



Criminological Analysis of the Crime of Adultery (A Case Study of the Boalemo Police Resort)

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ABSTRACT

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The crime of adultery in Boalemo Regency has shown a significant upward trend, with 37 cases recorded between 2021 and 2025. Adultery is defined here as sexual intercourse outside a lawful marriage, prosecuted under Article 284 of the former Criminal Code (KUHP), with reference to Article 411 of Law Number 1 of 2023 (the new Criminal Code). This study analyzes the causal factors of adultery from a criminological perspective and the efforts to address it. This descriptive-qualitative empirical legal research used one month of field observation, in-depth interviews with three purposively selected key informants (two investigators of the Women and Children Protection Unit of the Boalemo Police Resort and a married offender), and documentary study. The findings reveal that the main factor is the breakdown of marital harmony caused by economic problems and unmet physical and emotional needs, with unregistered religious marriage (nikah siri) serving as a rational choice to minimize social stigma. Based on Social Control Theory, the crime is triggered by weakened attachment, commitment, and belief, and increased involvement with a third party, while Rational Choice Theory shows it to be a conscious decision facilitated by social media. Police efforts are pre-emptive, preventive, and repressive, but are hampered by the concealed nature of the crime and the withdrawal of complaints. This study recommends a Restorative Community-based "Family Resilience Partnership Program" involving community police officers, the local P3AP2KB Office, and religious leaders to educate the public on the legal risks of nikah siri and prevent infidelity.

1. INTRODUCTION

As social beings, humans naturally engage in various interactions that give rise to diverse patterns of behavior in society. Over time, the rapid flow of globalization and advances in science and information technology have had a highly significant impact. Whether recognized or not, these changes have fostered a permissive culture, the adoption of glamorous lifestyles, and exposure to pornographic content, which trigger various forms of deviant behavior and criminal offenses, one of which is adultery. (Hisyam, 2021) As a state based on the rule of law grounded in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, Indonesia possesses essential criminal law instruments to respond to such deviance in order to protect society, create social order, and uphold justice. (Ismail et al., 2023)

Sociologically and criminologically, the pace of modernization not only affects economic progress but also triggers a shift in values within society, including the degradation of moral norms.(Baru et al., 2025) Crimes against decency, particularly adultery, are often categorized as a *victimless crime* in classical criminological literature; however, within the legal and cultural context of Eastern values in Indonesia, this act has a massively destructive effect on social structures and the institution of the family.(Aurina et al., 2026) Therefore, criminal law serves as an *ultimum remedium* (last resort) to restore the balance of moral values held by society, a protective orientation that has been further reinforced in the current transition of national criminal law.(Mahesa & Danyathi, 2025)

The Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language (KBBI) defines adultery as sexual intercourse between a man and a woman who are not bound by marriage, including intercourse between a married man and a woman who is not his spouse, or between a married woman and a man who is not her husband.(Utami, 2024) During the period covered by this study (2021–2025), the regulation of adultery in Indonesian law enforcement was juridically based on Article 284 of the former Criminal Code (KUHP). This article qualifies adultery (*overspel*) as a complaint-based offense (*klachtdelict*) that is punishable only if one or both parties are bound by a lawful marriage.(Rosdiana & Janah, 2020) Given that the reform of national criminal law under Law Number 1 of 2023 only took full effect in 2026, the entire handling of adultery cases by the police in the research area was based exclusively on the legal framework and elements of the offense under Article 284 of the former Criminal Code.(Sani, 2024)

Although adultery is expressly prohibited by positive law and strongly contradicts the religious norms and morality of Indonesia's religious society, this phenomenon remains a reality that cannot be ignored.(Anam & Anam, 2025) Ironically, such violations of decency are prevalent in areas where the majority of the population is Muslim and still firmly upholds customary norms, such as Boalemo Regency.

Boalemo is a regency in Gorontalo Province with a population of 152.1 thousand as of 2024, the majority of whom are Muslim; nevertheless, it is not free from acts of adultery.(Darmawan, 2025) Data obtained from the Boalemo Police Resort show that adultery has occurred frequently, with the number of cases handled by the Boalemo Police Resort increasing in recent years. This increase indicates a lack of public awareness in Boalemo regarding adultery as a form of deviant behavior.

