

## THE IMPLEMENTATION OF RESTORATIVE JUSTICE IN DOMESTIC VIOLENCE CRIMES (A STUDY IN THE TOBA POLICE RESORT JURISDICTION)

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### ABSTRACT

This research implementation of the Restorative Justice approach in handling domestic violence (KDRT) cases in the Polres Toba jurisdiction. Restorative Justice is a conflict resolution method that emphasizes the restoration of relationships between victims, perpetrators, families, and the community, as an alternative to the formal court process, which tends to be repressive. The research method used is field research with a descriptive case study approach, involving observation, in-depth interviews, and document analysis. The research informants include police officers, particularly from the Women and Children Service Unit (PPA), related legal institutions, victims, and perpetrators. The results show that Restorative Justice in Polres Toba has been successfully implemented by leveraging local wisdom values such as deliberation (*musyawarah*), the role of traditional leaders, and mutual cooperation (*gotong royong*), which support a dialogical and participatory mediation and conflict resolution process. This process involves mediation stages facilitated by officers, active involvement of families, and internal regulatory support that provides the legal basis for the implementation of restorative justice. However, the application of Restorative Justice still faces challenges such as limited resources, lack of public understanding, and conflicts between customary values and victim protection. The study concludes that Restorative Justice is an effective alternative for resolving domestic violence cases in Polres Toba by providing fair and humane solutions. This research recommends increasing socialization efforts, training for officers, and strengthening inter-agency coordination to optimize the implementation of Restorative Justice in the future.

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### INTRODUCTIONS

Domestic violence (KDRT) is one form of human rights violation that threatens the well-being of both families and society. This phenomenon not only impacts victims physically but also creates long-lasting psychological trauma.

In Indonesia, domestic violence has become a serious concern for both the government and society, particularly as the number of cases continues to increase each year. Based on data from the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, the number of cases of violence against women, including domestic violence, has risen significantly in recent years. Data from the Online Information System for the Protection of Women and Children (SIMFONI PPA) show that in 2019 there were approximately 11,105 reported cases of domestic violence, while in 2023 this figure increased to 15,987 cases (Sibero et al., 2026). These numbers indicate that despite the existence of regulations governing the handling of domestic violence, such cases remain an issue that cannot yet be fully controlled. In Toba Regency, data on domestic violence remain limited; however, trends in North Sumatra suggest that similar cases are also occurring in this region. According to the North Sumatra Office of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (2023), there were 1,532 recorded cases of violence against women and children in the province. Although not all of these cases fall under domestic violence, the data highlight that violence in the domestic sphere continues to be a problem requiring serious attention (Supriyanto & Sulaiman, 2025).

In general, the resolution of domestic violence cases in Indonesia still relies on a retributive approach through the criminal justice system. This often results in outcomes that are not necessarily beneficial for either victims or perpetrators. Victims, for example, are often reluctant to report their cases due to fear of social and economic consequences if the perpetrator—who is usually the head of the household—is subjected to criminal sanctions. In many cases, victims also face social pressure to reconcile and withdraw from legal proceedings due to cultural and economic factors (Cahayani et al., 2024).

As an alternative, the concept of restorative justice has been introduced in handling domestic violence cases in Indonesia. Restorative justice focuses on restoring relationships between victims and perpetrators through mediation and consensus-based resolution, rather than mere punishment. This model has been adopted into national legal policy through the Attorney General's Regulation No. 15 of 2020 on the Termination of Prosecution Based on Restorative Justice. This regulation allows certain cases, including domestic violence, to be resolved outside the courtroom by considering the well-being of both victims and perpetrators (Manik & Husna, 2023).

The application of restorative justice in domestic violence cases has shown positive outcomes in several regions. For example, a study conducted by Aziz et al. (2023) in Sorong City found that approximately 90% of domestic violence cases resolved through this approach successfully achieved reconciliation between victims and perpetrators. Moreover, this approach has been shown to reduce recidivism rates by fostering mechanisms of relationship restoration and social responsibility between both parties. Within the context of Indonesian criminal law, such an approach contributes to reforming the justice system by emphasizing recovery and sustainable justice.

