



Integrating Ibn Khaldun's Concept of Asabiyyah into Criminal Law to Address AI-Facilitated Violence Against Women

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the escalation of violence against women facilitated by artificial intelligence technologies in Indonesia and addresses the limitations of existing criminal law frameworks in responding to technology-facilitated gender-based violence. Its primary objective is to integrate Ibn Khaldun's concept of *asabiyyah*, understood as social solidarity and collective responsibility, with modern criminal law in order to strengthen legal protection for women in the artificial intelligence era. Employing a normative juridical methodology, the study combines doctrinal legal analysis with a structured review of classical Islamic thought, contemporary legal theory, national legislation, international human rights instruments, and selected Indonesian cases of artificial intelligence-enabled sexual violence. The findings demonstrate that current legal instruments inadequately address artificial intelligence-generated harms due to definitional gaps, evidentiary challenges, and fragmented institutional responses, which often exacerbate victim vulnerability. Through the lens of *asabiyyah*, the article argues that effective protection requires not only formal legal reform but also the institutionalization of inclusive social solidarity that mobilizes communities, platforms, and state actors in prevention, reporting, and victim support. The analysis further proposes concrete reforms, including the recognition of artificial intelligence-generated content as a distinct criminal category, the strengthening of electronic evidence standards, and the establishment of community-based support mechanisms under state oversight. The study concludes that integrating Ibn Khaldun's social theory with modern criminal law offers a culturally grounded and normatively robust framework for addressing artificial intelligence-facilitated violence against women, with significant implications for gender justice, legal reform, and ethical artificial intelligence governance in Indonesia.

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Keywords

artificial intelligence; asabiyyah; criminal law reform; gender-based violence; Ibn Khaldun; Indonesia; women's protection

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INTRODUCTION

Artificial intelligence (AI) has reshaped social interaction, communication, and governance, but it has also expanded the means through which gender-based violence is produced, circulated, and normalized. In Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, technology-facilitated gender-based violence has increased during and after the COVID-19 pandemic, with women and girls exposed to cyberstalking, sextortion, non-consensual image distribution, and AI-generated sexual exploitation ([The University of Melbourne & UNFPA Asia and the Pacific, 2024](#)). Indonesian reports indicate that deepfake-driven abuse has targeted women and children through online harassment, sexual blackmail, and the distribution of manipulated sexual material ([NORC at the University of Chicago & International Center for Research on Women, 2022](#)). The harm is not merely reputational. Non-consensual deepfake videos can generate psychological trauma, social ostracism, and severe personal consequences for victims ([Pasaribu, 2025](#)). Recent scholarship on image-based sexual abuse likewise emphasizes that AI intensifies preexisting gendered vulnerabilities by reducing the cost, visibility, and traceability of abuse ([Eaton & McGlynn, 2020](#); [Hall et al., 2023](#); [McGlynn & Toparlak, 2025](#)).

Indonesia has begun to respond to AI governance through policy discussions that foreground human rights and gender equality. This concern is consistent with Indonesia's broader development agenda, including the Golden Indonesia 2045 vision, which recognizes AI as a transformative tool for social and economic progress ([Hakimi et al., 2025](#); [Nugroho, 2025](#); [Wadipalapa et al., 2024](#); [Zuwanda et al., 2024](#)). At the same time, digital safety initiatives, gender impact assessments, and gender audits of AI systems have been promoted by UN Women and local partners to reduce bias in policing, social services, and judicial domains ([Cerise et al., 2025](#); [UN Women – Europe and Central Asia, 2025](#)). Yet the legal framework remains fragmented. Indonesian cyberlaw scholarship shows that deepfakes, synthetic sexual content, cyber harassment, and algorithmic abuse are often addressed through overlapping but incomplete provisions rather than coherent AI-sensitive rules ([Afrida et al., 2023](#); [Kasita, 2022](#); [Noerman & Ibrahim, 2024](#); [Setiawan et al., 2022](#)). This produces uncertainty for victims, law enforcement, platforms, and courts.

The principal research problem arises from the mismatch between AI-enabled harms and Indonesia's existing criminal law architecture. Although Law No. 12 of 2022 on Sexual Violence provides an important basis for addressing several forms of sexual violence, it does not expressly regulate AI-generated sexual exploitation, including deepfake pornography and synthetic intimate imagery (Apriana et al., 2025; Cenniago et al., 2025; International Commission of Jurists, 2023; Liko et al., 2023; Syaharani, 2025; Wardhana & Astuti, 2026). Comparable problems appear in the evidentiary field. AI-generated content may be easily altered, reproduced, or disputed, while criminal procedure still depends on standards of proof that are not always adapted to metadata preservation, digital provenance, and chain of custody (Hussin & Ginano, 2023; Nuruddin et al., 2023; Oktana et al., 2023; Wisnubroto & Tegnán, 2025). Victims of online gender-based violence therefore face not only private harm but also institutional inertia, victim blaming, and limited access to effective remedies. In practice, police and prosecutors often rely on ill-fitting provisions on pornography, defamation, or electronic information.

This research problem is intensified by the limits of individual accountability in AI-facilitated cybercrime. The perpetrator may be hidden behind anonymous accounts, bot-assisted dissemination, platform-based reposting, or cross-border data flows. The person who creates the synthetic content may differ from those who distribute, monetize, or preserve it. As a result, responsibility becomes dispersed, while the victim experiences a single and cumulative harm. Indonesian authorities have responded to deepfake cases primarily through the ITE Law and pornography provisions, but such reliance confirms the absence of AI-specific legal concepts and procedures (Boleng & Rohman, 2025; Hidayati et al., 2025). What is needed, therefore, is not only stronger criminalization but also an adaptive framework that combines penal rules, digital evidence standards, platform duties, victim-centered protection, and collective responsibility. Such a framework must prevent impunity while avoiding secondary victimization and evidentiary uncertainty (Armiwulan, 2021; Hukumu et al., 2025).