Data from the Boalemo Police Resort indicate highly significant dynamics and an upward trend in adultery cases in the region. In 2021 and 2022, seven adultery cases were reported in each year. This figure dropped sharply to only one case handled in 2023. The drastic decline in 2023 was not caused by an actual decrease in crime in the community but was influenced by the predominance of local resolution of domestic conflicts through family mediation (problem solving by community police officers (Bhabinkamtibmas) and customary leaders), as well as victims' strong reluctance to report in order to avoid social stigma. However, the situation changed dramatically with a surge to 10 cases in 2024, rising further to 12 cases in 2025, as the practice of *nikah siri* was increasingly uncovered by lawful spouses and victims' legal awareness to report

grew. Overall, over the five-year period (2021–2025), a total of 37 adultery cases were recorded in Boalemo Regency.

The gap between strict legal regulation and the social reality of increasing adultery cases in Boalemo Regency indicates a more complex problem. The existence of clear legal provisions has not been fully capable of suppressing this crime. This shows that adultery is not merely triggered by public ignorance of the law but is closely related to other criminogenic factors rooted in social, economic, psychological, and cultural conditions.(Leqsha et al., 2025)

Based on the foregoing, this study focuses on two problems: identifying and analyzing the factors that lead a person to commit adultery from a criminological perspective, and examining the efforts of the police in addressing the crime of adultery within the jurisdiction of the Boalemo Police Resort.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

This study employs empirical legal research, positioning law as a social phenomenon that can be concretely observed through the practice of social life and factual circumstances in the field.(Syahrum, 2022) This approach was chosen based on the essential need to capture how the law operates directly and to trace social facts in order to understand the root causes and driving factors of violations of moral norms. The research was conducted within the jurisdiction of the Boalemo Police Resort, Gorontalo Province, with the main locus in Tilamuta District, which has the highest number of adultery cases in the regency.

This study relies on two main sources, namely primary and secondary data. Primary data were obtained directly from the field through in-depth interviews and observation, while secondary data were collected through library and documentary research, including books, scientific journals, and official police archives and reports.(Sulung & Muspawi, 2024) Informants were selected using a *purposive sampling* technique, namely a sampling technique based on certain considerations and criteria established by the researcher according to the capacity of informants deemed to best understand the problem under study.(Himam et al., 2026) Based on these criteria, three key informants were determined: two investigators from the Women and Children Protection Unit (PPA) of the Criminal Investigation Unit of the Boalemo Police Resort, namely the Head of the PPA Unit and an Assistant Investigator, and one offender of adultery recorded in an official report.

Data were collected through three techniques: field observation of the social environment of the community over a period of approximately one month, in-depth interviews with the investigator informants and the offender, and documentation of police report archives. All collected data were then processed using descriptive qualitative analysis through the stages of data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing,(Chatra et al., 2023) which were subsequently integrated with Social Control Theory and Rational Choice Theory to understand the social reality of the crime of adultery.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Causal Factors of the Crime of Adultery in Boalemo Regency

The crime of adultery is essentially an act of sexual intercourse committed by a person with someone who is not his or her lawful spouse. In the context of this study, adultery is

understood as sexual intercourse committed by the offender with another person outside a lawful marriage.(Ramadhana et al., 2024) Accordingly, the discussion of adultery concerns not only the act itself but also the factors that lead a person to commit it.(Rosdiana & Janah, 2020)

To assess the seriousness of the increase in adultery cases in Boalemo Regency, this phenomenon needs to be compared with other areas in Gorontalo Province, one of which is Gorontalo City. Generally, urban areas are considered more vulnerable to violations of moral norms due to the strong influence of modernization and urban lifestyles.(Lestari, 2024) However, the reality in the field shows the opposite. The number of adultery cases within the jurisdiction of the Gorontalo City Police Resort is far lower and more controlled than in the Boalemo Police Resort. A comparison of the number of adultery cases in both areas over the last five years (2021–2025) is presented in detail in the following table:

Table 1. Comparison of Case Data of the Boalemo Police Resort and the Gorontalo City Police Resort

No	Year	Boalemo Regency	Gorontalo City
1	2021	7	3
2	2022	7	0
3	2023	1	4
4	2024	10	2
5	2025	12	3
Total		37	12

Source: *Boalemo Police Resort and Gorontalo City Police Resort*

The dynamics of adultery data, as shown in the regional statistical comparison, reveal a sharply contrasting pattern between Boalemo Regency and Gorontalo City from 2022 to 2023. During this period, Boalemo Regency recorded a drastic decline from seven cases to only one, whereas Gorontalo City experienced an increase from zero to four cases. These opposing shifts do not necessarily indicate a real change in the frequency of adultery in society; rather, they reflect the dynamics of reporting bias in the community and variations in police record-keeping.

