

Critical feminist social work analysis of sexual violence perpetrator profiles: a hermeneutic phenomenological study in garut regency

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Abstract: This study deconstructs the profile of sexual violence perpetrators in Garut Regency, Indonesia, through a critical feminist social work analysis using a hermeneutic phenomenological approach. Data were obtained from in-depth interviews with nine participants at the Integrated Service Unit for the Protection of Women and Children (UPTD-PPA), comprising three survivors and six service providers. Findings show that perpetrators are predominantly individuals within survivors' closest relational circles, rather than unfamiliar strangers, operating through grooming and sustained by cognitive distortions that normalize victim-blaming. Drawing on critical feminist theory, feminist social work practice, and hegemonic masculinity, perpetration is understood as an assertion of unequal power rather than uncontrollable sexual impulse. The ecological perspective further reveals how family and community systems fail to sustain protective functions, allowing patriarchal structures to perpetuate impunity. This study recommends a shift in social work intervention toward emancipatory structural advocacy.

Keywords: critical feminist theory, feminist social work practice, hegemonic masculinity, ecological perspective, hermeneutic phenomenology

Article History: Received on 04/06/2026; Revised on 30/06/2026; Accepted on 13/07/2026; Published Online: 14/07/2026



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INTRODUCTION

The Sexual violence constitutes one of the most severe violations of human dignity, producing psychosocial harm that frequently extends across generations (Dworkin & Olff, 2024; Puno et al., 2023). As a systemic manifestation of gender-based crime, it encompasses forms ranging from verbal harassment and coerced intercourse to transactional sexual exploitation and physical aggression before or after the assault, often accompanied by threats to survivors' safety (R. E. Anderson et al., 2024; Baird & Connolly, 2023).

Article 28G (2) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia guarantees every citizen's absolute right to be free from torture and degrading treatment; however, a considerable gap persists between this legal-formal protection and the lived emergency faced by vulnerable groups, particularly women and children. National reports issued by the National Commission on Violence

Against Women (Komnas Perempuan) and the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KemenPPPA) consistently describe an "iceberg phenomenon," in which officially reported cases represent only a fraction of the actual prevalence of sexual violence concealed within domestic and public spheres (KemenPPPA, 2025; Komnas Perempuan, 2025).

This national emergency is sharply reflected in Garut Regency, West Java. Drawing on Komnas Perempuan records, reported cases of gender-based and child violence in the regency rose by 200 percent between 2022 and 2023, reaching 130 recorded cases of sexual violence in 2023 alone. Between 2024 and early 2025, cases of violence against women and children remained the second most frequently reported crime category in the region, following narcotics offenses (Komnas Perempuan, 2025). This escalation has prompted the Garut Regional Government and KemenPPPA to intensify coordination through the Integrated Service Unit for the Protection of Women and Children (UPTD-PPA) (A.Fernandos et al., 2025; Afifah et al., 2024).

Garut Regency was selected as the research site not only for this documented escalation in reported cases, but also for its distinctly rural-communal social structure—a setting characterized by dense kinship networks, close-knit neighborhood ties, and strong reliance on informal social control, all of which are particularly salient to the relational dynamics of perpetration examined in this study and to the ways such closeness can be exploited rather than protective. This selection was further supported by the presence of an active, accessible UPTD-PPA case-management infrastructure with an established caseload of sexual violence cases, which made systematic and ethically sound engagement with both survivors and service providers methodologically feasible within the study's timeframe.

Despite this urgency, public understanding of perpetration remains obscured by the persistent "stranger myth," which frames perpetrators as unfamiliar, pathological figures lurking outside the survivor's social world. Case data from UPTD-PPA Garut contradicts this assumption: perpetrators are overwhelmingly individuals situated within survivors' closest relational circles—stepfathers, uncles, neighbors, romantic partners, and religious tutors—whose social proximity is manipulated through grooming, a gradual process of emotional investment that dismantles informal community safeguards. This pattern is sustained by cognitive distortions that normalize victim-blaming and by a hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2021), that legitimizes the subjugation of the female body, positioning perpetration not as an uncontrollable sexual impulse but as an assertion of unequal power (Schermerhorn et al., 2023; Tillapaugh, 2024).

