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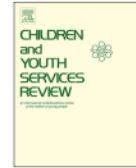
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Incestuous abuse of Indonesian girls: An exploratory study of media coverage

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the incestuous relationship cases in Indonesia. The purpose of this study was to find out the profile of the perpetrators and victims of incest, the incest relationship that occurred and the responses from the families to the known incestuous relationship in Indonesia. Data were obtained from 137 cases of incest for seven years (2010–2017) reported by a media outlet in Indonesia as well as from in-depth interviews with 14 informants in four cities in East Java, Indonesia, namely Kediri, Nganjuk, Gresik, and Surabaya. The main finding of this study is that most incest victims in Indonesia were young women aged 10–17 years (75%) and most incest perpetrators are their biological fathers or stepfathers (77%) who are on average > 50 years old (31%). The cases of incest in this study mostly lasted in more than three years (28%), and experienced by poor (49%) and low educated families (31%). In addition, most cases of incest in Indonesia are known to the perpetrators' wives (9%) and the perpetrators' wives were also the most party who report the incest cases to the legal authorities (63%). The results of this study highlight the need for close attention to the incestuous relationship cases in Indonesia which might affects many young women and underage girls as the victims. The efforts to make policies and programs to prevent sexual violence in the family, by the government and non-government agencies, should take into account the conditions of the incest victims as well as the driving factors for the incest cases that take place in Indonesia.

1. Introduction

Sexual abuse, including rape and incest, is a form of crime against humanity which is highly detrimental to the victims since it often causes prolonged trauma (Goodwin, 1982; Stroebel et al., 2013). Rape is a form of violence and crime of decency toward women which can occur anytime to anyone and anywhere: on the streets, in the workplaces, at homes, or other undesirable places. At the time and place where there is no social control, in the areas unmonitored by the public or when the society is negligent, the rapists usually take advantage of the opportunity (Baihaqi, 1998; Gelles, 1982; Putra, 1999). Homes that are supposed to be the safest place for girls, it is in fact oftentimes become the locus of rape cases.

In Indonesia, statistically, it is estimated that on average approximately five to six women are raped every day, or equals to one rape case every 4 h (Suyanto, 2012). Ironically, the disgraceful lusty act

apparently often occurs to underage children or even toddlers (Ranuh, 1999). Komisi Perlindungan Anak Indonesia (KPAI) or Indonesian National Commission for Child Protection reported that in 2003, the number of children who were victimized by sexual crimes accounted for 343 cases. In 2014, the figure increased to 565 cases and per July 2015 there had been 67 cases already recorded. Of course, the real number of child abuse cases, such as rape and incest, happening at large is much higher than the data exposed by the media or recorded by KPAI. More specifically for incest as a form of rape, most of the cases are usually covered up to the public (Bittner & Newberger, 1982; Putra, 1999).

Various studies have shown that the incest rape perpetrators were not only the victims' biological fathers or stepfathers, but may also the victims' grandfathers, uncles, or brothers (Finkelhor, 1984; Finkelhor & Browne, 1985; Herman, 1981; La Fontaine, 1990; Rudd & Herzberger, 1999). However, the data show that most of the incest cases were committed by the victims' biological fathers or stepfathers (Cosentino,

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Turrina, Ferrian, Caratti, & De Leo, 2015; Lie, 1999; Suyanto, 2000). Levitan's study, for example, shows that around 25% of American women experience sexual abuse in their childhood, and from this number, 40% of the sexual abuse perpetrators toward underage children are their own parents, either biological fathers, stepfathers, or foster fathers (Levitan, 1999).

In this present study, incest is defined as the sexual relationship which occurs between close relatives, usually between family members (Kaplan, Sadock, & Grebb, 1994). Data from several previous studies have shown that incest cases in Indonesia seems to happen repeatedly over time, and even the numbers of children who become the victims of incest tend to increase within a decade (Putra, 1999; Ranuh, 1999; Suyanto, 2012). The children from low income families, lack of education, of alcoholic or drug user parents, or those whose parents do not get along are more likely to be mistreated — including being incest victims.

In contrast to other rape cases which often occur accidentally and not repeatedly overtime, incest rape cases are usually difficult to be immediately discovered for many reasons. In incest rape, the indecent act is generally committed over and again for years and only stops when the victims have managed to overcome their fear to speak up, or when the condemned act is found out by other people. It often occurs that the incest cases are left buried and became hidden disgrace since the victims continued to be overshadowed by the perpetrators' threat or because their own mothers are reluctant to report the case for the reason of the family's dignity (Sawrikar & Katz, 2017, 2018).