In this context, Ibn Khaldun's concept of *'asabiyyah* offers a useful but demanding normative lens. In *The Muqaddimah*, *'asabiyyah* refers to the social bond that enables collective cohesion, mutual defense, political authority, and the endurance of social order (Ibn Khaldun, 2020). Although Ibn Khaldun is often described as a precursor to modern sociology, that label must be used cautiously because his thought emerged from a distinct premodern Islamic intellectual and political context (al-Gharbi, 2021; Ismail & Abdul Rahim, 2018; Malešević, 2015). *'Asabiyyah* should therefore not be reduced to a generic term for community support. It refers to a structured force of shared purpose, loyalty, and mutual protection that may sustain collective action (Ali, 2019). When critically adapted, this concept can shift the response to AI-facilitated

violence from a purely individual complaint model toward a broader model of social responsibility.

The specific legal value of *‘asabiyyah* lies in its ability to connect victim protection, communal vigilance, and state authority. Used alongside formal criminal law, it can support survivors, reduce stigma, facilitate community-based reporting, and encourage the preservation of digital evidence before it disappears from platforms (Ab Halim, 2013). It also resonates with Islamic legal thought in Southeast Asia, where legal legitimacy often depends not only on state commands but also on ethical authority, communal responsibility, and public acceptance (Azra, 2005; Hussain, 2011; Müller & Steiner, 2018; Steiner, 2018). This relevance is heightened by the global weaponization of AI in deepfake pornography, non-consensual intimate image distribution, and AI-enabled cyberstalking (UNFPA Arab States, 2022). Such technologies amplify humiliation, blackmail, and exploitation because they create realistic synthetic media with minimal traceability (OECD, 2025). *‘Asabiyyah*, in this setting, must operate as protected solidarity rather than uncontrolled informal justice.

Existing literature provides important but partial solutions. Studies on technology-facilitated gender-based violence call for explicit AI-enabled offenses, stronger victim services, digital literacy, and trauma-informed law enforcement. Research on digital evidence emphasizes metadata integrity, chain of custody, rapid preservation orders, forensic reliability, platform cooperation, and admissibility standards for synthetic media. Contemporary Khaldunian scholarship further stresses that *‘asabiyyah* is historically dynamic and ambivalent: it may strengthen protection and collective resilience, yet it may also produce exclusion, informal pressure, forced settlement, or vigilantism (al-Gharbi, 2021; Malešević, 2015; Sehlíkoglu, 2025; Tahir & Nori, 2024). As a modern resource of social connectedness, *‘asabiyyah* has been linked to community resilience in contemporary societies (Mahmoud, 2024). Indonesian legal scholarship on deepfake pornography and the right to be forgotten has begun to address AI-driven sexual abuse, but it has not yet built an integrated framework of Islamic legal ethics, gender-sensitive criminal justice, and collective accountability (Nasution et al., 2025).

This study therefore examines how Ibn Khaldun’s concept of *‘asabiyyah* can be critically integrated into Indonesian criminal law to strengthen protection for women against AI-facilitated violence. The article argues that *‘asabiyyah* can function as a *maslahah*-oriented mechanism of collective accountability that addresses the failure of purely individual accountability in AI-enabled cybercrime, provided that it is controlled by *tawazun*, human rights safeguards, and formal state authority. Its novelty lies not in treating *‘asabiyyah* as a complete criminal law doctrine, but in reinterpreting it as a culturally grounded normative resource for adaptive justice. The scope of the study is limited to normative juridical analysis, supported by literature, institutional

reports, and selected Indonesian cases involving AI-generated sexual exploitation. It focuses on legal gaps, victim protection, evidentiary challenges, and policy pathways for accountable community-supported reform.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Technology-Facilitated Gender-Based Violence and AI-Generated Sexual Harm

The literature on technology-facilitated gender-based violence shows that digital tools have expanded the scale, speed, and persistence of abuse against women. Studies on deepfake pornography, image-based sexual abuse, non-consensual intimate imagery, cyberstalking, and online harassment emphasize that these harms are not merely technical misuses of platforms but gendered violations of autonomy, dignity, and social participation. Regional reports on Asia and Indonesia document the growth of online gender-based violence during and after the COVID-19 pandemic, including sextortion, manipulated sexual content, and platform-based intimidation ([NORC at the University of Chicago & International Center for Research on Women, 2022](#); [The University of Melbourne & UNFPA Asia and the Pacific, 2024](#)). Peer-reviewed studies similarly identify severe psychological harm, reputational injury, underreporting, and barriers to justice ([Eaton & McGlynn, 2020](#); [Hall et al., 2022](#); [Labrecque et al., 2024](#)).

Deepfake technologies intensify these harms because they allow perpetrators to fabricate realistic sexual content without physical contact or consent. Even when the image is synthetic, the social and psychological consequences for victims remain real, including shame, anxiety, fear of re-exposure, academic disruption, and professional harm ([Ende, 2025](#); [Lorca, 2025](#); [Siegel et al., 2025](#)). Comparative literature on image-based sexual abuse further shows that platform design enables rapid replication, cross-border circulation, and prolonged visibility of abusive content ([Hussin & Ginano, 2023](#); [Rigotti et al., 2024](#)). These findings support the view that AI-facilitated gender-based violence should be treated as a serious form of sexual and social harm, not as a marginal privacy violation or ordinary cyber misconduct.

