



Prevalence Trends and Risk Factor Mapping of Child Sexual Abuse in Cirebon Regency (2021–2025): A Mixed-Method Criminological Study

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Abstract

Child sexual abuse (CSA) constitutes one of the most severe violations of children's rights and remains a critical public health and criminological concern in Indonesia. Cirebon Regency, with its dense population, socioeconomic heterogeneity, and rapid urbanization, presents a compelling case for longitudinal investigation of CSA prevalence and its associated risk factors. This study aims to (1) map the prevalence trends of child sexual abuse in Cirebon Regency from 2021 to 2025, (2) identify and classify dominant risk factors contributing to CSA incidents, and (3) analyze the institutional response and protection mechanisms available to victims. A mixed-method criminological design was employed, integrating quantitative secondary data analysis from official police and child protection records with qualitative data generated through in-depth interviews, field observations, and document analysis. Results: A total of 312 documented CSA cases were recorded over the five-year period, indicating a 34.7% increase from 2021 to 2024 before a modest 8.2% decline in 2025 following institutional intervention. Key risk factors include intra-familial perpetration (58.3%), digital grooming via social media (31.4%), low parental supervision, poverty, and inadequate sex education. Institutional response capacity remains significantly limited. Conclusions: CSA in Cirebon Regency demonstrates an alarming upward trajectory attributable to structural, familial, and digital risk factors. Multisectoral intervention, regulatory strengthening, and community-based prevention are urgently required.

Keywords: Child Sexual Abuse; Prevalence Trends; Risk Factors; Grooming; Child Protection.

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INTRODUCTION

Child sexual abuse (CSA) is globally recognized as one of the most pervasive and harmful forms of child maltreatment, with devastating long-term consequences for survivors' psychological, social, and physical well-being¹. Defined broadly as any sexual activity involving a child who cannot consent due to age, developmental immaturity, or power imbalance, CSA encompasses a spectrum of behaviors ranging from contact offenses such as rape and molestation to non-contact offenses including grooming, exploitation through digital media, and exposure to pornographic material².

The global epidemiology of CSA reveals a deeply troubling landscape. A landmark meta-analysis by Stoltenborgh et al. (2011), drawing on 217 studies involving 9.9 million participants, estimated that approximately 18% of women and 7.6% of men had experienced

¹ Finkelhor, D. (1994). Current information on the scope and nature of child sexual abuse. *The Future of Children*, 4(2), 31–53. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1602522>

² Stoltenborgh, M., van IJendoorn, M. H., Euser, E. M., & Bakermans-Kranenburg, M. J. (2011). A global perspective on child sexual abuse: Meta-analysis of prevalence around the world. *Child Maltreatment*, 16(2), 79–101. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077559511403920>

CSA before the age of 18. More recent systematic reviews consistently affirm that official statistics substantially underestimate actual prevalence due to underreporting, social stigma, victim self-blame, and fear of retaliation by perpetrators who are frequently known to the child³. In the context of low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) such as Indonesia, these challenges are compounded by cultural taboos surrounding sexuality, inadequate child protection infrastructure, and limited access to legal assistance for vulnerable populations⁴.

Indonesia has enacted several landmark legislative instruments to address CSA, most notably Law No. 35 of 2014 (Amendment to the Child Protection Law No. 23 of 2002) and the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 1 of 2016, which introduced chemical castration as an additional penalty for perpetrators of sexual crimes against children. Despite these legislative advances, implementation gaps persist, and CSA continues to represent one of the most frequently reported categories of child rights violations in Indonesia (Komisi Perlindungan Anak Indonesia⁵). The Indonesian Child Protection Commission (KPAI) documented 5,765 cases of child sexual violence in 2022 alone, representing a 21% increase compared to 2020 figures, underscoring the inadequacy of existing protective measures⁶.

Cirebon Regency, located in the northern coastal region of West Java Province, presents a particularly significant site of investigation for several interconnected reasons. With a population exceeding 2.1 million inhabitants (Badan Pusat Statistik [BPS], 2023), the regency encompasses diverse urban, peri-urban, and rural communities characterized by significant socioeconomic stratification. The presence of major industrial zones, a historically prominent fishing economy, and proximity to the Cirebon city center creates conditions of economic precarity for many families, which multiple studies have identified as a structural risk factor for CSA⁷. Furthermore, the rapid proliferation of digital technology access among youth in the regency, without commensurate digital literacy or parental oversight, has created new pathways for online grooming and exploitation⁸.

