to protect the moral integrity of *pesantren* and ensure that religious authority is exercised responsibly.

Therefore, the central issue is not whether *pesantren* should retain respect for religious teachers, but how such respect can be balanced with accountability and child protection. *Takzim* can remain an ethical value, but it must not be allowed to become a shield for abuse. Religious authority can remain central to *pesantren* education, but it must be accompanied by transparent governance, victim-centered procedures, and external oversight. Without these safeguards, the same authority that should protect students may become a structure that silences them.

Legal Pluralism and the Limits of Symbolic Punishment

The findings show that the problem in handling sexual violence in Aceh's *pesantren* is not merely the coexistence of *Qanun Jinayat* and national child protection instruments, but the weak integration

between them. Legal pluralism becomes problematic when local punitive mechanisms, national victim-protection norms, and *pesantren* governance operate separately rather than as a coordinated protection system. In the cases examined during the 2024 fieldwork period, Qanun Aceh No. 6 of 2014 remained socially and religiously legitimate, while national instruments such as the Child Protection Law, the TPKS Law, and PMA No. 73 of 2022 provided broader victim-centered protection norms. However, these frameworks were not consistently connected in practice.

Legal pluralism is not inherently problematic. In many socio-legal contexts, plural legal systems may provide culturally meaningful ways of maintaining social order and resolving disputes. In Aceh, *Qanun Jinayat* has strong legitimacy because it is linked to Aceh's special autonomy, Islamic identity, and public morality. Previous studies have shown that the implementation of sharia in Aceh is closely connected to local political identity and constitutional recognition within the Indonesian legal system (Din & Yasa'Abubakar, 2021; Zada, 2023). Studies on the implementation of Qanun Jinayat also show that its operation is shaped not only by legal norms, but also by institutional authority, local acceptance, and debates over how sharia should be enforced in society (Manan & Salasih, 2021). This reflects Aceh's broader plural legal landscape, where qanun, customary norms, and local authority often interact in the settlement of social problems (Adli & Sulaiman, 2018). This explains why Qanun Jinayat is often understood by local actors not only as a criminal law instrument, but also as a symbol of religious and regional legitimacy. Local mechanisms involving *teungku dayah* and community-based values may also play an important role in resolving sharia-related violations, although such mechanisms must be critically limited in cases of sexual violence so that they do not replace formal victim protection and legal accountability (Syamsuar et al., 2023).

However, strong legitimacy does not automatically produce victim-centered justice. The findings indicate that the pre-amendment implementation of Qanun Aceh No. 6 of 2014 tended to emphasize visible punishment more clearly than victim recovery. Sanctions such as caning, fines, or imprisonment may affirm public morality and signal that a violation has occurred, but they do not necessarily address the long-term needs of survivors. In this article, symbolic punishment does not mean that the sanction has no legal meaning. Rather, it refers to a public-facing punitive response that expresses moral condemnation but does not automatically ensure psychosocial recovery, restitution, educational reintegration, protection from stigma, or post-sanction monitoring.

This distinction between symbolic punishment and substantive protection is central to understanding the limitation found in this study. Victimology literature emphasizes that sexual violence produces layered harm, including bodily harm, psychological trauma, social stigma, loss of trust, and institutional alienation (Doerner, 2017; Rice et al., 2024; Yilmaz, 2021). In the *pesantren* context, these harms may become more complex because the perpetrator is often embedded in a respected religious authority structure. Therefore, a legal response that focuses mainly on punishing the perpetrator without structured recovery risks producing what restorative justice scholars describe as a thin form of justice: visible sanction without transformative repair (Morris, 2000; Ramizah Wan Muhammad, 2020).

Comparative socio-legal studies show that legal pluralism becomes problematic not because multiple legal systems coexist, but because local, religious, customary, and national legal mechanisms often fail to operate as an integrated victim-protection framework. In the context of Aceh, Roslaili et al. (2026) show that customary and Islamic legal mechanisms may provide culturally meaningful forms of dispute resolution, but they have clear limits in cases of child sexual abuse, particularly when local mechanisms are not aligned with formal judicial processes and child protection principles under *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*. Similarly, Murdiana et al. (2026) argue that in several Muslim-majority legal systems, victim protection is

often treated as supplementary rather than foundational, causing legal responses to focus more on perpetrators and punishment than on recovery, restitution, and institutional accountability. Studies outside Indonesia also reveal a similar “justice gap”: Carroll (2023) and Sharma et al. (2025) show that formal criminal justice systems may fail victims through procedural rigidity, patriarchal assumptions, secondary victimization, and limited trauma-informed support. From a victimology perspective, Utari et al. (2026) emphasize that child victims of sexual violence in Asia face layered barriers, including stigma, victim-blaming, weak inter-agency coordination, and inadequate rehabilitation services. Widodo et al. (Widodo et al., 2025) further argue that restitution can become an important instrument of justice when positive law and Islamic legal principles are integrated toward victim recovery. Taken together, these studies support the argument that plural legal systems must move beyond punitive or symbolic responses and develop an integrative-complementary model that connects local legitimacy with formal justice, restitution, psychosocial rehabilitation, trauma-informed procedures, and enforceable institutional accountability.

