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DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC IN BALI: A HINDU SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON RELIGIOUS CULTURE AND GENDER RELATIONS

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Abstract

Domestic violence against women constitutes a significant social and ethical issue that intensified during the COVID-19 pandemic, particularly in culturally and religiously structured societies such as Bali. The pandemic generated economic instability, social restrictions, and increased domestic pressures, which contributed to the escalation of violence within households. Within the Balinese Hindu context, this phenomenon is closely linked to religious culture, gender relations, and the persistence of patriarchal values embedded in the patrilineal system. This study aims to analyse the causes and dynamics of domestic violence against women during the pandemic in Bali from a Hindu sociological perspective, with particular attention to the interaction between religious values, cultural practices, and gender inequality. This research adopts a qualitative design using a narrative review method. Data were collected from scholarly journal articles, institutional reports, and academic publications published between 2019 and 2023, accessed through databases such as Scopus, EBSCO, and Google Scholar. The analysis is informed by sociological theories of gender and patriarchy, alongside key Hindu concepts, namely dharma and Tri Hita Karana, to provide a culturally grounded interpretation. The findings indicate that domestic violence during the pandemic is influenced by both internal and external factors. Internal factors include psychological stress, emotional instability, and past trauma, while external factors involve economic hardship, social restrictions, increased domestic workloads, and entrenched patriarchal norms. From a Hindu sociological perspective, such conditions reflect a disruption of ethical balance, particularly a deviation from dharma and a breakdown of harmony within the Tri Hita Karana framework, especially in the pawongan (human relations) dimension. At the same time, religious values, when interpreted progressively, have the potential to serve as a moral foundation for preventing violence and promoting gender justice. In conclusion, domestic violence against women in Bali during the COVID-19 pandemic is not solely a socio-economic issue but also a cultural and religious phenomenon. Addressing this problem requires not only legal and economic interventions but also the rearticulation of Hindu values to support equality, dignity, and harmonious social relations.

Keywords: Domestic Violence; Women; COVID-19 Pandemic; Hindu Sociology; Religious Culture; Gender Relations; Bali

I. INTRODUCTION

Domestic violence against women constitutes a persistent and deeply embedded social problem, both globally and within the Indonesian context. Over the past decade, empirical evidence has consistently demonstrated that violence within the domestic sphere remains the most prevalent form of gender-based violence. Data compiled by the Komnas Perempuan indicates that cases of violence against women in Indonesia reached 406,178 in 2019, reflecting a significant increase from the previous year and illustrating the escalating nature of this phenomenon (Ariyanti, 2020). Notably, approximately 71% of these cases occurred within the domestic domain, underscoring the household as a critical locus of gendered violence.

Such patterns reveal that domestic violence is not merely an incidental occurrence but rather a structural issue rooted in unequal gender relations, socio-cultural constructions, and power imbalances. The persistence of patriarchal ideology, which positions men as dominant actors within the household, has been widely acknowledged as a central factor contributing to women's vulnerability to violence. In Indonesia, and particularly in Bali, these dynamics are further reinforced by socio-cultural systems that legitimise gender hierarchies through tradition, customary law, and, in some cases, religious interpretation.

The onset of the COVID-19 pandemic in early 2020 marked a critical turning point in the trajectory of domestic violence globally. The pandemic introduced unprecedented social and economic disruptions, including large-scale mobility restrictions, employment instability, and heightened psychological stress. These conditions significantly intensified domestic tensions, thereby increasing the risk of violence against women. In Indonesia, national data derived from the SIMFONI-PPA system recorded 10,989 cases of violence against women in 2023, with a substantial proportion occurring within the household context (Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, 2023)

Furthermore, reports from Komnas Perempuan demonstrate that complaints of gender-based violence continued to rise, with 4,374 reported

cases in 2023 alone, indicating a persistent upward trend despite post-pandemic recovery efforts. These figures likely underestimate the true scale of the problem due to underreporting, which remains a significant barrier in cases of domestic violence, often driven by stigma, fear, and socio-cultural constraints.