On the other hand, the dependency level of the incest victims and their mothers toward the perpetrators often cause them to think twice before finally reporting the person who usually supports them financially to the authorities. The alternatives which are often chosen by the incest victims are to get out of the house to live with their other relatives or to become street children in big cities. In this situation, it is highly possible for the incest victims to live astray, get mired in the street life, or even being exploited in the commercial sex industry (Suyanto, 2012). As a consequence, the child victims of incest are suffering not only physically and mentally, but also are risking of having a more traumatic experience in the future.

The aim of this study first of all is to map and review the incest cases in the Indonesian contemporary society. In more detailed account, some problems attempted to be reviewed and answered in this study included: (1) How were the profiles of the girls who became the incest rape victims? (2) How does the social profiles of the incest rape perpetrators? (3) Where did the incest incident happen and how did the victims' mothers deal with the incest rape incident that happened to their daughters?

2. Literature review

Sexual abuse, including rape and incest, is a form of sexual violence and decency violation to human being (Sawrikar & Katz, 2017, 2018). Rape could be defined as someone's effort to wreak one's sexual desire toward a victim in the ways that are considered violating the prevailing moral and law (Wignyoebroto, 1991). Brownmiller (1975) also defined rape as the coercion for sexual intercourse to women without their consent or conscious will. The victims of rape usually could not do anything because of the existing social values that, as though, justify the rape incidents or, to the least, demand the victims to always be submissive (Suyanto, 2002).

Rape victims usually would suffer from painful psychological trauma and be stigmatized by the society. Linda E. Ledray's study showed that 2–3 h after the rape incident, 96% of the victims were endlessly trembling and shivering, 68% experienced dizziness, 68% suffered from great muscle spasms, 65% experienced headache and severe pain. Meanwhile, on the post-rape period, the pain that suffered by the victims include the followings: 96% of the victims experienced anxiety, 96% experienced psychological fatigue, 88% were agitated,

88% were threatened, and 80% felt terrorized by the circumstance (Prasetyo & Marzuki, 1997).

Moreover, if the rape victims are children or underage girls, the possibility for them to recover would be more difficult. Various studies have shown that the children who became the victims of incest, when they grow up, would have low self-esteem, often encounter many difficulties in their interpersonal relationships, and even experience sexual dysfunction. The underage victims of incest are also at high risk of mental disorders, including depression, anxiety, phobia avoidance reaction, somatoform disorder, drug abuse, borderline personality disorder, and complex post-traumatic stress disorder (O'Brien, 1991). It often happens for rape victims to be incapable of having normal sexual intercourse since they suffered from *vaginismus*, in which the muscles of the vaginal wall always contract or tighten during the intercourse attempt. Hence it is difficult to penetrate. In some cases, moreover, they might suffer from dyspareunia, a pain or sore felt during penetration (Meana, Binik, Khalife & Cohen 1995). These rape victims tend to suffer from acute trauma. Their future will be ruined, and for those who could not bear the burden, the only option appears to be committing suicide.

Furthermore, rape is not a mere criminal act. To better understand the factors causing it and its impacts, rape should be placed in a broader social context. For example, how women's social positions and their behaviors are defined and socially controlled in a particular society (Jackson, 1993). This means that the reason a rape act takes place is not necessarily sufficient to be labeled as men's uncontrollable depraved lust, but rather as there is a party who considers oneself to be stronger and more dominant toward another party, i.e., the women.

One form of sexual abuse that incites great concern is the acts of raping that occur within a family circle – popularly known as incest. Incest could simply be defined as a sexual relationship between close relatives which is jurisdictionally illegal and/or considered as a social taboo (Beard et al., 2015). The word incest is utilized to describe sexual criminal act within the family, which is usually committed by a father toward his daughter. The word incest came from the Latin word *incestus* which can be defined as 'impure'. Acts that can be categorized as incest may differ from one community to others, but all communities generally agree that incest is categorized as a taboo and an inappropriate act. Although the society reacts differently toward incest, it generally tends to forbid it, and even curse the incest perpetrators – especially if the case is of a father who commits coercion to his daughter.

Some studies on incest and its consequences have been conducted by scholars in several fields of studies. Beard et al. (2015), for example, studies the issue of sibling incest that focused on the effects of same-sex sibling incest. His study acknowledges that incest may be done by same-sex family members. Karbeyaz, Toygar, and Celikel (2016), in their study on the case of sibling incest in Turkey, have identified various contributing factors that may link to incestuous relationship. These factors including fragmented family, lack of education, and socio-cultural characteristics. The studies on sibling incest in the US, conducted by McDonald and Martinez (2017) concluded three main factors of sibling incest which are (1) experiencing or witnessing sexual violence themselves; (2) societal trend toward the medicalization of deviance; and (3) as an act of power. Griffie et al. (2016) highlighted parents' influence in sibling incest through lowering external barriers to sexual behaviors, encourage nudity, encouraging sibling relying on each other affection, and doing actions that can eroticize their children. From these studies, we can see how internal aspects (such as one's education) and external aspect (such as societal trend) influence the practice of sibling incest relationship.