Existing literature and institutional reports on sexual violence in Indonesia, including Komnas Perempuan's annual records and KemenPPPA's aggregate data, remain largely descriptive and quantitative, documenting the scale of the problem without illuminating the lived, interpretive processes through which perpetration is enacted, rationalized, and institutionally addressed (KemenPPPA, 2025; Komnas Perempuan, 2025). Within the social work literature, critical feminist theory (Rustanto, Kartika, Herlina, et al., 2026) and feminist social work practice (Dominelli, 2017) have been applied to survivors' recovery, yet rarely integrated with an ecological perspective (Germain & Gitterman, 2010) reading of perpetrator behavior across micro-, meso-, and macro-level systems. Phenomenological inquiry that engages both survivors and the multidisciplinary practitioners who accompany them—social workers, psychologists, and legal aid providers—within a single integrated service unit remains particularly scarce at the regional level, leaving the interpretive dimension of perpetrator profiling within Indonesian social work practice underexplored.

International empirical literature offers further reference points, yet each stops short of the integration this study pursues. In Sweden, Petersson & Plantin (2019) applied an interpretative phenomenological approach within a social work journal to examine how adult male survivors made

sense of their sexual assault experiences, demonstrating the value of phenomenology in social work scholarship, but leaving the perpetrator's position itself unexamined. From a different angle, Jeglic et al. (2026) compared grooming behaviors across perpetrator-relationship categories among survivors in the United States, confirming that relational proximity shapes grooming dynamics, yet relying on quantitative self-report scales rather than the interpretive, meaning-centered inquiry this phenomenon demands. At a broader level, Jiménez Aceves & Tarzia (2024) synthesized qualitative studies on male perpetrators of sexual violence and found that existing accounts are drawn almost exclusively from incarcerated offenders or anonymous online-forum users, leaving practitioner-mediated, service-based settings absent from the literature.

Taken together, these domestic and international gaps converge on a single, underexplored space: how sexual violence is enacted, rationalized, and institutionally addressed when examined through the combined lens of the survivors who endure it and the practitioners who accompany them. This study addresses that convergence by offering a critical feminist social work analysis of sexual violence perpetrator profiles, integrating critical feminist theory, feminist social work practice, hegemonic masculinity, and the ecological perspective within a single hermeneutic phenomenological design.

Accordingly, this study aims to deconstruct the relational, psychological, and power-based dimensions of sexual violence perpetration as lived and interpreted by survivors and the multidisciplinary practitioners who accompany them, to situate these dimensions within an ecological reading of the micro-, meso-, and macro-level systems in which perpetration and institutional response unfold, and to examine how their integration can inform a more emancipatory, structurally oriented model of feminist social work intervention at UPTD-PPA Garut Regency.

Through in-depth engagement with nine participants—three survivors and six service providers—at UPTD-PPA Garut Regency, the study deconstructs the relational, psychological, and power-based dimensions of perpetration as lived and interpreted from within the very system responsible for responding to it. In doing so, it contributes theoretically to the emerging body of feminist social work literature in Indonesia and practically to the reformulation of intervention models, from a reactive, clinical-individual paradigm toward an emancipatory oriented approach.

Guided by this aim, the present study poses the following hermeneutic phenomenological research question: What is the lived meaning and interpretive experience of critical feminist social work practitioners and survivors in deconstructing the relational, psychological, and power-based profile of sexual violence perpetrators within the ecological context of the Integrated Service Unit for the Protection of Women and Children (UPTD-PPA) in Garut Regency, Indonesia?

METHOD

Research Design

This study employed a qualitative design informed by hermeneutic phenomenology. Following Creswell & Poth (2017), qualitative inquiry explores and interprets the meaning that individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem, while phenomenological inquiry specifically seeks to describe the common meaning that several individuals attribute to their lived experience of a shared phenomenon.