Nevertheless, the application of restorative justice in domestic violence cases is not without challenges. One risk is that perpetrators may exploit this approach to avoid harsher punishments, especially when the violence is severe or repeated. In addition, within communities that remain strongly influenced by patriarchal culture, domestic violence victims often lack sufficient bargaining power in the mediation process, leaving them vulnerable to pressure to accept reconciliation even when it is not in their best interest. Another critical factor influencing the effectiveness of restorative justice in domestic violence cases is the involvement of law enforcement officials. Previous research indicates that the success of this approach largely depends on the understanding and commitment of police officers and prosecutors in fairly and proportionally implementing restorative justice principles. A lack of training for law enforcement officers regarding this approach may serve as a major obstacle in its practical application (Rahmawati, 2025). Based on the discussion above, it is important to further investigate how restorative justice is implemented in resolving domestic violence cases in the jurisdiction of the Toba Police Resort. This research will explore how the approach is applied at the police level, the supporting and inhibiting factors for its success, and its impact on both victims and perpetrators. By understanding the dynamics of restorative justice implementation in the local context, this study is expected to contribute to the development of more effective policies for addressing domestic violence in Indonesia.

## METHOD

This study employs a juridical-sociological approach to examine the application of law within social reality, analyzing both the regulations governing restorative justice and the handling of domestic violence (DV) by the police, as well as how these policies are implemented and perceived by society. It adopts a qualitative research design with a descriptive-analytical method aimed at systematically describing empirical facts concerning the application of restorative justice by the police in the Toba District Police, North Sumatra. The location was chosen due to its relatively high number of DV cases, the existence of restorative justice practices suitable as case studies, and the accessibility for direct data collection. The data consist of primary sources obtained through in-depth interviews with police officers, victims, perpetrators, and NGOs focusing on women and child protection, as well as secondary sources drawn from legislation, academic journals, books, scholarly articles, and annual police reports on DV cases. Data collection techniques include semi-structured interviews, participatory observation of mediation processes, and documentation studies of official reports and related organizational records. The analysis was conducted using descriptive-qualitative methods through data reduction, presentation, and conclusion drawing, with verification ensured by cross-source comparison. To ensure data validity, the study employed source and method triangulation, member checking, and an audit trail. Ethical considerations were prioritized by obtaining informed consent, ensuring respondent anonymity, and safeguarding participants from psychological harm during interviews and observations (Barocas et al., 2023; Syafitri & Warman, 2024).

The study is limited to the role of the police in implementing restorative justice in DV cases within the jurisdiction of the Toba District Police during 2025, supported by documentation from 2020–2024. The legal framework analyzed is restricted to Indonesian regulations, including Law No. 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence, Police Regulation No. 8 of 2021, the Chief of Police Circular No. SE/8/VII/2018, and the Attorney General's Regulation No. 15 of 2020, without discussing foreign policies except for conceptual comparison. As an exploratory qualitative study, it does not employ quantitative or inferential statistical analysis, and it focuses solely on DV cases that did not result in severe injury or death. Within these boundaries, the research seeks to provide significant contributions to understanding and evaluating the role of the police in implementing restorative justice in domestic contexts.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSIONS

### Domestic Violence Crimes in the Jurisdiction of Toba District Police

Domestic violence (KDRT) remains a serious issue within society. Often referred to as domestic violence because it occurs within the family or domestic sphere, this issue began to receive particular attention from the Indonesian government during the reform era. The discussion of domestic violence first emerged publicly in a seminar organized by the Center for Legal Services and Community Engagement at the University of Indonesia in 1991. The seminar highlighted the reality of violence that had long been hidden and rarely addressed, either by society or by law enforcement authorities—namely, violence that occurs within the household itself (Hardianto et al., 2023).

At the seminar, a proposal was raised to establish a specific law addressing domestic violence. This sparked debate: some supported the idea, arguing that the existing Criminal Code was insufficient to protect victims, while others opposed it, reasoning that current regulations were adequate. Despite differing views, the momentum from this discussion encouraged activists, particularly women supported by some men, to continue pushing against the culture of silence surrounding victims of domestic violence. From that point onward, awareness grew that domestic violence was no longer merely a private matter but a collective issue requiring systemic resolution (Widiartana et al., 2025).

