

Responsiveness Action in Handling Adult Male Rape Cases in the Struggle of Toxic Masculinity Culture

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Abstract

The culture of *toxic masculinity* is still a significant obstacle in handling rape cases against adult men. The view that men should always be strong and unlikely to be victims leads to low reporting and weak institutional attention. This study aims to analyze the factors of rape of adult men in the struggle of toxic masculinity culture and examine the responsiveness of law in its handling using Nonet and Selznick's responsive legal theory as an analytical framework. This research uses a qualitative approach with a socio-legal research type, which combines observation, interviews, questionnaires and literature studies. The results of the study show that toxic masculinity functions as a structural barrier that suppresses the victim's courage to report, triggers the bias of law enforcement officials, and increases the risk of secondary victimization. Although Indonesia's positive law has moved towards more inclusive victim recognition through the Indonesia Criminal Code Number 1 of 2023, legal implementation still faces challenges in terms of institutional sensitivity and substantive protection of victims. This study emphasizes the importance of strengthening gender-justice-oriented responsive laws in ensuring protection and recovery for adult male rape victims.



KEYWORDS

Responsive law; Nonet and Selznick's Theory; legal progressivity; male rape; gender justice

Introduction

Indonesia is a tangible representation of a nation built on pluralism, living on ethnic diversity, belief systems, and customs. This plurality is not only seen in the outward identity, but also permeates into the different ways of view, moral principles, and frameworks of thought embraced by each individual. This combination of various cultural and thought elements ultimately creates a social construct.

Violence or sexual harassment against women occurs due to a value system that positions women as weak and inferior creatures to men, women are still placed in subordinate and marginalized positions, so they are considered worthy of being controlled, exploited, and enslaved, and seen as second-class citizens. Although the discourse on sexual violence has spread in the public sphere, the urgency of this discussion lies in the perspective of men as victims. Often, adult male victims are not adequately represented, both in legal policy and social responses. This phenomenon of neglect is rooted in the cultural burden of toxic masculinity, which is characterized by behaviors that suppress or hide emotions and difficulties experienced, and views violence as an indicator of strength.^{1 2} Sexual violence itself is defined as "Unwanted or offensive sexual attention, suggestions, or talk, especially from an employer or other person in a position of power".³

¹ Adita Miranti and Yudi Sudiana, "Pelecehan Seksual Pada Laki-laki dan Perspektif Masyarakat Terhadap Maskulinitas (Analisis Wacana Kritis Norman Fairclough)," *Bricolage: Jurnal Magister Ilmu Komunikasi* 7, no. 2 (2021): 261, <https://doi.org/10.30813/bricolage.v7i2.2809>

² Evita Husodo and Anastasya Chandraputri Sethio, *Destruction of Indonesian Men's Masculinity as A Result of Perfect Male-Lead Portrayal in Korean Dramas* (n.d.), <http://digital.library.ump.ac.id/view/divisions/BookChapterISTED/2021.html>.

³ Cambridge Dictionary, "Sexual Harassment," January 6, 2026.

Cases of sexual violence against men are often underestimated due to the influence of toxic masculinity culture. A study of one in six people concluded that problems related to sexual violence against men are underreported, under-recognized, and under-addressed.⁴ In fact, the 2021 Sexual Violence Data and Facts report in Indonesia noted that 33.3% of respondents to victims of sexual violence were men⁵.

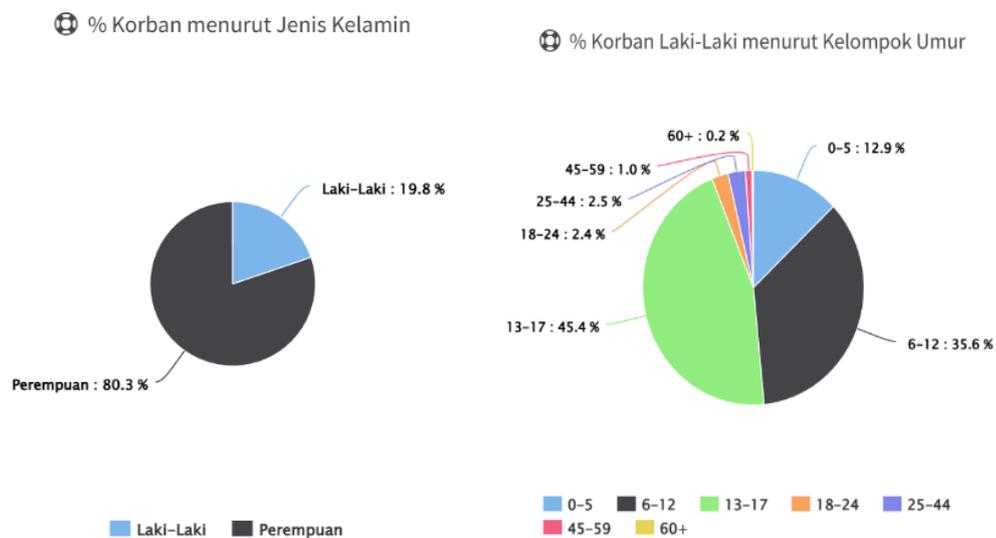


Figure 1. Percentage and Detail Diagram of Victims of Violence⁶

Plus data from DP3AKB Central Java in 2025 where there are only 2 cases of sexual violence in adult males, far compared to 100 cases in boys.⁷

⁴ Bestha Inatsan Ashila and Naomi Rehulina Barus, "Kekerasan Seksual Pada Laki-laki: Diabaikan dan Belum Ditangani Serius," *Indonesia Judicial Research Society* 2, no. 2 (2024): 1–18. <https://ijrs.or.id/2023/11/30/kekerasan-seksual-pada-laki-laki-diabaikan-dan-belum-ditangani-serius-2/>.

⁵ Arsa Ilmi Budiarti, Gladys Nadya Arianto, and Marsha Maharani, *Data dan Fakta Kekerasan Seksual Di Indonesia 2021* (Jakarta: Indonesia Judicial Research Society (IJRS), 2022), <http://ijrs.or.id/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/Data-dan-Fakta-Kekerasan-Seksual-di-Indonesia-2021-8-Apr-2022.pdf>.

⁶ Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak (PPA), "SIMFONI PPA: Sistem Informasi Online Perlindungan Perempuan dan Anak", 2023, <https://kekerasan.kemenpppa.go.id/ringkasan>

⁷ DP3AKB Jawa Tengah, "Dari Pengajuan Informasi Jumlah Kekerasan Seksual Pada Laki-laki Dewasa Ke DP3AKB," 2025.

