

# A Scoping Review of Risk Factors for Intimate Partner Violence Perpetrators in Indonesia

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**Abstract.** Intimate partners are reported by the National Commission on Violence Against Women to be the primary perpetrators of sexual violence. However, the government has limited its perpetrator-focused intervention to enforcing the law. Meanwhile, there has been a growing interest in understanding Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) ecologically and developing interventions that go beyond punishing the perpetrators. This systematic literature review aimed to explore the risk factors of IPV perpetrators in Indonesia. There were 3309 articles generated from databases. Five articles were included, and the result confirms the scarcity of Indonesian papers on: (1) the usage of the IPV term; (2) the exploration of IPV perpetrator risk factors; and (3) the poor quality of existing research on IPV. It is evident within the five articles that individual and societal risk factors are interconnected in Indonesia. Recommendations are threefold: (1) researchers are recommended to employ the term IPV, include couples despite their marital status, and explore risk factors of IPV perpetrators; (2) clinicians are suggested to adopt the ecological framework and collaborate with government and non-government institutions to advocate the importance of perpetrator-focused interventions; (3) institutions are suggested to design preventive measures according to the ecological model.

**Keywords:** intimate partner violence; perpetrator; systematic literature review

## Introduction

In the past decade, Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) in Indonesia has escalated to a concerning level. Recent cases that captured national attention include a husband who stabbed his wife in the face after an argument in North Sumatera (Nursalikhah, 2021), a wife who was murdered by her husband because she wanted to marry another man in Jakarta (Sani, 2022), and a female university student who committed suicide after being raped by her boyfriend and forced to abort her pregnancy (Larasati, 2021). Indonesia's National Commission on Violence Against Women (*KOMNAS Perempuan*) reported that in 2020, there were fewer cases of violence against women. The decrease was assumed to be the result of victims not being able to leave their houses during the Covid-19 crisis, thus forced to stay

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with the perpetrators, their husbands. The report also presents the prevalence of dating violence that equated to most of the sexual violence cases (National Commission on Violence against Women, 2021).

The definition of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) frequently references physical, psychological, and sexual violence, suggesting that these forms of violence may coexist (Brown, 2014). Carlson (2008) describes that "IPV is violence against women by men and consists of physical, emotional, sexual, or psychological abuse or violence committed by intimate partners or acquaintances, including persons who are current or former spouses, cohabiting partners, boyfriends, and dates." Similarly, the World Health Organization (2021) defines IPV as "any behavior within an intimate relationship that causes physical, sexual, or psychological harm to those in the relationship, including acts of physical aggression, sexual coercion, psychological abuse, and controlling behavior."

Aggression is another commonly used term in the context of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV), and it is often viewed as interchangeable with abuse, violence, and assault. There is no consensus in the field of IPV regarding the differences among these terminologies, thus resulting in a loose translation when put into research and practice (Geffner, 2016). A growing number of studies have been discussing the operationalization of coercive control as a motif of violence perpetration (Bishop & Bettinson, 2018; Candela, 2016; Myhill & Hohl, 2019). Coercive control includes being possessive (Buunk & Massar, 2021), withholding affection (Stark, 2013), and abusing financial resources (Toews & Bermea, 2017). In fact, being in a coercive and violent relationship is shown to be more damaging than physical aggression (Graham-Kevan & Archer, 2008).

Similarly, like other SEA countries, Indonesia holds complex religious and social norms, from its infrastructures to womanhood, including women's job opportunities and violence against women (Fatouros & Capetola, 2021; Kis-Katos et al., 2018). Additionally, the country faces ongoing challenges posed by natural hazards, which affect certain demographics more acutely, particularly women, who are among the most vulnerable populations (Fatouros & Capetola, 2021). However, Indonesia is globally recognized for its diversity of cultures and traditions, which brings numerous financial advantages but leaves the country with conflicting traditional norms and modern state laws it has been trying to impose (Kis-Katos et al., 2018). With the complexity of Indonesia's economic status as a low-middle-income country (Aviliani et al., 2014) and its sociocultural context, it is more likely for the country to face a more challenging situation when dealing with IPV, compared to the rest of the world. In Indonesia, there are major mental health consequences of IPV: depression (Ratnasari, 2013); PTSD (Hapsari, 2012); and anxiety (Ayu et al., 2013).

In response to this escalating problem, government and non-government institutions have been taking preventive measures. On the protection of victims, recently, Law No 12 of 2022 on Elimination of Sexual Violence Crimes was enacted by The House of Representatives of Indonesia in April 2022. The law acknowledges nine forms of sexual violence including non-physical sexual assaults and forced marriage (The Parliament of Indonesia, 2022). It has been largely supported by Indonesians, despite years of controversy due to claims from an Islamic party that the bill supported the "legalization of adultery" and "LGBTQ behaviors" (Gerlach, 2022). However, the recently enacted Criminal Code of 2022 (KUHP) is criticized for potentially imprisoning sexual violence victims for adultery (Ekawati,

2022), as the code is against pre-marital sex. It shows a lack of systemic protection for victims, as well as inconsistent government measures to eliminate violence. It also contradicts the small number of institutions that have been conducting counseling for perpetrators (Annisa, 2020) and engaging men and boys (United Nations Fund for Population Activities, 2018). The coverage of the existing perpetrator-focused intervention is yet to serve the larger aim of preventing IPV in the country. In the context of global practices, a systematic review of perpetrator-based interventions across several European countries, including Finland, Germany, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom, indicates the necessity for counseling programs that are specifically tailored to the unique characteristics of the perpetrators (Akoensi et al., 2013).

This lack of perpetrator-focused prevention and intervention is mirrored in academic papers in Indonesia that rarely discuss IPV perpetrators. A number of papers focus on law enforcement of violence perpetration (Anggoman, 2019; Mardiya, 2017; Ninik et al., 2014; Taufik, 2021), and only a relatively limited number of papers explore the psychological, if not the larger ecological dynamic of IPV perpetrators (Andriani & Afdal, 2020). On one side, it is true that law is one part of the societal factor in the model, but the other three factors—individual, relational, and community—are just as crucial within the societal factor. This reflects an under-representation of perpetrators as equally important parties of interpersonal violence, even under the widely researched subjects of victims within the country. To date, the internal dynamic of perpetrators has been addressed in a few but growing number of studies (Andriani & Afdal, 2020; Handayani & Sari, 2011; Listaunsanti, 2015; Zahrawaani & Nurhaeni, 2020).

Thus, this research aims to explore the risk factors of perpetrators of IPV in Indonesia. In practice, studying risk factors is useful to specify and target certain modifiable factors, with the aim of lowering the chance of the specific predictor causing violence (Setiawati, 2018). It is also expected that understanding the risk factors of IPV perpetration would contribute to improving the quality of more integrated prevention and treatment for IPV cases. Furthermore, this aligns with *KOMNAS Perempuan's* aim to "prevent and overcome all forms of violence against women and protect women's human rights (National Commission on Violence against Women, 2021)" by conducting measures that operate on levels that go beyond punishing the wrongdoers.