Victims of domestic violence can include husbands, wives, or children, all of whom are entitled to protection and their fundamental rights, as enshrined in Law No. 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence. This law specifically outlines provisions guaranteeing victims' rights, with the aim of ensuring state and community protection and preventing victims from experiencing prolonged trauma. The law's preamble emphasizes that victims, who are often women, must be safeguarded from all forms of violence, threats, torture, and degrading treatment. The state and society bear both moral and legal responsibilities to ensure victims live safely, free from fear, and with restored dignity.

In practice, however, Indonesia's legal system has often prioritized the rights of suspects or defendants over those of victims. Victims of crime frequently feel inadequately protected, both emotionally and materially. In many cases, victims are treated merely as witnesses, serving only as instruments of evidence to strengthen indictments, rather than as central actors entitled to justice and recovery. This limited involvement reduces their opportunities to fully express their experiences and claim their rights. Yet, restoring the condition of victims is as important as imposing punishment on perpetrators (Sopacua, 2024).

Within the jurisdiction of Toba District Police, domestic violence continues to be a matter of concern. Not all cases are formally recorded, but official data reveal that several reports are filed each year. The following figures illustrate the number of domestic violence cases recorded in Toba District from 2021 to early 2025, offering insight into the seriousness of the issue and the necessity for effective interventions. The data show a consistent annual increase in reported domestic violence cases, peaking in 2024. However, in the first two months of 2025, the number of reports dropped significantly, though this cannot yet be considered a trend given the limited timeframe (Kanda & Herawati, 2024).

In 2021, there were 11 reported cases, of which two remained under investigation, four were resolved through restorative justice (RJ), and five reached the prosecution stage (P21). The following year, 2022, saw a sharp rise to 25 cases, with only two still under investigation and one case referred to the prosecutor's office. Remarkably, 22 cases were settled through RJ, reflecting a strong preference for reconciliation and mediation. In 2023, reports increased to 29 cases, with a similar pattern: one under investigation, three reaching P21, and the majority (25 cases) resolved through RJ. In 2024, the number rose to 36 cases, the highest during the period. Of these, four remained under investigation, three proceeded to inquiry, three achieved P21, and 26 were settled through RJ. By February 2025, only three cases had been reported, all still under investigation. None had progressed to prosecution, inquiry, or restorative justice at that point. As the data cover only the early months of the year, it remains unclear whether this decline indicates a broader trend or simply reflects delayed reporting.

Overall, the data suggest that while domestic violence cases have risen annually, most have been resolved through non-litigation mechanisms. This may point to limitations in the criminal justice system in providing adequate access to justice for victims, or to a societal preference for peaceful resolution. Nevertheless, it is crucial to question whether RJ truly provides justice and recovery for victims, or whether it instead serves as a means to avoid the formal legal process that should be pursued. The Application of Restorative Justice in Resolving Domestic Violence (DV) Cases within the Toba District Police Jurisdiction Domestic violence (DV) was initially handled entirely through the criminal justice system grounded in the principle of retributive justice, which emphasizes punishment of the offender. Within this view, the harm or suffering of victims is deemed "compensated" by the threat or imposition of penal sanctions on the perpetrator, placing the entire resolution process in the hands of law enforcement authorities.

This perspective stems from the retributive conception of criminal law that treats a crime as an offense against the state. The state, positioned as the injured party, is thus entitled—through its apparatus—to prosecute and punish the offender, while the victim's voice and suffering often become abstract and receive little space in the legal process. Linguistically, the Indonesian Dictionary defines "penganiayaan" (ill-treatment/assault) as arbitrary conduct, encompassing both physical and psychological aspects. However, in law—particularly Article 351 of the Indonesian Criminal Code (KUHP) on assault—no explicit definition is provided. R. Soesilo, in *Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana Serta Komentar-Komentarnya*, explains that, based on jurisprudence, assault is an act intentionally causing discomfort, pain, injury, or suffering; it also includes deliberate acts that impair another's health. Accordingly, although the state prosecutes and punishes DV offenders, it remains necessary to question the extent to which the system affords victims the space to achieve full recovery—physically, psychologically, and socially. This underlies calls for approaches that prioritize victim restoration rather than punishment alone (Nasution, 2024).

In a retributive framework, case resolution is built upon the relationship between the offender—who has violated state law—and the state as the injured party. The offender is thus set against the state, while the victim is frequently excluded from proceedings that directly concern them. Consequently, victims' needs and aspirations for

justice are often neglected or not considered at all, even though morally and legally justice should be accorded to the party whose rights were violated.