The low numbers in the adult category can be interpreted in two perspectives. First, in terms of victimization, adult males have stronger self-defense mechanisms and agency than children, so the risk of victimization is indeed lower. Second, the very low number in today's category—especially in sexual cases—corroborates the suspicion of an iceberg phenomenon.

People often believe that women are in a lower position than men, thus creating a stigma that women are always at fault. While men are seen as the center and holder of control, while women are portrayed as lust-satisfiers. This view encourages the reporting of male sexual violence perpetrators and leads to the practice of blaming female victims.⁸ In addition to the gender aspect, the age factor also plays a crucial role, the higher the age of a person eats, the higher the chance of getting victim blaming compared to victims of younger age. Victims under the age of 10 are considered more innocent because they do not know sexual matters, so it will be increasingly difficult to believe the testimony given by older victims when experiencing sexual violence.⁹

The phenomenon of rape experienced by men can be found in a variety of empirical cases, as shown in the following case tables;

Table 1. Cases of Male Rape in Indonesia

Time	Location	Contents	Ket.
April, 2021	The perpetrator's house, Probolinggo, East Java	The DP perpetrator (28 years old) gave the victim (16 years old) a drink with liquor, before raping the victim for three consecutive days. ¹⁰	The victim was a minor. This case has not progressed and has stalled at the investigation stage

⁸ Nengah Selandin, Tyas Pangesti Latra Wijayanti, and Luh Made Karisma Sukmayanti Suarya, "Fenomena Victim Blaming Pada Korban Kekerasan Seksual," *Psychopolytan : Jurnal Psikologi* 7, no. 1 (2023): 12–20, <https://doi.org/10.36341/psi.v7i1.3072>.

⁹ Nengah Selandin, Tyas Pangesti Latra Wijayanti, and Luh Made Karisma Sukmayanti Suarya, "Fenomena Victim Blaming Pada Korban Kekerasan Seksual."

¹⁰ Kompas TV, "Seorang Remaja Pria Diduga Diperkosa Biduan Dangdut," *kompas.tv*, 24 april 2021. <https://www.kompas.tv/regional/167783/seorang-remaja-pria-diduga-diperkosa-biduan-dangdut>

Time	Location	Contents	Ket.
March-May, 2021	Garut, West Java	A man with the initials PUR (42), a married teacher, was arrested by the Garut Police on suspicion of raping two elderly men (70 and 79 years old) a total of four times. ¹¹	The perpetrator with the initials PUR was charged with article 289 of the Criminal Code Jo Article 290 paragraph 1.
August, 2025	Kediri, East Java.	Inmate A (20) in Kediri Prison was allegedly forced by the prisoner Raymond (30) to eat worms and staples, then tortured and raped. ¹²	As of September 2025, the victim has submitted a report through a lawyer and is conducting a visum.

Global attention to the vulnerability of adult men as victims of sexual violence has increased sharply through the monumental case of Reynhard Sinaga in the UK. Reynhard Sinaga was sentenced to life imprisonment by a Manchester, England, court in January 2020 after being found guilty of 159 rapes of 48 male victims, over a span of 2.5 years from January 1, 2015 to June 2, 2017.¹³

Structured marginalization and lack of concern for male survivors in sexual violence cases are rooted in sociocultural prejudices that misinterpret men as subjects with a low risk of victimization, so that their rights to rehabilitation services are often ignored.¹⁴ PTSD (post traumatic stress disorder) disorder can occur as a result of sexual violence

¹¹ Bandung Kompas, "Mengaku Dapat Wangsit Guru Ngaji di Garut Cabuli Dua Kakek Berusia 70 dan 79: Saya Menyesal," *kompas.com*, 22 Mei 2022, <https://bandung.kompas.com/read/2022/05/22/131500878/mengaku-dapat-wangsit-guru-ngaji-di-garut-cabuli-dua-kakek-berusia-70-dan-79diabaikan-dan-belumditangani-serius-2/>

¹² Amir Baihaqi, "Tragedi Napi Pria Dipaksa Makan Cacing Hingga Diperkosa Sesama Tahanan", *Detik Bali*, 04 September 2025. detik.com/bali/hukum-dan-kriminal/d-8095538/tragis-napi-pria-dipaksa-makan-cacing-hingga-diperkosa-sesama-tahanan

¹³ BBC, "Pemerintah Indonesia Berupaya Pulangkan Pemeriksa Berantai Reynhard Sinaga Dari Inggris, Apa Pemicunya?", *BBC News Indonesia*, 05 Februari 2025. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/cr461w1k9xgo>.

¹⁴ Ashila and Barus, "Kekerasan Seksual Pada Laki-laki: Diabaikan dan Belum Ditangani Serius".

experienced.¹⁵ Recovery from this deep trauma is not an instant process, but rather requires a long duration of time for survivors to achieve emotional stability again.¹⁶

Furthermore, this degradation of mental health triggers the emergence of extreme shame and chronic crisis of confidence that hinders the courage of victims to seek legal justice. This trauma also penetrates into the realm of social interaction, resulting in the destruction of the harmony of intimate relationships, obstacles in building trust-based relationships, and the tendency to isolate oneself from the social environment.¹⁷

The ineffectiveness of Indonesian Criminal Code (Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana) Number 1 of 1946 in protecting male survivors is rooted in the word 'a woman' in Article 285 which reads: "Anyone who by violence or threat of violence forces a woman to have sexual intercourse with him outside of marriage, is threatened with rape with a maximum prison sentence of twelve years."¹⁸ The dominance of this single gender paradigm is also consistently reflected in the formulation of Articles 286 to 288 in the legal rules of the colonial era. The absence of the position of the man as the subject of the victim in Article 285 forced the legal authorities to transfer the qualification of the criminal act to the articles that regulate obscene acts, namely Articles 289 to 296.¹⁹ Despite the recent progress marked by the elimination of the term "a woman" from Indonesian Criminal Code Number

¹⁵ Abd Rahman and Siti Urbayatur, "Kajian Literatur Kekerasan Seksual Pada Anak Laki-laki," *Sosio Informa* 8, no. 2 (2022): 104–213, <https://doi.org/10.31595/inf.v8i2.2990>.

