

Gender-Based Violence in Post-Earthquake Disaster Situations in Central Sulawesi

Soraya Sultan^{1*}, Hasan Muhamad¹, Ikhtiar Hatta¹

¹Universitas Tadulako, Palu, Indonesia

*Corresponding Author Email: soraya.sultan77@gmail.com

Abstract

Women and children are vulnerable to gender-based violence (GBV) rooted in patriarchal culture and spatial injustice against women and children. This study aims to explain the forms of GBV experienced by women and children in emergency situations and post-earthquake disasters in Donggala Regency, Central Sulawesi. This study uses a qualitative approach with in-depth interviews with survivors, volunteers, and victim advocates. Data are analyzed thematically with a feminist perspective to understand the power relations and social structures that influence GBV. The study found four main forms of GBV, namely: (1) sexual violence consisting of rape including incest, peeping, and forced kissing; (2) physical violence, namely beatings and physical aggression; (3) psychological violence, namely intimidation, stigma, and ostracism; and (4) economic violence, namely neglect of wives and children, forced work, and shifting gender roles. It is concluded that sexual violence is the most dominant form and has serious impacts, such as prolonged trauma and the loss of educational opportunities for victims. The post-disaster situation exacerbates the vulnerability of women and children as objects of violence. These findings recommend gender-sensitive disaster management policies, the provision of safe spaces, and strengthening legal protection mechanisms to prevent and address GBV in crisis situations.

Keywords: Gender-Based Violence, Donggala Earthquake, Sexual Violence, Patriarchal Culture.

Abstrak

Perempuan dan anak-anak rentan terhadap kekerasan berbasis gender (GBV) yang berakar pada budaya patriarki dan ketidakadilan spasial terhadap perempuan dan anak-anak. Studi ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan bentuk-bentuk GBV yang dialami perempuan dan anak-anak dalam situasi darurat dan pasca bencana gempa bumi di Kabupaten Donggala, Sulawesi Tengah. Studi ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan wawancara mendalam dengan para penyintas, relawan, dan pembela korban. Data dianalisis secara tematik dengan perspektif feminis untuk memahami relasi kekuasaan dan struktur sosial yang memengaruhi GBV. Studi ini menemukan empat bentuk utama GBV, yaitu: (1) kekerasan seksual yang terdiri dari perkosaan termasuk inses, mengintip, dan ciuman paksa; (2) kekerasan fisik, yaitu pemukulan dan agresi fisik; (3) kekerasan psikologis, yaitu intimidasi, stigma, dan pengucilan; dan (4) kekerasan ekonomi, yaitu pengabaian istri dan anak, kerja paksa, dan pergeseran peran gender. Disimpulkan bahwa kekerasan seksual adalah bentuk yang paling dominan dan memiliki dampak serius, seperti trauma berkepanjangan dan hilangnya kesempatan pendidikan bagi korban. Situasi pascabencana memperburuk kerentanan perempuan dan anak-anak sebagai objek kekerasan. Temuan ini merekomendasikan kebijakan manajemen bencana yang peka gender, penyediaan ruang aman, dan penguatan mekanisme perlindungan hukum untuk mencegah dan mengatasi kekerasan berbasis gender dalam situasi krisis.

Kata kunci: Kekerasan Berbasis Gender, Gempa Donggala, Kekerasan Seksual, Budaya Patriarki.

INTRODUCTION

Gender-based violence (GBV) in Indonesia is a serious problem that requires concrete solutions. A study by Umniyyah (2021) stated that GBV is a social phenomenon rooted in a patriarchal system, which places men as the dominant actors in decision-making and social relations. Patriarchal culture creates gender inequality and triggers violence against women, both in the personal, public, and institutional spheres (Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, 2024). Data from the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan) shows an increasing trend in cases: 4,371 reports in 2022 and 4,374 in 2023 (Komnas Perempuan, 2023b). West Java, Central Java, East Java, Jakarta, and North Sumatra recorded the highest percentages.

This study examines violence experienced by women in the aftermath of the September 2018 earthquake in Donggala Regency, Central Sulawesi. Cases of violence in Central Sulawesi showed a significant increase. According to a report from the Ministry of Empowerment and Protection of Girls of the Republic of Indonesia (2024), there were 530 cases of violence against women in Central Sulawesi in 2021. In 2022, there were 607 cases, 594 in 2023, and 293 in 2024. Physical, psychological, and sexual violence were the most prevalent. The National Commission on Violence Against Women (2023a) reported that gender-based violence (GBV) against women was closely linked to the 2018 earthquake. In 2019, during the post-disaster rehabilitation and reconstruction phase, cases of violence against women in Central Sulawesi increased by 418 in disaster-affected areas (KemenPPPA, 2019).

Similarly, in Donggala Regency, cases of violence against women increased significantly, particularly in refugee camps. Four years after the natural disaster, GBV incidents in Donggala Regency showed an increase. In 2022, there were 22 cases of violence, and in 2023, this increased to 43 cases, including child marriage (KemenPPPA, 2023). A report by the Central Sulawesi Women's Equality Struggle Group (KPKPST) also reported that 84 cases of gender-based violence (against women) occurred in evacuation sites. These cases included physical, psychological, and sexual violence, as well as child marriage (KPKPST, 2020b; KPKPST, 2024).

This data indicates that local government efforts in disaster emergency response and post-disaster rehabilitation and reconstruction have not been accompanied by prevention and protection of women and children from the threat of GBV. Several studies on GBV have found that women in evacuation sites are vulnerable to gender-based violence, including sexual, physical, and psychological violence (Rembang 2019). Research by Lubis and Fitri (2020) found that during the post-disaster rehabilitation and reconstruction period, women are vulnerable to gender-based violence, including physical and sexual violence.