By contrast, national legal instruments offer a more explicit victim-centered logic. The Child Protection Law emphasizes the state’s obligation to protect children from violence, exploitation, and neglect. The TPKS Law expands the recognition of sexual violence and provides mechanisms for victim protection, restitution, rehabilitation, and support for witnesses and companions. PMA No. 73 of 2022, namely the Minister of Religious Affairs Regulation on the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence in Educational Units under the Ministry of Religious Affairs, also provides an institutional entry point because it requires educational units under the Ministry of Religious Affairs to prevent and handle sexual violence. Compared with the pre-amendment implementation of *Qanun Jinayat* observed in this study, these national instruments provide broader normative space for victim recovery and institutional responsibility. The problem, however, is that this victim-centered logic has not been effectively translated into *pesantren*-level procedures.

This study therefore does not argue that Islamic law is inherently incompatible with child protection or human rights. Such a conclusion would be overly simplistic and normatively inaccurate. Islamic legal thought itself contains principles that support the protection of life, dignity, honor, and welfare, often expressed through *maqāṣid al-sharī‘ah* (the objectives of Islamic law), such as *ḥifẓ al-nafs* (protection of life) and *ḥifẓ al-‘ird* (protection of honor) (Al-Qardhawi, 2007; Alia et al., 2024; Rajafi, 2023). Contemporary discussions on Islamic governance also emphasize *maṣlaḥah*, *shūrā*, *‘adl*, *amanah*, transparency, and institutional responsibility as ethical foundations for accountable governance and rights protection (Afabih et al., 2026; Karingayi, 2025; A. Rahman et al., 2024). The problem identified in this study lies in the weak integration between local sharia-based criminal law and national child protection standards. In practice, the implementation of the pre-amendment *Jinayat* framework did not sufficiently connect punishment with victim recovery, institutional prevention, and post-sanction monitoring.

The enactment of *Qanun Aceh* No. 12 of 2025 confirms that the limitations of the 2014 *Jinayat* framework, particularly in relation to the protection of women and children, have also been recognized at the level of normative reform. However, because the amendment was enacted after the 2024 fieldwork period, this study cannot assess its implementation. Future research should examine whether the amendment effectively strengthens victim recovery, institutional accountability, post-sanction monitoring, and coordination with national child protection instruments.

This discussion extends previous scholarship on *Qanun Jinayat* and sexual violence by shifting attention from the legitimacy of sharia-based punishment to the question of victim-centered legal integration. Previous studies have examined the symbolic, punitive, and social dimensions of *Qanun*

Jinayat, including its role in Aceh's legal identity and public morality (Din & Yasa'Abubakar, 2021; Zada, 2023). Other studies have shown that violence in *pesantren* is often shaped by institutional resistance, informal settlement, and weak reporting systems (Jamaludin, 2025). This study connects these strands by showing that legal pluralism becomes problematic not because multiple legal frameworks exist, but because they fail to operate as a coordinated protection architecture for victims.

The implication is that reform should not be framed as a conflict between sharia and human rights. A more productive approach is to build a victim-centered legal integration model in which *Qanun Jinayat* retains its local legitimacy, while national child protection instruments provide minimum standards for recovery, restitution, psychosocial assistance, institutional reporting, and post-sanction monitoring. Such integration would allow legal pluralism to function not as a source of fragmented protection, but as a framework for more comprehensive justice.

Therefore, the central issue is not the existence of multiple legal frameworks, but the absence of effective coordination among them. In the context of sexual violence in *pesantren*, justice requires more than visible punishment. It requires a system that protects victims before, during, and after the legal process; prevents perpetrators from re-entering vulnerable educational spaces without supervision; and requires religious educational institutions to adopt child safeguarding standards. Without this integration, symbolic punishment may satisfy public expectations of moral order, but it will not be sufficient to ensure substantive justice for victims.

Institutional Fragmentation and the Failure of Child Protection Governance

The findings of this study show that child protection in *pesantren* does not fail merely because of weak legal norms, but because of fragmented institutional governance. The relevant actors already exist, including the Ministry of Religious Affairs, DP3A, UPTD PPA, law enforcement agencies, NGOs, *pesantren* administrators, and child protection oversight bodies. However, these actors do not yet operate within an integrated case-management system. Their interventions often remain partial, reactive, and dependent on individual initiative rather than on standardized institutional procedures. As a result, the handling of sexual violence becomes inconsistent, and victims remain vulnerable to delays, uncertainty, and repeated institutional neglect.

This fragmentation reflects a form of divided accountability. When many institutions have partial responsibility but no shared mechanism coordinates action, victims may fall into gaps between agencies. Law enforcement actors may focus on investigation and punishment, while child protection institutions focus on assistance and recovery. At the same time, *pesantren* administrators may prioritize internal settlement or institutional reputation. Without a shared protocol, shared data, referral pathways, and clear accountability structures, these different institutional priorities do not automatically produce victim-centered protection. This finding is consistent with studies on cross-sector collaboration showing that multi-actor governance is often constrained by sectoral ego, limited resources, weak coordination, and the absence of an integrated operational framework (Wibowo et al., 2025).

This pattern is not unique to the *pesantren* context. Comparative studies on child protection governance and sexual violence response show that multi-agency systems often fail when institutional mandates are not supported by shared protocols, data-sharing mechanisms, clear referral pathways, and enforceable accountability structures. In Indonesia, Nurjannah et al. (2024) show that collaboration among schools, parents, and service providers may remain weak because stigma, mistrust, and fragmented support systems discourage reporting and coordinated assistance. Similar patterns are found

in France, where poor coordination among child protection services, education, health, police, and judicial institutions limits effective safeguarding and follow-up for young victims of sexual exploitation (Desquesnes & Proia-Lelouey, 2026). Studies from Nigeria and Zimbabwe also show that weak enforcement, limited resources, urban bias, and fragmented institutional responsibilities often leave NGOs filling gaps that should be addressed through stronger state-led protection systems (Ayinde et al., 2025; Muridzo & Chikadzi, 2020; Musiwa, 2018). Kováč (2025) further emphasizes that child abuse intervention requires multidimensional synergy among social workers, police, courts, educational institutions, and support services, while Blakemore et al. (2017) show that institutional child sexual abuse produces deeper harm when disclosure and support are blocked by systemic barriers. These comparative studies support the present finding that the main problem in *pesantren* child protection is not the absence of relevant actors, but the absence of an integrated governance mechanism that connects reporting, referral, psychosocial support, legal handling, education continuity, and institutional accountability within a victim-centered safeguarding system.