¹⁶ Komang Putri Natalia Widjaya and I Dewa Gede Dana Sugama, "Perlindungan Hukum Terhadap Laki-laki Sebagai Korban Kekerasan Seksual," *Jurnal Kertha Negara* 11, no. 5 (2023): 478–490.

¹⁷ Miranti and Sudiana, "Pelecehan Seksual Pada Laki-laki dan Perspektif Masyarakat Terhadap Maskulinitas (Analisis Wacana Kritis Norman Fairclough)".

¹⁸ Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana (Wetboek van Strafrecht), Staatsblad Tahun 1915 Nomor 732, sebagaimana telah beberapa kali diubah, terakhir dengan Undang-Undang Nomor 1 Tahun 1946, (Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1946 Nomor 1), <https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/45191/uu-no-1-tahun-1946>

¹⁹ Widjaya and Sugama, "Perlindungan Hukum Terhadap Laki-laki Sebagai Korban Kekerasan Seksual,"

1 of 2023, the achievement of true equality continues to face significant obstacles.²⁰

Structural impediments within the criminal justice system, notably those pertaining to the challenges encountered by adult male rape victims in asserting their legal rights, persist. These obstacles are deeply entrenched and are perpetuated by societal prejudices and harmful forms of masculinity. This reality indicates that the ideals of *justice for all* contained in **Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) Number 16: Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions**, are still far from real implementation in Indonesia. This injustice is not just a matter of public perception, but a reflection of the lack of optimal legal inclusivity for victim groups that are often ignored by conventional masculinity standards.

The culture of toxic masculinity has permeated law enforcement institutions, fueling discrimination and unequal treatment of reports of male victims. These weak protections reflect institutional failures in ensuring inclusive justice, which is a key target of **the SDG16** mandate. Therefore, the urgency of implementing responsive laws does not only lie in the renewal of regulations, but also in the ability to adapt to the dynamics of society that is still filled with subjective biases. This research is present to dissect the contribution of responsive law in resolving gender disparities in handling rape cases, as well as exploring its relationship with toxic masculinity culture.

Methods

This study uses a qualitative approach with a socio-legal research type to analyze how the dominance of toxic masculinity culture has access to justice for adult male victims. Ronny Hanitijo Soemitro emphasized that in an empirical perspective like this, law is understood as a social phenomenon

²⁰ Marsha Maharani, Bestha Inatsan Ashila, and Siti Ismaya, *The Role Of Legal Empowerment By The Community In Strengthening Access To Justice For Women In Conflict With The Law In Indonesia* (Jakarta: Indonesia Judicial Research Society (IJRS), 2023)

whose existence can trigger various sociological consequences in society (Soemitro, 1999).²¹

Primary data in this study was collected through in-depth interviews conducted face-to-face in Semarang and via *Zoom Meeting* for the sake of flexibility of interaction. The determination of informants is carried out *purposively* to ensure data competence, which involves experts such as Ir. Dra. Probawatie Tjondronegoro, M.Si., Psychologist (Clinical and Forensic Psychology), Dr. Constantinus J. S.Pi., S.H., S.Psi., M.M., M.Psi. (Psychologist, academic, and advocate), and Moh. Rofian, S.H., M.H. (Advocate). In addition, the researcher enriched the source of information through a documentation study of regulations and related literature. The entire data collection process is carried out with the principle of *informed consent* applied to obtain the consent of informants regarding the use of their identities and statements in the study results. Data analysis was carried out comprehensively referring to the Miles and Huberman Interactive Model, which included the stages of data collection, reduction, narrative presentation, and conclusion drawn.²²

Result and Discussion

1. Factors For The Occurrence Of Rape Cases In Adult Men In The Struggle Of Toxic Masculinity Culture

The realization of **SDGs Number 16 (Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions)** requires institutions to understand the construction of *toxic masculinity* in social dynamics. Given that these **SDGs** targets emphasize the importance of efforts to promote a peaceful and inclusive society as a prerequisite for sustainable development, ensuring access to justice for all

²¹ Ronny Hanitjo Soemitro, *Metode Penelitian Hukum, Metodologi Penelitian Ilmu Sosial* (Dengan Orientasi Penelitian Bidang Hukum) (Semarang: Universitas Diponegoro, 1999).

²² Matthew B. Miles and A. Michael Huberman, *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Sourcebook of New Methods* (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 1984).

citizens without discrimination, and building effective, accountable, and inclusive institutions at all levels.²³ To ensure this inclusivity, institutions and the wider community need to recognize the impact *of toxic masculinity* and the driving factors of sexual violence against adult men. This knowledge is a crucial prerequisite for building a legal system that truly protects all citizens, in line with the sustainable development target in **SDGs number 16**.

Table 2. The Construction of a Toxic Masculinity Culture

About	Clinical and Forensic Psychologist	Psychologists, Academics, and Advocates	Advocate	Description
Definition of Toxic Masculinity	It is described as a stigma that men are "unlikely to be victims" and that there are barriers to acknowledging/reporting due to self-esteem and shame.	Cultural pressure for men to behave or behave in certain ways (e.g., to be strong, powerful, and refrain from expressing emotions).	Culture or perception that makes male victims underestimated because men are assumed to be subjects (not objects or victims).	Masculinity norms that demand that men always be strong, powerful, and emotionally resilient, combined with the social belief that men are unlikely to be victims, cause their experiences to be denied, causing their experiences to be denied.

²³ United Nations, "Goal 16: Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions", *The Global Goals*, <https://globalgoals.org/goals/16-peace-justice-and-strong-institutions/>

About	Clinical and Forensic Psychologist	Psychologists, Academics, and Advocates	Advocate	Description
The Elements of Toxic Masculinity	1. Self-esteem inhibits recognition and reporting. 2. The stigma that men are unlikely to be victims.	1. Demand shows strength. 2. Abstinence from expressing emotions. 3. Rigid standards in men.	1. The assumption of men as subjects makes male victims underestimated. 2. Treatment bias.	Rigid masculinity, stigma of vulnerability, and treatment bias.
Causes of Toxic Masculinity	1. Formation by environment and habits (habits that repeat into behaviors). 2. Family as an early school. Family unwarmness can trigger a search for a replacement outside.	1. Local wisdom or moral-cultural rules that suppress men must be strong. 2. Morals and ethics as a result of learning from culture. Education shapes social understanding and ethics.	1. Deep-rooted culture 2. Reproduction is biased through the old apparatus and the application of old rules.	These barriers are rooted in cultural socialization (family and environment), educational and media patterns, and the reproduction of biases by institutions that hinder the change in values in society.
The Impact of Toxic Masculinity	1. Individual: the victim may not understand that the event experienced is rape for reward or gain. 2. Family: tends to keep cases and doesn't report out of shame or pride. 3. Social: cases of men often end	1. Individual: shy to reveal themselves, can feel helpless; need to be handled so that there is no revenge or normalizati on as a	1. Individual: difficulties. Different treatment treatments. 2. Family: when there is no public spotlight, handling responses tend to be lacking.	The systemic impact of this problem includes trauma and normalization on individuals, closure of cases by families for