This study is unique in another aspect that distinguishes it from other studies. It emphasizes that patriarchal culture is not the sole factor that gives rise to GBV. In the context of disaster emergencies and the post-disaster period, GBV stems from the lack of safe spaces for women and children. The increase in GBV cases in Donggala Regency indicates weak protection mechanisms and a lack of integration of a gender perspective in disaster management. This situation requires serious attention because the impacts are not only short-term but also affect the quality of life of victims and the sustainability of social recovery. The study's findings are expected to inform the formulation of more gender-responsive disaster management policies and strategies, thereby protecting vulnerable groups and preventing similar cases from recurring in the future.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses a qualitative research design with a case study approach. According to Yin, a case study is research that examines a particular case or event in detail (Yin, 2006). This research describes in depth and holistically the phenomenon of gender-based violence (GBV) at the empirical level (Moleong, 2014; Bungin, 2015). As a social phenomenon, GBV is studied through a qualitative approach to uncover incidents of violence experienced by subjects (women and children) who experience acts of violence in the private or public sphere, especially in disaster situations.

The research was conducted in Sirenja District, Donggala Regency from January to October 2025 with several urgent considerations, namely because Sirenja District is one of the areas in Donggala Regency that experienced a significant increase in the number of cases of violence against women, including high rates of gender-based violence (GBV) during the rehabilitation and reconstruction period after natural disasters.

The unit of analysis was female disaster survivors and victims of GBV. Six (6) research informants were selected purposively, with predetermined criteria, consisting of companions of victims of violence, GBV victims, female figures, companions of survivors/victims, and GBV victims. Data collection was carried out directly and openly with companions and GBV victims through direct observation, in-depth interviews, documentation, and literature review. Data were analyzed using the interactive model of Milles and Huberman with the following stages: data collection, data reduction, data presentation and drawing conclusions, and data verification (Marvasti, 2004). To obtain reliable data, data triangulation was carried out through a combination of data mining methods, checking the accuracy of data sources, and data comparison.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section discusses research findings regarding forms of gender-based violence in refugee camps. Forms of violence include: (1) sexual violence; (2) physical violence; (3) psychological violence; and (4) economic violence.

First, sexual violence describes cases of sexual harassment experienced by women, including rape, peeping, and forced kissing. Second, physical violence describes cases of domestic violence experienced by women, including beatings and physical aggression. Third, psychological violence includes threats, intimidation, stigma, and ostracism. Fourth, economic violence includes neglect of wives and children, forcing wives to work, wives to become laborers, and husbands to be unemployed.

Sexual Violence

Sexual violence is the intentional, non-consensual harassment of one or more individuals, resulting in the victim's sense of powerlessness. Sexual violence in emergency situations is not an isolated phenomenon, but rather part of a social dynamic that demonstrates gender inequality and weak protection systems. From a feminist perspective, sexual violence in refugee camps often occurs because women and girls are in a highly vulnerable position, both physically and socially.

Rape

The results of this study found that rape is an attempt to subdue someone through sexual violence or coercion. Rape is a form of sexual violence that occurs in emergency situations, both during and after a disaster. The findings indicate that one of these cases of sexual violence was experienced by a minor from

2018 to 2024, perpetrated by her biological father. This means the victim experienced sexual violence in the form of rape over a five-year period.

In this incest case, the victim was a 10-year-old child from Sirenja District. The victim first experienced sexual violence, rape, in 2017. The crime scene took place in two locations: the victim's parents' home and a refugee camp. Several informants revealed that the victim was raped from the age of 4th grade of elementary school (SD) until she entered junior high school (SLTP). According to informant NSY, the victim's companion, the rape attempts by the perpetrator were carried out repeatedly when the situation was quiet. According to him, the victim was traumatized and unable to continue her education due to the intense social pressure.

"The perpetrator raped the victim several times, according to the victim's confession, she was raped since she was 10 years old and the initial incident occurred in a refugee tent... Since the victim experienced incestuous sexual violence, she no longer continued her education" (interview 13 April 2025).

Based on the above information, children are not immune to sexual violence in the domestic sphere. The family, which should be a place of refuge for children, instead becomes a place that leaves a negative impression on their lives. Similarly, the home, which should be a safe haven for all family members, in reality, many homes become places of suffering due to parental violence. Victims experience severe trauma and choose not to continue their education. The interruption of a victim's education after experiencing sexual violence demonstrates the multidimensional impact of such violence. It not only causes psychological trauma but also the loss of access to a future and personal potential. Feminism emphasizes that education is a tool for liberation, and when women lose access to it due to violence, the cycle of inequality and poverty continues. Conversely, perpetrators of violence often view them as mere outlets for their sexual desires, which they continue to dominate physically and psychologically.

Regarding the sexual violence of rape (incest), another informant, RSK, provided similar information by saying:

"There was a rape by a biological father against his biological daughter, it started in a tent, from when the child had not yet menstruated until the child had menstruated... the situation was in the tent when the victim was sleeping at night, the perpetrator reacted. Inside the tent were several people, around 13 people. The perpetrator came straight away and groped the victim's body. The victim's mouth was covered with a cloth, her body could not move because the perpetrator was on top of her at that time. The victim struggled and fought against the strength of the perpetrator's body that was pressing on her, finally the perpetrator was pushed away and ran away. The victim immediately screamed and cried hysterically" (interview April 13, 2025).