Despite the recognized severity of CSA as a social problem in West Java, empirical criminological research specifically focused on Cirebon Regency remains sparse. Most existing Indonesian studies on CSA adopt a purely legal-normative framework and are limited to case study analyses of individual court decisions⁹. The absence of longitudinal, mixed-method criminological research that maps both prevalence trends and the multidimensional risk factor landscape represents a significant gap in the evidence base needed to inform effective policy and intervention¹⁰.

³ Barth, J., Bermetz, L., Heim, E., Trelle, S., & Tonia, T. (2013). The current prevalence of child sexual abuse worldwide: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *International Journal of Public Health*, 58(3), 469–483. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00038-012-0426-1>

⁴ Barth, J., Bermetz, L., Heim, E., Trelle, S., & Tonia, T. (2013). The current prevalence of child sexual abuse worldwide: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *International Journal of Public Health*, 58(3), 469–483. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00038-012-0426-1>

⁵ Bariyah, K., & Susanto, H. (2021). Perlindungan hukum terhadap anak korban kekerasan seksual di Jawa Barat. *Jurnal Hukum dan Pembangunan*, 51(2), 312–330. <https://doi.org/10.21143/jhp.vol51.no2.3012>

⁶ Komisi Perlindungan Anak Indonesia. (2023). Laporan tahunan KPAI 2022. KPAI.

⁷ Engle, P. L., Black, M. M., Behrman, J. R., Cabral de Mello, M., Gertler, P. J., Kipiriri, L., Martorell, R., Young, M. E., & The International Child Development Steering Group. (2010). Strategies to avoid the loss of developmental potential in more than 200 million children in the developing world. *The Lancet*, 369(9557), 229–242. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(07\)60112-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(07)60112-3)

⁸ Lanning, K. V. (2018). *Child molesters: A behavioral analysis for law enforcement* (5th ed.). National Center for Missing & Exploited Children.

⁹ Marlina. (2009). *Peradilan pidana anak di Indonesia: Pengembangan konsep diversi dan restorative justice*. Refika Aditama.

¹⁰ Nashriana. (2011). *Perlindungan hukum pidana bagi anak di Indonesia*. PT RajaGrafindo Persada.

This study addresses this gap by employing a mixed-method criminological framework to conduct a five-year longitudinal analysis (2021–2025) of CSA in Cirebon Regency. The mixed-method approach, which integrates quantitative secondary data analysis with qualitative fieldwork comprising structured and semi-structured interviews, field observation, and systematic document analysis, is particularly well-suited to capturing both the statistical dimensions of CSA prevalence and the lived experiential and contextual factors that shape risk and resilience¹¹. This approach responds to calls from leading criminologists for research designs that move beyond descriptive statistics to generate theoretically grounded, contextually sensitive understandings of complex social phenomena.¹²

The study is theoretically anchored in routine activities theory¹³, which posits that crime occurs when three elements converge: a motivated offender, a suitable target, and the absence of a capable guardian. Applied to CSA, this framework illuminates how structural conditions—including parental absence, inadequate supervision, poverty-induced risk-taking, and the unguarded digital environment—create contexts of heightened vulnerability. This framework is complemented by feminist criminological perspectives¹⁴. Liz Kelly's continuum of sexual violence), ecological systems theory¹⁵, and social learning theory¹⁶, which collectively provide a comprehensive multi-level analytical lens.

The objectives of this research are threefold: (1) to document and analyze prevalence trends of CSA in Cirebon Regency from January 2021 to December 2025; (2) to identify, classify, and map the dominant risk factors associated with CSA victimization and perpetration in this context; and (3) to evaluate the adequacy and effectiveness of existing institutional responses and child protection mechanisms at the local level. The findings are intended to contribute both to the criminological literature on CSA in developing country contexts and to provide evidence-based recommendations for policy, practice, and community-level prevention. The remainder of this article is structured as follows: Section 2 describes the research methodology; Section 3 presents the results and discussion; Section 4 offers conclusions and recommendations; and Section 5 provides the full list of references.

METHODS OF THE RESEARCH

Research Design This study employs an explanatory sequential mixed-method design¹⁷ (Creswell & Clark, 2018), in which quantitative data collection and analysis preceded and informed a subsequent qualitative phase. The quantitative phase involved systematic analysis of secondary data from institutional records, while the qualitative phase generated contextual depth through fieldwork. **Study Setting and Period** The study was conducted in Cirebon Regency, West Java Province, Indonesia, covering the period January 2021 to December 2025. **Data Sources and Collection** Quantitative data were drawn from three institutional sources: (1) Police Resort (Polres) Cirebon Regency case records; (2) Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Office (Dinas P3AKB) of Cirebon Regency; and (3) Unit

¹¹ Creswell, J. W., & Clark, V. L. P. (2018). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research* (3rd ed.). SAGE Publications.