About	Clinical and Forensic Psychologist	Psychologists, Academics, and Advocates	Advocate	Description
	peacefully or restoratively.	<p>victim; Trauma can settle for a long time if left untreated.</p> <p>2. Family: moral-cultural norms can pressure the family to cover up disgrace.</p> <p>3. Social: it takes extensive education (including through social media) to reduce stigma.</p>	3. Social: reliance on media viralization to drive response.	the sake of good name, and inequality of justice due to social stigma and dependence on virality.

Toxic masculinity works as a cultural structure that demands men to appear strong, dominant, and not show weakness. Male victims are not only afraid of the perpetrator, but also afraid of "social judgment."

Mr. Constantine in a private recording on December 14, 2025 affirmed this argument straightforwardly²⁴:

"Toxic masculinity is a cultural pressure for men... Men should show strength, power, and abstain from expressing emotions."

Mr. Rofian in a personal recording on December 23, 2025 described the impact on the practice, when the victim is a man, the community sees that he should be able to cope on his own, so that the protection is weakened,

²⁴ Interview Results with Mr. Contantinus on December 14, 2025

"When this victim was a man... men should be able to cope with it... The handling will be a little weaker than that of women." ²⁵

Mrs. Probo in a private recording on December 22, 2025 emphasized that one of the psychological roots that hinders the recognition of male victims is the issue of self-esteem and the construction of masculinity. In many cases, men tend to be reluctant to acknowledge themselves as victims because the experience is perceived as contrary to a masculine identity that demands control, dominance, and resilience. Mrs. Propo's statement shows that male victims often experience doubts about themselves, even tending to interpret the event as "willing to do the same" even though there is an element of violence or inequality in relationships.²⁶

This interpretation is in line with the classification of global health authorities that sexual violence encompasses a very extensive range of coercion, ranging from psychological intimidation and social pressure to physical aggression, all of which are rooted in power inequality (WHO, 2012). ²⁷.

Mr. Moh. Rofian also explained that power relations allow subordination between men, even though in patriarchal culture men are often positioned as "dominant subjects". In practice, the victim can be in a weak position due to age, status, experience, or environment, while the perpetrator appears as a "powerful" party physically or socially. He stated:

"In the field, sometimes there are men who are subordinate to other men... For example, he has just grown up, to a person with a trembling body, whose term also has power."²⁸

Rape as a "power-based crime" also explains why adult male survivors often face post-event institutional violence. Institutions have the potential

²⁵ Interview Results with Mr. Moh. Rofian, S.H., M.H., on December 23, 2025

²⁶ Interview Results with Mrs. Ir. Dra. Probowatie Tjondronegoro, M.Si., Psychologist on December 22, 2025

²⁷ World Health Organization, "Understanding and Addressing Violence against Women: Sexual Violence," *WHO*, 28 November 2012. <https://www.who.int/publications/i/item/WHO-RHR-12.37>.

²⁸ Interview Results with Mr. Moh. Rofian, S.H., M.H., on December 23, 2025

to perpetuate dominance through insensitive screening procedures, intimidating questioning, and treatment that discredits survivors. Dependence on material support traps victims in unequal power relations, where 'gifts' are used by the perpetrator as an instrument of control to paralyze the autonomy of the survivor's body.

Furthermore, economic dependence can also be the entrance to forms of sexual violence that transform in the digital era, for example sexual extortion where the perpetrator uses financial threats or demands for money as a means of control over the victim. Although the form is different from physical rape, the basic pattern is similar, the victim is in an unequal position and is forced to meet the perpetrator's demands.

Family factors and psychosocial fragility are crucial instruments to dissect the phenomenon of rape of adult men. Sexual crimes do not always manifest in sudden physical aggression, but often thrive within an ecosystem of vulnerability that includes unmet needs for affection, security, and the search for social recognition.

"The family is the most basic school... That unwarm family relationship could make him look for another figure... and it is possible that the figure gave something wrong." — Mrs. Probo.²⁹

Disharmonious family relationships can encourage individuals to seek compensation figures in the external environment, which risks becoming a gateway to relational exploitation and sexual violence. The lack of emotional support in the early phases of life can increase the risk of getting caught up in pathological power dynamics.³⁰

Obstacles in the reporting process are a determining factor that worsens the impact of rape on adult men, because the delay in reporting risks losing evidence, hindering rehabilitation, and providing impunity for perpetrators. Ms Probo said that male survivors are burdened by pressure to maintain

²⁹ Interview Results with Mrs. Ir. Dra. Probowatie Tjondronegoro, M.Si., Psychologist on December 22, 2025

³⁰ John Bowlby, *A Secure Base: Parent-Child Attachment and Healthy Human Development* (USA: Basic Book, 1988).

dignity and are haunted by the fear of stigma that equates them with perpetrators or is accused of enjoying the event, "Male self-esteem... still not confident in being sacrificed... 'Absolutely.'"³¹

This reality shows that reporting is a social arena full of risks, where survivors have to deal with a collective narrative that legitimizes their identity. This phenomenon is identified as the impact of the myth of male rape that triggers denial, minimization of impacts, and a tendency to blame the victim, so they tend to choose to remain silent or delay the disclosure of the case.³² This delay in recognition has implications for the complexity of proof and the risk of secondary victimization when legal proceedings begin.

The prejudice of law enforcement officials is a structural obstacle that deepens the vulnerability of adult male survivors in achieving justice. This bias is not just a matter of public service ethics, but a threat to the constitutional right of citizens to equal legal protection. Mr. Moh. Rofian said that the main obstacle faced by male victims does not stem from the absence of regulations, but from the psychological perspective of the authorities who tend to discredit their reports, "By rule it is not. But psychologically from law enforcement... become an obstacle... for they will be despised."