This design draws on the theoretical position of Heidegger, who argued that human experience is never free from interpretation (Kinkaid, 2026). Unlike Husserl's transcendental phenomenology, which requires researchers to bracket their preconceptions, hermeneutic phenomenology treats fore-understanding (*vorverständnis*) and historical context as essential to uncovering latent meaning; participants lived experiences were therefore not merely described but

interpreted in depth. This is consistent with van Manen (2016) characterization of hermeneutic phenomenology as a dynamic reflection on lived texts, making it an appropriate design for exploring how survivors and multidisciplinary practitioners at UPTD-PPA Garut Regency made sense of, confronted, and intervened in the complexity of sexual violence perpetrator profiles.

Research Setting and Timeframe

This study was conducted at the Integrated Service Unit for the Protection of Women and Children (UPTD-PPA) of Garut Regency, West Java, Indonesia, over a two-month period from March 1 to April 30, 2025. In accordance with the principle of caution and sensitivity required by the subject matter, data collection spanned two spatial dimensions. The open setting comprised the unit's daily operational and public administrative areas, where routine service interactions were observed. The closed setting comprised dedicated counseling rooms, legal examination rooms, and clinical intervention areas, which required strict standards of confidentiality and informed consent to safeguard participants' psychological comfort and safety.

Research Participants

Participants were selected using purposive technique with strict inclusion criteria, consistent with an emphasis on precise targeting of intervention subjects in social work research. The study involved nine participants in total: three survivors and six service providers.

The three survivor participants were women who were formally registered as clients of UPTD-PPA Garut Regency, had received a minimum of six months to one year of intensive intervention services, and were assessed by an internal psychologist as being in a psychologically stable condition, in order to minimize the risk of retraumatization.

The six service-provider participants comprised a multidisciplinary team purposively selected across three clusters of expertise – social work companions, psychological companions, and legal aid companions – each required to hold active or formally appointed status at UPTD-PPA Garut, a minimum of two years of work experience in handling sexual violence cases, and direct involvement in cases.

Table 1. Research Participants

Code	Age (Years)	Participant Category	Role / Position
NY	19	Survivor (Client Participant)	Client of UPTD-PPA
SL	20	Survivor (Client Participant)	Client of UPTD-PPA
RM	19	Survivor (Client Participant)	Client of UPTD-PPA
AR	35	Service Provider Participant	Social Work Companion
MK	38	Service Provider Participant	Clinical Social Work Companion
NW	40	Service Provider Participant	Psychological Companion
TR	42	Service Provider Participant	Social Work Companion, Administrative (Initial Assessment)
FH	29	Service Provider Participant	Legal Aid Companion
DN	35	Service Provider Participant	Case Management Coordinator

Data Collection Techniques

Data were collected using two primary techniques. The first was in-depth, semi-structured interviewing, guided by a flexible interview protocol designed to explore participants' responses regarding the deconstruction of perpetrator profiles, the process of social intervention, psychological recovery, and legal advocacy (Adeoye-Olatunde & Olenik, 2021). The second was passive participant observation, in which the researcher was present at the research site to observe daily service activities and interactional dynamics without intervening in ongoing clinical processes (Denny & Weckesser, 2022).

Data Analysis Technique

Data were analyzed using the hermeneutic circle, a concept articulated by Gadamer (2013), which holds that understanding is achieved through an iterative movement between the parts and the whole of a text from individual statements toward the overall structure of meaning, and back again until coherent, stable understanding.

Applying this concept, verbatim transcripts and field notes were read and re-read across successive cycles: initial readings identified significant statements within individual accounts (the parts), which were then situated against the broader pattern emerging across all participants' accounts (the whole) to refine and deepen the interpretation. This iterative process continued until a coherent and stable understanding of the phenomenon the lived experience of deconstructing sexual violence perpetrator profiles was reached.