Previous recent studies have discussed primarily the relationship of sibling incest both by analyzing empirical data (Beard et al., 2015; Griffie et al., 2016; Karbeyaz et al., 2016; Katz & Hamama, 2017; McDonald & Martinez, 2017) or analyzing criminal literature on incest (Kokkola and Valovirta, 2017). This present study, however, will not focus on the sibling-incest cases, but rather on the incest cases that may involve all of the family members of the incest relationship. Moreover,

the data gathered from this study has shown that there is a strong tendency of incest rape cases in Indonesia that take place between fathers and daughters.

3. Research method

This research employed descriptive qualitative analysis by utilizing data from the media coverage, more specifically newspaper. This study was aimed to review and compile the occurrence pattern of incestual assaults toward girls in their families in Indonesia during the last seven years (2010–2017) — which had been reported by the media. Purposively, the media set forth as the information source for this study was the Jawa Pos newspaper. This national media outlet was selected for the consideration that it often presents features and news coverage related to sexual assaults, including incest cases, toward underage girls in Indonesia. The time period for the incest cases news coverage obtained was from January 1, 2012 to June 31, 2017. The criteria for the chosen news or cases to be reviewed included: (1) incestual assault of victims who were girls under 18 years old; (2) the incest perpetrators were the victims' fathers, grandfathers, uncles, or brothers; and (3) the incest rape cases happened in Indonesia.

Besides analyzing data obtained from the media coverage, a related data collecting fieldwork is also conducted for this study. There are two inter-related steps for data collection of this study. The first step is by looking for 137 news coverage regarding incest cases in East Java from the Jawa Pos newspaper for the past seven years (2010–2017). The second step is by looking deeper for the incest cases that occurred in four regions in East Java that were chosen as the location of the field research. These four regions are Kediri, Nganjuk, Gresik, and Surabaya.

In the proposed regions that became the locations of this study, based on the information obtained from Jawa Pos newspaper coverage, researchers then ensured the names of the villages and sub-districts where the incest cases have occurred. With the permission from the local village officials, the researchers visited the homes of the victim of incest to arrange semi-structured in-depth interviews with the chosen informants. Unfortunately, all the children who became the victims of incest relationship were not willing to be interviewed for this study. These children refused to be interviewed because they perceive the incest relationship as a shameful experience for themselves and their families. The informants interviewed for this study then were the victims' mothers, close relatives, neighbors, and local village officials.

In this study, the initial plan was to conduct in-depth interviews with 25 informants, namely families and children who have become the victims of incestuous relationships. They were selected from the cases which have been reported in the Jawa Pos newspaper coverage. Their addresses were founded and tracked from the available information provided by Jawa Pos. Despite the initial plan to conduct interviews of 25 informants, this research has obtained fourteen informants including three victims' mothers, six neighbors, two close relatives of the victims, and three local village officials who were aware of the incest relationship that occurred in their regions. Semi-structured in-depth interviews with these fourteen informants explored questions not only about the condition of the victim's family, the profile of the perpetrators and the impact on the victims of incest and their family, but also about the efforts made by the victims to get out of their unfortunate situation. The information obtained from the in-depth interviews then being coded and analyzed based on the specific themes that appeared overtime. Finally, the researchers choose and sort out for information that can answer the research questions for this study.

The recruitment process for the informants of this study was carried out openly. The researchers firstly introduced themselves as volunteers from Lembaga Perlindungan Perempuan dan Anak (PPA) or Women and Child Protection Unit and Airlangga University who were looking for research data of incest relationship in East Java, Indonesia. However, at first not all of the main informants were willing to be interviewed and some neighbors were also reluctant to be interviewed.

All informants just agreed to be interviewed after the researchers make sure that the informants' names would not be written at all as the sources of this study.

Before conducting the study, the researchers have already obtained a letter of research permission from Airlangga University as well as letter of consent from local village officials. Moreover, the researchers who were lecturers and experienced volunteers at the Lembaga Perlindungan Perempuan dan Anak (PPA) or Women and Child Protection Unit, East Java Chapter, have already understood about the research ethics related to the sensitive topics, such as incest. In the process of collecting data, for example, the researchers always uphold and place the best interests of the victims of the incest relationship than any other interests.