Furthermore, he highlighted the sharp disparity of institutional empathy in handling victims based on gender, "If women... Crying... Called a psychologist... If it is a man, it seems that he is not called." ³³

³¹ Interview Results with Mrs. Ir. Dra. Probowatie Tjondronegoro, M.Si., Psychologist on December 22, 2025

³² Thomas C. John and Jonathan Kopel, "Male Victims of Sexual Assault: A Review of the Literature", *Behavioral Sciences* 13, no. 304 (2023): 1-22. <https://www.mdpi.com/journal/behavsci>

³³ Interview Results with Mr. Moh. Rofian, S.H., M.H., on December 23, 2025

Table 3. Factors for Adult Male Rape Cases in the Struggle of Toxic Masculinity Culture

About	Clinical and Forensic Psychologist	Psychologist, Academic, Advocate	Advocate	Description
Multidimensional factors	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Emphasizing the environment shapes behavior. 2. Attributing social, financial and family factors that are not warm as the door to vulnerability. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mapping psychosocial factors. 2. Assessing the economy, education, employment, and interrelated power relations. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. It shows that there is a subordination between men (the powerful and the weak). 2. Highlight institutional factors (apparatus bias, response, and evidentiary constraints). 	The trigger for rape in adult males is not Singular, it is a combination of psychosocial vulnerability, power inequality, economics, institutional prejudice, and cultural misconceptions about the 'victim'.
Victim blaming	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Male victims are often afraid of being considered 'willing to do the same' and are hampered by self-esteem to admit themselves as victims. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Defining toxic masculinity as cultural pressure for men to be strong, powerful, and abstain from expressing emotions. 2. The victim felt embarrassed to reveal that 	In practice, the handling of male victims tends to be weaker because it is considered 'supposed to be able to cope on its own'.	Toxic masculinity works as a cultural structure, demanding men to appear strong/dominant so that the myth of 'real men cannot be raped' emerges, triggering victim blaming and widening

About	Clinical and Forensic Psychologist	Psychologist, Academic, Advocate	Advocate	Description
	2. Stigma in society, men are often considered 'impossible' to be victims.	social sympathy was greater for the female victim.		the reporting gap.
Power relations	Power relations are called the number one factor. Power is not always physical, it can be material.	Power relations are considered to play a very important role, although they are also influenced by the personality type of the victim.	Explain that men can be in a subordinate position when the perpetrator has stronger power/authority/physicality.	Rape is more accurately understood as a power-based crime, where the perpetrator uses power to subjugate the victim and degrade the victim's masculinity.
Economic vulnerability	Financial factors increase vulnerability.	Economic factors related to education, employment, power relations, and self-efficacy. It affects the ability to report and access assistance.	LBH/mentoring is often related to economic ability; Poor groups (victims/perpetrators) are more dependent on legal aid.	The economy functions as an instrument of coercion, material dependence ensnares victims in unequal relations. Control/coercion is not always in the form of physical violence.

About	Clinical and Forensic Psychologist	Psychologist, Academic, Advocate	Advocate	Description
Psychosocial fragility & family are not warm	The family is called 'the most basic school'. Family relationships are not warm and encourage victims to seek warmth outside, which can be manipulated by the perpetrator	Psychosocial factors include biopsychological conditions and the social association of the perpetrator/victim. The social environment affects vulnerability.	Emphasizing that cultural change requires cross-party cooperation. Social support is important in recovery and prevention of recurrence.	Vulnerability ecosystem. affection, a sense of security, a need to be acknowledged.
Reporting barriers	Men are more reluctant to report because of self-esteem, families can choose to save and not report.	Emphasizing the need for promotive education on reporting, victim recognition, and confidentiality protection.	Assessing the response of the institution is influenced by the public spotlight.	Delays in reporting worsen the victim's position. The risk of loss of evidence, barriers to rehabilitation, and opportunities for impunity, as well as increasing the risk of secondary victimization.
Institutional prejudice and	The victim is afraid that	Explaining that the old Criminal	Acknowledging obstacles is not in the 'textbook' rules, but	Institutional bias and evidentiary

About	Clinical and Forensic Psychologist	Psychologist, Academic, Advocate	Advocate	Description
evidentiary constraints	status will be rejected ('want to be the same'), so he is vulnerable to secondary victimization if the examination is not sensitive.	Code (Article 285) textually refers to 'women' as victims, the new rules are more inclusive but the implementation depends on the quality of human resources of the apparatus.	psychology/biases of the apparatus. There are difficulties in male victims.	problems as reinforcing factors, stigma of the apparatus, non-trauma-informed procedures, and historical regulatory bias can weaken access to justice.

2. Responsiveness Action In Handling Adult Male Rape Cases In The Struggle Of Toxic Masculinity Culture

The discussion of rape against adult men cannot stop at mapping the causes alone, because sexual crimes not only leave marks on the body, but also cause lasting damage to the victim's identity, sense of security, and trust in society.

Table 4. Responsiveness Action In Handling Adult Male Rape Cases In The Struggle Of Toxic Masculinity Culture

About	Clinical and Forensic Psychologist	Psychologist, Academic, Advocate	Advocate	Description (Synthesis of Research Results)
Validation and recognition of male victims as survivors	1. Male victims are often not considered victims; Fear of	1. Support means being recognized as a victim.	In practice, male victims are often underestimated because they	Responsiveness action must begin with institutional and social validation of

About	Clinical and Forensic Psychologist	Psychologist, Academic, Advocate	Advocate	Description (Synthesis of Research Results)
	being labeled "wanted." 2. Masculine self-esteem and shame inhibit recognition and reporting.	2. Masculinity pressures men to cover vulnerability.	considered subjects, not objects.	the status of male victims. This recognition is the foundation of the courage to report and prevent secondary victimization which has been strengthened by the culture of toxic masculinity.
Protective, secure, and equitable access to reporting	Victims and their families often choose not to report because of shame and fear of stigma.	1. Legal access must be easy, secure, fast, and fair. 2. Promotional education is needed so that victims dare to report.	The response of the authorities often relies on the public spotlight; without virality tends to be slow.	Responsiveness is determined by ease of access to reporting that guarantees confidentiality, stigma-free, and equal treatment. Without this guarantee, reporting becomes a new source of trauma for victims.
Implementation of responsive laws and gender-inclusive regulations	The new law needs to be tested for effectiveness in the field.	1. The 2023 Criminal Code and the TPKS Law are conceptually inclusive.	The main obstacle is not the rules, but the mentality of the apparatus.	Regulatory reform is not enough without the implementation of responsive laws that are adaptive to