Refugee camps should be safe spaces for disaster victims, but in this case, the refugee tents became the starting point for incestuous sexual violence. This demonstrates the failure of the protection system and the neglect of the specific needs of women and children in emergency situations. A feminist perspective highlights that public and private spaces in refugee camps often lack clear boundaries, opening up opportunities for violence (Jensen, 2019). Incestuous sexual violence is not only a violation of the victim's body, but also a form of betrayal of family relationships and an abuse of power within a social structure that is supposed to protect. In feminist analysis, incest is seen as an extreme form of patriarchy, in which the perpetrator (usually the adult male in the family) exerts power and control over helpless daughters (Dominelli, 1989).

In emergency situations, people live in temporary shelters or emergency tents, with up to a dozen people living in each tent. Typically, two to three families are forced to sleep close together, both day and night. This situation creates a less than conducive environment for interaction. The perpetrator, the

victim's biological father, certainly exploited the emergency situation as an opportunity to carry out a premeditated sexual assault. Further examination of the above information demonstrates that the rape was not spontaneous but rather premeditated, exploiting the uncontrolled situation in the emergency tents. This case also demonstrates that emergency tents (emergency tents) are uncomfortable places for women and children.

This is in line with similar research findings that in disaster crisis situations, the majority of gender-based violence against women and children is also caused by other conditions, such as inadequate refugee camps in various ways (Pail, 2022). Facilities that do not support gender needs actually become vulnerable areas for gender-based violence against women and girls, for example, toilets that are dark and far from refugee tents, toilets that are mixed for men and women, lack of security systems, and tents that are thin and small, lacking partitions for privacy. Furthermore, the condition of tents that must be occupied by more than one family also increases the vulnerability to sexual violence.

Peeping

This study found that another form of sexual violence is peeping. Peeping refers to a covert act committed by one person on another person while in a private space. This private space includes toilets and showers. In emergency situations, toilet availability is extremely limited. This is not only due to damaged facilities and infrastructure but also due to limited resources during emergencies, which results in a limited number of toilets. This situation forces survivors to use public toilets in evacuation centers.

Researchers have observed that toilets in refugee camps and temporary shelters (*huntara*) are vulnerable to sexual harassment in the form of peeping. This vulnerability is caused by four main factors: inadequate lighting, the absence of gender-specific toilet separation, easily damaged partitions, and toilet designs that do not seal properly. This situation highlights the need for improved infrastructure and gender-based protection systems in refugee camps. In refugee camps, disaster survivors set up emergency tents as temporary housing. Each tent is typically occupied by two to three families, usually 6-12 people. The tents or shelters lack partitions. In these conditions, survivors experience a lack of private spaces, which are a particular need for women.

Cases of peeping at refugee camps are often experienced by female survivors when using public toilets or bathrooms or other places where women are engaged in certain activities such as bathing. Some survivors experienced mistreatment (peeping) by unknown persons while bathing in the river. An RSK informant said: " In Sipi Village, there are many cases of peeping, especially cases of peeping in the river. Children who are bathing are peeped at by people in the bushes at 5:30 PM, approaching sunset " (interview, April 13, 2025).

The above case demonstrates that female survivors are particularly vulnerable to sexual harassment in disaster situations. Peeping is the most common form of sexual harassment experienced by female survivors. Limited public toilet facilities require some survivors to use rivers for washing and bathing. However, this situation is often exploited by other survivors to engage in peeping. Informants' accounts of peeping at girls bathing in rivers demonstrate that sexual harassment is not always physical, but can also occur through acts of voyeurism that compromise the victim's sense of security and dignity.

In line with RSK's statement, the ANT informant also said that cases of peeping were one of the problems often experienced by female survivors in refugee camps, as she said:

"One of the cases of peeping was on a teenager, we remember that, ma'am, she was changing clothes in a tent, because we all know that the tent, like a scout tent, is not covered all the way down because of the limited conditions at that time due to the earthquake, so that's why there was one incident, ma'am, this woman was really peeped at by a young man, I mean the tent next door because there

were a lot of men, the majority of them were men, so she felt uncomfortable, ma'am, she had a chance to report to her close friends yesterday that I was being peeped at, but they didn't see it because it was night" (Interview April 15, 2025).

Surveillance of female survivors occurs not only in rivers but also in refugee camps. Activities requiring privacy, such as changing clothes, bathing, and other activities, are routine for women, requiring adequate space and good sanitation, including clean water (Simbolon, Munthe & Sari, 2023). However, in emergency situations, disasters and post-disaster situations, this is certainly not possible. Therefore, in emergency situations, the availability of privacy for female survivors is almost non-existent. In fact, compared to men, women are the ones who most need safe, comfortable, and private spaces without harassment (Ananda, Santoso & Zaenuddin, 2019).

In refugee camps such as temporary housing (Huntara), limited privacy requires women to use inclusive facilities such as public toilets, which are also used by men and all groups. This is where many cases of sexual harassment, in the form of peeping, perpetrated by male survivors, occur. This issue of sexual harassment is related to the location of the survivors' tents. In fact, the tents inhabited by survivors, mostly women, are adjacent to tents occupied by male survivors. This means that the sexual violence that occurs in refugee camps is closely related to two factors: the lack of safe spaces for women and the dominant attitudes displayed by male survivors.

Forced Kissing

Forcible kissing is an act of sexual harassment directed at one person or another, perpetrated by the perpetrator with the intention of satisfying their sexual desires by kissing them forcibly or without their consent. Research shows that sexual violence experienced by women includes not only rape and peeping but also other forms of sexual assault, such as being kissed and groped by perpetrators of sexual violence.

According to Mrs. ANT, as a volunteer companion for the Women-Friendly Tent (TRP), from her experience accompanying female victims of sexual violence, some women experienced sexual violence in the form of harassment on body parts such as being kissed and touched. Cases of sexual harassment directed at the female body (victim) were carried out by the opposite sex (men) in refugee camps. ANT said: "according to the victim's statement, the kiss was clear because they were close... suddenly the perpetrator came and kissed, groped, and so on until he had intercourse" (Interview April 13, 2025).