#### *Understanding IPV Perpetration from The Ecological Model*

Bronfenbrenner (1979) first used the ecological model to identify children's developmental stages. This framework was first used to understand violence in 1998 by Heise (1998). The ecological model is a framework that understands mental health and well-being using a thorough lens that brings together individuals, relationships, communities, and society, and has been used in a number of public health-related research studies as a guide in analyzing the findings (Wold & Mittelmark, 2018). Besides being used to examine a health phenomenon from its preventive measures, the ecological model is useful to design comprehensive interventions. According to the model, the four layers influence each other and create risk and protective factors for victimization and perpetration (Krug et al., 2002).

The Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) prevents the occurrence of violence by

using the framework "to better understand violence and the effect of potential prevention strategies (National Center for Injury Prevention and Control (DHHS/CDC), Division of Violence Prevention, 2022)," and the World Health Organization (2021) in its Violence Prevention Alliance also utilizes the model to treat multi-layered factors for violence promotion and intervention strategies.

The implementation of IPV perpetrator intervention measures for IPV perpetrators based on the ecological model has been suggested by numerous studies. Individuals, relationships, communities, and society are all significantly associated with IPV perpetration both in the general population and in clinical settings (Slep et al., 2014). However, an intervention program for a community with a high risk of IPV might only show significant results for less violent men compared to more violent men (Christofides et al., 2020). The ecological model has enabled researchers to cultivate a comprehensive understanding of IPV as a phenomenon that does not just entitle the victim but also the perpetrators and other actors of a community and the cultural context of society (Akhter & Wilson, 2016).

IPV perpetration's risk factors are the likelihood of a person committing IPV or becoming an IPV perpetrator. However, risk factors do not necessarily explain the causation of the perpetration or be considered as a judgment to predict a person to be violent toward their partners. In contrast, according to the Ecological Model, risk factors should be acknowledged as a means of understanding the dynamics within each individual as a perpetrator and the broader picture, such as the societal and community context in which every individual is affected.

Individual factors are biological and personal history factors that are attached to individuals (Heise, 1998). Individuals who are more likely to perpetrate IPV are those with low self-esteem (Goodman et al., 2021), lack of emotional awareness (Bliton et al., 2016), lack of self-regulation (Finkel et al., 2009), low stress tolerance (Bliton et al., 2016), lack of social support (Okuda et al., 2015), and a high level of impulsivity (Goodman et al., 2021), anger (Graham-Kevan & Archer, 2008; Shorey et al., 2011), as well as personality disorders (Okuda et al., 2015), such as antisocial personality (Brem et al., 2018).

Children who experience an emotionally abusive household and who are abusive physically (Jung et al., 2019) are associated with a greater risk of perpetrating IPV in adulthood. These children grow up with insecure attachments (Bélanger et al., 2015; Dutton & White, 2012), and are involved in delinquency in their adolescence (Clements et al., 2018). Men who perpetrate IPV tend to have a masculine ideology and experience gender role stress (Jakupcak et al., 2002), which creates a supportive attitude toward violence (Ali et al., 2011). Being young in age (Okuda et al., 2015), unemployed (Matjasko et al., 2013), a heavy alcohol drinker, and a drug user (Brem et al., 2018; Kearns et al., 2015) also increases the risk of IPV perpetration.

Relational factors are close relationships that might increase the risk for perpetrators (Heise, 1998). In relation to other people, including their partners, friends, and families, someone who is jealous (Buller et al., 2022; Guillén Verdesoto et al., 2021), possessive (Buunk & Massar, 2021; Enander et al., 2021), dominant, and controlling (Karakurt & Cumbie, 2012) toward their partners is more likely to commit IPV. Whilst within the family unit, high levels of familial stress (Shortt et al., 2013), high parent aggression (Leadbeater et al., 2017), being neglected by parents (Holliday et al., 2019), receiving

physical punishment as a child (Franklin & Kercher, 2012), and witnessing violence between parents as a child (Forke et al., 2019) also contribute to the higher risk of a person becoming an IPV perpetrator. With their friends, IPV batterers were children who were bullied in school (Falb et al., 2011), had violent friends (Ramirez et al., 2012), and had antisocial and aggressive peers (Leadbeater et al., 2017).

Community factors are settings in which individuals and families have direct contact, such as schools, workplaces, and neighborhoods (Heise, 1998). Community is another significant risk factor for IPV perpetration, including living in neighborhoods with high social and physical public disorder (Gracia et al., 2009; Raghavan et al., 2006), community violence (Raghavan et al., 2006), high exposure to neighborhood violence (Raiford et al., 2013), and a high tolerance for partner beating (Antai, 2011). They are also associated with high rates of poverty and substance use (Raghavan et al., 2006), lack of employment opportunities (Holliday et al., 2019), ineffective educational systems (Holliday et al., 2019), easy access to drugs and alcohol (Schafer & Koyiet, 2018), and they tend to be unwilling to intervene in situations where violence occurs (Wee et al., 2016).

Beyond the community, IPV perpetrators are also influenced by societal factors. It is the broad societal elements that create a climate in which violence is encouraged (Heise, 1998). Marriage with gendered expectations, where women are expected to fulfill their gender roles and be submissive, is one example of traditional gender norms that heighten the risk of IPV perpetration (Yount et al., 2016). Some others are beliefs that women's sexual purity should be protected, that women and children need to be disciplined by men (Perrin et al., 2019); violence approval that allows physical assault (Ozaki & Otis, 2017); prior experiences that strengthen the existing gender roles (Stephens & Eaton, 2020); inequality in job opportunities and income (Duvvury et al., 2013; Yapp & Pickett, 2019); cultural beliefs about privacy (Stephens & Eaton, 2020); high legal cynicism lowering the chance of an IPV case to be reported (Emery et al., 2011); and media portrayal of negative behaviors (Holliday et al., 2019).

The importance of addressing the multi-layered issue of IPV perpetration in Indonesia is reflected not only theoretically but also in real IPV cases. We might want to refer back to the dating violence mentioned earlier in this introduction on a female student who committed suicide after being forced by her boyfriend to abort her pregnancy. This case is a powerful example of how the power dynamics between the victim, the perpetrator, and their families if not the broader societal system interplay among one another. Thus, practically and theoretically, it does make sense for IPV prevention to encompass measures that are not merely directed toward victims but also toward perpetrators and the larger community system. As such, this research aims to fill the gap in the literature through a systematic review that investigates the existing knowledge of IPV perpetrators in Indonesia. This study adopts the following review question: What are the risk factors for IPV perpetrators in Indonesia?