About	Clinical and Forensic Psychologist	Psychologist, Academic, Advocate	Advocate	Description (Synthesis of Research Results)
		2. Responsive law (Nonet–Selznick) emphasize substantive justice.		social realities and gender bias, so that the law really serves to protect adult male victims.
Medical evidence and trauma-informed care-based visum	The victim is afraid of being examined and blamed; stigma triggers retraumatization.	Psychological and medical interventions must be integrated.	Visum in male victims often faces technical difficulties.	Trauma-informed approach in visum and medical examination to maintain the dignity of the victim, minimize retraumatization, and strengthen legal evidence.
Long-term psychological recovery and rehabilitation	Assistance is not instantaneous, it is necessary to explore the roots of psychosocial problems.	Psychological services are important to prevent revenge, self-closure, or major depression.	Male victims are rarely referred directly to a psychologist.	Responsiveness action should prioritize long-term recovery as a victim's right, with ongoing psychological services from the early stages of reporting.
Social responsiveness: the role of family, community, and public education	The family is the initial foundation, it needs to be kept away from toxic environments.	The community needs to be educated to upgrade local wisdom about masculinity.	Cultural change requires time and cross-party collaboration.	Responsiveness is not only legal, but also social, through strengthening family, community,

About	Clinical and Forensic Psychologist	Psychologist, Academic, Advocate	Advocate	Description (Synthesis of Research Results)
				and public education support to break down stigma.
The role of media and anti-stigma public communication	Media shapes perceptions, can normalize or strengthen stigma.	The media is a means of education, but it needs public literacy.	Reflects dependence on media spotlights.	The media plays a dual role, encouraging the response of the authorities while at the same time risking retraumatization. Therefore, public communication and victim-sensitive journalism that is anti-stigma are needed.

The challenge in assisting male survivors is the existence of social resistance to the reality of male victimization. Ms. Probo emphasized that society tends to reject the status of victims in men: "If the man is considered ... Is it possible to be a victim? So the victim is not considered."³⁴

The urgency of validation is also closely related to the psychological burden in the form of shame and fear of victim blaming. She also explained that male survivors often worry that their reports will be perceived as

³⁴ Interview Results with Mrs. Ir. Dra. Probowatie Tjondronegoro, M.Si., Psychologist on December 22, 2025

consensual relationships: "The man often thinks: when I was a victim?... And then you say you want to do it." ³⁵

In addition to social pressure, survivor validation intersects directly with institutional prejudice. Mr. Moh Rofian argued that "Legally it is not. But psychologically from law enforcement... It sometimes becomes slow as well. Because they will be underestimated." She also found that there is a disparity in empathy in service delivery: "If women... Crying... Called a psychologist... If it is a man, it seems that he is not called." This reality confirms that validation must be institutionalized through the standardization of inclusive operational procedures, capacity building of the apparatus, and the equalization of psychological referral mechanisms without distinction between genders.³⁶In line with this, Mr. Constantinus, emphasized that the culture of toxic masculinity forces men to suppress expressions of vulnerability, which results in the emergence of psychological barriers when wanting to report incidents.³⁷

The main obstacle in resolving cases does not only come from the lack of previous regulations, but from the perception and mentality of the authorities. Mr. Moh. Rofian, emphasized that obstacles in handling cases often stem from the psychological dimension of law enforcement officials who tend to discredit male survivors: "Legally it is not. But psychologically from law enforcement... It sometimes becomes slow as well. Because they will be underestimated."³⁸

No less important, *visum et Repertum* in proving the occurrence of a criminal act of sexual violence, is used to shed light on a criminal act that occurred.³⁹ This document has legal force as a valid letter evidence and is

³⁵ Interview Results with Mrs. Ir. Dra. Probowatie Tjondronegoro, M.Si., Psychologist on December 22, 2025

³⁶ Interview Results with Mr. Moh. Rofian, S.H., M.H., on December 23, 2025

³⁷ Interview Results with Mr. Dr. Constantinus J. S.Pi., S.H., S.Psi., M.M., M.Psi. on December 14, 2025

³⁸ Interview Results with Mr. Moh. Rofian, S.H., M.H., on December 23, 2025

³⁹ I Dewa Nyoman Wira Adiputra, I Ketut Rai Setiabudhi, and I Gede Artha "Pembuktian Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual Ditinjau Dari Visum Et Repertum," *Jurnal Kertha Semaya* 11, no. 48 (2023): 1465–73.

directly correlated with the strength of expert testimony contained in the examination report and is the embodiment of science and engineering as well as the best experience of a forensic medicine expert⁴⁰

However, typical characteristics in cases with male survivors often present specific constraints, psychosocial barriers due to masculinity stigma often lead to delays in reporting, while medical examination procedures risk degrading experiences or retraumatization if not conducted with a sensitive approach. Mr. Moh. Rofian explicitly confirms this reality by stating: "If men have difficulties in their visum..."⁴¹

Mrs. Probo explained that survivor rehabilitation is not an instant mechanistic process or conventional medicine. He explained, "Mentoring is not like taking medicine... We need to find the root of the problem... from childhood, from family, from the mindset."⁴² The mental recovery of survivors of sexual violence requires a holistic methodology, including in-depth assessment, precise therapeutic interventions, and ongoing assistance. He also emphasized the urgency of exploring domestic dynamics and early formative experiences that influence the manifestations of individual coping with trauma.

The recovery process of adult male survivors is often hit by a wall of collective stigma. Probowatie explained that there was anxiety in adult men about the rejection of victim status and concerns that it was constructed as a party that consensualized the incident. This stigma becomes a secondary psychological burden that triggers self-judgment (*self-blame*) and prolongs the duration of trauma.

Psychological responsiveness must be articulated as a manifestation of the human rights of survivors protected by law. The TPKS Law explicitly mandates recovery orientation as a systemic state obligation. Consequently,

⁴⁰ Annisa Nurfadhila Nasarudin and Muhammad Rusli Arafat, "Peranan dan Kedudukan Visum Et Repertum Sebagai Alat Bukti Tindak Pidana Perkosaan," *Jurnal Ilmiah Wahana Pendidikan* 9, no. 14 (2023): 131–42.

⁴¹ Interview Results with Mr. Moh. Rofian, S.H., M.H., on December 23, 2025

⁴² Interview Results with Mrs. Ir. Dra. Probowatie Tjondronegoro, M.Si., Psychologist on December 22, 2025

psychological services must be available from the initial reporting phase through transparent referral mechanisms, affordable costs, and integration of services with legal aid.