Within the Balinese context, the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic was particularly severe due to the region's heavy reliance on the tourism sector. The sudden collapse of tourism led to widespread economic hardship, unemployment, and financial instability, thereby exacerbating stress within households. This economic downturn not only affected material conditions but also disrupted social stability, contributing to an increase in domestic conflicts. Empirical studies indicate that Bali has consistently ranked among the regions with notable cases of domestic violence, with recorded data showing hundreds of cases annually and positioning the province among the higher-ranking regions nationally (Laksmi, 2023).

The intersection of economic stress and entrenched socio-cultural norms in Bali creates a complex environment in which domestic violence is both produced and sustained. The Balinese social structure, characterised by a patrilineal kinship system, often places men in positions of authority within the household, while women are expected to fulfil domestic and reproductive roles. This structural arrangement contributes to unequal power relations, which may legitimise or normalise certain forms of violence against women. Moreover, cultural expectations regarding women's roles as caregivers and moral guardians of the family can further silence victims, reinforcing the "iceberg phenomenon" in which many cases remain unreported.

From a sociological perspective, domestic violence cannot be understood solely through economic or psychological explanations; it must also be analysed within the broader framework of cultural and religious systems. In Bali, where Hinduism plays a central role in shaping social norms and daily practices,

religious values are deeply intertwined with cultural life. Concepts such as dharma (moral duty and righteousness) and Tri Hita Karana (the three causes of well-being: harmony between humans, nature, and the divine) serve as foundational ethical principles guiding social relations. However, the interpretation and application of these values are not always uniform. In certain contexts, religious teachings may be interpreted in ways that reinforce existing gender hierarchies, thereby contributing to the perpetuation of inequality.

Conversely, Hindu philosophical and ethical frameworks also offer significant potential for promoting gender justice and social harmony. The principle of dharma, for instance, emphasises moral responsibility, balance, and justice, while Tri Hita Karana underscores the importance of harmonious relationships, particularly within the domain of pawongan (human relations). When interpreted progressively, these concepts can serve as normative foundations for addressing domestic violence and fostering equitable gender relations. Thus, the tension between traditional interpretations and transformative reinterpretations of religious values becomes a critical area of inquiry.

Recent scholarly discussions have highlighted the importance of adopting a culturally grounded and interdisciplinary approach to understanding domestic violence. Studies conducted between 2020 and 2023 emphasise that violence against women is not only a legal or health issue but also a socio-cultural phenomenon shaped by deeply embedded norms and belief systems (Dewi, 2023; Ariyanti, 2020). In this regard, a Hindu sociological perspective offers a particularly relevant analytical lens, as it enables the integration of sociological theories of gender with indigenous religious and cultural frameworks.

Despite the growing body of research on domestic violence, there remains a gap in studies that explicitly examine the phenomenon within the context of Hindu religious culture in Bali, particularly during the COVID-19 pandemic. Most existing studies tend to focus on legal, psychological, or public health dimensions, with limited attention to the role of

religious values and cultural practices in shaping gender relations and influencing patterns of violence. This gap is significant, given that in Balinese society, religion is not merely a belief system but a lived reality that permeates all aspects of social life.

Therefore, this study seeks to address this gap by analysing domestic violence against women during the COVID-19 pandemic in Bali through a Hindu sociological perspective. It aims to explore how religious culture, gender relations, and socio-economic conditions intersect to produce and sustain domestic violence. By situating the analysis within the framework of Hindu ethics and Balinese cultural practices, this research contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon, while also offering insights into potential strategies for prevention and intervention.

In doing so, the study not only highlights the structural and cultural dimensions of domestic violence but also emphasises the transformative potential of religious values in promoting social justice. Ultimately, addressing domestic violence in Bali requires not only legal enforcement and economic support but also a critical re-examination of cultural norms and religious interpretations, ensuring that they align with principles of equality, dignity, and human rights

II. METHOD

This study adopts a qualitative research design utilising a systematic literature review (SLR) approach to examine domestic violence against women during the COVID-19 pandemic in Bali from a Hindu sociological perspective. The systematic review method is employed to ensure a rigorous and transparent synthesis of existing scholarly knowledge, enabling a comprehensive understanding of the interplay between socio-economic pressures, gender relations, and religious-cultural values. The study is conceptually guided by the PRISMA framework, which structures the process of identifying, screening, and selecting relevant literature in a systematic and replicable manner (Page et al., 2021).