## Method

In accordance with the review question, this study adopts a scoping review that is commonly used to identify key characteristics or factors related to a concept (Munn et al., 2018). This method is one category under systematic reviews, a type of research synthesis conducted by review groups

that identify, retrieve, and synthesize relevant evidence according to the research question to inform practice, policy, and in some cases, further research (Aromataris & Pearson, 2014). It differs from a meta-analysis, which produces a critically appraised and synthesized result or answer to a particular question. Instead, a scoping review aims to provide an overview or map of the evidence (Munn et al., 2018). The method of this paper follows (Arksey & O'Malley, 2005) who proposed a framework that a number of previous scoping reviews had employed (Pham et al., 2014; Tricco et al., 2016). The scoping review steps are further described in the following sections.

Ethical clearance with registration number 4061/UN1/FPSi.1.3/SD/PT.01.04/2022 for this study has been submitted to the Faculty of Psychology, Universitas Gadjah Mada. The protocol of this research, with the registration of doi.org/10.17605/OSF.IO/JQMVE, had been registered with the Open Science Framework (OSF).

#### *Data Source and Search Strategy*

The dataset of this study, consisting of journal articles on IPV in Indonesia that were published from 2012 until 2022 was exported through (1) four academic databases that index international articles, namely: ProQuest, Ebscohost, Scopus, and Google Scholar; and (2) an Indonesian literature search portal, Garuda and Neliti, for published articles in Indonesian journals that are not internationally indexed. The English IPV search terms are sorted according to types of IPV, alongside various terms that are interchangeable with violence. The authors also incorporated partner in IPV to ensure that subjects from all kinds of intimate relationships marriage, dating, and cohabitating are included.

Search terms for international databases are combined differently for each, which include: (1) population terms: perpetrator\*, offender\*, assaulter\*, batterer\*, abuser\*, partner\*, husband\*, wives, wife, boyfriend\*, girlfriend\*, spouse\*, couple\*, romantic partner\*, victim\*; (2) IPV terms: intimate partner violence, domestic violence, marital violence, spousal assault, dating violence, violence against women, gender-based violence; (3) risk factors search terms: risk marker\*, risk factor\*, resilience, predictor\*, pathway\*, correlate\*; (4) ecological model based risk factors terms: self-esteem, self-regulation, emotional awareness, impulsivity, anger, hostility, personality disorder, antisocial personality, adolescence, age, unemployed, alcohol, drug, jealousy, possessiveness, dominance, control, familial stress, witnessed violence, bullied in school, peers, community support, partner support, income, financial stress, belief, attitude, unemployment, delinquent, peer, neighborhood, poverty, school, norm, gender role, gender inequality, culture, media; and (4) contextual term: Indonesia.



**Table 1***Inclusion Criteria*

Inclusion Criteria	Rationale
About IPV perpetrator characteristics and/or risk factors in Indonesia.	This study examines peer-reviewed articles on IPV perpetration in Indonesia. Peer-reviewed articles are articles that are published and internationally or locally indexed. This aimed at finding more local articles, most of which are not indexed in international journals, but might enrich this studys results and discussion.
Quantitative, qualitative, and mix-methods	This study executes articles which method is quantitative, qualitative, and mixed-method. Mix-methods are articles that include both quantitative and qualitative analysis.
Empirical research Published between 2012-2022	This study synthesizes and discusses findings from empirical research. Only recent articles are included. Due to the limited number of Indonesian and local articles on IPV perpetration that are indexed internationally, this paper is aimed at mapping the existing research in English as well as in Indonesian as the national language of Indonesia.
In English and Indonesian	

The Indonesian search terms are listed based on the same rationale as English with less variety. The local databases, Garuda and Neliti, only facilitate basic search as they do not have advanced search features. Thus, it is difficult to apply the same logic and only possible to apply one specific term at a time, as to how other local scoping reviews conducted their searches (Evi, 2021; Hastani & Budiman, 2022). This is confirmed in the pilot search we trialed in Garuda and Neliti. Local databases are searched with the following terms: (1) population search terms: *pelaku* (perpetrators), *pasangan* (spouses), *suami* (husbands), *istri* (wives), *pacar* (boy/girlfriends); (2) IPV search terms: *kekerasan pasangan intim* (intimate partner violence), *kekerasan dalam rumah tangga* (domestic violence), *kekerasan dalam pacaran* (dating violence), *kekerasan terhadap perempuan* (violence against women), *kekerasan berbasis gender* (gender based violence); and (3) risk factor search term: *faktor risiko* (risk factor).

In the identification process, as detailed in Figure. 1 PRISMA flow, records identified through database search using the predetermined English and Indonesian search terms are 3309 articles. After duplicates are removed, 2879 articles remain. The duplication removal process was conducted automatically using Rayyan and manually reviewed by the first author.

*Screening*

In the screening phase, the first author screened each articles title and abstract. 2839 articles were excluded due to an array of reasons, including: non-IPV, non-empirical studies, non-perpetrator risk factor studies, non-Indonesian/English, books and reports, and publications prior to 2012. Full articles from the remaining forty articles were assessed for eligibility by three reviewers. One reviewer (PP) is an experienced researcher of a number of systematic review articles and the advisor of this paper, and the other two (AN & SH) are currently running a systematic review, thus having sufficient knowledge to perform the method.

Prior to initiating the first step, the author exports all citations into BibTex format from Zotero citation manager software. The author removes duplications and continues to remove citations further in the selection process. In the first process, the abstract and title of all exported studies are assessed independently by reviewers and screened based on the inclusion criteria, using Rayyan QCRI web-based systematic review software. With the software, reviewers create labels of reasons for study inclusion. Different opinions and arguments are discussed, for exclusion that might or might not have been listed in the labels, in meetings with the author and all reviewers (Levac et al., 2010).

#### *Data Extraction*

This paper employs a PRISMA diagram to present the process, results, and summary, alongside narrative descriptions. The narrative summary is where the aim of this paper is reviewed and connects the results with the study's aim (Peters et al., 2015). Of the forty eligible studies, five were included for data extraction and data analysis. Information that the reviewers retrieve from the articles is the following (Arksey & O'Malley, 2005): author(s), year of publication; definition of IPV; study samples; key findings; and ecological risk factors for IPV perpetrators. The data charting process is recorded meticulously in a table that includes the above general information as well as a form in which more detailed information about articles is listed. Throughout the process, the table was refined and corrected. This refinement ensures the quantity and quality of extracted data. The table is reported in the data analysis and the complete checklist form of the quality criteria is retrieved from Mixed Method Appraisal Tool (MMAT) (Hong et al., 2018).