Sexual harassment in the form of kissing and touching the victim's body was carried out by the perpetrator for the purpose of satisfying sexual desires. In emergency situations, both disasters and post-disasters, the fulfillment of sexual libido needs is hampered by limited situations, especially limited privacy due to only living in refugee tents. Therefore, the fulfillment of sexual desires is directed at someone who is considered a substitute or as someone who can satisfy these desires. This case is based on several motives or intentions, namely: (1) the perpetrator targets female victims who are considered sexually interested; (2) targets teenage female victims; (3) carries out acts of violence at night; (4) carries out sexual attacks alone; and (5) makes the victim helpless.

Another piece of information about sexual violence was obtained from informant Mrs. RSK. Since the earthquake, RSK has been a volunteer advocate for victims of violence against women and children. She has assisted several victims of sexual violence. However, she is also the parent of a victim of sexual violence. According to her account, she witnessed her daughter being kissed by a neighbor's child while playing together. After the incident, she reported it to the perpetrator's parents and expressed her objection to what she considered sexual harassment of her daughter. With an upset expression, she recounted the incident as follows:

"I was so angry, I even went to the parents of the child who kissed my child, I told them that their child had kissed my child several times, and they just kept quiet, and they no longer gave their child time to play with my child." (interview April 13, 2025).

The case of sexual harassment experienced by Mrs. RSK's daughter gives the impression that: (1) children of secondary school age and below are also vulnerable to sexual violence, especially in social environments such as peer groups; (2) both perpetrators and victims tend to be children, generally they do not realize that their actions are a form of sexual assault or harassment; (3) the occurrence of sexual harassment is evidence of weak parental supervision; (4) girls are always the victims and are the most disadvantaged subjects in this situation; (4) the social environment of the neighborhood becomes a space for sexual violence to occur; and (5) social norms in the local community are too loose and permissive towards deviant behavior. Simone de Beauvoir in *The Second Sex* emphasized that women are often reduced to "the other" in a patriarchal social structure, so that their bodies are considered not their own, but something that can be controlled by men (Halley, 2023).

Physical Violence

Physical violence against women in refugee camps often occurs not only in the public sphere but also in the domestic sphere. Feminist analysis highlights that this violence is often considered "normal" or "normal" in patriarchal cultures, thus underrepresenting it in humanitarian agencies. Research has found that women are subjected to physical violence by men in both emergency and post-disaster situations. This physical violence occurring in the domestic sphere is usually referred to as domestic violence (DV). The physical violence identified consists of two forms: beatings and physical aggression.

Beating

Battering is physical violence directed directly at the target or object of the violence. As a form of physical violence directed directly at the victim, battering exhibits characteristics of confrontational and intentional violence, where the perpetrator uses physical force to injure or control the victim.

Research shows that women are often victims of physical violence in the form of battering, especially adult women or those who are married. This is because physical violence is a form of violence that women are particularly vulnerable to in the domestic sphere and occurs repeatedly. Within the framework of feminist theory, battering reflects unequal power relations, where men exploit their dominant positions to assert control over women's bodies and lives.

An informant from the Women and Children Protection Task Force, NSY, stated that based on her experience assisting victims of violence, every form of physical violence experienced by the victim (female) is always perpetrated repeatedly by the perpetrator, namely the victim's husband. Physical violence usually, or tends to occur in the domestic sphere, namely the household. She believes that many factors contribute to violence, some of which are affective factors such as jealousy or spontaneous anger.

"Recurring cases of domestic violence led to his wife running away because she could no longer stand being beaten by her husband. She has nine children, and the factor was jealousy. The jealous husband was too restrictive of his wife's activities, such as not allowing her to wear makeup. He even beat her in public because of her jealousy. The initial incident occurred in 2024 and continued into 2025." (interview, April 13, 2025).

Repeated violence is a reproduction of domestic violence perpetrated by men against women. In such situations, women, namely wives, are often victims of violence perpetrated by their partners, namely husbands. This fact indicates the normalization of violence in domestic relationships. This aligns with the concept of "privatization of violence," criticized by feminists, where domestic violence is often considered

a private matter and thus escapes legal and social intervention (You, 2021). This situation creates a cycle of violence that is difficult to break because victims are economically, emotionally, and socially dependent on the perpetrators. Thus, battering is not only a physical act, but also a control mechanism that maintains gender hierarchy.

Physical violence also occurs due to economic demands placed on men, which are perceived as social pressure. Society perceives men as the primary caregivers, placing the economic burden on them, requiring them to work outside the home. Meanwhile, after the disaster, many adult men lost their jobs or sources of income. This situation places an emotional burden on them, making them vulnerable to frustration and unable to control their emotions.

This means that cases of domestic violence increase after a disaster, partly due to economic factors, demonstrating a close link between socioeconomic conditions and the dynamics of gender-based violence. From a feminist perspective, domestic violence is not solely caused by economic pressures, but rather a manifestation of patriarchal power relations that position men as the authority figures within the family. When disasters disrupt economic stability, men's dominant position as primary breadwinners is threatened, leading some perpetrators to use violence as a compensatory mechanism to maintain control over the household.