From a criminological perspective, the differing trends between the two areas are closely related to the sociological characteristics of the local communities and their preferred means of dispute resolution.(Mustofa, 2021) In 2023, the people of Boalemo Regency, who tend to be agrarian and family-oriented, prioritized informal mediation through community police officers (Bhabinkamtibmas) and village customary leaders to resolve domestic disputes, so that most complaints did not proceed to formal Police Reports and remained as unrecorded crime figures. In contrast, urban communities such as Gorontalo City tend to be more individualistic and have greater access to the Integrated Police Service Center (SPKT), which encourages victims to pursue formal legal channels directly. In addition to regional characteristics, the data fluctuations

are also influenced by the high rate of complaint withdrawal by victims during the inquiry process before an official Police Report is issued, given that adultery is a complaint-based offense that depends heavily on the emotional dynamics and privacy of the aggrieved spouse.(Ammar.J et al., 2026)

An interview with an Assistant Investigator of the PPA Unit of the Boalemo Police Resort, Police Brigadier Fiky Polutu, revealed that the surge in adultery cases in Boalemo Regency (10 cases in 2024 and 12 cases in 2025) is predominantly rooted in internal household problems. The main factors driving infidelity include economic difficulties and the failure to adequately fulfill the physical and emotional (biological) needs of spouses. This dissatisfaction leads one party to engage in an illicit relationship, which then proceeds to a decision to enter into *nikah siri* as a rational step to minimize social stigma in the community. Furthermore, the investigator stated that adultery reports at the PPA Unit of the Boalemo Police Resort generally arise reactively, in which the victim (the lawful spouse) only files a police report after obtaining factual evidence that his or her spouse has entered into *nikah siri* with another person. This statement is consistent with the interview with the offender, who stated that the relationship with another man began because her husband no longer provided financial support and attention. The relationship initially developed through communication via WhatsApp and later grew closer after face-to-face interaction.

In addition to household factors, the study found that *nikah siri* constitutes a recurring pattern in the reported cases. According to Fiky Polutu, the infidelity subsequently led the parties to decide to enter into *nikah siri*. He explained that adultery reports generally emerge after the party still bound by marriage is discovered to have entered into *nikah siri* with another partner. Indeed, many of the reports received by the Women and Children Protection Unit of the Criminal Investigation Unit relate to evidence that the husband or wife has entered into *nikah siri*. This phenomenon is reinforced by the offender's statement that, as her relationship with her new partner grew closer, they decided to enter into *nikah siri* to avoid negative gossip from neighbors. The offender stated that sexual intercourse took place only after the *nikah siri*.

Thus, the phenomenon of adultery in this study is not only related to household problems but also reveals a decision-making pattern of entering into *nikah siri* before the relationship proceeds further. The offender views *nikah siri* as a means of obtaining a religious bond while avoiding negative judgment from the social environment. However, such an act does not dissolve the existing marriage.

3.1.1. Analysis of the Crime of Adultery Based on Social Control Theory

Social Control Theory, proposed by Travis Hirschi, assumes that every individual basically has a tendency or potential to engage in deviant behavior, but this tendency is controlled when the individual has strong social bonds with society and conventional institutions.(Margono, 2026) Unlike other criminological theories that focus on why people commit crimes, social control theory instead asks why most individuals choose to obey the prevailing laws and norms.(Mely & Alhakim, 2022) According to Hirschi, legal compliance is shaped by four main elements of the social bond, namely *attachment* (emotional bonds), *commitment* (commitment to

conventional goals), *involvement* (participation in positive activities), and *belief* (belief in social values and norms). (Lestiani & Yusuf, 2025) When one or all of these elements weaken or break, the individual's internal control collapses, thereby encouraging unlawful acts, including the crime of adultery.

Attachment appears to be the most dominant element in the findings of this study. Attachment is the emotional bond between a person and those closest to him or her, particularly a spouse within the household. (Kartika & Zaky, 2020) Based on the interviews, the relationship between husband and wife had deteriorated, as marked by a lack of attention, poor communication, and the failure to meet physical and emotional needs. In the authors' view, this condition indicates that the emotional bond between the spouses had weakened, so that the family no longer functioned effectively as a controller of behavior. When the emotional bond is no longer strong, individuals become more receptive to attention from others, which may then develop into an extramarital relationship.