This finding is also consistent with studies emphasizing the importance of collaborative governance in handling sexual violence, particularly in cases involving educational institutions and vulnerable victims (Riwanto et al., 2023). However, the present study extends this discussion by showing that the challenge is more complex in *pesantren* because religious authority, institutional autonomy, and local legal pluralism interact with state child protection systems. The issue is not simply administrative weakness, but the absence of a governance model capable of connecting religious educational institutions with formal child protection mechanisms.

The gap is especially visible in the implementation of PMA No. 73 of 2022 and the Child-Friendly *Pesantren* framework. PMA No. 73 of 2022 already provides a normative basis for preventing and handling sexual violence in educational units under the Ministry of Religious Affairs. However, the findings show that this regulatory framework had not been effectively translated into operational mechanisms in the research sites. Several *pesantren* administrators were unfamiliar with the technical requirements of prevention, reporting, referral, and victim assistance, while local Ministry officials faced limitations in human resources, service-unit availability, and supervisory capacity. This shows a gap between regulatory recognition at the national level and institutional implementation at the *pesantren* level.

The involvement of DP3A, UPTD PPA, child protection bodies, and NGOs also shows that protection was often activated only after cases were reported or became publicly visible. These institutions may provide victim assistance, legal accompaniment, psychosocial support, and referral services, but their role was not yet embedded in the daily governance of *pesantren*. Civil society organizations and victim advocates played an important role in helping survivors access protection. Faith-based women's organizations in Indonesia, for example, have been shown to possess strong grassroots networks, social capital, and philanthropic capacity that can support community-based advocacy and social protection (Hazim & Fihayati, 2022). However, NGO involvement should not function as an emergency substitute for absent institutional mechanisms. Rather, NGOs should be formally integrated into referral pathways and survivor assistance systems as partners within a coordinated child protection framework.

The weakness of the Child-Friendly *Pesantren* program must therefore be understood as part of a broader governance problem. The issue is not the complete absence of policy initiatives, but the fact that these initiatives have not yet become enforceable institutional standards. A child-friendly program cannot be effective if it functions only as a moral appeal. It must be supported by measurable indicators, implementation tools, monitoring mechanisms, and consequences for non-compliance. Studies on child-friendly schools and policy implementation show that institutional transformation requires more than

declarative commitment; it requires standards, training, supervision, and evaluation (Khan & Khandaker, 2016; Talu & De Gomes, 2019). Applied to *pesantren*, child protection should not be left to voluntary internal commitment alone, but should become part of the formal governance requirements for religious educational institutions.

This study contributes to socio-legal scholarship by showing that institutional fragmentation is one of the key reasons why legal and policy reforms do not automatically protect victims. Even when national laws provide victim-centered frameworks, their effectiveness depends on local institutional translation. In the *pesantren* context, this translation is complicated by religious authority, institutional autonomy, reputational concerns, and weak external supervision. The findings, therefore connect legal pluralism with governance failure: protection becomes fragmented not only because multiple legal norms exist, but because the institutions responsible for implementing those norms do not work through an integrated system.

The implication is that child protection reform in *pesantren* must move beyond isolated legal reform and toward mandatory child safeguarding governance. Such governance should include four core elements: internal reporting and complaint mechanisms, formal referral pathways to child protection institutions, trained safeguarding personnel, and external accountability through accreditation, audits, institutional evaluation, and administrative sanctions. Without these mechanisms, child protection will remain dependent on goodwill rather than enforceable obligation.

Therefore, the failure of child protection governance in *pesantren* is not simply the result of institutional absence, but of institutional disconnection. The relevant actors exist, the legal frameworks exist, and policy initiatives have begun to develop. The central problem is that these elements have not yet been integrated into a binding, measurable, and victim-centered protection system. Only by connecting religious education, state supervision, civil society advocacy, and survivor-centered procedures can child protection move from reactive response to preventive institutional accountability.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that sexual violence in Aceh's *pesantren* is not merely an individual criminal act, but a structural problem shaped by unequal religious authority, fragmented legal implementation, and weak child protection governance. The first finding shows that hierarchical relations between *kiai*, *ustaz*, and *santri*, reinforced by *takzim*, may create vulnerability when reverential respect develops into unquestioned obedience without accountability. The second finding shows that Qanun Aceh No. 6 of 2014 had strong social and religious legitimacy during the 2024 fieldwork period, but its pre-amendment implementation remained limited in ensuring victim recovery, psychosocial support, restitution, educational reintegration, and post-sanction monitoring. The third finding shows that state institutions, child protection bodies, NGOs, law enforcement agencies, and *pesantren* actors did not yet operate within an integrated case-management system, leaving victims dependent on fragmented, reactive, and often informal protection pathways.