Body Aggression

Physical violence is not only in the form of beatings, but also takes other forms such as bodily aggression. The results of the study indicate that bodily aggression is a behavior that leads to deliberate physical violence with the aim of hurting another person so that they suffer harm or become helpless, such as roughly pulling the victim's body so that the victim experiences fear or trauma. As a behavior that leads to physical violence, bodily aggression is an intentional act with the aim of hurting another person so that the victim experiences harm or becomes helpless, for example, pulling the victim's body roughly to cause fear or trauma. One informant, NSY said:

"Based on our experience in providing support, cases of physical violence, such as physical aggression, are experienced by women and children within the family. The beatings are accompanied by physical aggression, which can cause physical injury and trauma. Physical aggression in minors occurs due to internal family issues" (interview, April 15, 2025).

Although children are not actually part of the problem, they are victims of violence perpetrated by their own parents. Perpetrators instill a deep sense of fear in victims, which becomes a pathological mechanism of social control, forcing them to "submit" even though it violates legal and moral norms. This demonstrates how violence can function as a tool of domination in social interactions. These threats have psychological consequences for victims. Victims experience trauma and a sense of powerlessness, which impacts their personality development, self-confidence, and future social relationships. Furthermore, socially, cases of violence have the potential to create stigma, both for victims and their families, as society often associates sexual violence with shame.

The identification results show that children become victims of aggression because of a specific goal from the perpetrator. The bodily aggression carried out by the perpetrator against the victim is a chain of events (violence), from physical violence, sexual violence, economic violence, to psychological violence. The perpetrator carries out bodily aggression to fulfill sexual desires (rape). The chain of violence that stems from the perpetrator's sexual desires has an impact not only on physical injuries to the victim but also causes psychological trauma because it experiences three events simultaneously in one time period (situation), namely: (1) the victim experiences intimidation to comply with the perpetrator's sexual desires; (2) the perpetrator and the victim are related by blood so that incest occurs repeatedly; (3)

intimidation accompanied by aggression against the victim's body is carried out using sharp objects so that the victim submits because of fear of losing their life; and (4) bodily aggression is carried out by the perpetrator as a way to control the victim's body while making the victim helpless so that the perpetrator can vent his sexual desires.

In *The History of Sexuality*, Foucault explains that sexuality is an arena in which power operates. Perpetrators force victims to accept sexual acts through threats, thereby making the victim's body an object of power. This demonstrates how power regulates bodies and behavior, even in private spaces, through the practice of sexual violence. Foucault links power to the production of knowledge. In this context, perpetrators exploit the victim's ignorance (lack of understanding sexuality) to reinforce domination. Ignorance becomes a condition that renders the victim unable to resist. This aligns with the concept that power creates conditions of powerlessness through the control of information. From Foucault's perspective, this case is not simply an individual crime, but a manifestation of power relations that operate through the body, sexuality, and fear (Foucault, 2021).

Psychological Violence

Psychological violence, such as intimidation, threats, and verbal abuse, is a form of violence that is often invisible but has a significant impact on women's mental health. Feminism highlights that the psychological trauma experienced by refugee women is often overlooked because aid focuses more on physical and logistical needs.

Intimidation

Intimidation in post-disaster or emergency situations is an action carried out by individuals to cause fear, psychological pressure, or helplessness in others with the aim of controlling behavior or gaining certain benefits, taking advantage of crisis conditions that are exacerbated by the social and psychological instability of victims due to the disaster.

The research findings indicate that in confined living conditions, such as living in a tent, there is potential for domestic violence, which is not always physical but also manifests in verbal and psychological forms. Loud and threatening voices from men or certain family members create an uncomfortable atmosphere for women, especially housewives. As informant Mrs. ANT explained, the situation suggests the psychological stress experienced by the family, especially women:

"The perpetrator is from the male or what is the same family, so that means the tone of his voice is so loud that it creates an uncomfortable atmosphere for the family, because their life is limited there, mother, because it is in a tent, so things that they don't want can happen, violence, especially mental violence, but at that time there could be violence by hand, but when we were there, mother did not report the violence by hand, but the threat of voice, mother, mental violence was always there... the threat was like this, the tone of the threat was 'you don't shout at me, because here we are in a difficult position, be careful, you can judge how this condition is.' So there, mother, violence, it happens a lot, especially mothers who are married" (interview, April 15, 2025)

Verbal intimidation is one form of violence experienced by families of victims in refugee camps after the earthquake in Donggala Regency. Informants explained that the perpetrators were men, even in some cases from the same family as the victims. Harsh tones of voice and verbal threats created an uncomfortable atmosphere for families, especially married women. The threats conveyed indicated psychological pressure exploiting the crisis. Verbal intimidation in refugee camps reflects the unequal power relations between men and women. In crisis situations, patriarchal social structures do not disappear but instead adapt to the emergency. The perpetrators of intimidation, mostly men, exploited

limited space and resources to assert dominance over women. Harsh tones of voice and verbal threats are not simply aggressive communication but rather forms of gender-based psychological violence.

Patriarchal culture plays a role in reinforcing the normalization of violence against women, particularly in post-disaster contexts. Verbal threats made by husbands are often considered normal within family relationships, leading victims to remain silent. This phenomenon reflects a culture of silence that hinders the reporting and handling of cases of gender-based violence (Ananda, Santoso & Zaenuddin, 2019). Furthermore, the post-earthquake refugee situation demonstrated a lack of gender sensitivity in emergency response. This situation demonstrates that violence against women is not merely a domestic issue, but also linked to social structures and disaster management policies that fail to accommodate gender needs.

Stigma and Exclusion

Social pressures such as stigma and ostracism contribute to psychological problems for victims of violence. In these emergency situations, women are often vulnerable, not only due to the physical threat of disaster but also due to social structures that limit their roles. Findings indicate that women frequently experience stigma and ostracism, particularly when they are carrying out childcare responsibilities.