¹² Bachman, R., & Schutt, R. K. (2021). *The practice of research in criminology and criminal justice* (7th ed.). SAGE Publications.

¹³ Cohen, L. E., & Felson, M. (1979). Social change and crime rate trends: A routine activity approach. *American Sociological Review*, 44(4), 588–608. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2094589>

¹⁴ Kelly, L. (1988). *Surviving sexual violence*. Polity Press.

¹⁵ Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design*. Harvard University Press.

¹⁶ Bandura, A. (1977). *Social learning theory*. Prentice Hall.

¹⁷ Creswell, J. W., & Clark, V. L. P. (2018). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research* (3rd ed.). SAGE Publications.

Perlindungan Perempuan dan Anak (UPPA) case files. A total of 312 documented CSA cases formed the quantitative dataset. Qualitative data were generated through: (1) in-depth interviews with 24 key informants including child protection officers (n=6), police investigators from UPPA (n=4), social workers (n=5), teachers (n=4), and community leaders (n=5); (2) field observation at four child protection service centers and two community settings; and (3) systematic documentary analysis of case files, institutional reports, and policy documents. Sampling Quantitative sampling was exhaustive (census-based) across all documented cases. Qualitative informants were selected through purposive sampling, with data saturation reached by the 20th interview. Data Analysis Quantitative data were analyzed using descriptive statistics and trend analysis in SPSS v.26. Qualitative data were analyzed through thematic analysis¹⁸, supported by NVivo 14 software. Triangulation of data sources and methods was employed to enhance validity and reliability (Denzin, 1978). Ethical Considerations Ethical clearance was obtained from the Research Ethics Committee of Universitas 17 Agustus 1945 Cirebon (Reference No. EC-MH/2024/07). All participants provided written informed consent. Victim confidentiality was strictly maintained throughout the study.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 1. Annual Distribution of Documented CSA Cases in Cirebon Regency (2021–2025):

Year	No. of Cases	% Change from Previous Year	Reporting Rate (estimated)	Cases with Formal Prosecution
2021	47	— (baseline)	~18.3%	31 (65.9%)
2022	58	+23.4%	~19.7%	38 (65.5%)
2023	74	+27.6%	~21.2%	49 (66.2%)
2024	87	+17.6%	~22.8%	58 (66.7%)
2025	46	-47.1%*	~25.4%	33 (71.7%)
Total	312	+34.7% (2021–2024)	209 (67.0%)	

*The 2025 decline is attributed to enhanced institutional intervention initiated in late 2024 and improved reporting infrastructure.

The data reveal a clear upward trajectory from 2021 to 2024, representing an aggregate increase of 34.7% over three years. The apparent sharp decline in 2025 must be interpreted cautiously: qualitative findings and informant interviews suggest this reflects both genuine case reduction attributable to prevention programs and a temporary artifact of enhanced case diversion to non-police channels (e.g., community mediation and social welfare referrals), rather than an absolute decrease in incidence.

These trends are broadly consistent with national data from KPAI (2023) and align with findings from comparable Indonesian regencies studied by Bariyah and Susanto (2021), who documented average annual CSA case increases of 19–28% across six West Java jurisdictions between 2018 and 2022. The global literature similarly documents persistent underreporting ratios; Finkelhor et al. (2014) estimated that only 20–30% of CSA cases in LMICs are formally reported to authorities, a figure corroborated by the estimated reporting rates in Table 1.

A senior child protection officer (Informant CP-03) noted during interview: "The cases we see officially are just the visible part of the iceberg. Many families, especially in rural sub-districts, prefer to resolve these matters within the family or through community elders, particularly when the perpetrator is a relative." This observation directly reflects the "dark

¹⁸ Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp0630a>

figure of crime" concept in criminology¹⁹ and underscores the structural barriers to formal reporting documented in the global literature²⁰.

Demographic Profile of Victims Table 2. Demographic Characteristics of CSA Victims (n=312). Characteristic Category n % Sex Female 271 86.9% Male 41 13.1% Age Group 5–9 years 38 12.2% 10–13 years 114 36.5% 14–17 years 160 51.3% Domicile Urban sub-districts 134 42.9% Rural sub-districts 178 57.1% Educational Status Not yet in school 14 4.5% Elementary school 89 28.5% Junior high school 142 45.5% Senior high school 67 21.5% Family Economic Status Low income 198 63.5% Middle income 97 31.1% High income 17 5.4% The victim demographic data (Table 2) reveal several critical patterns. Female children constitute the overwhelming majority of victims (86.9%), consistent with the global literature documenting gender-based vulnerability in CSA²¹. The predominance of adolescent victims aged 14–17 years (51.3%) is particularly noteworthy and reflects a pattern identified by Tener et al. (2020) and Lanning (2018) whereby adolescents are disproportionately targeted through digital grooming mechanisms that exploit developmental-stage characteristics including identity exploration, peer-seeking behavior, and incomplete risk assessment capacity.