Courts, including criminal courts, ought to provide victims with legal certainty and remedies. In practice, however, many judicial decisions fail to meet victims' expectations; not a few leave victims disappointed, feeling that justice remains elusive even after proceedings conclude. This exposes a gap between the ideals of justice and the realities of enforcement.

Contrary to the punitive focus of retributive approaches, restorative justice emphasizes repairing and restoring the victim's condition. Offenders remain accountable, but not solely through penalties; the process aims to enable tangible victim recovery. Restorative justice creates space for active victim participation and considers the offender's rehabilitation so they may reintegrate without reoffending, while also safeguarding social harmony and order. In short, it seeks humane, holistic solutions that punish when necessary yet also restore, reconcile, and prevent recurrence (Mulyadi et al., 2024).

As restorative justice has developed, the notion of substantive justice has also gained traction—stressing recovery for victims both physically and psychologically. Legal scholar Suteki argues this may entail, in certain conditions, non-enforcement of law to uphold humanity, human rights, democracy, morality, and ethics. Substantive justice—often called “true justice”—relies not only on black-letter rules but also conscience; moral, ethical, and even religious values inform judgments. Unlike formal justice, which privileges technical legality, substantive justice prioritizes humanity and the common good, measuring decisions by the peace and satisfaction they produce for society rather than the number of provisions satisfied.

Penal mediation, inspired by restorative justice, is a breakthrough in criminal law. Aligned with substantive justice, it reframes criminal case resolution—including DV—not as punishment-centric but as recovery- and reconciliation-oriented. Restorative justice seeks a more balanced penal system by offering an alternative to conventional criminal justice. Rather than emphasizing punishment, it prioritizes dialogue and cooperation among offender, victim, and community to craft joint solutions and rebuild relationships (Pane, 2023).

Within this approach, offenders are encouraged to admit wrongdoing, apologize, and demonstrate good faith in repairing harm. Victims are afforded space to convey their feelings, emotional needs, and expectations for resolution—thereby fostering a more humane sense of justice. Penal mediation serves as a key vehicle for these principles: it enables out-of-court settlements that are more efficient and substantively just, especially in cases involving complex social relationships.

Applied to DV, penal mediation can offer a more comprehensive solution: instead of prolonging trauma through adversarial trials, victims can be empowered in a safe, constructive dialogue, while offenders are given a monitored opportunity for change and redress. Even so, application must be cautious. Not all cases are suitable for restorative pathways; in severe or repeated violence, victim protection must remain paramount. Rigorous case assessment is thus indispensable prior to mediation.

Restorative justice and penal mediation do not equate to impunity. On the contrary, they demand greater moral accountability: offenders must actively participate in recovery processes and accept social consequences. Community participation is likewise central—no longer passive observers, communities help create environments supportive of recovery and future prevention, thereby restoring social balance disrupted by crime.

In practice, penal mediation's success depends heavily on the quality of facilitators or mediators—competent, empathetic, and legally literate. Without neutrality and skill, mediation may drift and fail. Normatively, several jurisdictions—including the Netherlands, Canada, and New Zealand—have officially adopted restorative justice, especially for minor offenses and juvenile cases. Indonesia has begun similar steps through police and prosecutorial policies (Manik & Husna, 2023).

In Indonesia, National Police Regulation No. 8 of 2021 on Handling Criminal Offenses Based on Restorative Justice serves as a cornerstone, allowing case resolution through restorative means subject to specific conditions. Nonetheless, challenges persist, notably a public legal culture still oriented toward retribution. Many continue to equate justice with physical punishment or imprisonment; legal education and paradigm shifts are therefore crucial.

Bureaucratic inertia also hinders penal mediation; institutional reforms and intensive training for law enforcement on restorative principles and techniques are needed for effective, sustainable implementation.

Benefits extend beyond victims and offenders to the justice system at large: by reducing court caseloads, the state can conserve resources and concentrate on more serious, urgent matters. Philosophically, restorative justice reflects a reconciliatory spirit of law rather than a purely retributive one, humanizing legal processes as instruments of recovery rather than mere retaliation—resonant with Pancasila values and Indonesia’s gotong royong culture. Crucially, penal mediation succeeds only when all parties participate voluntarily and on equal footing; coercion undermines the very justice sought. Thus voluntariness, honesty, and openness are fundamental principles.