Indonesian Criminal Law and Legal-Institutional Gaps

Indonesian legal scholarship generally agrees that the existing legal architecture provides partial but incomplete protection against digital sexual violence. The Penal Code, the Electronic Information and Transactions Law, the Pornography Law, and Law No. 12 of 2022 on Sexual Violence contain provisions that may be used against indecent content, threats, extortion, and electronic-based sexual violence. However, these regimes do not expressly define deepfake pornography, synthetic intimate imagery, AI-generated sexual exploitation, or several forms of cyberstalking and cyber harassment

(Afrida et al., 2023; Kasita, 2022; Noerman & Ibrahim, 2024; Setiawan et al., 2022). As a result, legal actors often rely on broad concepts such as decency, defamation, or unlawful distribution, producing uncertainty and uneven enforcement.

The literature also identifies procedural and institutional weaknesses. Law No. 12 of 2022 is widely recognized as an important reform because it acknowledges electronic-based sexual violence and improves the normative status of survivors (Adiputra et al., 2022; Christianto, 2020; International Commission of Jurists, 2023). Nevertheless, scholars argue that it still requires clearer integration with the ITE Law, the Penal Code, and platform governance rules to address AI-enabled modalities (Santoso & Satria, 2023; Setiawan et al., 2022). Studies on Indonesian cyberlaw further highlight definitional gaps in cyberstalking, grooming, doxxing, and persistent online harassment (Minin, 2018; Octora, 2019; Oktana et al., 2023; Wardoyo et al., 2021). These gaps weaken legal certainty and reduce victims' confidence in formal remedies.

Digital Evidence, Platform Governance, and Attribution

A second body of scholarship focuses on the evidentiary difficulties of AI-related crimes. Digital evidence depends on metadata integrity, documented chain of custody, forensic reliability, and timely preservation. These requirements become more complex when the evidence consists of synthetic media that can be altered, copied, compressed, or reposted across platforms (Ashawa et al., 2023; Balkibayeva, 2024; Lutta et al., 2021; Ombu, 2023). In AI-facilitated abuse, investigators must determine not only whether content was manipulated but also who created, uploaded, reshared, or monetized it. Attribution is therefore dispersed across creators, distributors, platforms, and sometimes anonymous or automated accounts (Ferrara, 2024; Widder & Nafus, 2023; Yang et al., 2019).

Platform governance literature emphasizes that takedown, preservation, and evidence-sharing mechanisms are essential to effective accountability. Without rapid preservation orders, abusive content may disappear from public view while still circulating privately, or metadata may be lost before investigators can authenticate it. Scholars recommend provenance tagging, digital signatures, transparent forensic methods, and standardized procedures for admissibility of synthetic media (Barni et al., 2023; Horan & Saiedian, 2021; Stoykova, 2023). Comparative studies of image-based sexual abuse also stress platform duties, including notice-and-takedown, cooperation with law enforcement, cross-border data sharing, and victim-sensitive content removal (de la Fuente, 2023; Rigotti et al., 2024; Safiranita et al., 2021). These debates are directly relevant to Indonesian reforms.

Feminist Legal Theory and Victim-Centered Justice

Feminist legal theory reframes AI-facilitated gender-based violence as part of a continuum of gendered power rather than as isolated technological misuse. It emphasizes that image-based sexual abuse and deepfake pornography harm women by attacking autonomy, dignity, credibility, and social belonging (Eaton & McGlynn, 2020; Henry et al., 2023; McGlynn & Rackley, 2017; McGlynn & Toparlak, 2025; Rigotti & McGlynn, 2022). This approach is important because conventional criminal law often focuses narrowly on the perpetrator's act, while neglecting stigma, victim blaming, and structural barriers to reporting. Victim-centered criminal justice therefore calls for trauma-informed investigation, privacy protection, clear information for survivors, access to legal and psychosocial services, and procedures that minimize secondary victimization (Huber, 2025; Rackley et al., 2021).

Studies on policing and judicial responses to image-based sexual abuse show that survivors frequently encounter disbelief, delay, or moral judgment when seeking legal remedies (Witt et al., 2024). Such institutional reactions may discourage reporting and deepen harm. The feminist literature also cautions that a consent-only framework may be too narrow if it fails to address gendered objectification, reputational vulnerability, and platform-enabled amplification (Kardos, 2025; Laffier & Rehman, 2023). For Indonesia, these insights support the need to combine criminalization with survivor-centered reporting systems, gender-sensitive law enforcement training, campus-based protection mechanisms, and restorative options only when they do not pressure victims or weaken accountability.

Ibn Khaldun's 'Asabiyyah: Conceptual Foundations and Contemporary Critiques

Ibn Khaldun's concept of 'asabiyyah has often been translated as social solidarity, group feeling, or collective cohesion, but contemporary scholarship warns against reducing it to generic community support. In *The Muqaddimah*, 'asabiyyah refers to the mobilizing bond through which groups defend themselves, establish political authority, and sustain collective life (Ali, 2019; Ibn Khaldun, 2020; Ismail & Abdul Rahim, 2018). It is closely related to the formation of *mulk*, the endurance of social order, and the cyclical rise and decline of dynasties. Current Khaldunian studies therefore treat 'asabiyyah as a dynamic force linking group cohesion, authority, social protection, and political power (Abou-Tabickh, 2022; Darling, 2007; Demirel, 2024; Shirin, 2024).

This literature also highlights the ambivalence of 'asabiyyah. Strong solidarity may protect vulnerable members, mobilize collective action, and generate social resilience, but it may also exclude outsiders, silence dissent, strengthen majoritarian domination, or justify informal coercion (Abozeid, 2021; Alatas, 2006; Rahmatullah & Ubaidillah,

2025). These cautions are crucial for adapting *‘asabiyyah* to legal reform. If solidarity is invoked without rights-based safeguards, it may produce victim silencing, forced settlement, or vigilantism. Therefore, the concept should not be used as a romantic appeal to communal unity. It must be interpreted critically as a historically situated normative resource whose legal use requires institutional boundaries, due process, inclusion, and state oversight (Navarro, 2021; Shihan, 2018).