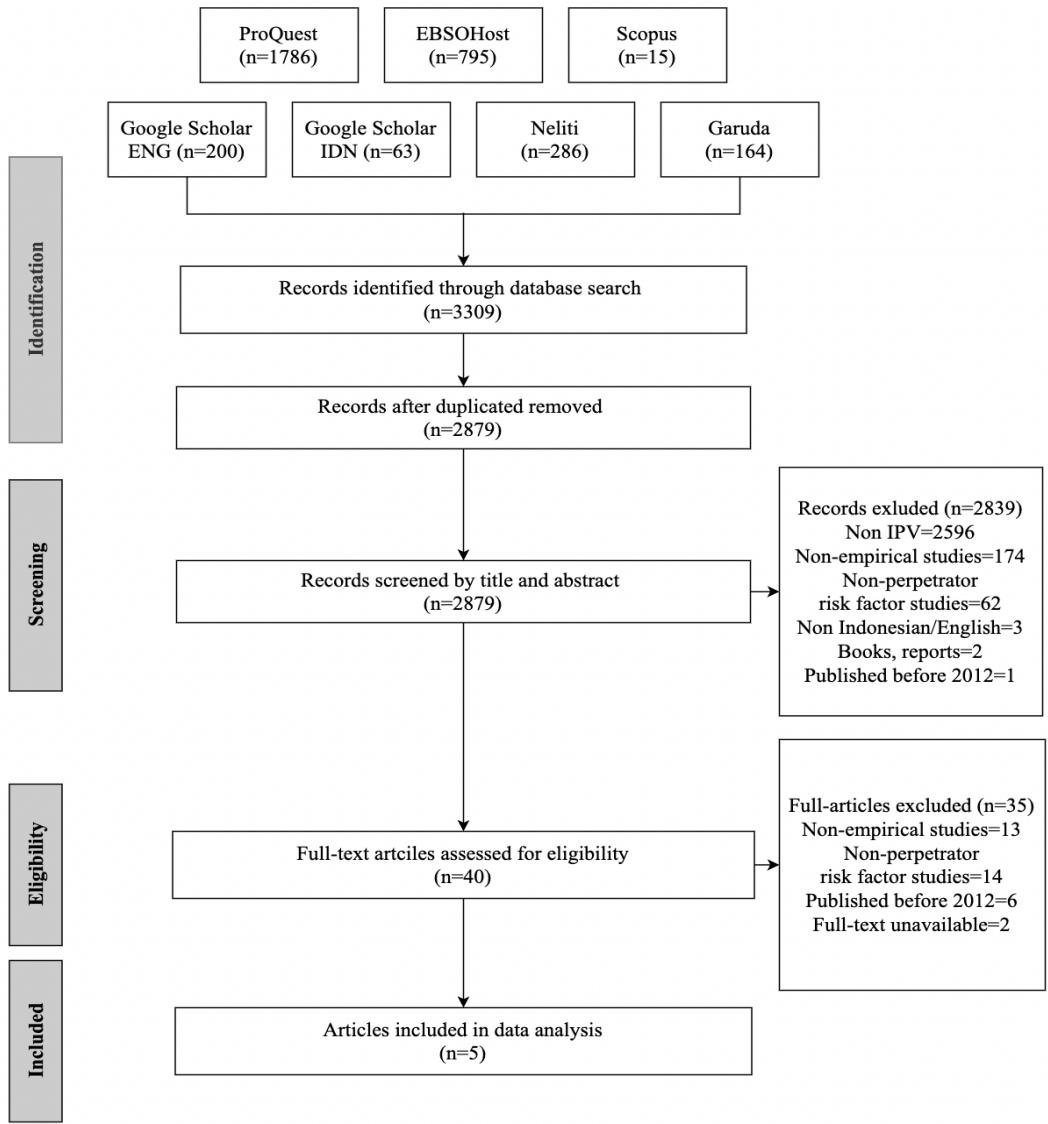
#### *Data Analysis*

There are two steps in which information is analyzed and presented in this paper. Firstly, we map the reviewed articles into a table to show the studies distribution, including the different study locations, the range of aspects in which the studies on IPV perpetration are focused, and the research method applied. The information presented herein was primarily derived from the data extraction form submitted during the preliminary phase of the study selection process.



**Figure 1**

*PRISMA Flow Diagram*



**Table 2**

*Overview of The Five Included Studies*

Author (year; quality score)	Title	Journal Name, Vol. (Page)	Geographic area	Samples	Definition	Key findings	Ecological Risk factors
Nilan et al. (2014);5	Indonesian Mens Perceptions of Violence Against Women	Violence Against Women, Vol. 20(7), (869-888)	Jakarta, Pekanbaru, Solo, Makassar, Mataram	86 Indonesian men aged 17-67 years	Any acphysical, verbal or emotionalthat is intended to or results in harm to another person or group. For example, verbal abuse, harassment, bullying, intimidation, extortion, fighting, rioting, assault, rape, torture, manslaughter, and murder.	The interviewees' perceptions and attitudes toward VAW, are that: it does not happen, or only rarely; economic stress, extramarital affairs cause violence; despite awareness of the seriousness of VAW that some interviewees acknowledge. The interviewees tend to maintain harmony in the neighborhood by ignoring violence occurred next door.	Indonesian men's beliefs and attitudes (individual, relational, community, and societal factors).
Revita et al. (2019);1	Psychopragmatic Analysis of Speech Act of the Perpetrators of Violence Toward Minangkabau Women	Jurnal Gramatika Pendidikan Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia, Vol.5 (112-121)	Padang, Indonesia	10 women, 2 community leaders & 20 society members	N/A	The interviewees' perception of VAW perpetrators' quality of speech when talking to the victims include: declaring a divorce; commanding to obey; expressing anger.	Minangkabau community's perception of the perpetrators quality of the act of speech (individual factor).

**Table 2 (Continued)**

*Overview of the Five Included Studies*

Author (year; quality score)	Title	Journal Name, Vol., (Page)	Geographic area	Samples	Definition	Key findings	Ecological Risk factors
Jamilah and Adicahya (2014);1.5	Domestic Violence Perpetrators' Perception on the Domestic Violence Law Number 23 2004 (UU PKDRT No 23 Tahun 2004)	de Jure, Jurnal Syariah dan Hukum, Vol.6(2), (148-156)	Malang, Indonesia	4 perpetrators of DV (2 cheating, 1 murdered wife, 1 against his child)	Law Number 23 of 2004: any action against anyone particularly woman, bringing about physical, sexual, psychological misery or suffering, and/or negligence of household including a threat to commit an act, forcing, or seizure of freedom against the law in the scope of a household.	The interviewees' knowledge of the DV law. Two perpetrators wish they knew about the law and said they would not have done it if they knew; one person knew about the law but he forgot; one person knew but he was not sure if what he did was DV. The authors focused on law enforcement to prevent DV.	Perpetrators' perception of the law (individual and societal factors).
Syawitri and Afdal (2020);2	Analysis of Factors Affecting Power Relations of Perpetrators of Domestic Violence	Jurnal Penelitian Guru Indonesia Vol. 5(1), (37-45)	Padang, Indonesia	1 perpetrator of DV, against his wife.	N/A	The interviewee has high gender perception bias that includes agreeing that a wife should: work in the public sphere and do domestic chores; not be a leader in the house; have feminine traits and obey her husband in any terms; accept being beaten by her husband if she does not fulfill her husband's needs.	Perpetrator's gender-biased perception (individual factors and societal factors).