The data were derived from secondary sources,

consisting of peer-reviewed journal articles, institutional reports, and academic publications indexed in reputable databases such as Scopus, EBSCOhost, and Google Scholar. The search strategy involved the use of carefully selected keywords, including “domestic violence”, “violence against women”, “COVID-19”, “gender relations”, “religious culture”, and “Hindu society”, combined using Boolean operators to refine the scope and relevance of the results. To ensure the academic quality of the sources, priority was given to publications indexed in SINTA and Scopus, particularly those published between 2019 and 2024, reflecting the most recent developments in the field (Xiao & Watson, 2019).

The selection of literature followed a structured process involving identification, screening, eligibility assessment, and final inclusion. The initial search yielded approximately 120 publications, which were subsequently filtered through title and abstract screening to remove irrelevant and duplicate records. A total of 42 articles were subjected to full-text review, of which 30 were deemed most relevant and methodologically sound for inclusion in the final analysis. The inclusion criteria focused on studies addressing domestic violence, gender inequality, and socio-cultural dynamics during the COVID-19 pandemic, while non-academic sources and studies lacking direct relevance were excluded to maintain analytical precision (Snyder, 2019).

The data were analysed using thematic analysis, allowing for the identification of key patterns and recurring themes across the selected literature. The analysis emphasised the interrelation between structural gender inequalities, economic stressors, and cultural-religious frameworks, particularly within the Balinese Hindu context. The interpretation was grounded in a Hindu sociological framework, integrating gender theory with the ethical concepts of dharma and Tri Hita Karana to produce a culturally contextualised analysis. To enhance the validity and reliability of the

findings, the study employed source and theoretical triangulation, ensuring consistency and depth in the interpretation of data across multiple scholarly perspectives (Nowell et al., 2017)

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Dynamics of Domestic Violence Against Women During the COVID-19 Pandemic in Bali

Domestic violence against women during the COVID-19 pandemic in Bali can be understood as the result of intertwined socio-economic pressures, unequal gender relations, and culturally embedded power structures. The pandemic generated significant strain within households, particularly due to financial instability and mobility restrictions, which contributed to a rise in both the frequency and severity of domestic conflicts. Globally, violence against women increased during this period, leading the United Nations to describe it as a “shadow pandemic” accompanying COVID-19 (UN Women, 2020). A similar pattern emerged in Indonesia, where domestic violence remained the most frequently reported form of violence, especially within marital relationships (Komnas Perempuan, 2023).

In Bali, the situation became more acute due to the severe decline of the tourism industry, which is central to the regional economy. The loss of employment and household income heightened stress levels and intensified tensions within families. Empirical studies during the pandemic show that economic hardship often triggers domestic violence, as financial pressure can lead to frustration, diminished self-control, and emotional volatility (van Gelder et al., 2020). In such contexts, women—frequently positioned in subordinate roles—are disproportionately affected.

Additionally, social restriction policies, including remote working and limited mobility, increased the amount of time individuals spent within the household. This prolonged proximity reduced opportunities for victims to seek help or temporarily escape abusive situations. Research indicates that reduced social interaction during lockdowns limited access to support networks such as

family members, community groups, and formal institutions (Usher et al., 2020). Consequently, many incidents remained unreported, reinforcing the well-known “iceberg phenomenon” of gender-based violence.

From a sociological standpoint, these conditions should not be viewed solely as temporary consequences of the pandemic. Instead, they reflect deeper structural inequalities that predate the crisis. Gender relations in Bali, as in many societies, are shaped by patriarchal systems that legitimise male dominance and female subordination, particularly in access to resources, decision-making, and social expectations (Connell, 2020). During crises, such inequalities tend to intensify, thereby increasing women’s vulnerability to violence.