Islamic Legal Reform, Maslahah, Tawazun, and Collective Accountability

Islamic legal reform scholarship provides a normative bridge between *‘asabiyyah* and contemporary criminal law. Hallaq's (2009) account of Islamic law as an institutional and moral tradition suggests that legal norms depend not only on state commands but also on social authority, ethical practice, and institutional legitimacy. In Southeast Asian contexts, Islamic legal thought has frequently interacted with local legal culture, plural institutions, and modern state law (Darna et al., 2025; Kooria, 2019; Mohamed et al., 2025; Touré et al., 2025). Maqāṣid-oriented scholarship further argues that *maslahah*, or public welfare, can justify adaptive legal reasoning when new harms are not anticipated by classical texts (Ishak, 2018; Ishak & Asni, 2020; Johari et al., 2023; Kamali, 2011).

The principle of *tawazun*, or balance, is essential because it prevents collective solidarity from becoming coercive (Husna & Thohir, 2020; Syukur et al., 2024). A *maslahah*-oriented application of *‘asabiyyah* would direct communal energy toward protecting life, dignity, intellect, family integrity, and property, while *tawazun* would require proportionality, human rights, and respect for formal legal authority. In cases of AI-facilitated violence, this combination supports collective accountability without replacing state criminal justice. Community actors may assist reporting, survivor accompaniment, digital literacy, evidence preservation, and anti-stigma campaigns, but they must operate under transparent procedures, privacy safeguards, accreditation, and independent oversight. This model turns solidarity into accountable legal support.

Research Gap and the Significance of the Study

The existing literature has developed several important but separate conversations. Studies on AI-facilitated gender-based violence explain psychological harm, reputational injury, underreporting, and the need for explicit regulation of deepfakes and synthetic sexual content. Indonesian criminal law studies identify gaps in the ITE Law, the Penal Code, the Pornography Law, and Law No. 12 of 2022. Digital forensic literature clarifies the importance of metadata preservation, chain of custody, attribution, platform cooperation, and admissibility standards. Feminist legal theory adds a survivor-centered account of trauma, stigma, and secondary victimization.

Khaldunian and Islamic legal reform scholarship, however, have rarely been connected systematically to these AI-related criminal law challenges.

This study addresses that gap by integrating Ibn Khaldun's 'asabiyyah with gender-sensitive criminal law and AI governance in Indonesia. Its significance lies in reframing AI-facilitated violence against women not only as a regulatory or technological problem but also as a crisis of social responsibility and institutional coordination. The study argues that 'asabiyyah can function as a *maslahah*-oriented mechanism of collective accountability, provided it is constrained by *tawazun*, due process, human rights safeguards, and state legal authority. This contribution is not a claim to create a complete Khaldunian criminal doctrine. Rather, it offers a culturally grounded framework for adaptive justice, victim protection, digital evidence preservation, and accountable community-supported reform.

METHOD

Research Design and Approach

This study employs a normative juridical research design supported by qualitative socio-legal analysis. The normative juridical approach is appropriate because the article examines legal norms, doctrinal gaps, regulatory coherence, and the possibility of integrating Ibn Khaldun's concept of 'asabiyyah into contemporary Indonesian criminal law. The study does not aim to measure prevalence statistically or to produce generalizable empirical claims. Rather, it analyzes how existing legal instruments respond to AI-facilitated gender-based violence and whether a culturally grounded framework of collective accountability can strengthen victim protection. The qualitative component is used to interpret legal materials, institutional reports, scholarly literature, and publicly available case narratives. This design allows the study to connect doctrinal analysis with the social realities of deepfake pornography, synthetic sexual exploitation, cyber harassment, evidentiary fragility, and barriers to justice for women victims.

Normative and Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework combines modern criminal law theory, feminist victim-centered justice, digital evidence scholarship, and Islamic legal thought. Modern criminal law is used to assess criminalization, deterrence, proportionality, victim recovery, and procedural fairness. Feminist legal theory helps explain why AI-facilitated sexual harm should be understood as gender-based violence rather than as ordinary cyber misconduct, particularly because such harm produces stigma, reputational injury, underreporting, victim blaming, and secondary victimization. Ibn Khaldun's 'asabiyyah is treated not as generic social solidarity, but as a historically situated concept of collective cohesion, protection, authority, and potential exclusion. Its

contemporary use is therefore disciplined by *maslahah*, *tawazun*, due process, human rights, and state authority.

Legal and Documentary Materials

The primary legal materials consist of Indonesian statutory and regulatory instruments relevant to AI-facilitated gender-based violence, including the Indonesian Penal Code, the Electronic Information and Transactions Law, Law No. 12 of 2022 on Sexual Violence, the Pornography Law, rules on electronic evidence, and higher-education regulations concerning sexual violence prevention. These materials are examined to identify whether current law clearly defines AI-generated sexual content, deepfake pornography, non-consensual synthetic intimate imagery, cyberstalking, and platform-mediated harassment. Secondary materials include peer-reviewed academic literature, institutional reports, policy briefs, NGO documentation, media reports, and comparative legal studies. Classical and contemporary Islamic legal sources are also used, especially *The Muqaddimah* and modern scholarship on *‘asabiyyah*, *maqāṣid al-Sharī‘ah*, *maslahah*, *tawazun*, and Islamic legal reform.

Case Selection and Analytical Status

The study uses purposive case selection to examine publicly reported Indonesian cases of AI-facilitated sexual exploitation in educational settings, particularly the SMAN 11 Semarang case and the Universitas Udayana case. These cases were selected because they reveal three central features of the research problem: the technological affordance of AI-generated sexual manipulation, the gendered vulnerability of female students, teachers, alumni, or university peers, and the legal-institutional mismatch between emerging digital harms and existing criminal law mechanisms. The cases are not treated as statistical evidence or as a basis for broad empirical generalization. They function as socio-legal case materials that illuminate how legal gaps, institutional hesitation, evidentiary uncertainty, reputational harm, and victim-protection deficits appear in concrete settings. Therefore, the analysis refers to “case-based findings” or “documentary findings,” not “field findings.”