It is also important to strengthen the legal framework supporting restorative justice. Statutes that explicitly delineate limits, procedures, and rights protections in mediation will provide legal certainty and prevent abuse. Under Law No. 11 of 2012 on the Juvenile Criminal Justice System, restorative justice resolves cases by involving all parties—offender, victim, families, and other stakeholders—to seek a fair settlement aimed not at retaliation but at restoring the situation. This underscores that restorative justice constitutes an alternative resolution model engaging all parties to achieve a more humane sense of justice (Cahayani et al., 2024).

Analysis of restorative justice in Indonesia may be conducted from two angles: theoretically (definitions, aims, principles, and models) and normatively (legal bases and technical guidelines for field implementation). Its overarching goal is a fairer, more balanced penal system, offering a humane alternative to conventional punishment-oriented processes by emphasizing relationship repair and offender reintegration. Dialogue and active participation are central, aiming to restore social equilibrium damaged by crime—particularly pertinent to interpersonal cases such as DV and offenses involving children. A principal strength is the direct involvement of the parties: victims articulate impacts and needs, while offenders acknowledge wrongdoing and commit to repair—cultivating responsibility, empathy, and moral awareness, and enabling renewed social harmony.

Within the Toba District Police, DV handling follows official procedures. Cases begin with reports to the Integrated Police Service Center (SPKT). Upon receipt, the SPKT attaches a disposition letter and forwards it to the Police Chief (Kapolres), who issues an assignment order for further inquiry and investigation. If preliminary evidence is found sufficient at the inquiry stage, the SPKT registers a formal police report, which is then returned to the Kapolres for an investigation order and handed to the Women and Children Protection Unit (PPA) under the Criminal Investigation Division (Reskrim). Investigators then exercise their duties and powers in accordance with the Code of Criminal Procedure (KUHAP). Specifically for DV, the legal basis refers to Article 54 of Law No. 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence, which stipulates that investigation, prosecution, and trial are conducted under the criminal procedure law unless special provisions in the DV law provide otherwise (Zurnetti & Muliati, 2022).

### **Supporting and Inhibiting Factors in the Application of Restorative Justice in Domestic Violence (DV) Cases within the Toba District Police Jurisdiction**

Restorative justice is an approach to criminal case resolution that focuses on repairing relationships between victims and perpetrators, with the primary aim of achieving peace and restorative justice outside formal court mechanisms. This approach seeks to resolve legal problems arising from criminal acts in a peaceful, participatory manner that is satisfactory to all parties involved (Susilawati et al., 2025).

An investigator from the Criminal Investigation Directorate (Ditreskrim) assigned to the Women and Children Protection Unit (PPA) of the Toba District Police explained that the strong kinship-based social structure in Toba society constitutes a key asset, as the values of deliberation (*musyawarah*), mutual assistance (*gotong royong*), and the roles of customary leaders align closely with the restorative justice ethos of relational repair. According to the investigator, a growing legal awareness and public openness to amicable settlement—while still relying on customary mechanisms—has become a bridge between modern law and local wisdom. “The PPA Unit also plays a major role as a liaison among victims, perpetrators, and supporting institutions, as its officers are trained in victim-sensitive mediation,” the investigator added. The importance of regulatory support—such as National Police Regulation (Perpol) No. 8 of 2021—was also emphasized as a legal basis for restorative settlements. Equally crucial, the

investigator continued, are the roles of customary and religious leaders, extended family support, the availability of safe mediation spaces, training for officers, and the perpetrator's commitment to change.

*"We do not work alone," the investigator noted; "support from institutions such as P2TP2A and cross-agency coordination is essential to ensure the process remains lawful, humane, and protective of victims' rights." (Interview with a Ditreskrim-PPA investigator, Toba District Police, May 2025).*

The implementation of restorative justice in DV cases within the Toba District Police is shaped by a number of enabling factors that make this approach viable. As a region with strong kinship structures, the socio-cultural context of Toba society provides essential capital for dialogic and participatory resolution. Traditions of deliberation, the authority of customary leaders, and the value of mutual assistance form a social foundation consonant with restorative justice—namely, the restoration of relationships and shared responsibility for conflict.