The weakening of attachment within the household is closely related to the fragility of family resilience. Family resilience is defined as the ability of a family unit to manage its resources and the problems it faces in order to achieve harmony and physical and emotional well-being. (Arifiani, 2021) As the primary agent of socialization, the family is the first institution of social control, functioning to internalize values of compliance with legal and religious norms. (Dewi, 2025) When the instrumental and affective functions of the family become dysfunctional, such as through the loss of financial support and intimacy, this bulwark of social control collapses, creating vulnerability for individuals to seek the fulfillment of these needs through deviant behavior outside marriage. (Amsyari et al., 2025)

In addition to attachment, commitment also appears to have declined. Commitment refers to a person's dedication to maintaining a relationship built in accordance with legal and social norms. (Fathoniansyah et al., 2025) In the case examined, the offender was aware that she was still bound by a lawful marriage. Nevertheless, she chose to engage in a relationship with another man. In the authors' view, this decision reflects a diminished commitment to preserving the integrity of the household. Consequently, the interest in maintaining the marriage was no longer the main consideration in her decision-making.

Furthermore, the element of belief has also weakened. Belief concerns a person's conviction in the legal, religious, and moral norms prevailing in society. (Isnawan, 2023) Based on the interviews, the offender and her partner chose to enter into *nikah siri* before having sexual intercourse. This fact shows that the offender still had an awareness of religious values, but this awareness was not accompanied by compliance with state law regarding marital status and the prohibition of extramarital relations. In the authors' view, this indicates that belief in norms has not been able to function as an effective control over behavior.

Meanwhile, the element of involvement can be analyzed from the intensity of communication between the offender and her extramarital partner. (Harwika et al., 2021) Based on the interviews, the relationship began with fairly intensive communication via WhatsApp and eventually developed into a closer relationship. This activity shows that the offender's time and

attention were directed more toward the relationship outside the household than toward maintaining the relationship with her lawful spouse. As a result, the opportunity for deviance became greater.

Based on these four elements, the authors argue that attachment is the most dominant element influencing the occurrence of adultery in this study. The weak emotional bond between husband and wife prevents the family from functioning optimally as a means of social control. This condition is then followed by weakened commitment to maintaining the household, declining compliance with norms, and increased involvement of the offender with a third party outside the marriage.

3.1.2. Analysis of the Crime of Adultery Based on Rational Choice Theory

Rational choice theory emerged during the transition from the late 1970s to the early 1980s, building on the foundations of classical criminology. This theory holds that individuals commit crimes through a rational and deliberate decision-making process by weighing the potential benefits against the costs and risks of their actions. Accordingly, crime is chosen when the offender estimates that the benefits outweigh the consequences to be faced. (Fath et al., 2025) The findings show that the offender's extramarital relationship did not occur suddenly. It began with communication via WhatsApp, developed into emotional closeness and face-to-face meetings, and was followed by a decision to enter into nikah siri before sexual intercourse. This sequence indicates a conscious decision-making process.

The first element of Rational Choice Theory is the existence of choices available to the offender. The findings show that the offender actually had several alternatives in dealing with household problems, such as communicating with her husband, seeking help from family members to resolve the conflict, or taking legal action if she felt that her rights as a wife were not being fulfilled. However, she chose to engage in a relationship with another man as a way to obtain attention and fulfill emotional needs that, in her view, were no longer met by her husband. This choice shows that the offender's action was the result of a personal decision rather than coercion or pressure from others. (Nenobais et al., 2025)

The phenomenon of nikah siri can also be understood through *cost and benefit* considerations. According to the offender, the decision to enter into nikah siri was made so that the relationship would not give rise to negative gossip among neighbors. Thus, nikah siri was viewed as a choice that could provide certain benefits to the offender, namely obtaining a bond considered capable of justifying the relationship while reducing negative judgment from the social environment. The investigator's statement also shows that in many cases, adultery reports arise after a spouse who is still bound by marriage is discovered to have entered into nikah siri.

From the aspect of *opportunity*, the development of the relationship was made possible by communication through social media, which gave the offender the opportunity to build an intensive relationship. In the case examined, communication via WhatsApp marked the beginning of a closeness that later developed into an extramarital relationship.