The findings of this study indicate that women are not only victims of earthquakes but also victims of a non-inclusive social system. As informant Mrs. ASP stated, women are often excluded when caring for children. The exclusion of women when caring for children during the emergency response and post-disaster phases is a form of psychological violence that often goes unnoticed. In the context of disasters, women bear the double burden of maintaining family safety while facing social pressure. When they are excluded from their surroundings, this condition exacerbates the trauma caused by the earthquake by eliminating the social support that should be a source of recovery.

According to informants, this exclusion creates feelings of helplessness and isolation, and leads to psychological disorders such as anxiety and depression among disaster survivors, particularly women. Furthermore, this practice reflects deep-rooted gender inequality, where women's roles are reduced to those of caregivers, without recognition of their contribution to the community recovery process. These psychological impacts are not only individual but also affect the community's social resilience, as mentally distressed women tend to have difficulty participating in recovery activities.

Economic Violence

The research results show that forms of economic violence include neglect of wives and children, forcing wives to work, using wives as labor, and situations where husbands do not work and fail to fulfill their economic obligations to the family. The crisis exacerbates women's vulnerability, leading them to experience neglect, forced labor, and economic exploitation by partners who do not fulfill their financial obligations.

Neglect of Wife and Children

Neglect of wife and children is the neglect of family members by the husband due to structural conditions that impact the family. However, as stated in the Law on the Elimination of Domestic Violence (UU PKDRT) No. 23/2004 Article 9 states: "Domestic neglect is any person who causes economic dependence... by limiting and/or prohibiting work... so that the victim is under control." In addition, Law No. 23 of 2004 concerning PKDRT as in Article 9 paragraph (1) states that domestic neglect is a form of violence. This means that domestic neglect is not only a matter of not providing a living, but also includes actions that make someone economically dependent.

Similarly, child neglect is the failure to fulfill children's rights as mandated by law. Negligence in this context refers to the negligence of parents or caregivers in fulfilling children's basic rights, such as physical needs (food, clothing, shelter), health, education, emotional needs, social needs, and protection. Therefore, if a child's rights to life, growth, development, and protection, as stipulated in Law No. 35 of 2014 concerning Child Protection, are not met, the child is categorized as neglected.

Wife and child neglect in the post-disaster context in Donggala Regency occurs when husbands or parents fail to fulfill their basic obligations. The loss of jobs and income sources is often used as an excuse to neglect responsibilities for livelihood, protection, and care. Furthermore, crowded refugee conditions and minimal privacy increase the risk of gender-based violence (GBV). Women who lose economic independence become more vulnerable to control and domestic violence, including neglect. Children also face the threat of exploitation, early marriage, and sexual violence as a result of poor families' survival strategies. Thus, wife and child neglect is not simply an economic issue, but also part of a GBV pattern reinforced by gender inequality and weak social protection systems in Donggala Regency.

An informant named MSN said that after the 2018 earthquake, women in Sirenja sub-district tended to choose to become breadwinners for their families, no longer as additional breadwinners but as breadwinners and providers for their families when their husbands no longer provided economic support for family members. "Most women who earn a living... only because there is pressure and economic circumstances that make them earn it themselves, not depending on their husbands, because when they depend on their husbands," said Misna (interview, May 3, 2025).

MSN's statement about women in Sirenja District who took over as primary breadwinners after the 2018 earthquake indicates a dysfunctional role of husbands within the family. When a husband no longer provides financial support, this condition can be categorized as a form of economic neglect of his wife and children. In the context of Indonesian law, family neglect is regulated in Article 49 of Law No. 23 of 2004 concerning the Elimination of Domestic Violence (PKDRT), which states that everyone is prohibited from neglecting a person within the household, even though according to law or agreement he is obliged to provide life, care, or maintenance.

MSN emphasized that women work not by choice, but due to "economic pressure and circumstances." This suggests that when husbands fail to fulfill their financial obligations, women are forced to leave the domestic sphere to meet the family's basic needs. Socially, this creates a double burden for women: in addition to managing the household, they must also earn an income. Psychologically, this can lead to stress, insecurity, and instability in family relationships.

A key aspect of this issue is that the economic violence following the earthquake in Donggala Regency led to economic neglect, where husbands failed to provide for their families, forcing women to become the primary breadwinners. This problem also has social impacts on women and their institutions, including a double burden, changing gender roles, and the potential for conflict within the family. Legally, not providing for one's family is considered neglect under Law Number 23 of 2004 concerning the Elimination of Domestic Violence.

Forcing Wife to Work

Forcing a wife to work is a form of economic violence because it violates a woman's right to autonomy in making her own life choices. Economic violence involves not only controlling or restricting access to resources, but also coercing her into engaging in economic activities against her will. In the domestic context, this coercion reflects an unequal power relationship, where the husband exploits his dominant position to control the family's economic decisions.

Radical feminism highlights how patriarchal structures subordinate women, exploiting their labor not only in the public sphere but also in the domestic sphere. Meanwhile, Marxist feminism emphasizes the interconnectedness of capitalism and patriarchy in creating unfair working conditions for women. In this context, the word "extortion" reflects an unequal power relationship, where women are viewed as cheap resources to support the economic and social system. This exploitation is often legitimized by cultural norms that view women's work as an obligation, not a right to be respected. Thus, the informant's statement critiques the socio-economic structures that support gender inequality, while emphasizing the urgency of recognizing and protecting women's rights in the workplace.

In the context of power relations and patriarchal culture, forced labor does not exist in isolation but is rooted in unequal power relations within the household. Patriarchal structures that consider men the primary decision-makers are further strengthened during emergencies. Husbands, under the pretext of economic responsibility, exploit their dominant positions to control their wives' activities. A feminist perspective asserts that this practice is a manifestation of patriarchy that objectifies women's labor for the family's economic interests, while simultaneously placing them in a state of exploitation.