Ethical Considerations

This study adhered to established ethical standards for research involving survivors of sexual violence (K. M. Anderson et al., 2023). Prior to data collection, ethical approval was obtained from the Research Center of Politeknik Kesejahteraan Sosial (Poltekesos) Bandung. All participants received a clear explanation of the study's purpose, procedures, and potential risks, and provided informed consent prior to their involvement; participation was voluntary, and participants retained the right to withdraw at any stage without consequence. The study was conducted in accordance with the Global Social Work Statement of Ethical Principles by International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW), particularly its principles of respect for human dignity, informed consent, confidentiality, and the promotion of social justice (IFSW, 2018).

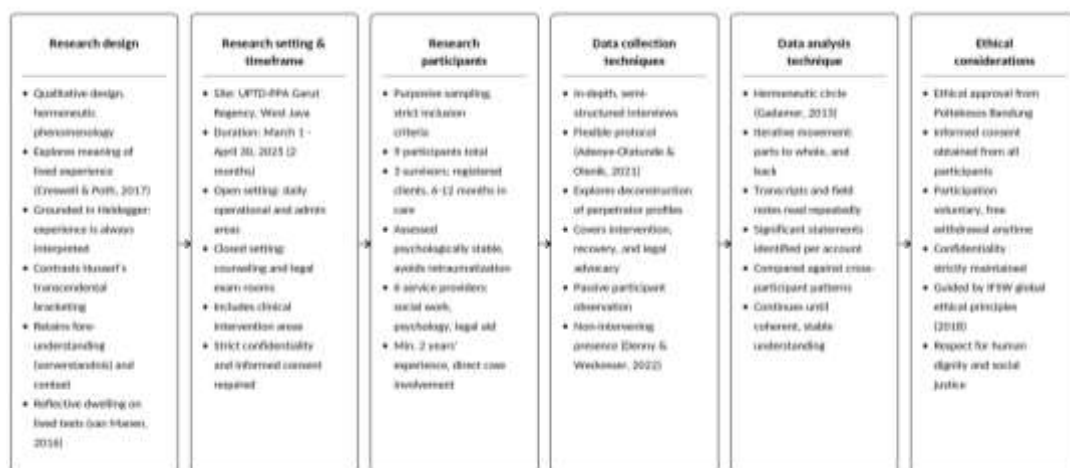


Figure 1. Research Flowchart

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section presents findings addressing the study's central research question the lived meaning and interpretive experience of critical feminist social work practitioners and survivors in deconstructing the relational, psychological, and power-based profile of sexual violence perpetrators within the ecological context of UPTD-PPA Garut Regency. Consistent with the hermeneutic circle (Gadamer, 2013), findings are presented as an iterative movement between individual participant accounts (the parts) and the emergent interpretive whole, organized across three dimensions relational, psychological, and power-based before converging into an integrated ecological synthesis. Significant statements identified within individual transcripts were clustered into

meaning units and mapped onto these three dimensions, which were derived directly from the study's research question and subsequently refined through iterative engagement with the data.

Given the depth of engagement obtained from purposively selected participants with direct, specific relevance to the phenomenon under study, the sample was judged to provide sufficient information power to reach interpretive saturation within each dimension, understood here as the point at which continued analysis yielded no substantively new pattern of meaning.

Relational Proximity and Deconstruction of the Stranger Myth in Sexual Violence Perpetration

Findings across all nine participants converge on a single, recurring pattern: perpetrators are seldom strangers. AR, a social work companion, articulated this pattern directly from institutional case data:

"Almost every case file that has come across our desks over the past year to mid this year shows the same pattern. The perpetrator isn't an outsider who climbs over a fence or lurks in a dark alley. The perpetrator is a stepfather, an uncle, a close neighbor who is often asked for help, a boyfriend, even a Qur'an teacher. They are people whose faces are familiar and whose names are respected by the survivor's family. It is this closeness that keeps their behavior from being suspected until the trauma has already become severe." (AR, personal communication, March 12, 2025)

MK extended this observation to the specific communal structure of rural Garut, noting that social esteem itself functions as a form of protective cover:

"In a communal environment like Garut, a figure regarded as protective actually holds greater leverage to exploit a survivor. We have handled cases where the survivor's own grandfather and private tutor were the perpetrators. The community initially refused to believe it, because the perpetrator's social profile contrasted so sharply with the media image of a criminal." (MK, personal communication, March 15, 2025)