3.2 Internal and External Factors Contributing to Domestic Violence

Domestic violence during the COVID-19 pandemic in Bali can be examined through the interaction of internal and external factors that collectively contribute to its escalation. Internal factors relate to individual psychological conditions and behavioural tendencies, including stress, emotional instability, past trauma, and substance abuse. The pandemic significantly increased psychological pressure, which in turn heightened aggressive behaviour and weakened emotional control (Dyer et al., 2020). Under such circumstances, violence may emerge as an unhealthy coping mechanism.

Previous exposure to violence is also an important determinant. Research shows that individuals who experienced violence during childhood are more likely to reproduce similar behaviours in adulthood, thus perpetuating intergenerational cycles of violence (Humphreys et al., 2020). This highlights the need to address both immediate triggers and long-term psychological influences.

External factors include broader socio-economic conditions. Economic hardship stands out as a major contributing factor, especially in Bali where many households rely on tourism-related income. The pandemic led to job losses and reduced earnings, increasing financial strain within families. This situation not only elevates stress levels but also disrupts traditional gender expectations, particularly when men are unable to fulfil their role as primary providers (Peterman et al., 2020). Such disruptions may lead to frustration and loss of authority, which can manifest in violent behaviour.

Furthermore, the pandemic increased women’s domestic responsibilities. With school closures and

the shift to online learning, women were required to take on additional roles in childcare, education, and household management. This “double burden” intensified both physical and emotional exhaustion while reinforcing traditional gender divisions (Power, 2020). These imbalances can generate tension that may escalate into violence.

Cultural and social norms also influence the persistence of domestic violence. In many communities, it is considered a private matter, discouraging external intervention. This perception is reinforced by values that prioritise family unity and discourage public disclosure (Heise & Kotsadam, 2019), ultimately contributing to underreporting and the continuation of abuse.

3.3 Gender Relations and Patriarchal Structures in Balinese Society (Paraphrase)

Gender relations in Balinese society are deeply embedded within a patrilineal kinship system that structures not only familial roles but also broader social, cultural, and legal arrangements. Within this system, men are positioned as the primary lineage bearers (*purusa*), while women are generally situated as *pradana*, whose roles are largely associated with domestic responsibilities and reproductive functions. This structural positioning is not merely symbolic but carries material consequences, particularly in relation to inheritance rights, decision-making authority, and access to socio-economic resources. As a result, gender relations are characterised by asymmetrical power distributions that may render women more vulnerable within the domestic sphere, including exposure to various forms of violence (Lindsey, 2020).

Empirical data from Indonesia during the COVID-19 period reinforces the structural nature of this imbalance. Reports from Komnas Perempuan indicate that the majority of violence against women occurs in the domestic domain, consistently accounting for more than 70% of reported cases. In Bali specifically, regional reports have recorded hundreds of cases annually, with fluctuations during the pandemic years reflecting increased domestic pressures. Although precise figures vary across districts, the pattern remains consistent: women are disproportionately affected due to their structural positioning within the household and limited bargaining power in

decision-making processes (Komnas Perempuan, 2023; Laksmi, 2023).

The persistence of patriarchal values in Bali is further sustained through processes of socialisation that begin at an early age. Gender norms are transmitted through family structures, educational practices, and community rituals, all of which reinforce expectations regarding appropriate masculine and feminine roles. Boys are often socialised to assume leadership and authority, while girls are prepared for roles centred on caregiving, ritual responsibility, and domestic management. These norms are not imposed in a singular or overt manner but are internalised gradually, becoming part of the taken-for-granted social order. Consequently, gender inequality is often perceived not as a form of injustice but as a natural and legitimate arrangement, thereby reducing the likelihood of resistance or critique (Connell, 2020).