**Table 2 (Continued)**

*Overview of the Five Included Studies*

Author (year; quality score)	Title	Journal Name, Vol. (Page)	Geographic area	Samples	Definition	Key findings	Ecological Risk factors
Rusmiyati and Hikmawati (2013);1	Social Attitudes of the People in the City of Pontianak on Domestic Violence (A Research by The Social Ministry of Republic of Indonesia)	Sosiokonsepsia Vol.18(3), (345-366)	Pontianak, Indonesia	30 respondents employee from government and private company	Law Number 23 of 2004: any action against anyone particularly woman, bringing about physical, sexual, psychological misery or suffering, and/or negligence of household including a threat to commit an act, forcing, or seizure of freedom against the law in the scope of a household.	Respondents agree: that physical DV includes beating (60%), yelling (80%), being coerced to have intercourse (73.3%), claiming wives' income (80%); arguments cause violence (80%); giving advice for victims (73%), that husbands with negative attitude tend to be violent (53.3%), that husbands lived with violent fathers during childhood is more likely to be violent (46.7%).	Perpetrators' are perceived to have negative attitudes toward marriage (individual factor) had a violent father during childhood, and arguments cause violence (relational factor), and claiming wives' income (individual factor).

Secondly, we organized the literature thematically according to four aspects of the ecological model: individual, relational, community, and societal factors of IPV perpetration. The ecological model is a framework that understands mental health and well-being using the four aspects and has been used in a number of public health-related research studies as a guide in analyzing the findings (Wold & Mittelmark, 2018). Thus, it is undeniable for us to prioritize only certain aspects of the articles that fit into the four aspects of the ecological model (Arksey & O'Malley, 2005). We inform readers of potential bias, as well as make clear the subjective decisions that authors may make. In response to that, two reviewers work independently to ensure the selected articles quality, with the third reviewer working to resolve different opinions between the main two reviewers.

Alongside this, we provide measures that facilitate each aspect of the ecological model to be reported in a more structured and consistent manner by constructing a template. The template is a table that summarizes the characteristics and the desired extracted information, including the four main aspects of the ecological model. This process requires continuous discussion among authors to resolve any issue related to the analysis and report. Alongside, reviewers independently familiarize themselves with the articles before reporting them in a table. Discussion and familiarization continue throughout the process of this research.

## Result

The results of this paper are presented in three sub-themes: Overview of IPV research in Indonesia; the use of terms to refer to IPV; and risk factors of IPV perpetration. Each of these themes is described as follows:

This review confirmed that research on IPV in Indonesia is limited. Almost all papers exhibit a low-quality score of two and below (out of five) based on MMAT. Only one study achieved a perfect score of five, according to the reviewers. This research is funded by the Australian Development Research Award (Nilan et al., 2014) and conducted by four authors, one of them being an academic from an Indonesian university. The study interviewed 86 Indonesian men aged 16-67. The second-best studies scored two. One research is on the general model of aggressiveness with three men perpetrators as the samples, and the other one is on the analysis of factors affecting power relations in DV with only one man perpetrator as the sample.

The majority of the included papers were conducted in one study location. Among the articles, only one study was conducted in multiple cities from all over Indonesia: Jakarta; Pekanbaru; Solo; Makassar, and Mataram (Nilan et al., 2014), while the remaining were conducted in the western regions of the country: Padang (Revita et al., 2019; Syawitri & Afdal, 2020); Jakarta (Yeni & Lianawati, 2013); Malang (Jamilah & Adicahya, 2014); and Pontianak (Rusmiyati & Hikmawati, 2013).

All of the extracted studies are qualitative. Three of the papers view IPV from the perpetrators' perspective (Jamilah & Adicahya, 2014; Syawitri & Afdal, 2020; Yeni & Lianawati, 2013), three studies include a local community (Revita et al., 2019) and the general public (Nilan et al., 2014; Rusmiyati & Hikmawati, 2013). Two studies exhibit inadequate details of their findings (Syawitri & Afdal, 2020; Yeni & Lianawati, 2013). One of these studies provides limited information on the perpetrators' demographics (Yeni & Lianawati, 2013). Another study presents a narrative format that does not clearly delineate between the findings and the discussion (Syawitri & Afdal, 2020).

There is a staggering disparity between a multiple-author study funded by the Australian government and local studies, in which their score is higher compared to the other three studies in

terms of population size and generalizability. Majority of the studies are published in Indonesian university journals, while one of them is published in a journal of a government institution, the Center for Research and Development of Social Welfare Services (B2P3KS) (Rusmiyati & Hikmawati, 2013). Compared to other local papers, being the only paper published in an Indonesian government institution journal, Rusmiyati and Hikmawati (2013) sampled a significantly higher number of interviewees, thirty respondents, in contrast to ten respondents at most for the other papers. However, a larger sample size does not necessarily reflect a higher quality appraisal score. Only the Australian paper sufficiently describes their data collection process for sample recruitment. The remaining studies fail to provide a comprehensive description of their data collection methodologies and do not differentiate between the actual data and the analytical processes utilized.

In terms of the quality of the articles reviewed, the majority fail to provide a comprehensive and clear representation of their research methodology. Only one study, according to the reviewers, is qualified for a perfect score of five for the qualitative appraisal (Nilan et al., 2014), while the remaining studies do not score higher than two (Jamilah & Adicahya, 2014; Revita et al., 2019; Rusmiyati & Hikmawati, 2013; Syawitri & Afdal, 2020). Papers that scored below two (Jamilah & Adicahya, 2014; Revita et al., 2019; Rusmiyati & Hikmawati, 2013), although mentioned qualitative as their method, did not explain how the interview was designed and conducted, yet explained the data analysis process. A study by a government institution, B2P3KS (Rusmiyati & Hikmawati, 2013), scored two by the reviewers, did not even mention qualitative as its method, despite its vigorous use of three data gathering methods: survey, interview, and focused group discussion.

Participants were recruited from multiple occupations, with five of them being DV victims. However, the absence of demographic data precludes the ability to draw reliable conclusions from the study findings. Given the government funding allocated to the study, it fails to capitalize on several potential outcomes that it is capable of achieving. Despite the potential that a lot of the articles have and the scarce topic that they are attempting to discuss, the poor quality of their research methods might prevent the valuable results from creating important insights academically and in practice.

#### *The Use of The Terms to Refer to IPV*

Of the five included articles, none of them use the term Intimate Partner Violence or refer to any definition of IPV. The most commonly used term is Domestic Violence (DV), which can be cited in three articles (Jamilah & Adicahya, 2014; Rusmiyati & Hikmawati, 2013; Syawitri & Afdal, 2020). Two referred to DV as described in Law Number 23 of 2004 (Elimination of Domestic Violence, 2004), and one did not provide the definition. The term Violence Against Women (VAW) is used in two articles (Nilan et al., 2014; Revita et al., 2019), but only one presented the definition.