Analytical Procedure

The analysis proceeds in four stages. First, the study maps the substantive legal gaps in Indonesian criminal law by comparing existing offense categories with the specific characteristics of AI-facilitated gender-based violence. Second, it examines procedural gaps, especially the treatment of metadata, chain of custody, digital provenance, attribution, platform cooperation, takedown processes, and admissibility of synthetic media evidence. Third, the selected Indonesian cases are analyzed to identify recurring patterns of harm, institutional response, and victim vulnerability. Fourth, the study evaluates whether *‘asabiyyah* can be translated into an accountable model of

collective responsibility. This evaluation focuses on certified community accompaniment, survivor support, digital literacy, evidence preservation, platform reporting, and cooperation with police, prosecutors, courts, and victim-support institutions.

Validity, Scope, and Limitations

To strengthen analytical validity, the study triangulates legal texts, scholarly literature, institutional reports, and media-based case documentation. News reports are used only to establish factual case background and institutional responses, while peer-reviewed scholarship and legal materials serve as the main basis for doctrinal and conceptual analysis. The study is limited to normative juridical and documentary research; it does not include interviews, surveys, ethnographic observation, or direct forensic examination of digital evidence. Consequently, the proposed 'asabiyyah-based model should be understood as a normative and policy framework requiring future empirical testing. The scope of the study is also limited to AI-facilitated violence against women in Indonesia, with particular attention to deepfakes, synthetic sexual content, cyber harassment, victim protection, and criminal law reform. Future research should test the proposed model through pilot projects, institutional evaluations, and courtroom-based studies of digital evidence reliability.

RESULTS

'Asabiyyah as a Normative Source of Collective Protection

The first result concerns the conceptual relevance of Ibn Khaldun's 'asabiyyah for rethinking protection against AI-facilitated violence against women. In *The Muqaddimah*, 'asabiyyah is not merely an emotional attachment among group members, but a mobilizing force that produces cohesion, mutual protection, and collective capacity. It enables communities to respond to external threats and to sustain social and political order through shared commitment (Ibn Khaldun, 2020). In this study, 'asabiyyah is interpreted as a normative resource for collective protection, rather than as a substitute for formal law. Its value lies in its ability to transform dispersed social concern into coordinated support for victims, including reporting assistance, reputation repair, digital literacy, and solidarity-based prevention. This finding confirms that 'asabiyyah may function as a culturally grounded framework for strengthening victim-centered legal responsiveness (Ibn Khaldun, 2020).

The Institutional Role and Limits of Islamic Legal Solidarity

The second result shows that 'asabiyyah becomes legally meaningful only when connected to institutional authority and normative limits. Hallaq's (2009) view of Islamic law as a living institutional tradition helps explain why legal norms require not only

textual authority but also institutional practice and social legitimacy. Within this framework, *‘asabiyyah* can support compliance, public trust, and communal participation in protecting victims. However, the study also finds that *‘asabiyyah* has ambivalent potential. If solidarity becomes exclusionary, it may marginalize outsiders, silence victims, or suppress individual rights (Efendi, 2024; Hami, 2025; Sugari & Hilalludin, 2025). Therefore, its legal use must be disciplined by human rights, due process, non-discrimination, and state authority. This result is central: *‘asabiyyah* can strengthen criminal justice only as accountable solidarity, not as informal coercion or community-based vigilantism.

Criminal Law Responsiveness to AI-Facilitated Harm

The third result identifies a mismatch between the objectives of modern criminal law and the realities of AI-facilitated gender-based violence. Modern criminal law seeks to protect fundamental social values, prevent crime, punish proportionately, and restore victims. Yet AI-generated sexual content, deepfake abuse, and digital harassment expose weaknesses in conventional offense definitions, investigative procedures, and victim recovery mechanisms. The analysis shows that criminal law must move beyond content-based punishment and incorporate prevention, evidence preservation, platform accountability, and recovery-oriented measures. Ethical AI governance also requires cooperation among legal authorities, technology developers, civil society, and survivor-support institutions (Jobin et al., 2019). The result is that criminal law reform should not be limited to adding penalties. It must create a gender-sensitive, technology-aware, and procedurally reliable system that protects dignity while preserving legal certainty.

Gendered Harm and Victim Vulnerability

The fourth result concerns the concrete impact of AI-facilitated violence on women victims. The study finds that synthetic sexual content and digital harassment cause harms that are social, psychological, reputational, and institutional. Victims may experience public stigmatization, social isolation, reputational destruction, academic or professional setbacks, anxiety, depression, shame, and persistent fear for personal and family safety (Arianto, 2021; Munawwarah, 2025). These harms are intensified by patriarchal norms, limited digital literacy, and the tendency to blame victims for the circulation of sexualized content. The harm is also durable because AI-generated material can be copied, reposted, archived, or circulated across platforms even after takedown attempts. This finding supports the argument that AI-facilitated violence should be treated as gender-based violence affecting autonomy, dignity, participation, and access to justice, not merely as a privacy or cyber-decency offense.

Case-Based Finding I: The SMAN 11 Semarang Case

The SMAN 11 Semarang case demonstrates how AI-generated sexual exploitation exposes normative and procedural gaps in Indonesian law. In early 2025, female students, teachers, and alumni were reportedly targeted through manipulated pornographic videos created by superimposing their faces onto explicit content. The case produced reputational damage, psychological trauma, and social distress. Although the alleged perpetrator issued a public apology and the education authority encouraged legal action, formal remedies remained uncertain (Dikarma, 2025b; Fauziyah & Krisiandi, 2025; Haq, 2025). The case shows that the Electronic Information and Transactions Law, the Criminal Code, and sexual violence legislation may apply only indirectly, because they do not explicitly define AI-generated sexual exploitation. It also reveals the risk of relying on pornography or electronic-content provisions that may be inconsistently applied or may even create fear among victims. The case therefore illustrates the urgent need for AI-aware criminal law reform (Dikarma, 2025a; Rohmah, 2025).