Cultural and customary institutions (*adat*) play a crucial role in maintaining and legitimising these gendered structures. In Balinese society, *desa adat* functions as a central institution regulating social life, including family relations, inheritance, and dispute resolution. While these institutions contribute significantly to social cohesion and cultural continuity, they may also reinforce patriarchal norms when gender equality is not explicitly addressed within their frameworks. For example, decision-making processes within *banjar* meetings are predominantly male-dominated, limiting women's participation in public deliberation and reinforcing their marginalisation in community governance (Putrawan, 2022).

The intersection between *adat* and religious practices further intensifies these dynamics. In Bali, religion is not separate from daily life but is deeply integrated into social organisation. Hindu rituals, temple obligations, and ceremonial responsibilities often require significant labour, much of which is performed by women. Despite their central role in sustaining religious life, women's contributions are frequently undervalued or considered extensions of their domestic duties. This dual burden—combining domestic labour with extensive ritual obligations—places women in a structurally disadvantaged position, particularly

during times of crisis such as the COVID-19 pandemic, when economic and social pressures intensify (Ardika & Parimartha, 2020).

The pandemic context further exposed and exacerbated existing gender inequalities. With the collapse of the tourism sector in Bali, many households experienced significant economic hardship, leading to shifts in traditional gender roles. In some cases, women became supplementary or even primary income earners through informal economic activities, while still maintaining their domestic and ritual responsibilities. This resulted in what scholars describe as a “triple burden”: productive, reproductive, and socio-cultural labour. Such conditions not only increase physical and emotional strain but may also generate tensions within households, particularly when traditional expectations of male authority are challenged (Power, 2020).

From a sociological perspective, these tensions can contribute to the emergence or escalation of domestic violence. When men experience a perceived loss of authority due to economic instability or shifting gender roles, violence may be used as a mechanism to reassert control. This dynamic is consistent with broader theories of hegemonic masculinity, which suggest that male identity is often constructed in relation to dominance and control, particularly within the private sphere of the household. During periods of crisis, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, these constructions may become more rigid, increasing the likelihood of conflict and violence (Jewkes et al., 2020).

In addition to structural and economic factors, symbolic and normative dimensions also play a significant role in shaping gender relations. Cultural expectations surrounding women's roles as obedient wives and devoted mothers can contribute to the normalisation of unequal treatment. In certain contexts, acts of domestic violence may be minimised or justified as forms of discipline, particularly when women are perceived to have deviated from socially prescribed roles. This normalisation is reinforced by social stigma surrounding divorce and family conflict, which discourages women from reporting abuse or seeking

external support. Consequently, many cases remain hidden, perpetuating the “iceberg phenomenon” of domestic violence (Heise & Kotsadam, 2019).

Legal frameworks in Indonesia, including Law No. 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence, provide formal protection for victims and establish mechanisms for reporting and prosecution. However, the effectiveness of these legal instruments is often constrained by socio-cultural factors. In Bali, the preference for resolving disputes within the family or community context may limit the utilisation of formal legal channels. Moreover, limited awareness of legal rights, combined with fear of social repercussions, can further discourage women from pursuing justice through institutional means (Ministry of Women’s Empowerment and Child Protection, 2023).

The role of education and socio-economic status also warrants consideration. Studies have shown that higher levels of education and economic independence can enhance women’s capacity to negotiate within the household and reduce vulnerability to violence. However, access to education and economic opportunities remains uneven, particularly in rural areas. During the pandemic, these disparities became more pronounced, as women in informal sectors faced greater economic insecurity without adequate social protection. This highlights the need to address structural inequalities not only at the cultural level but also within broader socio-economic systems (Kabeer, 2021).

Importantly, while patriarchal structures in Bali present significant challenges, they are neither static nor uncontested. Social change, driven by education, urbanisation, and global discourse on gender equality, has begun to influence attitudes and practices within Balinese society. Increasingly, there is recognition of the need to reinterpret cultural and religious norms in ways that promote inclusivity and justice. Women’s organisations, community groups, and academic institutions have played a key role in advocating for gender-sensitive policies and raising awareness about domestic violence.