An ANT informant revealed: " There are exploitative practices against women at the household level, disguised as devotion. Many women in the village are forced by their husbands to work to meet the family's economic needs " (interview, April 15, 2025). Despite the element of coercion, women interpret this as a form of devotion, which demonstrates the internalization of patriarchal values within the social structure. The unequal power relations between husband and wife reinforce women's subordinate position, leaving them with no room to refuse. This phenomenon reflects economic vulnerability that encourages a double burden for women, while also demonstrating a false consciousness in which women accept disadvantageous conditions as normal. In the long term, this practice has the potential to reduce women's quality of life and reinforce gender inequality in society.

The findings of this study indicate that husbands' coercion of women to work under the pretext of fulfilling household economic needs is a phenomenon inextricably linked to patriarchal social construction and post-disaster economic vulnerability. The 2018 earthquake that struck Donggala Regency disrupted local economic structures, led to the loss of livelihoods, and increased financial pressure within families. In this situation, women are positioned as additional economic resources, often through coercive mechanisms legitimized by the culturally internalized value of devotion. This phenomenon reflects the unequal power relations between husbands and wives and demonstrates a false consciousness that leads women to accept exploitative conditions as normal. The impact of this practice is not only a double burden for women but also has the potential to deepen gender inequality and reduce their quality of life in the long term.

Wife Becomes Worker

Following the 2018 earthquake in Donggala Regency, many women, including housewives, were forced to become the primary workforce to support their families due to the loss of their husbands' livelihoods and damaged infrastructure. The earthquake's impact on the socioeconomic structure was felt by the community, particularly on their livelihoods. Many male heads of households lost their jobs, particularly in the informal sector, such as fishermen, farmers, and day laborers.

Gender roles are changing significantly as pressing economic needs force women to assume the role of primary breadwinner. Many wives begin working in the informal sector, such as small-scale trading, sewing, or as laborers in the humanitarian aid sector. Some women are also involved in labor-intensive programs, skills training, and micro-enterprises facilitated by NGOs and the government. This is where women's dual roles emerge, forcing them to manage the household while earning a living, increasing their

physical and psychological burden. When the earthquake struck Donggala in 2018, not only buildings collapsed—but also the social system that had traditionally placed women in a subordinate position. Amid the rubble and refugee camps, women, especially wives, were forced to shoulder a double burden: as caregivers, survivors, and breadwinners.

This study found that post-disaster, women were forced to become the family breadwinners to meet pressing economic needs due to the loss of livelihoods. As explained by informant SMT, there was no other way for women to survive after the disaster other than to migrate outside the area or rely on savings and loan institutions.

"After the 2018 disaster, many women in the village chose to migrate to Kalimantan to work as laborers on oil palm plantations to meet their families' economic needs. On the other hand, women willingly work in the oil palm plantation sector to support their families' finances. However, for their daily economic needs in the village, women still rely heavily on cooperatives like the Mekar Cooperative for loans." (interview, April 15, 2025)

This study shows that following the 2018 natural disaster, the social and economic structure of rural communities underwent significant transformation. This migration was not simply an individual choice, but rather an adaptive strategy undertaken to meet increasingly pressing family economic needs. However, to meet daily economic needs at the local level, women still demonstrate a high level of dependence on cooperatives, such as the "Koperasi Mekar" (Mekar Cooperative), as a source of loans and financial assistance. This indicates that despite out-of-village mobility, community-based economic networks continue to play a central role in supporting community life.

Furthermore, SMT informants provided additional information that some women in the village were forced to seek income through alternative means, such as working as female migrant workers (TKW) abroad. This was especially true after the disaster, when TKW became an alternative way to meet family financial needs. However, it was also discovered that many women in the village remained completely dependent on their husbands due to their lack of permanent employment or income.

According to several informants, since the natural disaster struck Donggala Regency, particularly in Sirenja Regency, many residents have lost their primary jobs, such as fishing and daily labor. Some who depended on the sea for their livelihoods could no longer survive due to the loss of their means of production, such as boats and fishing gear. Meanwhile, some daily laborers were also unable to continue their work due to the lack of employment opportunities or the loss of their previous sources of employment. This situation undoubtedly impacted the family institution, particularly in the face of unmet basic economic needs.

Under these conditions, women are the ones facing the greatest dilemma: whether to simply accept the difficult situation or seek new sources of income, even if they face certain risks. Therefore, some women in Sirenja District choose to migrate abroad as female migrant workers (TKW). This decision is driven by the urgent need to restore their families' finances, the lack of job opportunities in post-disaster villages, and the existence of social networks that facilitate the recruitment process. However, this step is not without risks. They must face challenges such as labor exploitation, family separation, and psychological stress due to distance.

On the other hand, many women remain completely dependent on their husbands due to their lack of skills or access to employment. Cultural norms that place men as the primary breadwinners further reinforce this dependence. Consequently, when a husband loses his job or dies due to a disaster, women become the group most vulnerable to poverty.

Another informant also stated that since the post-disaster period, the direct involvement of women (wives) in fulfilling the family's economic needs has become a significant issue in Sirenja District. Although

there is no definitive data on the number of women who choose to work abroad, according to informants, working abroad is a last resort for women. As Mrs. A SP stated, economic issues concern not only what to eat but also adequate housing. This situation forces women to seek employment outside the region (even abroad) to supplement their husbands' income. According to ASP, stimulus assistance for house construction is deemed insufficient, so recipient communities (families) must supplement their own costs. To meet these needs, becoming a labor force is the last resort.