The significantly higher proportion of victims from rural sub-districts (57.1%), combined with the concentration of cases among low-income families (63.5%), provides strong empirical support for ecological and structural risk factor theories. As Meinck et al. (2015) demonstrated in their multi-country study, socioeconomic vulnerability interacts with rural geographic isolation and limited service accessibility to create compounded risk contexts. A rural community leader (Informant CL-02) articulated this dynamic clearly: "Here, people work very long hours in the fields or in factories. Children are often left alone or with relatives. There is very little awareness about what sexual abuse even means."

Risk Factor Analysis: Classification and Mapping the mixed-method analysis identified five primary categories of risk factors, presented in order of frequency and analytical weight. Table 3. Risk Factor Classification and Frequency in CSA Cases (n=312). Risk Factor Category Sub-categories n (cases) % of Total Intra-familial Dynamics Biological parent perpetration 52 16.7% Stepparent/domestic partner 73 23.4% Extended family member 57 18.3% Sub-total: Familial 182 58.3% Digital Environment Social media grooming 63 20.2% Online sexual exploitation 35 11.2% Sub-total: Digital 98 31.4% Community/Institutional Educational setting 18 5.8% Religious institution 7 2.2% Neighborhood/peer 7 2.2% Other Known Perpetrators — 21 6.7% Stranger — 5 1.6% The dominance of intra-familial perpetration (58.3%) is one of the most significant findings of this study and aligns powerfully with the international criminological literature. Finkelhor (1984) identified family structure dysfunction as a primary risk factor for CSA, and subsequent longitudinal studies across diverse cultural contexts consistently confirm that 65–80% of CSA is perpetrated by someone known and trusted by the child, most frequently a family member (Chen et al., 2010; Trickett et al., 2011). The particularly high proportion of stepparent/domestic partner perpetrators (23.4%) reflects patterns identified by Fergusson

¹⁹ Biderman, A. D., & Reiss, A. J. (1967). On exploring the "dark figure" of crime. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 374(1), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000271626737400102>

²⁰ Arata, C. M. (1998). To tell or not to tell: Current functioning of child sexual abuse survivors who disclosed their victimization. *Child Maltreatment*, 3(1), 63–71. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077559598003001006>

²¹ Barth, J., Bermetz, L., Heim, E., Trelle, S., & Tonia, T. (2013). The current prevalence of child sexual abuse worldwide: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *International Journal of Public Health*, 58(3), 469–483. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00038-012-0426-1>

et al. (1996) and Sedlak et al. (2010), who found that the presence of non-biological parental figures in the home significantly elevates CSA risk.

Field observations conducted at UPPA offices confirmed systematic patterns in case documentation. A police investigator (Informant PI-01) explained: "The most difficult cases are those within the family. Victims are often pressured by other family members not to report. Mothers sometimes side with the perpetrator husband because of financial dependence. This makes prosecution extremely challenging." This observation reflects the intersection of economic vulnerability and intimate partner power dynamics that feminist criminological scholarship (Kelly, 1988; Smart, 1989) has long identified as structural enablers of intra-familial sexual violence.

Digital Risk Factors: The Emerging Crisis The finding that 31.4% of cases involved digital grooming or online sexual exploitation represents perhaps the most urgently concerning trend identified in this study and marks a significant escalation compared to pre-2021 patterns. Qualitative data from interviews with social workers revealed that TikTok, Instagram, and WhatsApp were the most frequently identified platforms through which initial contact between perpetrators and victims occurred. A social worker (Informant SW-03) described the pattern: "Perpetrators use fake accounts, posing as peers or romantic interests. They build trust over weeks or months, then gradually introduce sexual content, and eventually arrange meetings. By the time the child realizes what is happening, they are already deeply manipulated."

This pattern corresponds precisely to the grooming process described by Lanning (2018) and Tener et al. (2020), who identified a multi-stage progression from initial target selection, desensitization, isolation, and eventual exploitation. The online environment substantially accelerates and obscures this process, creating what Martellozzo (2012) terms "virtual proximity"—a form of manufactured intimacy that bypasses traditional safeguarding mechanisms. The findings are consistent with Whittle et al.'s (2013) systematic review, which documented rapid increases in online grooming reports across multiple jurisdictions following widespread smartphone adoption.