Case-Based Finding II: The Universitas Udayana Case

The Universitas Udayana case provides a second socio-legal finding. In April 2025, a student allegedly used an AI bot on Telegram to digitally manipulate photographs of female classmates, rendering them nude without consent (Dianira et al., 2025; Mahendro, 2025). The university responded through an ethics hearing and expelled the perpetrator on April 29, 2025, under Ministerial Regulation No. 30 of 2021 on the prevention and handling of sexual violence in higher education (Gisela, 2025; Liswati & Taun, 2025). This institutional response shows that campus regulations can provide immediate disciplinary remedies even when criminal proceedings are uncertain. However, the case also reveals a regulatory limitation: existing higher-education rules recognize digital sexual violence but do not yet provide detailed standards for AI-generated nudity, synthetic sexual images, forensic preservation, or platform-based evidence collection (Al-Ayoubi & Suharto, 2025; Iradat & Hariyanto, 2025; Pramesti & Putra, 2025). The finding is therefore twofold: campus governance can act quickly, but national criminal law must provide clearer AI-specific accountability (Sandi, 2025).

Systemic Finding: AI-Facilitated Violence as an Institutional Crisis

The selected cases, when read together with Komnas Perempuan's findings, show that AI-facilitated sexual violence is not an isolated technological misuse but a systemic institutional challenge. The cases reveal three interconnected dynamics. First, AI lowers the cost and increases the plausibility of producing synthetic sexual content. Second, gendered vulnerability makes women disproportionately exposed to stigma, reputational harm, and underreporting. Third, Indonesia's legal framework remains

institutionally mismatched because current instruments address unlawful distribution, decency, sexual violence, or electronic information without fully regulating synthetic media, attribution, platform duties, and evidence preservation (Sela et al., 2026; Zaltina & Nurtjahyo, 2024). Komnas Perempuan's findings reinforce the need to treat such harms as part of a broader pattern of gendered digital violence rather than as isolated misconduct (Komnas Perempuan, 2025). The result is that reform must combine criminal law, campus governance, platform regulation, forensic capacity, and survivor-centered services.

'Asabiyyah-Based Collective Accountability Model

The final result is a proposed model for integrating 'asabiyyah into Indonesian criminal law as collective accountability. The model does not transfer criminal authority to communities. Instead, it recognizes certified community accompaniment bodies as official partners for initial intake, survivor support, digital literacy, evidence preservation requests, and referral to law enforcement. These bodies should operate under standard procedures linked to platform complaint units, police cyber-forensic teams, prosecutors, and psychosocial recovery services (Diputra, 2024; Nurhasanah et al., 2024; Nurisman, 2022; Wulandari et al., 2025). Community reports may function as corroborative evidence only when collected under metadata and chain-of-custody standards. The model also requires trauma-informed training, privacy safeguards, inclusive representation, human rights oversight, and rotating membership to prevent capture, coercion, or vigilantism. Thus, the principal result is that 'asabiyyah can become a masalah-oriented mechanism of collective accountability, provided it is governed by tawazun, due process, and formal state authority.

DISCUSSION

Legal-Institutional Mismatch and the Limits of Individual Accountability

The results show that AI-facilitated violence against women exposes a structural mismatch between Indonesian criminal law and emerging technological harms. Existing instruments, including the Penal Code, the ITE Law, the Pornography Law, Law No. 12 of 2022 on Sexual Violence, and higher-education regulations, provide partial legal bases but do not expressly define AI-generated sexual exploitation, deepfake pornography, synthetic intimate imagery, or several forms of technology-facilitated harassment. The Semarang and Universitas Udayana cases demonstrate that institutional actors can respond through disciplinary or general cyberlaw mechanisms, but legal certainty remains limited. This confirms that AI-facilitated harm is not only a matter of unlawful content, but also a problem of attribution, evidence, victim protection, and institutional coordination (Dianira et al., 2025; Dikarma, 2025b, 2025a;

Fauziyah & Krisiandi, 2025; Gisela, 2025; Haq, 2025; Mahendro, 2025; Rohmah, 2025; Sandi, 2025).

This finding is supported by Indonesian and comparative scholarship. Studies on Indonesian cyberlaw argue that deepfake pornography and synthetic sexual content remain insufficiently covered by existing statutes, even when related provisions on decency, pornography, or electronic-based sexual violence are available (Afrida et al., 2023; Kasita, 2022; Noerman & Ibrahim, 2024; Setiawan et al., 2022). Other scholars note that the ITE Law lacks precise definitions for cyberstalking, cyber harassment, grooming, and related technology-facilitated harms (Minin, 2018; Octora, 2019; Oktana et al., 2023; Wardoyo et al., 2021). However, some literature views Law No. 12 of 2022 as a promising *lex specialis* that may be expanded through interpretation and implementing regulations (Christianto, 2020; Santoso & Satria, 2023).

The implication is that Indonesian criminal law reform should move beyond reliance on broad categories such as decency, defamation, or unlawful electronic distribution. Theoretically, the findings support a shift from individual accountability alone toward distributed and collective accountability, because AI-facilitated cybercrime often involves multiple actors: creators, distributors, platforms, and anonymous amplifiers. Practically, law enforcement needs clearer offense elements, victim-centered reporting channels, and stronger coordination with educational institutions and digital platforms. At the policy level, reform should clarify AI-enabled offenses, define synthetic sexual abuse, strengthen the role of Law No. 12 of 2022, and harmonize it with the ITE Law, the Pornography Law, and rules on electronic evidence.