The articles adopting the Domestic Violence term refer to the definition of DV as outlined in Law Number 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence, Article 1: "Any act against anyone particularly women, bringing about physical, sexual, psychological misery or suffering, and/or negligence of household, including threatening to commit the act, force, or seize one's freedom against the law in the scope of a household.". The subsequent article 2 explains that household members include the children and other members of the family or people living within the same household, such as the housekeeper and others who share the residency.

Only one of the two articles that adopt VAW provided a definition. As Nilan et al. (2014) assert, VAW refers to any act physical, verbal, or emotional that is intended to, or results in, harm to another person or group. For example, verbal abuse, harassment, bullying, intimidation, extortion, fighting, rioting, assault, rape, torture, manslaughter, and murder (Nilan et al., 2014). It is unclear as to the



reference used by Nilan et al. (2014) to define VAW.

#### *Risk Factors of IPV Perpetrators*

All factors of the four ecological factors (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), were identified in the included articles. Each of these factors is explained as follows.

#### *Individual Factors*

Individual risk factors for IPV perpetrators were identified in all five papers as parts of the larger societal risk factors. It includes individual belief, attitude, and perception (Jamilah & Adicahya, 2014; Nilan et al., 2014; Rusmiyati & Hikmawati, 2013; Syawitri & Afdal, 2020), and aggressivity (Revita et al., 2019).

First, on individual attitude, a qualitative study the only study with the perfect appraisal score of five funded by the Australian government found that Indonesian men's views on DV are obstructed and they are in denial of the occurrence of violence in their community (Nilan et al., 2014). Men, even though they are concerned with violence next door, tend to be reluctant to interfere in their neighbors matters. Violence may occur around them, but they deliberately choose to stay silent and deny their role in preventing the violence from taking place. The paper also reveals that Indonesian men perceive violence as a consequence of some stressors, such as economic stress and extramarital affairs. Although some of them are aware of the seriousness of VAW, the authors argue that the participants mostly ignore the presence of violence around them, as well as justify violence for reasons that leave the men irresponsible for the violence.

A study of one perpetrator aimed to understand the subject's gender-biased perceptions (Syawitri & Afdal, 2020) revealed a strict gender role belief to be an individual trait of the perpetrator. The interviewee has a relatively high gender perception bias. He agreed that a wife should work in the public sphere and do domestic chores; not be a leader in the house; have feminine traits and obey her husband in any terms; and accept being beaten by her husband if she does not fulfill her husband's needs. The interviewee harassed his wife verbally and physically, causing his wife's death and a fifteen-year prison sentence.

Findings from the remaining papers are difficult to extract due to their poor quality (Jamilah & Adicahya, 2014; Revita et al., 2019; Rusmiyati & Hikmawati, 2013). In a paper that interviewed perpetrators (Jamilah & Adicahya, 2014), knowledge and perceptions of the existing law are explored. Two perpetrators denied their knowledge of the law that regulates domestic violence crimes; one person admitted that he knew about the law but did not have the control to contain himself in arguments; and one person refused to call his acts violent. It may be implied that the lack of knowledge of the existing DV law is a risk factor for IPV perpetrators, but discussion on that matter is not provided. The authors focus on describing the importance of preventing DV perpetration by advancing the enforcement of the DV law. Therefore, it is difficult to extract the paper's finding that is relevant to this research's question.

A similar quality issue was identified in a paper regarding the social attitudes of thirty respondents from multiple professions toward DV (Rusmiyati & Hikmawati, 2013). The authors conclude that most of the respondents had adequate knowledge regarding the DV definition, forms, and risk factors. It may be suggested that the people's individual knowledge is a risk or protective factor for IPV perpetrators, but their attitude toward DV was not searched for nor elaborated.

One paper described DV perpetrators' personal trait aggressivity (Revita et al., 2019). Aggressive speech is unacceptable in Minangkabau society, and the way DV perpetrators speak is perceived as

disrespectful, degrading, forceful, and threatening to the victims, resulting in serious psychological damage.

Nilan et al. (2014) and Rusmiyati and Hikmawati (2013) also found that income might be one of the most common determining factors of violence. It is discussed (Nilan et al., 2014) that when a husband does not have any job, he becomes financially dependent on his wife, and essentially, they are the "victim" of the situation. Committing violence is his way of channeling his frustration. Interviewees in Rusmiyati and Hikmawati (2013) also agreed that unemployed husbands are economically violent toward their wives.

#### *Relational Factors*

The relational factor of witnessing violent parents as a child is mentioned in one paper (Rusmiyati & Hikmawati, 2013). The general public of thirty respondents from government and private companies perceives violence as a trauma response of a man from his violent father during childhood (Rusmiyati & Hikmawati, 2013). Having the general public view perpetrators from their pastor from any reason for that matter, the authors suggest does not necessarily make the public more willing to take part in preventing or intruding on violence when it occurs. Instead, they tend to cover up the act to keep their families intact.

The paper also identifies that eighty percent of the interviewees agreed that arguments between husbands and wives might escalate and cause physical violence. In the ecological framework, it reflects relational factors, particularly poor relationships and communication styles between spouses.

#### *Community Factors*

The only community factor found in the selected articles is the belief in maintaining a harmonious neighborhood. This factor is reported in one paper by Nilan et al. (2014) and is interconnected with Indonesian men's individual-level ignorance attitude toward violence when it occurred in their neighborhood, as reported in the previous section. Nilan et al. (2014) argue that the belief perpetuates Indonesian men's denial of the occurrence of domestic violence. The authors mentioned that "most Indonesians, even in urban areas, live close to their neighbors in socially bonded communities." (Nilan et al., 2014). Therefore, maintaining a "harmonious" neighborhood is considered more crucial than mingling in one's household matters, although it might involve violence.

#### *Factors*

Gender-biased perspective is a societal factor that underlies individual beliefs and attitudes. It is presented in all the included papers that also discuss individual risk factors (Jamilah & Adicahya, 2014; Nilan et al., 2014; Revita et al., 2019; Rusmiyati & Hikmawati, 2013; Syawitri & Afdal, 2020).

In papers in which a local community and the general public are the respondents community and societal level in ecological risk factors a variety of topics are covered, including Indonesian men's overall view on VAW (Nilan et al., 2014). Although having a rigid gender role is an attitude of individuals, it also encompasses a higher level of risk factor the societal level, in which the individuals live. The theme of men's dominance over women, such as wives not being able to confront their husbands because they feel weak (Rusmiyati & Hikmawati, 2013); perpetrators' beliefs that wives should obey their husbands (Syawitri & Afdal, 2020); and husbands' unfulfilled gender-biased expectations toward their wives (Nilan et al., 2014), overarch most papers.

Another societal-level risk factor is the law enforcement of DV crimes (Jamilah & Adicahya, 2014). Perpetrators' individual lack of knowledge and awareness of the existing DV law reported

in the paper is recommended by the authors to be intervened by the government through a more massive legal socialization. There is a paper on Minangkabau society's perception of DV perpetrators' speech (Revita et al., 2019). Minangkabau culture was mentioned to explain how Minang women are supposed to be heirs of the family; thus, violence against women is essentially unacceptable. However, the paper is lacking relevant discussion on how society being respectful toward women contradicts men's aggressive speech or acts, as the paper indentified. Besides, the mention of Minang culture remains unexplored, despite the potential it holds, making it difficult to extract results and discussions that are in line with this papers question as well as societal-level risk factors.