The study contributes to socio-legal scholarship by advancing a victim-centered legal pluralism perspective in the analysis of sexual violence in *pesantren*. It shows that the problem is not the existence of religious authority, *pesantren* autonomy, or sharia-based local law in itself, but the absence of accountability, safeguarding, and institutional integration. This study also connects three dimensions that are often discussed separately: religious authority and victim silence, symbolic punishment and substantive victim recovery, and legal pluralism and child protection governance. Its practical contribution

lies in emphasizing the need for mandatory child safeguarding standards in *pesantren*, including written reporting SOPs, confidential complaint mechanisms, trained safeguarding personnel, formal referral pathways, post-sanction monitoring, and the integration of child protection indicators into accreditation, operational permits, audits, and administrative sanctions.

This study has several limitations. First, its empirical scope is limited to selected cases and informants in Bener Meriah and North Aceh, so the findings should not be generalized to all *pesantren* in Aceh or Indonesia. Second, the study examines the implementation of Qanun Aceh No. 6 of 2014 during the 2024 fieldwork period; therefore, it does not assess the practical impact of Qanun Aceh No. 12 of 2025, which was enacted after the fieldwork. Third, because of the sensitivity of the topic and the ethical need to protect survivors, the study relies on anonymized interviews and selected documentary materials rather than full public disclosure of case details. Future research should examine the implementation of the 2025 amendment, compare safeguarding practices across different types of *pesantren*, and evaluate whether integrated case-management mechanisms can effectively improve victim protection in religious educational institutions.

REFERENCES

- Abdillah, A., & Ali, W. Z. K. bin W. (2020). Concept of Religious Tolerance among Ulama of Traditional Pesantren in Sukabumi, West Java. *Wawasan: Jurnal Ilmiah Agama Dan Sosial Budaya*, 5(1), 20–30. <https://doi.org/10.15575/jw.v5i1.6585>
- Abrams, D., Bonagura, A., & Calkins, C. (2021). Sexual Violence and Religious Institutions: With a Special Focus on the Catholic Church. In *Handbook of Interpersonal Violence and Abuse Across the Lifespan: A Project of the National Partnership to End Interpersonal Violence Across the Lifespan (NPEIV)* (pp. 4035–4059). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-89999-2_225
- Abrams, D., Bonagura, A., & Calkins, C. (2022). Sexual Violence and Religious Institutions: With a Special Focus on the Catholic Church. In R. Geffner, J. W. White, L. K. Hamberger, A. Rosenbaum, V. Vaughan-Eden, & V. I. Vieth (Eds.), *Handbook of Interpersonal Violence and Abuse Across the Lifespan* (pp. 4035–4059). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-89999-2_225
- Adli, M., & Sulaiman, S. (2018). Penanganan Hoaks Berdasarkan Hukum Adat Aceh. *Wawasan: Jurnal Ilmiah Agama Dan Sosial Budaya*, 3(2), 160–174. <https://doi.org/10.15575/jw.v3i2.4627>
- Afabih, A., Mushlihin, I. A., Musthofa, Y., Ramadhan, M. R. S., & Alamudin, M. (2026). Educational Alimony for Wives: A Study of Jasser Auda's Maqāshid As-Syariah. *International Journal of Islamic Khazanah*, 6(1), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.15575/ijik.v16i1.44497>
- Aisyah, S., Ilmi, M. U., Rosyid, M. A., Wulandari, E., & Akhmad, F. (2022). Kiai Leadership Concept in The Scope of Pesantren Organizational Culture. *Tafkir: Interdisciplinary Journal of Islamic Education*, 3(1), 40–59. <https://doi.org/10.31538/tijie.v3i1.106>
- Al-Qardhawi, Y. (2007). *Dirasah fi Fiqh Maqashid al-Syariah (Terjemahan)*. Pustaka Al-Kautsar.
- Alia, N., Subli, M., Apriyanti, & Nadzar. (2024). Understanding and Implementing Islamic Law: Challenges and Solutions in Modern Contexts. *Antmind Review: Journal of Sharia and Legal Ethics*, 1(2), 72–82. <https://doi.org/10.63077/qgjzc372>
- Ariefulloh, A., Nugroho, H., Angkasa, A., & Ardhanariswari, R. (2023). Restorative justice-based criminal case resolution in Salatiga, Indonesia: Islamic law perspective and legal objectives. *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan*, 23(1), 19–36. <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v23i1.19-36>
- Asror, A. (2017). Transformative Propagation of Islamic Boarding School in Response to Contemporary Challenges. *Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 25(August), 187–194.