4. Results

In this section, three specific themes that show up overtime during the data analysis will be presented in details. These three themes include the profiles of children victims of incest, the profiles of incest perpetrators, and the types and patterns of incest cases found in this study.

4.1. The children victims of incest

Incest is a part of gender-related violence. In fact, incest happened because, in the perpetrators' and victims' minds, there were gender values and ideology which placed women or girls in particular in subordinate position. The sexual abuse occurring to underage girls, in many ways, took place where the victims were structurally in a weak, vulnerable, or helpless position. Various evidences had demonstrated that the potential victims of such immoral acts were generally underage girls instead of women. Thus, far from the accusation that the victims were always generally physically attractive or wearing provoking clothes, the parties who became the targets were apparently little girls or even toddlers who were far from being sexual objects. Biological children who were supposed to obtain affection and protection from the family, in fact, became the victims of sexual abuse of their own family members.

As shown in Table 1, most of the incest victims (75%) were teenage girls aged 10–17 years old. However, there were also incest victims who were still under 10 years old. Out of 137 investigated incest cases, 9% of the victims were identified to be eight to nine years old, 7% were six to seven years old, 4% were four to five years old, and 2% were 3 years old. Only 3% of the cases involved 18-year-old victims. Therefore, this was different from the common opinion which stated that the rape temptation came from the victims' sexiness as the trigger.

In contrast to the rape act committed by acquaintances that usually happened one time only, incest rape generally occurred in a relatively longer period, even for years. From Table 2 we can see that out of the 137 cases, half (50%) of the incest cases occurred for less than a year. However, as many as 22% of the incest cases lasted for one to two years,

Table 1
The age of incest victims.

Age	Frequency	Percentage
< 3 years old	3	2%
4–5 years old	6	4%
6–7 years old	9	7%
8–9 years old	12	9%
10–11 years old	22	16%
12–13 years old	24	18%
14–15 years old	29	21%
16–17 years old	28	20%
18 years old	4	3%
Total	137	100%

Table 2
The period of incest.

Period	Frequency	Percentage
< 1 year	68	50%
1–2 years	31	22%
3–4 years	23	17%
> 5 years	15	11%
Total	137	100%

17% lasted for three to four years, and 11% of the cases occurred for more than five years. The reason that incest often occurred for a long period was because of the victims' helplessness condition and dependency which caused the perpetrators to freely exploit them without any resistance for years.

Based on an interview with one of the victims in Surabaya, a 14-year old girl who became the victim of incest committed by her own father, she admitted that she had been through the agony of being her own father's depraved lust for over a year. The victim was defenseless, powerless and unable to refuse because her mother was unhealthy and at the same time her father threatened to not send her to school, refuse to pay for her mother's medicine and even killed her own mother if she refused to do as he told:

"I'm very scared of my father. If I'd refused, he said that he would not let me finish school or not pay for my mother's medicine. In fact, he also threatened to kill my mother if I've ever told anyone about it. So, I was constantly forced to do it for over a year. So many times that I've forgotten how many".

As shown in Table 3, from the data derived from the media, it was known that the incest victims were generally the perpetrators' biological daughters (35%) and stepdaughters (35%). From the media coverage, it was often described how a biological father raped his own child for years until she became pregnant. In other incest cases, the relation of the victims and the perpetrators included being adopted girls (7%), 10% were the perpetrators' granddaughters, and 3% were the perpetrators' biological sisters. Moreover, as many as 9% of the victims were the nieces of the perpetrators and 1% was the perpetrators' stepsisters. In many cases of incest, victims who feel powerless and defenseless are often exploited by the perpetrators to suppress the victim condition and justify their action. One of the victims from Ngunjuk district said about her father:

"My father liked to beat my mom and me. I am really scared of him. I fear him so much. I wouldn't dare to deny what he wanted because he would hit me. I just cried. I wouldn't have told my mother either. My father threatened to kick me out of the house. My grandmother passed away a while ago, so I wouldn't know where to go".

4.2. The profiles of incest perpetrators

Many studies had proven that the perpetrators of child abuse were generally the people closest to the victims. Unlike other crimes, such as

Table 3
The status of incest victims in the family.

Status	Frequency	Percentage
Biological daughter	48	35%
Stepdaughter	48	35%
Adopted daughter	10	7%
Granddaughter	14	10%
Biological sister	4	3%
Stepsister	1	1%
Niece	12	9%
Total	137	100%

theft, bike-riding robbery, or looting, in which the victims and the perpetrators were generally strangers, in child abuse cases, especially incest rape cases, the perpetrators were generally the victims' biological fathers, grandfathers, uncles, or brothers.