Nevertheless, transformation remains gradual and uneven. Deeply rooted cultural values and institutional practices continue to shape gender

relations in ways that may limit the pace of change. Therefore, addressing domestic violence in Bali requires a multidimensional approach that engages with both structural and cultural dimensions. It is not sufficient to focus solely on individual behaviour; rather, there must be a broader effort to critically examine and transform the systems of meaning and power that underpin gender inequality.

In conclusion, gender relations and patriarchal structures in Balinese society constitute a fundamental context for understanding domestic violence against women, particularly during periods of crisis such as the COVID-19 pandemic. The interaction between patrilineal kinship, cultural norms, economic pressures, and institutional practices creates a complex environment in which inequality is both produced and sustained. While these structures present significant challenges, they also offer opportunities for transformation through critical engagement, education, and the reinterpretation of cultural and religious values. Addressing domestic violence, therefore, requires not only legal and economic interventions but also a sustained commitment to reshaping the social foundations of gender relations in a more equitable and humane direction (Connell, 2020; Komnas Perempuan, 2023; Kabeer, 2021)

3.4 Hindu Perspective: Dharma and Tri Hita Karana.

Domestic violence in the Balinese context can be more deeply interpreted through Hindu ethical and philosophical concepts, especially *dharma* and *Tri Hita Karana*. Within Hindu thought, *dharma* represents the moral order that guides individual behaviour and social harmony, emphasising righteousness, justice, and responsibility in human relationships. From this perspective, violence within the household fundamentally contradicts the ethical principles of *dharma*, as it disrupts moral balance and undermines human dignity, particularly that of women (Donder, 2021).

The concept of *Tri Hita Karana*, a foundational principle in Balinese Hinduism, further highlights the importance of harmony across three interconnected relationships: *parahyangan* (human-divine), *pawongan* (interpersonal), and *palemahan* (human-environment). Domestic violence reflects a breakdown in the *pawongan* dimension, where relationships that should be based on mutual

respect instead become characterised by domination and suffering (Ardika & Parimarta, 2020). This disharmony extends beyond individuals and affects the broader social order.

From a sociological viewpoint, the persistence of domestic violence in a society that upholds *Tri Hita Karana* reveals a gap between normative ideals and lived realities. Although harmony is emphasised as a guiding principle, its implementation is often shaped by existing power relations. Patriarchal interpretations may distort the meaning of *dharma*, allowing it to be used to justify male authority rather than promote equality (Putrawan, 2022).

Importantly, Hindu teachings do not inherently legitimise violence against women. On the contrary, they emphasise compassion, respect, and ethical conduct within family life. The discrepancy between scriptural values and social practices suggests that domestic violence is not rooted in religious doctrine itself, but rather in selective and contextual interpretations (Sharma, 2020). This distinction is crucial in developing culturally grounded approaches that reposition religion as a source of ethical guidance.

3.5 Religious Interpretation and Gender Bias.

Religious interpretation plays a significant role in shaping gender relations within Balinese Hindu society. Although Hindu philosophy promotes balance and harmony, its practical interpretation is often influenced by prevailing cultural norms, including patriarchal values. These interpretations may reinforce gender hierarchies by assigning distinct roles and expectations to men and women, thereby legitimising unequal power relations (Sugiharti, 2021).

In everyday practice, religious teachings are frequently understood in ways that emphasise women's responsibilities as loyal wives and caregivers, while simultaneously reinforcing male authority within the household. Such interpretations can contribute to the acceptance of women's subordinate position and limit their ability to resist or report violence. As a result, domestic violence may be perceived as a private issue or even as a consequence of failing to meet expected roles, leading to silence and underreporting (Heise & Kotsadam, 2019).

The interaction between religion and *adat* in Bali further strengthens this normative framework. While this integration supports social stability, it can also restrict women's autonomy when customary norms align with patriarchal structures. In such contexts, religious justification—whether explicit or implicit—may be used to maintain existing hierarchies, making efforts to address gender

inequality more complex (Lindsey, 2020).