- Athoillah, M., Rahman, A. S., Firdaus, A. S., & Septiadi, M. A. (2024). Policies and Practices Religious Moderation in Pesantren. *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, 10(2), 387–396. <https://doi.org/10.15575/jpi.v10i2.27543>
- Ayinde, O. A., Ogunkan, D. V., & Akinpelu, O. P. (2025). Protecting the Future. In *Nigeria's Street Children* (pp. 277–285). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003681397-27>
- Bashri, Y. (2021). Kiai in Indonesian Social-Political Changes. *Journal of Nahdlatul Ulama Studies*, 2(1), 67–88. <https://doi.org/10.35672/jnus.v2i1.67-88>
- Blakemore, T., Herbert, J. L., Arney, F., & Parkinson, S. (2017). The impacts of institutional child sexual abuse: A rapid review of the evidence. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 74, 35–48. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2017.08.006>
- Blandy, S. (2016). Socio-legal approaches to property law research. In *Researching Property Law* (pp. 24–42). London: Macmillan Education UK.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2023). Thematic Analysis. In *Encyclopedia of Quality of Life and Well-Being Research* (pp. 7187–7193). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-17299-1_3470
- Broberg, M. (2020). Authority on Religion in Mediatized Classrooms. *Nordic Journal of Religion and Society*, 33(2), 101–113. <https://doi.org/10.18261/issn.1890-7008-2020-02-03>
- Carroll, C. P. (2023). Reinvestigating the Sexual Violence “Justice Gap” in the Swedish Criminal Justice System: Victim-Centered Alternatives to the Criminal Trial. *Feminist Criminology*, 18(1), 45–64. <https://doi.org/10.1177/15570851221077673>
- Chowdhury, R., Winder, B., Blagden, N., & Mulla, F. (2022). “I thought in order to get to God I had to win their approval”: a qualitative analysis of the experiences of Muslim victims abused by religious authority figures. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 28(2), 196–217. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13552600.2021.1943023>
- Creutzfeldt, N., Mason, M., & McConnachie, K. (2019). Socio-legal theory and methods. In *Routledge Handbook of Socio-Legal Theory and Methods* (pp. 3–8). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429952814-1>
- Darmawan, J. B., Suhariadi, F., Widjojo, S., Amiati, M., & Abdullah, A. H. (2025). Incorporating Islah Principles into Restorative Justice: Bridging Contemporary Legal Practice and Islamic Values. *MILRev: Metro Islamic Law Review*, 4(1), 269–294. <https://doi.org/10.32332/milrev.v4i1.10435>
- Desquesnes, G., & Proia-Lelouey, N. (2026). Institutional pathways of young commercial sexual exploitation victims during follow-up in France's child protection services. *Neuropsychiatrie de l'Enfance et de l'Adolescence*, 74(3), 112–119. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.neurenf.2025.08.001>
- Din, M., & Yasa'Abubakar, A. (2021). The Position of the Qanun Jinayat as a Forum for the Implementation of Sharia in Aceh in the Indonesian Constitution. *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam*, 5(2), 689–709.
- Doerner, W. G. (2017). *Victimology* (S. P. Lab (ed.)). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315537054>
- Driver, F. (2002). Bodies In Space Foucault's account of disciplinary power. In *Reassessing Foucault* (pp. 58–82). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203019481-7>
- Fauzi, M. A., Purwanti, A., & Mahfud, M. A. (2025). Power Relations and Sexual Violence in Islamic Boarding School: Assessing Child Protection Systems in Religious Education Institutions in Indonesia. *Revista Direito e Sexualidade*, 6(1), 253–325. <https://doi.org/10.9771/rds.v6i1.66891>
- Firdaus, M. R., & Sidik, M. D. H. (2024). Constructing Religious Legitimacy in the Digital Public Sphere: A Study of Islamic Discourse on Social Media. *Khazanah Theologia*, 6(2), 85–110. <https://doi.org/10.15575/kt.v6i2.33173>

- Foucault, M. (2009). Alternatives to the prison: Dissemination or decline of social control? *Theory, Culture & Society*, 26(6), 12–24.
- Galic, B. (2018). A case study of retraditionalization and clericalization of the Croatian society: “Feminist threat” at the governing position of a higher education institution. *Sociologija*, 60(1), 210–225. <https://doi.org/10.2298/SOC1801210G>
- Gearon, L., & Kuusisto, A. (2018). Researching religious authority in education: Political theology, elites’ theory and the double nexus. *Power and Education*, 10(1), 3–24. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1757743818757256>
- Hasbi, Y., Saputra, F., Iskandar, H., Rasyid, L. M., & Harun, H. (2025). Criminalising Women, Silencing Victims: Human Rights and Sharia Enforcement in Aceh. *De Jure: Jurnal Hukum Dan Syar’iah*, 17(1), 175–203. <https://doi.org/10.18860/j-fsh.v17i1.29635>
- Haugaard, M. (2022). Foucault and Power: A Critique and Retheorization. *Critical Review*, 34(3–4), 341–371. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08913811.2022.2133803>
- Hazim, H., & Fihayati, Z. (2022). Faith-Based Women’s Organization Philanthropy in Fighting against the COVID-19 pandemic and Its Impacts: The Case of Aisyiyah in Sidoarjo, Indonesia. *Religious: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama Dan Lintas Budaya*, 6(1), 83–94. <https://doi.org/10.15575/rjsalb.v6i1.11817>
- Huda, M. (2024). Strengthening Religious Moderation Through the Core Values of Islamic Boarding School Education. *Al-Hayat: Journal of Islamic Education*, 8(1), 59–71. <https://doi.org/10.35723/ajie.v8i1.458>
- Huda, M. C. (2022). *Metode Penelitian Hukum (Pendekatan Yuridis Sosiologis)*. IAIN Salatiga.
- Hussin, S., Mohamad, M., & Ghanad, A. (2017). Education for emancipation and sustainability: The roles of pesantrens in societal development in Java, Indonesia. *Malaysian Online Journal of Educational Management*, 5(3), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.22452/mojem.vol5no3.1>
- Iskandar, I., Abbas, S., Adwani, A., & Idami, Z. (2026). The Principle of Islamic Personality in the Qanun of Jinayat Law in Aceh. *Asian Journal of Human Services*, 30(1), e3001.1.017. <https://doi.org/10.14391/ajhs.e3001.1.017>
- Islamic, G., Ishaq, M., & Dayati, U. (2024). Character education through philosophical values in traditional Islamic boarding schools. *Kasetsart Journal of Social Sciences*, 45(1), 31–42.
- Jamaludin, A. (2023). Modus Operandi And Criminal Policy of Sexual Violence in Islamic Boarding Schools. *ADLIYA: Jurnal Hukum Dan Kemanusiaan*, 17(2), 125–148. <https://doi.org/10.15575/adliya.v17i2.24793>
- Jamaludin, A. (2025). Institutional Approach: Legal Protection Efforts against Sexual Violence in Islamic Boarding School Educational Institutions. *Khazanah Hukum*, 7(1), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.15575/kh.v7i1.34254>
- Karingayi, T. H. (2025). Islamic Political Thought and The Crisis of Global Governance: Towards a Non-Western Theory of Order. *International Journal of Islamic Khazanah*, 15(1), 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.15575/ijik.v15i1.49657>
- Khan, A. R., & Khandaker, S. (2016). A critical insight into policy implementation and implementation performance. *Public Policy & Administration/Viesoji Politika Ir Administravimas*, 15(4).
- Kholik, A., Fauziah, R. S. P., Ramdhani, M. R., & Suharsiwi, S. (2025). Developing a Strategic Model of Child-Friendly Pesantren Climate to Prevent Sexual Violence. *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun*, 13(3), 1831–1858. <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v13i3.2008>
- Khosa-Nkatini, H. P. (2025). Practical Theology as Public Ethics: Faith Communities, Gender-Based Violence, and the Reproduction of Patriarchal Norms in South Africa. *Religious: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama Dan Lintas Budaya*, 9(3), 291–310. <https://doi.org/10.15575/rjsalb.v9i3.49955>
- Kováč, E. (2025). Multidimensional Synergy of Relevant Actors/Entities in the Child Abuse and Neglect (CAN) Syndrome Intervention Process. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Research and Development*, 12(3), 43. <https://doi.org/10.56345/ijrdv12n306>
-