## Discussion

### *Understanding of IPV in Indonesia*

Findings indicate that IPV is not a common concept in Indonesia and is rarely used among Indonesian academics in the discourse of violence, in contrast to VAW and DV. Despite all articles referring to intimate partner violence, the term IPV remains unused in defining violence among romantic partners.

VAW and DV are similarly defined based on Law Number 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence, suggesting that there is no significant difference between the two terms. The law defines DV based on the forms physical, sexual, and psychological misery to whom it is directed women; and the context where the violence takes place household. Furthermore, the law defines a household that includes a broader group of people, ranging from husbands and wives to individuals working to assist the household and residing in the household (Article 2), for example, children and housekeepers. This is to be applauded considering varying degrees of violence that might target everyone in a household, including that outside bloodline (i.e., housekeeper). However, the potential shortcoming of this definition is that it does not include violence that occurs outside of legal marriage, such as dating violence, despite evidence that has indicated the increasing cases of such violence (National Commission on Violence against Women, 2021).

Despite being adopted in two articles, the VAW definition is rather broad and ambiguous. In their article, the authors did not specifically mention women in their definition of VAW and instead refer to "any act physical, verbal, or emotional that is intended to, or results in, harm to another person or group." Nevertheless, the broad definition of VAW might provide room for a spectrum of violence regardless of the legal marriage context.

VAW and DV are used even though none of the studies cover the topic of violence against non-intimate partners, except for one study that discusses violence against women outside marriage (Nilan et al., 2014) and another study in which one of the samples is a perpetrator against a child (Jamilah & Adicahya, 2014). It may be due to the country's strong religious and institutional norms that the term "domestic violence" is more widely used, leaving out dating couples who are considered as people who are not yet supposed to reside together; thus, "domestic" might not apply to them, and "violence" among them does not fall under "domestic violence". This is stipulated in Law Number 1 of 1974 on Marriage: "marriage is a bond ..founded on the Belief in God Almighty (Article 1)" and "a marriage is lawful ..with the laws of the respective religions and beliefs of the parties (Article 2) (Marriage, 1974)." Similar ambiguity is also found within the "domestic" context, which is supposed to be covered in the term's definition: violence among other family members sharing the same "domesticity" (Browne, Kevin D. and Beech, Anthony R. and Craig, Leam A. and Chou, Shihning, 2017). Both, within Indonesia and in the global context, "domestic violence" appears to be understood

as violence that involves only cohabiting married couples, with husbands being the perpetrators and wives being victims (Bailey, 2021; Brown, 2014). The implication of the rare use of the term IPV, besides the scarcity of papers on non-domestic partner violence, is the lack of individual to societal level interventions for both IPV victims and perpetrators.

The definition of DV is rather outdated if we consider the recently enacted law, Law Number 12 of 2022 on Elimination of Sexual Violence Crimes that acknowledges nine forms of sexual violence, including non-physical sexual assaults and forced marriage. Besides listing nine forms of violence and other additional forms, the law recognizes different contexts of to whom, where, and how the crime is committed (Article 15), ranging from violence within families to violence using electronic devices. It implies that the law acknowledges the inclusivity and spectrum of violence, one that does not only occur within a legal marriage or household. The law signifies an important point for a serious gesture of the government in eliminating sexual violence. It allows more people to be included and protected, including married and unmarried couples within the scope of listed sexual violence. However, there remains a gap. Unrelated strangers living in the house are protected from psychological, physical, sexual, and economic abuse by Law Number 23 of 2004, while intimate partners who do not necessarily live together are left unprotected unless the crime is sexual.

#### *Interrelated Risk Factors of IPV Perpetration in Indonesia*

According to the ecological model, the combination of macro-level factors and individual-level factors affect the risk factors of someone becoming a victim and a perpetrator of IPV. The multiple aspects, instead of segregating the factors into discrete categories, suggest an interrelational nature of all four factors. Both individual and societal levels of violence overarch each other, interconnectedly.

All five included articles aimed at exploring social perceptions of personal traits of DV perpetrators, with one paper discussing relational factors of the perpetration. Batterers which samples from all of the included articles are males associated with aggressive traits (Revita et al., 2019), negative attitudes toward marriage, problematic childhood, and a higher tendency for fights between the spouses to escalate to violence (Rusmiyati & Hikmawati, 2013). Besides the articles methodological quality issues, we assume that the authors regard that the general populations perceptions were derived from their experience of observing, talking to, or encountering DV perpetrators, although no explanation of this was reported in the papers.

Participants recruited for all articles included in this study exclusively chose male VAW perpetrators and communities that agreed on the common assumption in DV where men are the perpetrators. The papers find a societal-level positive attitude toward violence against women (Nilan et al., 2014); the public's reluctantness to intervene when one's committing violence against their partners (Rusmiyati & Hikmawati, 2013); and gender-based power relations (Syawitri & Afdal, 2020). One paper on Minangkabau society denies cultural level risk factors due to claims of its cultural respect for women despite its findings on men's aggressive acts of speech (Revita et al., 2019). Moreover, the immediate surroundings of the perpetrators, as Nilan et al. (2014) discussed, where Indonesian men are reluctant to intervene with abuse that might happen next door, might promote a higher risk for violence at the community level. It suggests a deep-rooted patriarchal and gender-biased perspective in Indonesian society, combined with individual and community-level attitudes toward violence, and creates a loop that sustains the high risk of men becoming IPV perpetrators.

At the relational level, the perpetrators relationship with their violent father during childhood has been perceived to be the risk factor for violence perpetration, and the poor quality of their current relationship with their spouses, where arguments easily escalate to violence is considered as one of

the causes of perpetration (Rusmiyati & Hikmawati, 2013). In a socially bonded society like Indonesia, individual and relational situations are less likely to be discussed. Thus, understanding of individual experiences and the dynamics of relationships between individuals are less likely to be found both in practice and on paper. Unless they are explained as part of a broader context of community and society. This is consistent with other Asian countries, as found in a systematic review by Brown (2014), where personal risk factors are scarce. In Indonesia, the norms are hardly separated from other risk factor levels individual, relational, and community. A multinational study on IPV (Heise, 1998) suggests that national-level gender-related factors and societal-level risk factors in the ecological model predict the prevalence of its population of physical and sexual IPV. It is confirmed in other Asian countries, such as Hong Kong, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka, where the distinction between personal and societal factors is hard to distinguish (Brown, 2014).