Thus, based on Rational Choice Theory, the crime of adultery in this study is not only influenced by household problems but is also the result of choices made by the offender after considering her circumstances. The decisions to engage in the relationship, enter into nikah siri, and continue the relationship demonstrate a conscious decision-making process. Rationality in this context does not mean that the act is legally justified; rather, it indicates that the offender viewed the choice as beneficial or as a solution to the problems she faced.

3.2. Efforts of the Boalemo Police Resort in Addressing the Crime of Adultery

Crime prevention efforts by the police are an integral part of *criminal policy*, which aims to protect society and achieve justice.(Setiawan, 2024) Crime prevention is essentially a series of efforts to prevent and reduce the occurrence of criminal acts in society. It is not only carried out after a crime has occurred through law enforcement but also before a crime occurs by raising public awareness, strengthening supervision, and reducing the factors that create opportunities for crime. Thus, crime prevention has a broader scope than merely imposing sanctions on offenders, as it includes efforts to create social conditions that can prevent a person from committing unlawful acts.(Ahmad, 2024)

In the context of adultery, prevention efforts face particular challenges because the act is generally committed in private and involves personal relationships between the parties. As a result, adultery cannot always be directly detected by the public or law enforcement officers. Therefore, prevention cannot rely solely on repressive measures following a report but also requires preventive efforts through raising public legal and moral awareness and monitoring environments that may become places where crimes occur.(Rasdi et al., 2023) The findings show that the Boalemo Police Resort addresses the crime of adultery through pre-emptive, preventive, and repressive efforts.

3.2.1 Pre-emptive Efforts

Pre-emptive efforts are measures directed at the earliest stage by building awareness and instilling values and norms in society so that the intention to commit a crime can be prevented from the outset.(M. Zidan Ardana et al., 2024) In addressing adultery, the Boalemo Police Resort conducts education, appeals, and legal counseling for the public using a humanistic approach. In addition, the police provide guidance involving religious leaders, customary leaders, and community leaders. These efforts aim to raise public awareness of legal, religious, and social norms in order to prevent behavior leading to adultery. The involvement of religious, customary, and community leaders is also important because religious values, customs, and social norms can serve as part of behavioral control in community life. Thus, pre-emptive efforts not only provide legal knowledge but also seek to build a social environment that supports compliance with norms.

3.2.2 Preventive Efforts

Preventive efforts are measures taken to prevent crimes by reducing the likelihood and narrowing the space or opportunity for crime to occur. Unlike pre-emptive efforts, which emphasize building awareness and instilling values, preventive efforts are directed at concrete actions taken before a crime occurs.(Tanjung & Yusuf, 2025) The findings show that one form

of preventive effort undertaken by the Boalemo Police Resort is nightly patrols conducted throughout Boalemo Regency by the Rapid Reaction Unit (URC) of the Criminal Investigation Unit and the Samapta Corps. As stated by Police Brigadier Fiky Polutu, "Regarding patrols, there is currently a URC (Rapid Reaction Unit) team from the Criminal Investigation Unit as well as the Samapta Corps that patrols every night to prevent crimes from occurring in Boalemo Regency." These patrols demonstrate the direct presence of the police in the community. Although the patrols are not specifically aimed at adultery, the presence of officers can enhance environmental supervision and narrow the space for various crimes.

Another preventive effort is carried out when members of the public come to the police to report alleged adultery. Before a report is filed, the police first provide advice and input and encourage the parties concerned to discuss the problem. Police Brigadier Fiky Polutu explained, "Regarding education, every time someone comes to report, we always give advice and input concerning the report they wish to file, so that it can be discussed first. If both parties are no longer willing to talk with each other, only then is a report made." This step shows that the police not only function as recipients of reports but also intervene early in the problems that arise. The findings show that household problems, such as economic difficulties and unmet physical and emotional needs, are factors associated with the occurrence of adultery. Therefore, offering advice and giving the parties an opportunity to discuss their problems first can serve as a form of prevention so that conflicts do not escalate into criminal cases.