Dr. Constantinus emphasized that the doctrine of toxic masculinity squeezes men to hide their fragility, which ultimately results in serious obstacles for survivors to initiate reports and undergo the process of mental recovery openly.

Efforts to realize responsiveness in handling rape cases against adult men go beyond just juridical and medical procedures, but include a social dimension that involves the role of the family and the community. In the midst of toxic masculinity hegemony, male survivors often face sociological barriers in the form of stigma and delegitimization that trigger self-isolation and delays in accessing formal services.

The domestic sphere is the main determinant that affects the vulnerability as well as the success of survivor rehabilitation. Ms. Probo said that the family is the foundation of primary affection: "The family is the most basic school... If family relationships are not warm, he seeks warmth outside." This indicates that the fragility of internal relationships can encourage individuals to seek emotional validation outside the home, which risks being manipulated through power relations by the perpetrator. Furthermore, he underlined the significant influence of economic aspects and household harmony: "The most influential is financial... family... if the family is not warm..."⁴³

Social interventions are also crucial to mitigate the stigma that hinders recovery, where male survivors are often haunted by the label of voluntary consensuality. Mrs. Probo said: "The man often thinks about it... And then you say you want to do it."⁴⁴ This prejudice triggers the internalization of guilt that decreases the motivation to report. Psychologically, solid social

⁴³ Interview Results with Mrs. Ir. Dra. Probowatie Tjondronegoro, M.Si., Psychologist on December 22, 2025

⁴⁴ Interview Results with Mrs. Ir. Dra. Probowatie Tjondronegoro, M.Si., Psychologist on December 22, 2025

support has been shown to improve coping mechanisms and reduce traumatic symptoms.

Male victims often do not gain legitimacy as victims due to the social construction of masculinity. Mrs. Probo stated emphatically that male victims are often considered "unlikely victims" so victims are not considered: "If the male ... Is it possible to be a victim? So the victim is not considered. The stigma serves as a social pressure that encourages victims to remain silent. In addition, Mrs. Probo also pointed out that the male victim was afraid of being labeled as the party who also wanted the incident: "later it will be said that they want to do the same.". This shows how social narratives can shape a "cultural climate" that does not support disclosure, so public education needs to be directed towards building an understanding that consent is the main principle, and that sexual violence can happen to anyone.⁴⁵

The momentum of juridically progressive legal transformation has been realized through the ratification of Article 473 of Indonesian Criminal Code (Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana) Number 1 of 2023. The presence of this article in the National Criminal Code is clear evidence of the state's responsiveness in breaking down normative boundaries that have been shackled by gender bias in Article 285 of the old Indonesian Criminal Code. By acknowledging that "everyone" can be a victim of rape.⁴⁶

Nevertheless, institutional prejudice against male survivors remains a fundamental challenge in the implementation of law enforcement in Indonesia. Moh. Rofian revealed that the perspective of law enforcement officials who tend to delegitimize the position of male victims has implications for stagnation and slow escalation of case handling. This phenomenon is also accompanied by an empathetic disparity in service

⁴⁵ Interview Results with Mrs. Ir. Dra. Probowatie Tjondronegoro, M.Si., Psychologist on December 22, 2025

⁴⁶ Republik Indonesia, "Undang-Undang Nomor 1 Tahun 2023 tentang Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana", (*Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2023 Nomor 1, Tambahan Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Nomor 6842*), <https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/258028/uu-no-1-tahun-2023>

procedures, where access to psychological assistance is often given more responsively to women than to men.

The TPKS Law mandates the strengthening of preventive, handling, protection, and rehabilitation aspects for survivors. This mandate requires the state to integrate a solid service system. Regarding the operationalization of services, the government has formulated a technical regulation that regulates the final referral mechanism for victims through inter-agency coordination.

The urgency of cross-agency synergy in dealing with sexual violence now has a strong juridical foundation through Government Regulation (PP) No. 27 of 2024, especially Article 2, which mandates integrated coordination between the central and regional governments in preventive and repressive efforts. This regulation transforms victim handling into an integrated service system that includes medical, legal, and rehabilitation aspects by prioritizing meaningful participation and an inclusive perspective. This new paradigm is crucial for adult male survivors because it ensures the fulfillment of substantive needs—such as identity privacy and protection from stigma—that have been hampered by social barriers and low trust in the justice system.⁴⁷

The responsiveness of the handling of rape against adult males does not always take place through formal litigation channels. In practice, a number of cases of sexual violence are resolved through an alternative mechanism often referred to as restorative justice (RJ). Although RJ has the potential to provide faster resolution and reduce the procedural burden on victims, its application to rape cases raises significant academic debate and ethical risks.

The results of the analysis through interviews revealed that the settlement of cases in a family manner or through restorative justice

⁴⁷ Republik Indonesia, "Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 27 Tahun 2024 Tentang Koordinasi Dan Pemantauan Pelaksanaan Pencegahan Dan Penanganan Korban Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual," (*Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2024 Nomor 99, Tambahan Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Nomor 6924*), jdih.setneg.go.id.

mechanisms is still often found in various cases of sexual violence. Ms. Probo, gave an explanation of the high intensity of the out-of-court agreement by stating: "The cases often end peacefully... restorative justice..."⁴⁸ For adult male survivors, the threat of secondary victimization within the framework of restorative justice (RJ) has the potential to be strengthened if legal authorities are still shackled by the stereotype of the "ideal victim" that causes male testimony to be considered less credible or less urgent, which ultimately widens the gap in case disclosure due to the collapse of trust in the service system and strong social pressures.

The application of restorative justice is dangerous in cases with relationship inequality. This concern arises when the perpetrator has the opportunity to manipulate the victim to minimize the violence they have committed.⁴⁹ As a juridical response, the TPKS Law through Article 23 authoritatively prohibits the settlement of sexual violence crimes outside the criminal justice mechanism.

The media has an important role in shaping public and institutional responses to cases of sexual violence. The media can function as an instrument of social control that pressures institutions to move quickly, expand public awareness, and increase the accountability of law enforcement officials. However, dependence on the media also raises serious problems, especially when the justice process becomes responsive only if the case receives wide attention.