One of the interrelated personal and societal risk factors for IPV perpetrators is gender stereotypes. Gender stereotypes are generalized assumptions regarding common traits, including strengths and weaknesses, categorized based on group membership (Kite et al., 2008). These stereotypes, when deeply ingrained, can significantly impact social awareness and responses to violence. As noted by (Grembi et al., 2024), stronger stereotypes reduce the awareness and seriousness with which violence is perceived, often relegating it to a situational issue rather than recognizing the abuser or broader social implications. This diminished awareness affects how society addresses violence as a social problem, influencing victims' self-perception and their likelihood of seeking help, reporting to authorities, or accessing justice services (Bates et al., 2019).

The impact of gender stereotypes is not limited to one gender. Men, too, experience significant negative effects. High levels of gender stereotyping are linked to increased risks of mental disorders such as depression and cognitive impairment in men (Choi et al., 2021). In Indonesia, boys are particularly affected by stereotypes that pressure them to be tough, secure good jobs, and provide for future families (Suandana, 2018). These stereotypes, though often unspoken, are perpetuated in various media, including TV commercials (Usrul Khotimah et al., 2022), textbooks (Hariyatmi, 2014), and TV shows (Ariani, 2013). This pervasive reinforcement underscores the need to critically examine and challenge gender stereotypes to mitigate their detrimental effects on both individuals and society at large.

It is in line with the ecological model, where the four layers influence each other and create risk and protective factors for violence, victimization, and perpetration (Krug et al., 2002). Thus, both individual and societal-level risk factors of someone committing IPV are interrelated. In a country where social norms play an important role, it might be even more challenging to identify whether one risk factor only belongs to one level in the ecological model. In a country where religion holds a strong role, perpetrators tend to justify their violent behavior for religious reasons (Adjei & Mpiani, 2022).

Given that men are predominantly identified as perpetrators of IPV, it is essential to incorporate them into IPV prevention strategies. Individually, men at risk of perpetrating IPV are those who have personality disorder tendencies (Okuda et al., 2015); high levels of impulsivity (Goodman et al., 2021); and a lack of emotional awareness (Bliton et al., 2016). In addition to the relational and societal risk factors that are inseparable from the individuals, such as: having violent peers during adolescence (Ramirez et al., 2012); living in neighborhoods with tolerance for partner beating (Antai, 2011); and being part of society with belief in traditional gender norms (Yount et al., 2016). Facilitating them with therapy, such as acceptance and commitment therapy, had demonstrated a decrease in their aggression (Zarling et al., 2015). Interventions with offenders, particularly with mental illness had also demonstrated reduced distress symptoms and improvements in offenders' ability to cope with



their problems and behavioral functioning (Morgan et al., 2012).

Globally, individual factors have been widely researched and applied in treatments for male perpetrators (Gerlach, 2022; Liz & Westmarland, 2015; Walker et al., 2018). There has been an increase in the promotion of the socio-ecological system in perpetrator treatments globally, considering both individual experiences and the role of social and cultural factors, including gender-biased assumptions (Autiero et al., 2020; Procentese et al., 2020; Rollero, 2020). Indonesia, with its unique socio-cultural practices needs perpetrator-based treatments relevant to its context. Individual and socio-ecological factors are inseparable, thus eliminating violence requires a comprehensive understanding of individuals within the social settings.

Targeting the larger societal system as well as relating it to each individual's subjective experience is also more effective in eliminating IPV for Indonesians. It is a more sustainable approach to relearning about creating more respectful relations among boys, men, girls, and women, including encouraging gender equality and differences (Kodriati et al., 2015), instead of merely punishing the perpetrators after violence occurs.

## Conclusion

This research confirms the scarcity of Indonesian papers on (1) the usage of the IPV term; (2) the exploration of IPV perpetrator risk factors at any level in the ecological model; and (3) the poor methodology quality of existing research on IPV perpetrators. Nonetheless, we find the ecological model relevant within the Indonesian context. All five included articles, although aiming at exploring individual factors at first, also inseparably discuss societal-level risk factors due to the interconnected nature of each risk factor. We conclude that IPV perpetrators are perceived to have aggressive personalities, as well as communication styles and a problematic childhood. The perpetrators themselves also report a tendency for gender-biased expectations, which are socially supported by the patriarchal system discussed in most papers. In practice, it is suggested that preventive male-based IPV interventions need to be proposed by the government and non-government institutions while enforcing the law against wrongdoers.

Limitations of this paper are the following: (1) apparently, it is challenging to extract results from the available papers due to their poor research method quality. Most papers are based on secondary resources such as society's perceptions of individual traits which is not as reliable as a primary resource the perpetrators themselves or the society talking about themselves. While keeping this in mind, we still need to work with the available articles, which unfortunately might compromise the quality of results extracted for this paper as well. These limitations mirror an urgent call for more researchers to explore the scarce topic of IPV perpetrators; (2) this paper also did not employ the term violence against boys and men in the IPV search terms, which might indicate why all extracted papers are on VAW and DV against wives. Potential papers that may include boys and men as victims of their intimate partners are left undetected due to this limitation; (3) among all five papers, only one of them is published for a journal of Violence Against Women (Nilan et al., 2014), while the other four studies are published for non-psychology journals, resulting in a lack of analysis of the subjects' psychological dynamics. Thus, this compromises the results and analysis of the paper, which cannot provide a complete and comprehensive understanding of the paper's subjects and findings; (4) the majority of study locations across all included articles are predominantly situated in major cities in Indonesia, with no studies conducted in the eastern regions of the country. It implies that this paper's findings'



generability is limited to only papers in parts of the country where the research was conducted.

#### *Recommendations*

Recommendations based on this paper's findings are threefold. Researchers are recommended to begin employing the term IPV, particularly when researching intimate partners. Compared to DV and VAW, IPV exclusively defines violence between partners regardless of their living arrangement and marital status like DV, and gender like VAW. Researchers are also recommended to start exploring the risk factors of IPV perpetrators in Indonesia. In conducting systematic reviews, researchers are suggested to consider the following to add to the inclusion criteria: a broader type of publication, such as grey literature (graduate theses, research reports, and books) to detect more articles that might not be published in registered journals; and choosing certain ranks of globally or nationally indexed journals to include more high-impact journals. For researchers in the field of psychology, it is recommended to focus on examining individual and relational risk factors for IPV perpetrators in Indonesia, both empirically and systematically.

Clinicians are suggested to adopt the ecological framework when working with perpetrators and/or people with risks of perpetrating IPV, as the framework provides a multi-level understanding of one's risk factor of perpetrating IPV, and to collaborate with government and non-government institutions to advocate the importance of multi-sector involvements, as confirmed by this paper's finding that all factors individual to societal factors are interconnected, particularly in engaging perpetrators in eliminating IPV.

Lastly, the ecological framework suggested that individuals are inseparable from their communities and society. Multi-sector involvement in the prevention of IPV is crucial. Government and non-government institutions are suggested to design preventive measures according to the ecological model by engaging boys, men, communities, clinicians, and researchers to prevent IPV.

## **Declaration**

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#### *Conflict of Interest*

The author declares no conflict of interest in this paper.

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