- Krismawati, S., Pratiwi, S. Y., Smith, N. N., & Smith, R. B. (2023). Advocacy and Protection for Victims of Sexual Violence against Children: Insight from Indonesia's Experience. *Indonesian Journal of Advocacy and Legal Services*, 5(2), 207–240. <https://doi.org/10.15294/ijals.v5i2.65820>
- Krisnawati, D., & Wikansari, R. R. (2024). Addressing the Challenges in Protecting Child Victims of Sexual Violence within Non-Formal Education Institutions. *Sriwijaya Law Review*, 8(2), 249–268. <https://doi.org/10.28946/slrev.Vol8.Iss2.2987.pp249-268>
- Kutsiyah, F., Hakim, L., & Kalsum, U. (2020). Kelekatan Modal Sosial Pada Keluarga Santri Di Pulau Madura. *Palita: Journal of Social Religion Research*, 5(2), 183–203. <https://doi.org/10.24256/pal.v5i2.1399>
- Manan, A., & Salasiah, C. I. (2021). Evaluating the Implementation of Sharia in Aceh, Indonesia. *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun*, 9(3), 549. <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v9i3.593>
- Martínez-Gayol Fernández, N. (2024). Revisitando la obediencia. Ante los abusos de poder en la vida consagrada. *Estudios Eclesiásticos*, 99(388), 123–168.
- Matulić, T. (2024). The Phenomenon of Sexual Abuse in the Church: from Cover-up to Recognition and Protection of Victims. *Nova Prisučnost*, 22(1), 5–27. <https://doi.org/10.31192/np.22.1.1>
- McGraw, D. M., Ebadi, M., Dalenberg, C., Wu, V., Naish, B., & Nunez, L. (2019). Consequences of abuse by religious authorities: A review. *Traumatology*, 25(4), 242–255. <https://doi.org/10.1037/trm0000183>
- McPhillips, K. (2018). Silence, secrecy and power: Understanding the royal commission findings into the failure of religious organisations to protect children. *Journal for the Academic Study of Religion*, 31(3), 116–142. <https://doi.org/10.1558/jasr.37306>
- Morris, R. (2000). *Stories of transformative justice*. Canadian Scholars Press.
- Mumtaz, N. M., Alghani, E. M., & Witro, D. (2024). Educational Policy Analysis: Examining Pesantren Policies and Their Implications on the Independence of Kyai and Pesantren in the Contemporary Era. *Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam*, 21(2), 287–306. <https://doi.org/10.14421/jpai.v21i2.9612>
- Muniron, M., Astuti, F., & Marikar, F. (2025). Lived Social Sufism beyond Institutions: Non-Institutional Charismatic Authority in Contemporary Indonesian Islam. *Religious: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama Dan Lintas Budaya*, 9(3), 257–272. <https://doi.org/10.15575/rjsalb.v9i3.46756>
- Murdiana, E., Rodliyah, N., Natamiharja, R., Fathoni, M. N., & Jha, G. K. (2026). The Victim's Best Interest Principle in Islamic Law: An Examination of the Substance of Sexual Violence in Muslim Majority Countries in the Contemporary Era. *MILRev: Metro Islamic Law Review*, 5(1), 33–60. <https://doi.org/10.32332/milrev.v5i1.10654>
- Muridzo, N. G., & Chikadzi, V. (2020). Some Impediments to Child Sexual Abuse Interventions and Corresponding Social Work Implications: Reflections on the Zimbabwean Victim Friendly System. *Journal of Human Rights and Social Work*, 5(4), 257–266. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41134-020-00137-x>
- Musiwa, A. S. (2018). How Has the Presence of Zimbabwe's Victim-Friendly Court and Relevant Child Protection Policy and Legal Frameworks Affected the Management of Intrafamilial Child Sexual Abuse in Zimbabwe? The Case of Marondera District. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 33(11), 1748–1777. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260517752154>
- Muttaqin, I. (2020). Types and Characteristics of Kyai Leadership Within Pesantren. *Dinamika Ilmu*, 20(1), 165–174. <https://doi.org/10.21093/di.v20i1.2446>
- Niam, K., Hamid, A., Candra Yudha, A. T. R., & Sulaeman, M. (2025). Ma'had 'Aly and Islamic Higher Education in Contemporary Indonesia: Contributions, Dynamics of Intellectualization, and Scientific Independence of Islamic Boarding Schools. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 19(2), 329. <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2025.19.2.329-362>
-