These practitioner accounts were independently corroborated by survivors' own narratives. NY described the collapse of her family's protective response upon disclosure:

"I never imagined it was my own uncle who did that. He often took me to school and was very kind to my mother. When he started touching me, I froze because I was confused. When I tried to speak up, my grandmother scolded me instead and said I was slandering an elder who had done so much for the family. The home that was supposed to protect me became the most frightening place of all." (NY, personal communication, April 14, 2025)

SL's account illustrates the same dynamic within an intimate rather than familial relationship:

"The perpetrator was a boyfriend my parents had already approved of. Because everyone saw him as a good kid, he was free to take me out or come into my room when the house was empty. When the assault happened, he threatened to distribute photos of the two of us if I refused. His closeness with my parents made me feel like I had no way out." (SL, personal communication, April 18, 2025)

Passive participant observation conducted at the research site lent further support to this pattern: family members accompanying survivors during intake sessions consistently referred to perpetrators using kinship or honorific terms rather than adversarial language, suggesting that relational embeddedness persisted at the level of everyday speech even after disclosure had occurred.

Read individually, each account is situational; read together, they converge on a single interpretive whole—that relational closeness functions not as protection but as a vector of risk. Viewed through the ecological perspective (Germain & Gitterman, 2010), this pattern reflects a structural breakdown of protective function at the micro- and mesosystem levels: family and community systems, structurally positioned to trust the perpetrator, fail to register warning signs precisely because of that trust. From a critical feminist standpoint (Rustanto, Kartika, Herlina, et al.,

2026), this dynamic exposes the domestic reproduction of rape culture, in which the home and community spaces presumed to be safe become the very sites where gendered subjugation is most easily concealed and sustained.

Grooming and Cognitive Distortion: A Hegemonic Masculinity of Perpetrator Psychology

Beyond relational proximity, participants described a systematic psychological process through which perpetrators secured survivors' compliance and silence. NW, the psychological companion, described this process as deliberate and staged:

"Perpetrators of this type are very methodical. They make an emotional investment first. In the beginning, they position themselves as a protective figure very generous, quick to give gifts, or offering attention the child isn't getting at home. Once the child feels indebted and emotionally attached, the perpetrator begins isolating them from their friends. When the sexual exploitation finally happens, the perpetrator frames it as 'our secret sign of affection.' Survivors don't report it because they experience cognitive dissonance they are confused, feel guilty, and are afraid of being labeled a troubled child." (NW, personal communication, March 19, 2025)

TR, addressing perpetrators' behavior during mediation and confrontation, identified a parallel pattern of self-justification:

"When confronted, perpetrators often claim that their actions were a form of 'education,' or allege that the survivor provoked them first. There is a severe distortion of thinking in which perpetrators feel entitled to exploit because they had provided material support or protection to the survivor." (TR, personal communication, March 22, 2025)

RM's testimony illustrates this grooming sequence in concrete, lived terms, capturing both the perpetrator's incremental tactics and the emotional entrapment they produced:

"At first he often bought me phone credit and listened to me when my parents argued. He felt like the father I wished I had. When he started asking me to take off my clothes, I refused, but he brought up everything he'd done for me and said that if I loved him, I had to comply. I felt guilty and afraid of seeming ungrateful, so I stayed silent for months." (RM, personal communication, April 20, 2025)

SL, describing a separate relationship, illustrated how victim-blaming becomes internalized as self-perception:

"My ex-boyfriend always told me that what we did together was proof of love, and that it was my own fault for wearing tight clothes in front of him. Those words stuck in my head until I felt dirty and like I deserved to be treated badly. Even in my own neighborhood, once the case got out, people started whispering that I was the one who couldn't take care of herself." (SL, personal communication, April 18, 2025)

Observational data gathered during intake sessions offered corroborating, if indirect, support: caseworkers noted that survivors who described unusually prolonged closeness with an adult figure prior to disclosure consistent with a grooming trajectory more frequently exhibited visible hesitation and self-directed blame during initial interviews than survivors whose cases involved sudden, non-relational assault.