As shown in Table 3, this study revealed that the status of incest perpetrators was mostly the victims' fathers (77%). Meanwhile, as many as 10%, were the victims' grandfathers and 9% were the victims' uncles. From 137 investigated incest cases, 4% of the perpetrators were the victims' brothers. The act of incest between siblings also occurs for a long period of time, although it is not a lot.

One of the incest cases that this present research team tried to trace to the field occurred in Gresik. Sucipto, a 50-year-old man of Cèrme Lor Village of Cermesub-district, was caught to rape his own biological daughter. Mawar (pseudonym) was Sucipto's victim and biological daughter who were still in 8th grade of Cerme 1 Junior High School. Mawar was the second child of her family and her mother suffered from eye disease so she could not see. Everyday, Sucipto worked as a mason and was more often to stay at home. He raped his daughter for at least seven times at their house without his wife's awareness. Before raping his girl, Sucipto watched porn videos. Feeling aroused, Sucipto insisted and even threatened his daughter to fulfill his lust.

Having repeatedly been victimized by her own father's lust, Mawar ended up pregnant and the local people began to suspect her body change. Sucipto eventually decided to bring Mawar to his relative's house in Purwosari, Pasuruan to hide. Hearing the circulating gossip in the neighborhood, the victim's mother family investigated the case. After proving that Mawar was pregnant by her own father, the victim's mother family with the neighbors reported the incident to the local police station. Upon obtaining the report, the police team immediately searched for Sucipto in Purwosari. Sucipto was brought to the local police headquarter to hold accountable for his action and until now the perpetrator is still in jail. The perpetrator's wife who found out that her daughter had become the victim of her husband's asked for a divorce.

Sucipto's eight-month pregnant daughter was accommodated by the Perlindungan Perempuan dan Anak (PPA) or Women and Child Protection Unit, in Gresik until the delivery. After giving birth, the victim's child was adopted. The victim was depressed after the incident and so she was still in PPA in Gresik for post-partum recovery. Some teachers from Mawar's school visited her to see her condition and asked her to continue her study. The support from the family, society, and teachers made her to continue her study until she graduated. After graduating from junior high school, Mawar had to work to support her family after the incident. Being a native to the area and having her relatives nearby, Mawar and her family still lived in Cerme Lor despite bearing the shame because of the incest relationship with her father.

Another finding with regard to the age of the incest perpetrators was shown in Table 4. As many as 18% of the perpetrators were 38–41 years

Table 4
The age of incest perpetrators.

Age	Frequency	Percentage
< 18 years old	2	2%
18–21 years old	3	2%
22–25 years old	2	2%
26–29 years old	–	–
30–33 years old	13	9%
34–37 years old	18	13%
38–41 years old	24	18%
42–45 years old	19	14%
46–49 years old	13	9%
50–53 years old	19	14%
54–57 years old	9	6%
58–61 years old	6	4%
62–65 years old	4	3%
> 65 years old	5	4%
Total	137	100%

old, and 14% were 42–45 years old. Thirty one percent of the perpetrators were aged 50 and above, and even 4% of them were over 65 years old. Only 4% of the perpetrators were under 21 years old. Most of the perpetrators were usually the fathers aged above 50 years old. It was usually under the excuses that their wives were no longer attractive or that their wives went away to find some work overseas or outside the city that the biological fathers or stepfathers would force their own biological girls or stepdaughters to sleep with them. In Jawa Pos, it was often reported that the fathers would commit the indecent act to their own biological daughters since they were not satisfied with their wives' service or that their wives went away to find some jobs. In Kediri, for instance, the field study revealed a story of a stepfather named Suwamo (37 years old) who raped his 15-year-old stepdaughter because his wife went away to another city to find job. Suwamo, who was unemployed, took the advantage and opportunity to take advantage of his stepdaughter.

From the media coverage, this study also discovered that the economic status of the perpetrators was mostly living in a low income family (49%). From 137 incest cases, 12% of the perpetrators came from middle to upper-class family, and 39% of the perpetrators' economic status was unknown. When compared to the middle and upper-class families who had decent houses with an adequate number of children's rooms, the possibility of incest was indeed smaller. This was different from the condition of the low income family houses which generally had limited number of rooms, without proper wall separation, exposing the girls to have no safe private space. Thus, it can be suggested that the lesser the number of room in the house, the more likely the incest rape act will happened.