"Some people chose to migrate to Kalimantan due to limited job opportunities in the villages after the disaster. In the villages, the average income for women is very low, ranging from Rp 100,000 to Rp 500,000 per month. Many women still live with their parents after marriage and rely on cooperative loans for their financial needs" (interview, April 15, 2025).

The migration of some communities to Kalimantan reflects the socio-economic dynamics that occurred after the disaster in the village. Limited employment opportunities are a major push factor forcing individuals to seek alternative livelihoods elsewhere. On the other hand, the situation of women in the village demonstrates significant economic inequality. Very low incomes indicate limited access to productive resources and employment opportunities. This situation reinforces patriarchal structures, as women tend to rely on their families or husbands, even after marriage, still living with their parents. This dependence is not only economic but also social, demonstrating the weak independence of women within the village community structure.

The use of cooperative loans to meet daily needs indicates a survival strategy employed by households. However, this practice can also create a new cycle of dependency, as loans often come with interest charges, adding to economic pressure. Overall, this phenomenon illustrates how disasters not only impact the physical but also deepen socioeconomic vulnerabilities, particularly for women.

This dependency reveals unequal power relations within the social structure. Feminism highlights how patriarchal systems and socio-economic structures place women in subordinate positions. Women's low income is not simply an individual issue, but a result of social constructs that limit their access to productive employment and economic resources. This situation is exacerbated by cooperative lending practices, which serve as a survival strategy but also create a new cycle of dependency. The burden of loan interest can trap women in increasingly vulnerable economic situations, leading to systemic economic violence.

Husband Doesn't Work

The phenomenon of husbands being unemployed is often directly related to job losses, damaged infrastructure, and the paralysis of economic activity. The phenomenon of husbands being unemployed after a disaster is a direct consequence of the socio-economic damage caused by the disaster. Many husbands who previously worked in the informal sector, such as fishermen, small traders, or day laborers, lost their livelihoods.

This study found that the phenomenon of women having to leave their hometowns to work to support their families' finances is a response to economic pressures experienced by their households. The majority of informants stated that the decision to migrate was not a free choice, but rather a result of limited local employment opportunities and the high cost of living. This situation places women in a vulnerable position, as they must leave their social and family environments to seek additional income. Women's labor migration, in this context, is not simply a survival strategy but also reflects structural injustices that force them to take significant risks.

One informant, Mrs. ANT, stated that when her husband was unemployed, the choice to become a migrant worker was driven by the family's economic situation. Mrs. ANT said, "In fact, the woman even

left her mother's hometown, perhaps to help support the family's economy" (interview, April 15, 2025). According to the informant, after the earthquake that struck Donggala Regency, many families experienced drastic changes in their social and economic conditions. The phenomenon of husbands not working, which in some cases can be categorized as a form of economic violence. In this context, when a husband deliberately fails to seek work or refuses to take advantage of available job opportunities, this can create financial dependency that forces the wife to bear the entire family's economic burden.

Husbands' inactivity is not solely due to limited employment opportunities, but also to passivity or refusal to contribute, significantly impacting their wives. Wives must not only earn a living but also face psychological and social pressures. This forced economic dependence makes it difficult for victims to make decisions, including leaving unhealthy relationships, due to their attachment to family responsibilities and social norms. From a socio-political perspective, this phenomenon demonstrates how natural disasters can exacerbate vulnerability to gender-based violence. Women are often the most affected, having to fill the gap in economic roles while also managing the household.

Another informant, Ms. MSN, also stated that economic violence occurs against women (wives), particularly when the husband is unemployed and requires the wife to be the family breadwinner. "On average, yes, or even some women are the breadwinners. The husband doesn't work, the wife works, sometimes the husband stays at home, and the wife sells things" (Interview, April 15, 2025).

The informant's statement indicates a shift in gender roles within the household structure. Traditionally, men are positioned as the primary breadwinners, while women are responsible for the domestic sphere. However, this phenomenon indicates a role inversion, with women taking over economic functions through productive activities such as selling (trading). Thus, the phenomenon of women becoming the family's breadwinner when their husbands are unemployed is a form of economic violence within the household.

In this context, although women work to meet the family's needs, this situation is often not the result of an egalitarian agreement, but rather the powerlessness or refusal of their husbands to contribute economically. This situation reinforces gender inequality, as women not only bear a double burden but are also vulnerable to the control and psychological pressure that accompany economic injustice. Thus, women's role as primary breadwinners in these situations does not always reflect equality but can instead be an indicator of hidden economic violence within domestic relations.

CONCLUSION

This research shows that post-disaster situations not only cause material losses but also reinforce structural gender inequities. Women and children are the most vulnerable groups to gender-based violence, particularly sexual violence, which occurs due to weak protection mechanisms, minimal supervision in evacuation centers, and the absence of a gender perspective in disaster management policies. The impacts are multidimensional, including psychological trauma, social disruption, and impaired access to education and the economy.

These findings underscore the urgency of implementing gender mainstreaming in all stages of disaster management, as recommended by the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015–2030, which emphasizes the inclusion of vulnerable groups in disaster risk reduction policies. Furthermore, an intersectionality approach needs to be adopted to understand how social factors such as poverty, social status, and patriarchal culture exacerbate the vulnerability of women and children.

Operationally, disaster management policies must include: (1) Provision of women- and child-friendly refugee camps with gender-based designs; (2) Safe and confidential reporting mechanisms through complaint posts and digital channels; (3) Strengthening integrated psychosocial and legal services

at refugee camps; (4) Training volunteers and officials on gender perspectives and handling GBV; and (4) Special budgeting and indicator-based monitoring to ensure policy effectiveness. Implementation of these policies is a prerequisite for breaking the chain of gender-based violence and realizing inclusive and equitable social recovery in disaster-affected areas.

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