'Asabiyyah as Collective Accountability: Promise and Ambivalence

The study also finds that Ibn Khaldun's concept of 'asabiyyah can provide a normative foundation for collective accountability in responding to AI-facilitated violence against women. In this framework, 'asabiyyah is not treated as generic solidarity or informal community sentiment, but as a mobilizing bond that can support victims, reduce stigma, encourage reporting, and assist in evidence preservation (Ibn Khaldun, 2020). This is relevant because AI-facilitated violence often overwhelms isolated victims. When harmful content circulates rapidly across platforms, survivors require legal, psychosocial, technical, and reputational support. Properly institutionalized, 'asabiyyah can transform community concern into structured accompaniment, digital literacy, early reporting, and restorative support without replacing state criminal justice (Diputra, 2024; Nurhasanah et al., 2024; Nurisman, 2022; Wulandari et al., 2025).

Contemporary Khaldunian scholarship supports this interpretation while warning against oversimplification. Malešević (2015, 2021), al-Gharbi (2021), Sehlíkoglu (2025), Shihan (2018), and Tahir & Nori (2024) emphasize that 'asabiyyah is historically situated

and cannot be reduced to neutral social cohesion. It may generate protection and political authority, but it can also produce exclusion, coercion, and domination. This caution is consistent with the study's finding that community solidarity is ambivalent. It may accelerate survivor support, but it may also pressure victims into informal settlement, protect institutional reputation, marginalize minority voices, or enable vigilantism. Therefore, the legal adaptation of 'asabiyyah must be critical, bounded, and institutionally accountable.

The theoretical implication is that 'asabiyyah should be reframed as a *maslahah*-oriented mechanism of collective accountability rather than as a free-standing legal doctrine. Its legitimacy depends on *tawazun*, due process, human rights, and formal state authority. Practically, community involvement should take the form of certified accompaniment bodies, campus task forces, women's organizations, and trained civil society partners. These actors may assist victims but should not adjudicate guilt, impose sanctions, or pressure settlement. At the policy level, the state should regulate accreditation, privacy safeguards, trauma-informed practice, minority representation, complaint mechanisms, and independent oversight. In this way, solidarity becomes a controlled legal resource rather than an informal substitute for law.

Digital Evidence, Platform Governance, and Victim-Centered Justice

The findings further show that digital evidence is central to accountability in AI-facilitated gender-based violence. Synthetic sexual content can be created, altered, reposted, compressed, deleted, or transferred across platforms before investigators secure reliable evidence. This makes metadata preservation, chain of custody, provenance, authenticity, and platform cooperation essential. In the Semarang and Universitas Udayana cases, institutional responses were visible, but the pathway toward criminal accountability remained uncertain partly because AI-generated material raises problems of proof and attribution. The results therefore confirm that victim protection cannot be separated from forensic readiness. Without reliable evidence standards, victims may face disbelief, delay, and secondary victimization even when harm is socially obvious (Iradat & Hariyanto, 2025; Komnas Perempuan, 2025; Sela et al., 2026; Zaltina & Nurtjahyo, 2024).

This result is consistent with digital-forensics scholarship, which treats metadata and chain of custody as prerequisites for admissible electronic evidence (Ashawa et al., 2023; Balkibayeva, 2024; Lutta et al., 2021; Ombu, 2023; Patil & Chowbe, 2024). Scholars also argue that AI-generated content requires provenance tagging, media signatures, forensic authentication, expert explanation, and transparent detection methods (Barni et al., 2023; Baroto, 2024; Horan & Saiedian, 2021; Stoykova, 2023; Subramanian V & Swathi S, 2024; Yu & Xu, 2025). Feminist and victim-centered

scholarship adds that evidentiary procedures must not reproduce harm. Survivors of image-based sexual abuse often encounter victim blaming, institutional delay, and underreporting caused by fear of stigma (Eaton & McGlynn, 2020; Hall et al., 2023; Huber, 2025; Rackley et al., 2021; Witt et al., 2024).

The implication is that Indonesian reform must combine technical evidence rules with gender-sensitive procedure. Theoretically, this supports an integrated model in which criminal law, digital forensics, and feminist legal theory reinforce one another. Practically, police, prosecutors, judges, campus authorities, and community accompanists require training in metadata handling, chain of custody, platform requests, trauma-informed interviewing, and privacy protection. At the policy level, Indonesia should develop rapid preservation orders, standardized forensic protocols, clear admissibility standards for synthetic media, and formal platform duties for takedown and data retention. These measures would reduce evidentiary fragility while protecting victims from repeated exposure, institutional skepticism, and reputational injury (Budiono et al., 2022; Nadhiroh, 2023; Ndawana & Chisambiro, 2024).

Toward an Accountable 'Asabiyyah-Based Protection Model

The final finding is that an 'asabiyyah-based model must be designed as a complementary institutional framework, not as informal justice. The proposed model recognizes certified community accompaniment bodies as partners in intake, survivor support, digital literacy, initial evidence preservation requests, and referral to police cyber-forensic units. This responds to the failure of individual accountability in AI-facilitated cybercrime, where anonymity, platform-based dissemination, and dispersed responsibility make isolated victim action insufficient. The model is especially relevant in educational settings, where campus communities can detect harm early, support victims, coordinate disciplinary measures, and prevent reputational silencing. However, their role must remain supportive, documented, and reviewable by formal authorities.