The influence of mass media on the effectiveness of institutional responses is considered very significant by legal practitioners. Mr. Moh. Rofian affirmed this reality by stating: "The role of the media is very significant. Because now, it's not viral, it's not justice." He further explained that public attention is able to accelerate institutional reactions, while cases

⁴⁸ Interview Results with Mrs. Ir. Dra. Probowatie Tjondronegoro, M.Si., Psychologist on December 22, 2025

⁴⁹ Pandu Irawan Riyanto and Anselmus A. Y. Barung, "Law on Sexual Violence Crime (TPKS): Abolishing Restorative Justice and Prioritising Victims' Rights", *Jurnal Pemikiran Sosiologi* 12, no. 1 (2025): 56-79. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jps.v12i1.98855>

that go out of the spotlight tend to be overlooked: "If it is in the public spotlight... they will respond well. But if you haven't... seems to lack care."

Media exposure demands very careful management. Excessive publicity risks triggering retraumatization, thickening stigma, and opening up space for victim-blaming public comments. Adult male survivors are much more susceptible to narratives that cast doubt on their experiences due to the influence of toxic masculinity and male rape myths.

Table 5. Responsiveness Action In Handling Adult Male Rape Cases In The Struggle Of Toxic Masculinity Culture Is Reviewed Based On The Responsive Legal Theory Of Nonet And Selznick

About	Repressive	Autonomous	Responsive	Description
Validation and recognition of male victims as survivors	The male victim was denied status, his testimony was doubted, and he could potentially be blamed.	Recognition is given formally if the elements and evidence are met, but the stigma remains strong.	Authorities actively validate the experiences of male victims as survivors without gender prejudice.	Articles and interviews show that social and institutional rejection of male victim status is a major obstacle. A responsive legal approach demands substantive acknowledgment of the victim's experience from the early stages of treatment.
Protective, secure, and equitable access to reporting	Reporting is repressive and risks triggering secondary victimization.	Reporting is available administratively but does not guarantee a sense of security and confidentiality.	The reporting mechanism is secure, accessible, confidential, and trauma-informed.	Research confirms that the courage to report is largely determined by the quality of the institution's response. Responsive law places a sense of security and substantive justice at the core of access to justice.
Implementation of responsive laws and gender-	The old regulations are gender-biased and reduce the	The new regulations are implemented	Gender-inclusive regulations are applied	The article emphasizes that regulatory reform must be

About	Repressive	Autonomous	Responsive	Description
inclusive regulations	protection of male victims.	textually and rigidly.	adaptively and oriented to the needs of victims.	accompanied by a change in the perspective of the apparatus so that the law functions as a responsive social institution.
Standardization of SOPs and increasing the sensitivity of the apparatus	There are no gender-sensitive SOPs; The response of the authorities tends to underestimate the male victims.	SOPs are procedural and depend on the personal empathy of the apparatus.	Gender-sensitive and trauma-informed SOPs are implemented consistently with increasing the capacity of the apparatus.	Interviews with advocates show disparities in gender-based treatment. Responsive law positions the apparatus as facilitators of substantive justice.
Medical evidence and trauma-informed care-based visum	Visum has the potential to degrade dignity and trigger further trauma.	The visum is carried out according to the procedure without paying attention to the psychological impact.	Visum is carried out with a trauma-informed care approach that guarantees the dignity and autonomy of the victim.	The difficulty of visum in male victims. Responsive law requires proof that is humane and has a victim's perspective.
Long-term psychological recovery and rehabilitation	Focus on criminalizing perpetrators; The victim's recovery was neglected.	Recovery is additional and separate from the legal process.	Psychological recovery is the right of the victim and is integrated from the beginning.	Psychologists emphasize that trauma recovery is long-term. Responsive approaches prioritize restorative justice.
Social responsiveness: the role of family, community, and public education	The social environment silences the victim and reproduces the stigma of masculinity.	Social roles are recognized normatively without active intervention.	Families, communities, and educational institutions are actively involved in anti-stigma education.	Social support is the key to recovery. Responsive law places public participation as a pillar of justice.
The role of media and anti-stigma public communication	The media is sensational and reinforces the stigma.	The media is positioned to be neutral without strong ethical guidelines.	The media is used as a means of public education and	The phenomenon of 'no viral, no justice' shows the strong role of the media. Responsive law demands

About	Repressive	Autonomous	Responsive	Description
			anti-stigma advocacy.	ethical public communication and victim- perspective.

Based on the theory of Philippe Nonet and Philip Selznick, a transformation is needed towards responsive law that prioritizes substantive justice and victim restoration. Social protection policies often fail to embrace vulnerable communities. This proves that our law enforcement is still stuck in formal procedures and has not been able to touch the real essence of justice.⁵⁰ This paradigm demands that the law function as a social instrument that actively recognizes men's position as survivors because legal institutions are supposed to be able to adapt to social realities and protect vulnerable groups. When institutions fail to respond empathically and substantively, the law actually contributes to secondary victimization. This is in direct contradiction to **the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) target Number 16: Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions** which requires institutions to be able to provide justice and strong institutions, which means not just responding to them formally.

Conclusion

Barriers in dealing with rape of adult males are rooted in a culture of toxic masculinity that perpetuates the stigma that men are vulnerable subjects. This social construction triggers low reporting rates, triggers bias among law enforcement officials and the public, and increases the risk of secondary victimization. Essentially, this phenomenon is a multidimensional power-based crime, where the factors of power

⁵⁰ Philippe Nonet and Philip Selznick, *Hukum Responsif* (Yogyakarta: Nusa Media, 2019)

imbalance, economic fragility, and psychosocial dysfunction intersect. Although Indonesia already has progressive regulations such as The Law No. 12 of 2022 on Sexual Violence Crimes and the new Criminal Code (Law Number 1 of 2023) that are gender-neutral, their implementation is still stuck on an autonomous approach that is procedural and autonomous, so it has not been able to provide substantive protection for male survivors.

Transformation Towards Responsive Law to overcome impasse is necessary for a paradigm shift towards responsive law according to Nonet and Selznick's theory, which positions law as a social institution that actively validates and restores the needs of victims in a humane manner. In order to realize the **Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) target Number 16: Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions**, it is necessary to strengthen institutional capacity through gender-sensitive education, reform of the culture of law enforcement organizations, and the application of responsive legal principles so that substantive justice can truly be felt by all citizens, including adult male victims of rape. This step must be accompanied by public education campaigns and the role of anti-stigma media to dismantle the myth of masculinity, so that law enforcement does not only end in punishing perpetrators, but is able to bring substantive justice and a complete recovery ecosystem for every survivor.

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