- Nurhamdah, N., Mustary, E., Fikri, F., Saleh, S., & Nabilahumaida, N. (2022). Fulfillment Matter of Education Rights of Children in Conflict With the Criminal Law. *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Syir'ah*, 20(1), 53–67. <https://doi.org/10.30984/jis.v20i1.1825>
- Nurjannah, N., Oktari, R. S., Nisa, H., Viridanda, W. Y., Aidina, W., & Wang, S.-J. (2024). Urban children at risk of violence: A qualitative study of experiences of parents, teachers, and service providers of collaborative support. *Narra J*, 4(2), e793. <https://doi.org/10.52225/narra.v4i2.793>
- Nurnazli, N., Ahmad, H. O., Firdawaty, L., Al Arif, M. Y., & Akmansyah, M. (2024). The Contestation of Islamic Boarding School Womens's View of Wives' Rights in Poligamy. *Al-Risalah: Forum Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan*, 24(1), 141–160. <https://doi.org/10.30631/alrisalah.v24i1.1349>
- Prasojo, E., Zulkarnain, Z. P., Ferdiansyah, J., Puspasari, D., & Holidin, D. (2025). Infusing indigenouse Islamic values into Western-style public administration in Indonesia: the role of pesantren institutions. In *Islamic Public Value* (pp. 308–334). Edward Elgar Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781035333646.00026>
- Prusak, J., & Schab, A. (2022). Spiritual trauma as a manifestation of religious and spiritual struggles in female victims of sexual abuse in adolescence or young adulthood in the Catholic Church in Poland. *Archive for the Psychology of Religion*, 44(1), 40–65. <https://doi.org/10.1177/008467242111060391>
- Rahman, A., Barizi, A., Sumbulah, U., Fachrurrazi, F., & Andaru bahy, M. B. (2024). Global Citizenship Concepts Perspective Abdullah Ahmed An Naim. *International Journal of Islamic Khazanah*, 14(1), 64–72. <https://doi.org/10.15575/ijik.v14i1.31300>
- Rahman, E. Y., & Maulana, A. D. (2024). Addressing Sexual Violence in Islamic Boarding Schools: A Study on Santri Perceptions and Institutional Responses. *Journal of Social Knowledge Education (JSKE)*, 5(3), 113–124. <https://doi.org/10.37251/jske.v5i3.1086>
- Rajafi, A. (2023). The Contemporary Ushul Fiqh in Indonesia: An Idea and Practice. *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Syir'ah*, 21(1), 19–34. <https://doi.org/10.30984/jis.v21i1.2260>
- Ramizah Wan Muhammad. (2020). Forgiveness and Restorative Justice in Islam and the West: A Comparative Analysis. *ICR Journal*, 11(2), 277–297. <https://doi.org/10.52282/icr.v11i2.786>
- Rice, K., Connoy, L., & Webster, F. (2024). Gendered worlds of pain: women, marginalization, and chronic pain. *The Journal of Pain*, 25(11), 104626. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpain.2024.104626>
- Riwanto, A., Harisudn, M. N., -, S. S., & Firmandiaz, V. (2023). Addressing Campus Sexual Violence: A Collaborative Governance Approach to Legal Policy. *Volksgeist: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum Dan Konstitusi*, 6(2), 225–244. <https://doi.org/10.24090/volksgeist.v6i2.9523>
- Riyadi, A. A., Khoiriyah, K., & Zahra, I. A. (2024). Case Study of the Phenomenon of Educational Violence and Its Impact On the Psychology of Santri in Several Islamic Boarding Schools in Sukoharjo Central Java. *QALAMUNA: Jurnal Pendidikan, Sosial, Dan Agama*, 16(1), 595–606. <https://doi.org/10.37680/qalamuna.v16i1.4838>
- Rofiqi, Muin, A., Bahri, R., Rosyid, M. Z., Rahman, H., & Sayyi, A. (2026). Islamic feminism in global context: negotiating gender justice and religious authority in Indonesian higher education institutions. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2026.2655827>
- Roslaili, Y., Manan, A., Ulfah, M., & Phonna, F. P. (2026). Customary Justice and Child Sexual Abuse in Aceh: Legal Pluralism, Restorative Limits, and Child Protection Principles. *Justicia Islamica*, 23(1), 61–84. <https://doi.org/10.21154/justicia.v23i1.11867>
- Salam, A. J., Djawas, M., Nurdin, A., Suganda, D., & Sumardi, D. (2025). The Urgency of Amending Jinayat Qanun in Eradicating Cyber Sexual Crime in Aceh, Indonesia. *AL-IHKAM: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial*, 19(2), 603–631. <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v19i2.15118>