Observing the perpetrators' education level, most of them were low-educated. As shown in Table 5, out of the 137 incest rape cases, 12% of the perpetrators were reported to have an education equivalent to elementary school, and 2% did not even attend school. 17% attended junior high school. Only 6% of the perpetrators were in high schools and 4% were educated equivalent to college level. There are 9% of incest cases reported by Jawa Pos did not state the perpetrators' education background.

Out of the 137 incest cases reported by the media, it was found that the perpetrators' occupations or professions were mostly in the informal sectors (30%). This was commonly understood since the perpetrators were mostly from the less educated middle-class population. There are 2% of the perpetrators' occupations, as reported by the media, were unknown. Only 3% were reported to work as merchants, 1% as farmers, 1% of the cases had the perpetrators working as teachers, as well as 3% of the perpetrators who were law enforcement officers.

4.3. The types and patterns of incest rape cases

This study found that, generally, there were three common places where incest rape took place. The first is in a hidden and secured area from the public's view, especially in the victims' or perpetrators' houses. This area occupied the highest number in the percentage. Data gathered from the media coverage show that 91% of incestual rape cases commonly took place at home. The reason that the house seemed to be the safest place for the perpetrators to commit their unlawful action was

that it was the area where the perpetrators usually know the situation best, for example, when would family members be away.

Second, the places that were usually chosen for incest rape were hotels or inns. It was reported in the chosen media that as many as 5% of incest rape cases were committed in hotels or inns in which the victims would not have the courage to report to the hotels' or inns' staff. In addition, it is also impossible for other people to interfere unless there were suspicious signs, such as screams or noise, which may attract the surrounding's attention.

Third, the other area prone to incest rape act was the zones that were open, such as in a quiet courtyard or in a hidden field. Perpetrator might choose this area because they did not have the opportunity to do the rape act at home. This present study discovered that 2% of incest rape cases occurred in these open spaces, yet far from the public watch.

In Jawa Pos, some reported incest rape cases actually took place upon the knowledge or even the assistance of the perpetrator's wives. This could happen because the victims' mothers were scared that if they declined or forbade their husbands' behavior, they would be evicted from the house, along with their children and they would live in trouble. Fear and the helplessness had caused some victims' mothers to look away from the agony felt by their own daughters.

From the findings, we see that most of the incest rape cases (84%) took place in a private venue where none was aware of it (Refer to Table 6) The incestual rape action was often experienced by the victims for years without ever being revealed since the victims were scared of the perpetrators' threats. Moreover, out of the 137 recorded incest cases, 9% of incest cases were apparently known by the perpetrators' wives. In fact, it happened with the permission or by the acknowledgment of the perpetrators' wives or the victims' mothers.

Moreover, 3% of incest cases were witnessed by the victims' siblings and 4% of the cases were known to other people outside the family. This finding may be attributed to the strong patriarchal ideology in the Indonesian society. This study noticed that the ones who witnessed when incest cases took place were mostly only the perpetrator and the victim (89%). However, there were 11% of incest cases which took place in the presence of witnesses. From the field study result, it was found that there were some mothers who knew that their daughters were incest victims. Nonetheless, they kept silent because of fear of threats and fear of family disgrace. One of the incest victim's mothers in Kediri Regency said:

"I truly regret for being so blind after all these years, letting my only daughter became a victim of incest, committed by my own husband, her own father. He is evil. I should've asked for a divorce a long time ago. Now my daughter has to suffer. I was really scared of my husband because occasionally he would've asked to divorce me. He often beat me when he was angry. He had such a bad temper. When I found out what he did to my daughter I was shocked to death. I'd never thought he would do that to his own flesh and blood. I hope he burns in hell".

Based on the data gathered from the media, the type of violence experienced by the victims was mostly the act of rape (73%). Out of the 137 incest cases, 3% of victims were abused and stripped, and 24% were fingered. This means that the victims' genitals were touched and penetrated by the perpetrators' fingers. This may caused traumatic injury.

Table 5
The educational status of incest perpetrators.

Educational status	Frequency	Percentage
No formal education	2	2%
Elementary School	17	12%
Junior High School	24	17%
Senior High School	8	6%
College/Academy	5	4%
Unknown	81	59%
Total	137	100%

Table 6
The witnesses of incest incidents.

Witness	Frequency	Percentage
Wife	13	9%
Victim's Siblings	4	3%
Other people	5	4%
Nobody	115	84%
Total	137	100%

For less-dependent mothers with more bargaining power and position, if they know on the wrongdoing, they would generally reported incest act to the authorities. This study revealed that the parties who were mostly to report incest incidents to the law enforcement officials were the victims' mothers (63%). Out of the 137 of incest rape cases found, as many as 23% were reported by the victims' siblings, 4% by the victims' grandparents, and 10% by the victims themselves.