Consistent with the study's methodological boundaries, these characterizations of perpetrators as acting with full awareness rather than psychiatric impairment are drawn from practitioner and survivor accounts rather than direct clinical assessment of perpetrators themselves, and should be read as an interpretive finding grounded in service-based observation rather than a diagnostic claim.

Read through hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2021), the entitlement described above reflects a socially constructed rather than innate orientation toward control and dominance, one that

grooming operationalizes by manufacturing dependency before extracting compliance and blame. Addressing the resulting cognitive dissonance, participants indicated, requires recovery approaches consistent with feminist social work practice (Dominelli, 2017), which explicitly frames such narratives as manufactured deception rather than evidence of the survivor's complicity a reframing central to the "emancipatory structural advocacy" this study's abstract identifies as its central recommendation (Rustanto et al., 2026)

Power Assertion and Structural: A Critical Feminist Analysis of Barriers to Legal Justice

Participants' accounts indicate that perpetration in Garut is driven less by uncontrollable impulse than by the deliberate assertion of unequal power a dynamic that extends into survivors' subsequent pursuit of legal justice. FH, the legal aid companion, described the structural pressure exerted by perpetrators of high social standing:

"Our biggest challenge in legal advocacy is when we face perpetrators who hold high social status, wealth, or respected positions in the community, such as community leaders or village officials. They use their power to push back against the survivor and her family verbal intimidation, social ostracism, or even large monetary settlement offers to get the report withdrawn. On the other hand, legal evidence in these cases involving close relations is often complicated, because witnesses are scarce and physical evidence is frequently lost due to delayed reporting driven by the survivor's fear." (FH, personal communication, March 24, 2025)

DN, the case management coordinator, observed a parallel dynamic at the village level, highlighting the intersection of economic and gendered vulnerability:

"When the perpetrator is a traditional leader or a wealthy local figure, the legal process often stalls at the village level. The perpetrator uses their economic capital to hire expensive lawyers and mobilize public opinion. Meanwhile, the survivor who typically comes from a lower socioeconomic background experiences intense psychological pressure for being blamed for destroying the village's reputation." (DN, personal communication, March 28, 2025)

Survivor narratives substantiated these structural asymmetries directly. NY described coercive pressure exerted from within her own family:

"My uncle threatened to stop paying for my grandmother's medical care and to evict my mother from the land we lived on if we reported this to the police. The village head also came to see my mother, asking that the matter be settled within the family through a compensation payment, to protect the extended family's good name. We felt so small and powerless against them." (NY, personal communication, April 14, 2025)

RM recounted community retaliation following her family's decision to pursue a legal or formal reporting:

"The perpetrator's family were respected people in the village. When my mother insisted on bringing this case to UPTD-PPA and the police, our house was pelted with stones by a group of young men defending the perpetrator. At school, my friends kept their distance from me because they saw me as bad luck for putting an honorable man in prison. If it weren't for the companion from UPTD who kept encouraging and accompanying us through the trial, we would have given up from the very start." (RM, personal communication, April 20, 2025)

Observation of case coordination discussions at UPTD-PPA corroborated these accounts: settlement offers from perpetrators' families were frequently raised early in the case-handling process, before formal legal proceedings had meaningfully begun, indicating that structural pressure was applied proactively rather than only in response to litigation. From a critical feminist perspective (Rustanto et al., 2026), the alignment of legal, economic, and communal power in favor of the

perpetrator illustrates how patriarchal structures do not merely fail to protect survivors but actively work to preserve impunity transforming survivors' pursuit of justice into a source of secondary victimization (Kartika et al., 2026).

Toward an Integrated Ecological Model: Feminist Social Work Practice in UPTD-PPA of Garut

Taken together, the relational, psychological, and power-based dimensions examined above substantiate the core argument: that family and community systems fail to sustain protective functions, allowing patriarchal structures to perpetuate impunity, and that addressing this requires a shift in social work intervention toward emancipatory structural advocacy.