First, public legal awareness and openness to peaceful conflict resolution support the adoption of restorative justice. Although many people in Toba still rely on family- or custom-based settlement, they are increasingly receptive to a humane, modern legal approach. In this sense, restorative justice serves as a bridge between the formal legal system and local wisdom. With police-facilitated mediation, cases can be resolved without diminishing the meaning of justice for either victims or perpetrators. Second, the active role of the PPA Unit under the Toba District Police is pivotal. The unit functions as a hub among victims, perpetrators, and related agencies—such as social workers, psychologists, and community figures. PPA officers are generally trained in victim-sensitive communication and understand mediation procedures in DV cases, helping ensure that restorative processes do not impose new burdens on victims but instead promote genuine recovery. Third, institutional regulation and internal policy support within the police are decisive. The Indonesian National Police have issued Perpol No. 8 of 2021 on Handling Criminal Offenses Based on Restorative Justice, providing a legal basis for regional units—including the Toba District Police—to pursue out-of-court settlements that honor fairness, balance, and victim protection. This regulatory umbrella enables legally sound and accountable mediation in DV matters.

Fourth, the involvement of customary and religious leaders strengthens the process. In Toba society, customary authorities remain respected and influential, frequently acting as informal mediators who facilitate dialogue among disputing parties. Their support lends social legitimacy and increases the likelihood of durable peace agreements—particularly relevant in DV cases where family relationships require culturally informed repair. Fifth, support from the extended family and surrounding environment is often decisive. In many DV cases in Toba, extended kin participate in mediation, either as intermediaries or as guarantors of the perpetrator's behavioral change. Within restorative justice, family involvement provides moral assurance against reoffending and constitutes an important support network for the victim's psychological and social recovery.

Sixth, readiness and availability of police-provided mediation facilities matter. At the Toba District Police, dedicated counseling or mediation rooms offer a safe, appropriate setting for calm and professional proceedings—spaces designed to protect victims while enabling perpetrators to express remorse and commitment without coercion. Such infrastructure is a critical technical element of restorative practice. Seventh, sustained training and capacity building for law enforcement on restorative justice are essential. The Toba District Police periodically collaborate with NGOs, academics, and police training institutions to strengthen the skills of investigators and PPA officers. With a solid grasp of restorative principles, officers can serve as fair, judicious facilitators in DV mediation. Eighth, the perpetrator's commitment to change and demonstrated remorse is a key determinant of success. Many DV offenders in Toba agree to mediation due to moral pressure from family or growing personal awareness of the harm they have caused. Such good faith is indispensable: restorative justice cannot function without acknowledgment of wrongdoing and willingness to repair the damage.

Finally, ninth and tenth, support from victim-assistance organizations and inter-agency coordination are vital. Institutions such as P2TP2A (Integrated Service Center for the Empowerment of Women and Children), faith-based social organizations, and social services provide protection, counseling, and empowerment for victims. Coordination among the police, prosecution service, and courts is also necessary to ensure that restorative processes remain within

legal bounds and uphold victims' rights. This multi-institutional collaboration forms a robust foundation for the effective application of restorative justice in DV cases within the Toba District Police jurisdiction.

## CONCLUSION

The implementation of restorative justice at the Toba District Police demonstrates a strong commitment to resolving domestic violence cases in a humane and equitable manner by drawing upon local wisdom, engaging multiple stakeholders, and utilizing adequate regulatory support to restore social relations and create fair solutions for both victims and perpetrators. Restorative justice at the Toba District Police successfully incorporates the rich socio-cultural values of the local community, such as the tradition of deliberation (*musyawarah*), the role of customary leaders, and the spirit of mutual cooperation (*gotong royong*), which reinforce the dialogic and participatory resolution of domestic violence cases. This approach enables both victims and perpetrators to be actively involved in mediation facilitated by the Women and Children Protection Unit (PPA), ensuring that case resolution emphasizes not only formal legal aspects but also the restoration of relationships and shared responsibility. Furthermore, the success of restorative justice implementation in Toba is supported by clear regulations, adequate training for officers, and strong cross-institutional coordination. Although challenges remain—such as limited resources and varying levels of public understanding—the commitment of law enforcement officers, perpetrators, families, and support institutions positions this approach as an effective alternative for resolving domestic violence cases in a fair, humane, and sustainable manner.

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