With respect to prevention and case resolution, the approach of the Boalemo Police Resort, which prioritizes advice, input, and early mediation, is closely aligned with the paradigm of *Restorative Justice*. Restorative justice is an approach to resolving criminal cases that emphasizes restoring the original situation by involving the offender, the victim, and related parties to seek a fair resolution.(Purnomo, 2021) In the context of absolute complaint-based offenses such as adultery, a restorative approach through *penal mediation* is crucial at the initial inquiry stage.(Sirajuddin et al., 2024) This aims to protect family privacy, prevent broader psychological impacts on the couple's children, and provide room for restoring the integrity of the household without resulting in the stigmatization of criminal punishment in court.(Muthahir et al., 2024)

3.2.3 Repressive Efforts

In addition to pre-emptive and preventive measures, crime prevention is also carried out through repressive efforts, namely actions taken after a suspected crime and a report from the aggrieved party. The findings show that adultery reports generally arise after the husband or wife discovers evidence that his or her spouse has entered into *nikah siri* with another person.(Alamri et al., 2023) This indicates that adultery cases reaching the police are generally preceded by conflict in the marital relationship and the discovery of circumstances regarded as evidence by the reporting party. In handling such cases, investigators gather information, collect evidence, and summon witnesses for clarification. Thus, the repressive measures of the Boalemo Police Resort are directed at law enforcement based on the reports received and carried out through investigative stages in accordance with applicable provisions.

The implementation of repressive efforts is not without obstacles in the field, particularly with regard to proof. Adultery is concealed in nature, making it difficult for police officers to obtain witnesses who directly saw the act. Police Brigadier Fiky Polutu stated, "In handling adultery cases, the obstacle we face is proving the act. Because in adultery, the parties obviously would not let other people see what they are doing during intercourse. So, from the process we have encountered, one of the obstacles is proof. There are also obstacles with witnesses." This statement shows that the concealed nature of adultery directly affects the evidentiary process. Furthermore, witnesses who had previously provided information to the complainant are sometimes unwilling to appear when summoned to give official statements. This makes the investigation more difficult because information obtained from the community cannot necessarily be used optimally in proving the case if the informants are unwilling to provide clarification.

Another obstacle concerns the continuity of reports that have been filed. In the course of case handling, there are instances in which the complainant withdraws the report even though the process is already underway. This affects the continuation of cases being handled by the police. Thus, in addressing adultery, the police face not only technical problems in obtaining evidence and witness testimony but also the social conditions and personal relationship between the complainant and the reported party. This shows that the characteristics of adultery, which are closely related to marital relationships, make its law enforcement process different from that of crimes that can be openly detected.

Based on the overall findings, the efforts of the Boalemo Police Resort in addressing adultery are carried out through a continuous approach, ranging from preventing the intention to commit a crime, preventing opportunities for crime, to law enforcement after a report is filed. Pre-emptive efforts are directed at building public legal and moral awareness through education and the involvement of religious, customary, and community leaders. Preventive efforts are carried out through patrols and the provision of advice before a report is filed, while repressive efforts are carried out through investigation after a report is received. Nevertheless, these efforts still face obstacles, including difficulties in proof, limited witnesses, and the withdrawal of reports. Therefore, addressing adultery requires a balance between prevention and law enforcement so that police efforts are not only oriented toward enforcement but are also able to reduce the likelihood of crime from the outset.

4. CONCLUSION

Based on the criminological analysis, the increase in adultery within the jurisdiction of the Boalemo Police Resort is fundamentally rooted in the breakdown of marital harmony triggered by economic problems and unmet physical and emotional needs. From the perspective of Social Control Theory, the most dominant factor is the weakening of *attachment* (emotional bonds) between husband and wife, which erodes *commitment*, diminishes *belief*, and diverts *involvement* toward a third party. From the perspective of Rational Choice Theory, the act constitutes the offender's conscious decision to seek emotional gain, with *nikah siri* rationally chosen to minimize social stigma, facilitated by communication through social media. Meanwhile, the efforts of the Boalemo Police Resort are implemented in an integrated manner through pre-emptive (legal counseling), preventive (patrols and early mediation), and repressive

(complaint-based investigation) approaches, although they remain hampered by the concealed nature of the crime, limited witnesses, and the withdrawal of reports. Therefore, prevention needs to be optimized through legal education programs and family resilience development so that the function of social control can operate effectively. As a recommendation, the Boalemo Police Resort, together with the local government (such as the P3AP2KB Office) and local religious leaders, should design a Family Resilience Partnership Program based on a *Restorative Community* approach. This preventive measure is essential to provide the public with a comprehensive understanding of the criminal consequences of adultery and the invalidity of nikah siri for parties who are still bound by marriage, so that the family can once again function effectively as the primary means of social control.

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