5. Discussion

Incest rape victims could be boys or girls. However, as this present study and other study (Beard *et al.*, 2015) revealed, girls are more likely to become victims of incest rape cases. Not only teenagers, as portrait on the study of Carlson, Maciol, and Schneider (2006), but the victims of incest rape is also affects underage children, such as under 5 years old, or even under 3 years old children.

In various incest cases, the society often blames the victims themselves for being the seducers. Even if the incest rape victim is considered as a “good” girl, people will still question how the victims dressed up when the rape happened and how their behaviors were in their daily activities. Those questions would always relate to the victims' sexual morality, since the victims were coincidentally women, not men (Faller, 1993). Women are accused to contribute to the occurrence of incest rape acts through their provoking physical appearance. Meanwhile, the men's or the perpetrators' behaviors, despite being blamed as well, were still considered as men's “common” mistakes (Saptari & Holzner, 1997, p. 232). The incest rapists themselves are more commonly to be understood as being out of their mind at the time of raping.

With such a robust male bargaining position as well as much pressures and threats to the victims – such as threatening not to send the victims to school or physically hitting them, or even threatening to kill the victims' mothers if they tell what they have experienced – it could be understood that incest rape generally took place for years or at least more than once. In reality, the dilemma encountered by the incest victims was that they were forced to live in a social environment which compromised them with threats and rape on one hand, while they fully realized that incest was a disgrace that put the family and themselves to shame on the other hand.

The relationship between the incest victims and the perpetrators was generally an asymmetric relation, in which the average victims were the helpless girls being dependent toward the perpetrators. The victims' weak position became the gateway for the perpetrators to commit the incest act. The victim's mother might find out the incest relationship, but in some cases they did not dare to resist. Similar to Heijden (2000) study of incest in Rotterdam and Delft during the seventeenth century, in Indonesia the victim's mother generally choose to silence her husband's deviant actions, and some even participated to persuade their daughters not to fight when their fathers raped them. In short, the power and superiority of the male perpetrators, as well as the helplessness and dependence of the incest victim and the victim's mother are the important factors behind the rise of incest cases in Indonesia.

From the field findings of this present study, it was discovered that the children victims of incest generally experienced various socio-psychological pressure and some even tended to withdraw themselves from the surrounding social environment. Many pieces of evidence proved that, in addition to suffering from the post-sexual abuse trauma, girl victims of incest would usually grow up to be individuals who would potentially suffer from mental disorders (Chu, 1999; Gladstone, Parker, Wilhem, Michel, & Austin, 1999; Newberger, 1982). Incestuous children tend to be a person who has low self-esteem they will often face many difficulties in their interpersonal relationships, and even experience sexual dysfunction (O'Brien, 1991). In the case of incest in which the offender is the father, the victim generally feels more depressed and faces deeper psychological handicaps than if the offender is the victim's

brother (Stroebe *et al.*, 2013).

From the field data, it was also revealed that the girls of incest victims would tend to suffer from severe depression, have low self-esteem, do not easily trust others, pull themselves out, and when they stepped on adulthood, many of them fell to the habits of drinking alcohol, using drugs, or even becoming child abusers – not realizing that they actually repeated what had happened to them in the past (Felitti, 1991; Kluff, 1990). In Gresik, Nganjuk, Kediri, and Surabaya, from the family and neighbors' information, incest victims were commonly known to be quiet, tend to pull themselves out of their peer-group social environment, and even tend to suffer from prolonged severe depression after the incest incident was revealed. Since the incest incident had not been revealed up until the following year or two, the girl victims of incest often demonstrated deviant behaviors, such as became easily irritated, becoming hot-headed, and even not hesitant to do harsh things to their own friends (Kempe & Kempe, 1984; La Fontaine, 1990; Leland, 1989).

With regard to the profiles of incest perpetrators, a study conducted by Relva *et al.* (2017) in Portugal have found that incest cases committed by older siblings on average occurred 22 times more often than the other incest perpetrators. This present study's findings, however, were dissimilar with the previous studies, which argue that incest cases happened more often between brothers and sisters (Canavan, Meyer, & Higgs, 1992; O'Brien, 1991; Wiehe, 1997). This present study found that most of the incest cases' perpetrators were the victims' fathers. This finding corroborated Csorba *et al.* (2006) study that found 44% of the incest perpetrators were the incestuous fathers, and 40% were the stepfathers. The same study also found that 35% of the incest perpetrators were the victim's real-biological fathers, and 35% were the stepfather victims.