The literature supports this hybrid approach. Studies on technology-facilitated gender-based violence recommend explicit AI-enabled offenses, stronger platform duties, rapid takedown, victim support, and evidence preservation (Hussin & Ginano, 2023; Rigotti et al., 2024; Safiranita et al., 2021; McGlynn & Toparlak, 2025). Maqāṣid-based reform scholarship further supports the use of *maslahah* to adapt Islamic law to novel harms while preserving dignity, welfare, and justice (Ishak, 2018; Ishak & Asni, 2020; Johari et al., 2023; Kamali, 2011). At the same time, Khaldunian and decolonial critiques warn that collective solidarity can become coercive if not restrained by pluralism, due process, minority protection, and independent oversight (Navarro, 2021; Sehlirkoglu, 2025; Tahir & Nori, 2024).

Theoretical implications arise from redefining ‘asabiyyah as legally bounded collective accountability under *maslahah* and *tawazun*. Practical implications include establishing survivor-centered service hubs, community reporting protocols, platform liaison mechanisms, and campus-based rapid response teams. Policy implications require pilot projects before national implementation. These pilots should test effectiveness through measurable indicators such as takedown time, reporting rates, metadata preservation, successful referrals, and survivor service uptake. They should also test equity by monitoring representation of women, minorities, persons with disabilities, and rural or digitally marginalized groups. Evaluation must include independent audits and survivor feedback. This staged approach would allow Indonesia to test whether an ‘asabiyyah-based model is effective, equitable, scalable, and consistent with state legal authority.

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that AI-facilitated violence against women exposes a serious mismatch between emerging digital harms and Indonesia’s current criminal law framework. Existing legal instruments provide partial protection, but they do not yet adequately define or regulate deepfake pornography, synthetic sexual content, AI-enabled harassment, or the evidentiary problems created by platform-based dissemination. The Indonesian cases analyzed in this study show that victims suffer reputational, psychological, social, and institutional harms, while legal responses remain fragmented. These findings confirm that AI-facilitated gender-based violence is not merely a technological problem, but a legal-institutional crisis involving accountability, evidence, victim protection, and access to justice.

The central argument of this study is that Ibn Khaldun’s concept of ‘asabiyyah can be critically adapted as a normative framework for collective accountability. Properly understood, ‘asabiyyah is not simply social solidarity, nor should it replace formal criminal justice. Rather, it can operate as a *maslahah*-oriented mechanism that mobilizes communities, institutions, platforms, and state actors to protect victims, preserve evidence, reduce stigma, and strengthen reporting pathways. Its use must be limited by *tawazun*, due process, human rights safeguards, gender sensitivity, and formal state authority, so that collective solidarity does not become coercive, exclusionary, or vigilante.

This study contributes to existing scholarship by connecting three fields that are rarely examined together: AI-facilitated gender-based violence, Indonesian criminal law reform, and Khaldunian-Islamic legal thought. Its significance lies in reframing digital violence as a failure of both individual accountability and collective

responsibility. The proposed ‘asabiyyah-based model offers a culturally grounded yet rights-sensitive approach to adaptive justice. It supports legal reform that combines explicit AI-related offenses, stronger digital evidence standards, survivor-centered services, platform cooperation, and accountable community accompaniment. Further research is needed to test whether this model can operate effectively, equitably, and sustainably in different Indonesian social and institutional settings.

Limitation of the Study

This study has several limitations. First, it is based on normative juridical and documentary analysis rather than primary empirical fieldwork. The cases discussed are drawn from publicly available reports, institutional documents, legal materials, and secondary literature. Therefore, the study does not claim to provide a comprehensive empirical account of all AI-facilitated gender-based violence cases in Indonesia. It also does not include interviews with victims, law enforcement officers, prosecutors, judges, platform representatives, or community organizations. As a result, the findings should be understood as normative and socio-legal interpretations rather than statistically generalizable conclusions.

Second, the legal and technological landscape examined in this study is rapidly changing. AI tools, deepfake technologies, platform policies, and Indonesian regulatory responses may evolve faster than doctrinal scholarship can capture. The study is also limited by the scarcity of Indonesian court decisions specifically addressing AI-generated sexual exploitation. Because few precedents are available, several recommendations remain conceptual and policy-oriented. The proposed integration of ‘asabiyyah into criminal law should therefore be treated as an initial normative framework that requires further empirical validation, institutional testing, and careful assessment of risks, especially those related to informal pressure, victim silencing, and community-based coercion.

Recommendations for Future Research

Future research should empirically test the proposed ‘asabiyyah-based collective accountability model through pilot projects in diverse Indonesian settings. These pilots could be conducted in urban universities, metropolitan communities, and regions with limited digital infrastructure. Their effectiveness should be measured through concrete indicators, including reduction in content takedown time, increase in victim reporting, successful preservation of metadata, quality of referral pathways, survivor satisfaction, and uptake of psychosocial and legal services. Equity indicators are equally important, including the participation of women, minority groups, persons with disabilities, rural communities, and digitally marginalized victims.

Further studies should also examine the forensic, procedural, and institutional feasibility of community-supported evidence preservation. Researchers should assess whether trained community accompaniment bodies can collect preliminary digital reports without compromising metadata integrity, chain of custody, privacy, or admissibility in court. Comparative legal studies are also needed to evaluate how Indonesia can learn from other jurisdictions regulating deepfakes, image-based sexual abuse, platform duties, rapid preservation orders, and victim-centered remedies. Finally, interdisciplinary research should continue to refine the relationship between *‘asabiyyah*, *maslahah*, *tawazun*, feminist legal theory, and modern criminal justice, ensuring that collective protection remains inclusive, accountable, and rights-respecting.

Author Contributions

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Informed Consent Statement

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Data Availability Statement

The data presented in this study are available on request from the corresponding author. The data are not publicly available due to institution’s policy.

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Conflicts of Interest

The author declares no conflicts of interest.

Declaration of Generative AI and AI-Assisted Technologies in the Writing Process

During the preparation of this work the author used ChatGPT and PaperPal to improve clarity of the language and readability of the article. After using these tools, the author reviewed and edited the content as needed and took full responsibility for the content of the published article.

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