- Santi, K. E. (2024). Power Abuse in Child Sexual Abuse in Indonesia. *Asean Social Work Journal*, 12(2). <https://doi.org/10.58671/aswj.v12i2.109>
- Sharma, P., Unnithan, N. P., & Kadyan, S. (2025). Untangling Captured Law and the Justice Gap: Rape Cases in an Indian Court. *International Social Science Journal*, 75(257), 603–613. <https://doi.org/10.1111/issj.12571>
- Siregar, P. (2025). *Kekerasan di Pesantren Melonjak Tahun 2024, Butuh Solusi Tuntas Islam Kaffah*. Suara Muballigah.
- Solihin, I., Hasanah, A., & Fajrussalam, H. (2020). Core Ethical Values of Character Education Based on Islamic Values in Islamic Boarding Schools. *International Journal on Advanced Science, Education, and Religion*, 3(2), 21–33. <https://doi.org/10.33648/ijoaser.v3i2.51>
- Sriwidodo, J. (2024). Ensuring Restorative Justice Through Penal Mediation in Indonesia: An Examination from the Perspective of Islah (Reformation) in Islamic Criminal Law. *Manchester Journal of Transnational Islamic Law and Practice*, 20(3), 45–57.
- Stevens, J. M., Arzoumanian, M. A., Greenbaum, B., Schwab, B. M., & Dalenberg, C. J. (2019). Relationship of abuse by religious authorities to depression, religiosity, and child physical abuse history in a college sample. *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy*, 11(3), 292–299. <https://doi.org/10.1037/tra0000421>
- Subakir, A. (2018). *Relasi Kiai dan Kekuasaan: Mengungkap Relasi Kiai dan Pemerintahan Daerah dalam Politik Lokal*. STAIN Kediri.
- Sumawiharja, F. A., Ayu Dwi Rahmawati, & Doti Sekar Medina. (2024). Physical Abuse Cases at Boarding Schools: Phenomena and Its Prevention Model. *Jurnal Ilmu Kepolisian*, 18(3), 313–330. <https://doi.org/10.35879/jik.v18i3.467>
- Suriansyah, A., Aslamiah, & Hussin, S. (2017). Education for Emancipation and Sustainability: The Roles of Pesantren in Societal Development in Kalimantan, Indonesia. *Journal of Engineering and Applied Sciences*, 12(18), 4730–4739. <https://doi.org/10.3923/jeasci.2017.4730.4739>
- Suwendi, S., Gama, C. B., Farabi, M. F. F., Fuady, F., & Arman, A. (2024). Roles and challenges of pesantren intellectual networks. *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura*, 24(2), 453. <https://doi.org/10.22373/jiif.v24i2.23134>
- Syamsuar, S., Al-Fairusy, M., Junaidi, J., & Mulia, M. (2023). Settlement of Islamic Sharia Violations in the Perspective of Teungku Dayah and Local Wisdom Values on the West Coast of Aceh. *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun*, 11(3), 985–1004. <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v11i3.995>
- Talu, A. T. I., & De Gomes, F. (2019). Identifikasi Sekolah Ramah Anak Pada Satuan Paud Di Kecamatan Langke Rembong Berdasarkan Kebijakan Pengembangan Sekolah Ramah Anak. *Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Kebudayaan Missio*, 11(1), 147–159.
- Utari, I. S., Kamal, U., Ramada, D. P., Sumardiana, B., & Nunna, B. P. (2026). Legal Protection for Child Sexual Violence Victims: Victimology Perspectives, Challenges, and Policy Solutions in Asia. *Jurnal Suara Hukum*, 8(1), 40–77. <https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-105036706906&partnerID=40&md5=d0e558bc7cbd057087cfb083638cddda>
- Wibowo, P., Hapsari, R. D., Ascha, M. C., Widjaya, S. F. G., & Octavia, A. H. (2025). Navigating Challenges in the Penta Helix Model: Collaborative Strategies and Obstacles in Countering Extremism in Surabaya, Indonesia. *Wawasan: Jurnal Ilmiah Agama Dan Sosial Budaya*, 10(1), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.15575/jw.v10i1.39307>
- Widodo, H., Mashdurohatun, A., Kristiawanto, Santoso, A. B., & Yunanda, D. (2025). Restitution as an Instrument of Justice for Victims of Domestic Sexual Violence: A Study of Positive and Islamic Law in the Contemporary Era. *MILRev: Metro Islamic Law Review*, 4(1), 676–699. <https://doi.org/10.32332/milrev.v4i1.10436>
- Wulandari, T. (2024). *573 Kasus Kekerasan di Sekolah dan Pesantren di 2024, JPPI: Naik 100% dari 2023*. Detik.Edu.

- Yanto, D., Holish, A. M., & Setiawan, H. D. (2023). Legal Protection for Victims of Harassment in a Victimological Perspective (Case Study of Harassment in Higher Education Institutions). *Law Research Review Quarterly*, 9(2). <https://doi.org/10.15294/lrrq.v9i2.65795>
- Yin, R. K. (2018). *Case study research and applications*. Sage Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Yilmaz, T. (2021). Victimology from clinical psychology perspective: psychological assessment of victims and professionals working with victims. *Current Psychology*, 40(4), 1592–1600. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-021-01433-z>
- Yunara, E., & Kemas, T. (2024). The Role of Victimology in the Protection of Crime Victims in Indonesian Criminal Justice System. *Mahadi: Indonesia Journal of Law*, 3(01), 63–78. <https://doi.org/10.32734/mah.v3i01.15379>
- Zada, K. (2023). Sharia and Islamic state in Indonesia constitutional democracy: an Aceh experience. *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan*, 23(1), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v23i1.1-18>
- Zambrana-Tévar, N. (2022). International Conflict and Security Law. In S. Sayapin, R. Atadjanov, U. Kadam, G. Kemp, N. Zambrana-Tévar, & N. Quénivet (Eds.), *International Conflict and Security Law: A Research Handbook*. T.M.C. Asser Press. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-6265-515-7>