Regardless of the biological fathers or the stepfathers of the victim, the children who are the victims of incest generally have the dependence and under-pressure of the perpetrators. Moreover, some studies argue that incest relationship in which the perpetrator is the victim's father is actually a form of sanction against the mother who is considered unable to participate in the sexual role as a wife. As McDonald and Martinez (2017) wrote, incest is an expression of deviant power and behavior. A father who is not satisfied or does not receive sexual services from his wife, may converted to a change to be served sexually by a biological child or step child.

Incest perpetrators, in many cases traced in the field of this study was found to have an unpleasant childhood: they came from a family which did not get along well, and it was even possible that the perpetrators were the victims of sexual abuse themselves during their childhood (Dietz, 2018). The perpetrators tended to have an immature and passive personality where they tended to depend on others. They lack of self control, less capable of thinking realistically, tend to be passive-aggressive in expressing their emotions, and lack of confidence.

Moreover, it was possible for the perpetrators to be alcoholics or drug users. In Surabaya, for example, this study exposed that the incest perpetrators were alcoholic who often caused a commotion in their villages and they frequently disturbed the village. Meanwhile, in Gresik, this study found that the perpetrators were child abuse victims themselves during their childhood, and when they got married and had children, then became the child abuse perpetrators to their own children.

This study also found that incestants are generally from poor families and got low education. Similar to the study conducted by Karbeyaz *et al.* (2016) in Turkey, it found that incestors tend to be less educated, and has a fragmented family. The low-educated perpetrators tended to become more incestuous. This was related to their poor living condition. Because the perpetrators' education level is low, thus they have limited option to get a job and have a high risk of being unemployed. Unemployment often linked to criminal action including raping (Caruso, 2015).

This present study also finds the facts that incest cases often occur in

marginalized families, broken home, and those who have already accustomed to violence and criminal acts. In some ways, incest was different from other sexual crimes like pedophilia. Unlike pedophiles whose preferred underage child victims, the victims in incest cases tend to be older than those of pedophiles. In incest cases with the biological father as the perpetrator, the case often started from the father who began to be attracted to their daughters when they began to experience physical maturity, while the pedophiles were usually attracted to children before they experienced physical maturity yet.

The impact of child sexual abuse, such as incest rape, will be carried on until their adult life. Krayer, Seddon, Robinson, and Gwilym (2015) studies revealed that in the earlier years post-trauma, the victims described their experience as chaotic and difficult. Only when specific events or turning points occur, with the help of social support and interpersonal connections, could prompt the victims of sexual abuse to evaluate their lives and led to a realization of the possibilities of change. As suggested by Gonzales (2015), child sexual abuse, including incest rape, might result in a long-term adult diagnosis of depression. For those incest rape victims who could not resist the depression, it is not impossible that they will choose to commit suicide (Mazoyer & Martineau, 2011), even though from the media report there are no data of incest victims in Indonesia who committed suicide.

Thus, specific measures need to be taken by the public health services and agencies to prevent this latent problem of incest rape to take place. Gonzales proposed an integrative approach to solution-focused psychotherapy for incest victims (Gonzalez, 2017). While supportive institutions for women and children protection do exist in Indonesia, such as Lembaga Perlindungan Perempuan dan Anak (PPA) or Women and Child Protection Unit, the general public health service is still a far cry for providing a continuous support for the incest victims in Indonesia.

6. Conclusion

Incestual rape is a form of crime against morality and decency that are highly detrimental to the victims. This sexual abuse incident undoubtedly left not only physical injury and a deep trauma to the victims' but also the risk of fragile future for the incest victims.

Incest is a sexual abuse that often happened in closed spaces, behind houses' walls, and away from public watch. Thus, the possibility of this incident to repeatedly occur in a long run is very likely to happen. Moreover, the incest perpetrators were often the closest people or the people known by the victims — even including their biological fathers, and it often occurred in marginalized families, broken home families, and those accustomed to violence acts.

This present study discovered that the underage girls who became the victims of incest rape were generally depends much on the perpetrators and they received strong pressure from the superior male figure of the family. Furthermore, the perpetrators' sexual dissatisfaction with their partners and their social positions in the patriarchal Indonesian society often propelled incest cases in their own families. For the perpetrators, incest might be seen as a disguised form of sanction for the victims' mothers who were considered incapable of fulfilling the demands of a sexual role as a wife.

In many cases in Indonesia, incest was more common in low-income, low-educated, broken-home families, where the mothers' position was subordinated and the mothers could not provide protection for their daughters from the sexual abuse perpetrated by their family members, especially from the incest victims' fathers.

Conflict of interest

There is no conflict of interest to declare in this manuscript.

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