Participants described an emerging integrated practice model at UPTD-PPA in which social work and psychological companions conduct joint assessment mapping micro- and mesosystem dysfunction alongside the internalized self-blame produced by grooming before this assessment is translated by the legal companion into substantive evidence countering the perpetrator's power-assertive positioning (Rustanto et al., 2026)

This integrated approach reflects the ecological perspective (Germain & Gitterman, 2010) applied across its full micro-mezzo-macro range, operationalized in practice through feminist social work practice (Dominelli, 2017), which explicitly links individual recovery to structural advocacy rather than treating them as separate undertakings. Rather than positioning trauma recovery and legal advocacy as sequential processes, the model treats them as mutually reinforcing a shift participant directly associated with moving UPTD-PPA's practice away from a reactive, clinical-individual paradigm and toward emancipatory oriented (Aulia & Istyawan, 2025).

Limitations, Boundary Conditions, and Directions for Future Critical Feminist Research

Several boundary conditions shape the interpretation of these findings. First, consistent with a gap noted in the broader international literature, perpetrators themselves were not directly interviewed; psychological and motivational characterizations were therefore derived from practitioner and survivor accounts and should be read as interpretive rather than diagnostic. Second, findings are drawn from a purposively selected sample of nine participants within a single service unit and reflect only cases that reached formal institutional reporting a boundary of particular relevance given the "iceberg phenomenon" noted in the Introduction, whereby officially reported cases represent only a fraction of actual prevalence. Third, consistent with the hermeneutic phenomenological design, these findings foreground interpretation over generalization; view that understanding is never final but continuously revised, they should be read as one coherent interpretation situated specifically within Garut's rural-communal context, rather than a universally generalizable account.

CONCLUSIONS

This study offers a critical feminist social work analysis of sexual violence perpetrator profiles at UPTD-PPA Garut Regency, drawing on the lived accounts of three survivors and six service providers to identify emerging patterns across relational, psychological, and power-based dimensions of perpetration. Findings suggest that perpetrators are predominantly embedded within survivors' closest relational circles rather than unfamiliar strangers, operating through deliberate grooming sustained by cognitive distortion and a sense of entitlement consistent with hegemonic masculinity, and asserting unequal power in ways that appear to expose lower-income survivors to greater risk of intimidation and secondary victimization when patriarchal, economic, and legal structures align in the perpetrator's favor. Read through the ecological perspective, these patterns point toward a breakdown of protective function at the micro- and mesosystem levels; however, given the interpretive design and limited sample of this study, these structural-level observations are best understood as emerging patterns warranting further, larger-scale investigation, rather than

definitive or generalizable findings. Interpretive saturation was judged to have been reached within each of the three dimensions examined, in the sense that continued analysis of participant accounts ceased to yield substantively new patterns of meaning; this saturation, however, pertains specifically to the depth of interpretation achievable within this purposively selected, single-site sample, and should not be read as saturation of the broader phenomenon across contexts. A central methodological caveat likewise applies throughout: the perpetrator profiles discussed in this study were constructed exclusively from the perspectives of survivors and service providers, and were not validated against perpetrators' own self-reports or direct observational data. Accordingly, the psychological and motivational characterizations offered here should be read as interpretive findings grounded in service-based accounts, not as clinically or empirically confirmed attributes of perpetrators themselves. These conclusions therefore support an integrated model of intervention at UPTD-PPA – social, psychological, and legal companions working jointly rather than sequentially while calling for future research that incorporates perpetrators' own perspectives, broader and comparative samples, and, where feasible, observational or corroborating data to test and extend the boundaries of these emerging patterns.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors thank the Integrated Service Unit for the Protection of Women and Children (UPTD-PPA) of Garut Regency, West Java, Indonesia for its support throughout this research, and the nine participants – survivors and service providers alike – for voluntarily and generously sharing their experiences. We also thank our fellow researchers for their collaboration, and the editorial board and reviewers of this journal for their valuable feedback. The authors declare no financial or non-financial conflicts of interest related to this study..

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