However, religious interpretation is not fixed; it evolves alongside social change. Contemporary discourse increasingly promotes contextual and progressive interpretations that emphasise gender equality and human dignity. Within Hindu thought, this involves reinterpreting key concepts such as *dharma* to highlight mutual responsibility and ethical reciprocity between men and women (Donder, 2021). Such reinterpretations are essential in transforming religion into a constructive force for empowerment rather than a tool of domination.

3.6 Prevention Efforts Based on Hindu Cultural Values (Paraphrase)

Efforts to prevent domestic violence in Bali require an approach that goes beyond formal legal mechanisms by incorporating cultural and religious dimensions. Considering the central role of Hindu values in Balinese society, preventive strategies should engage with these normative frameworks to enhance both effectiveness and sustainability. In this regard, the principles of *dharma* and *Tri Hita Karana* provide an ethical foundation for promoting non-violence, mutual respect, and social balance (Ardika & Parimarta, 2020).

At the household level, the internalisation of ethical teachings derived from Hindu philosophy can significantly influence attitudes and behaviour. Educational initiatives that emphasise harmonious relationships, emotional self-regulation, and respect among family members are essential in preventing conflicts from escalating into violence. These values can be cultivated through formal education, community-based programmes, and religious instruction, thereby embedding a culture of non-violence from an early stage (Putrawan, 2022).

At the community level, traditional institutions such as *desa adat*, along with religious authorities including *pemangku* and *sulinggih*, play a strategic role in shaping social norms and mediating disputes. These actors possess strong moral authority and can actively contribute to prevention efforts by raising awareness, facilitating dialogue, and offering culturally appropriate interventions. The adoption of restorative approaches—focusing on reconciliation and the restoration of social harmony—aligns closely with the philosophical foundations of *Tri Hita Karana*, providing an alternative to purely punitive responses (Suryani, 2021).

Furthermore, effective prevention requires collaboration between governmental institutions and community-based organisations. Legal instruments, such as Law No. 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence, establish formal

protection for victims; however, their implementation must be complemented by culturally sensitive strategies that reflect local values and social realities. By integrating legal, social, and religious approaches, a more holistic framework can be developed to address both the immediate manifestations and the underlying causes of domestic violence (Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, 2023).

In essence, preventing domestic violence in Bali demands a multidimensional strategy that combines regulatory enforcement with cultural transformation. Rearticulating Hindu values in a way that emphasises gender equality, ethical responsibility, and social justice is crucial for fostering a more inclusive and harmonious society where violence against women is no longer tolerated.

IV. CONCLUSION

Domestic violence against women during the COVID-19 pandemic in Bali reveals a deeply layered phenomenon shaped by the intersection of socio-economic disruption, gender inequality, and culturally embedded power relations. The pandemic did not create the problem in isolation; rather, it intensified pre-existing structural vulnerabilities within the household and society. Economic instability, loss of livelihood, and prolonged domestic confinement heightened psychological stress and conflict, while entrenched patriarchal norms continued to position women in subordinate roles, limiting their capacity to resist or report violence. As a result, domestic violence emerged not only as a consequence of crisis conditions but also as a reflection of enduring social imbalances.

From a Hindu sociological perspective, this condition signifies a fundamental disjunction between normative religious values and social practice. The principles of dharma, which emphasise moral responsibility, justice, and ethical conduct, and Tri Hita Karana, which upholds harmony in human relations, provide a strong philosophical foundation for non-violence and mutual respect within the household. However, the persistence of domestic violence indicates that these values are not always internalised or are interpreted in ways that sustain hierarchical gender relations. This gap underscores the need for a critical re-engagement with religious teachings, ensuring that they are understood in a manner that

promotes equality, dignity, and social harmony. Ultimately, addressing domestic violence in Bali requires a multidimensional approach that transcends legal and economic interventions alone. It necessitates the transformation of cultural and religious consciousness, the strengthening of community-based institutions, and the promotion of gender-equitable interpretations of Hindu values. By aligning social practice with ethical principles, it is possible to foster a more harmonious and just society in which the dignity and rights of women are fully recognised and protected.

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