Structural and Familial Risk Factors Thematic analysis of interview data generated five superordinate themes related to structural and familial risk factors: (1) economic precarity and parental absence; (2) low parental digital literacy; (3) inadequate or absent sex education; (4) alcohol and substance use by perpetrators; and (5) histories of childhood trauma and abuse within perpetrating households. These themes are consistent with the ecological systems framework (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), which conceptualizes CSA risk as arising from the interaction of individual, family, community, and societal-level factors rather than from any single determinant.

The theme of inadequate sex education emerged with particular salience. Across all five categories of informants, there was near-universal agreement that formal sex education in schools and religious institutions remains insufficient to equip children with the knowledge and skills to recognize, resist, and report abuse. A teacher informant (Informant T-02) noted: "We are not given training on how to teach children about personal safety. The curriculum does not include it. And parents are too embarrassed to talk about it at home. So children grow up with no framework at all for understanding that what is being done to them is wrong." This finding resonates with research by Walsh et al. (2015), who demonstrated that school-based CSA prevention programs significantly reduce victimization rates, and with

UNICEF's (2020) global assessment that knowledge deficits among children remain one of the most powerful modifiable risk factors for CSA.

Indicator 2021 2022 2023 2024 2025 Cases receiving legal assistance 31 (65.9%) 37 (63.8%) 48 (64.9%) 57 (65.5%) 36 (78.3%) Cases receiving psychological counseling 19 (40.4%) 28 (48.3%) 39 (52.7%) 51 (58.6%) 38 (82.6%) Perpetrators convicted 22 (46.8%) 29 (50.0%) 40 (54.1%) 51 (58.6%) 29 (63.0%) Average case processing time (days) 94 87 82 79 71 Victim access to rehabilitation services 14 (29.8%) 22 (37.9%) 31 (41.9%) 43 (49.4%) 36 (78.3%) The institutional response data reveal meaningful improvement across all indicators over the study period, with particularly notable advances in 2025 following enhanced interagency coordination and the establishment of a dedicated child protection rapid response unit within Dinas P3AKB. However, several critical gaps persist. The conviction rate, while improving (from 46.8% in 2021 to 63.0% in 2025), remains substantially below the Indonesian national average for criminal prosecutions (72.3%), reflecting evidentiary challenges and procedural barriers specific to CSA cases (Supriyadi, 2019). More troublingly, access to psychological rehabilitation services, though improving significantly in 2025 (78.3%), remained available to fewer than half of documented victims in the period 2021–2024.

A child protection officer (Informant CP-01) identified resource constraints as the primary barrier: "We have one psychologist for the entire regency. One person cannot adequately serve over 80 new trauma cases per year, in addition to the backlog from previous years. Many children are simply not getting the help they need, and we know that untreated trauma leads to serious long-term consequences." This resource deficit aligns with²² landmark Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) study, which demonstrated that untreated childhood sexual trauma is associated with elevated lifetime risks of depression, substance use disorder, suicidality, and chronic physical illness.

Document analysis of UPPA case files identified recurring procedural barriers to effective response, including: lack of trained forensic interviewers; insufficient courtroom accommodations for child witnesses; inconsistent application of restorative justice provisions under Law No. 11 of 2012 on the Juvenile Criminal Justice System; and limited inter-agency data-sharing protocols that result in duplicated assessments and fragmented service delivery.

Theoretical Synthesis Integrating the quantitative and qualitative findings through the theoretical lenses of routine activities theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979), ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), and feminist criminology (Kelly, 1988), a coherent explanatory model emerges. CSA in Cirebon Regency is not a random or inexplicable phenomenon but rather the predictable outcome of the convergence of structural vulnerability (poverty, rural isolation, parental absence), relational dysfunction (intra-familial power imbalances, histories of trauma), environmental opportunity (ungoverned digital spaces, inadequate supervision), and institutional inadequacy (limited resources, procedural barriers, insufficient prevention infrastructure).

This convergence model has direct implications for prevention and intervention design. As Smallbone et al. (2008) argue, CSA prevention strategies are most effective when they

²² Felitti, V. J., Anda, R. F., Nordenberg, D., Williamson, D. F., Spitz, A. M., Edwards, V., Koss, M. P., & Marks, J. S. (1998). Relationship of childhood abuse and household dysfunction to many of the leading causes of death in adults. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 14(4), 245–258. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0749-3797\(98\)00017-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0749-3797(98)00017-8)

simultaneously target multiple ecological levels, reducing motivational factors through perpetrator rehabilitation programs, reducing opportunity factors through environmental design and digital regulation, and increasing guardianship through parental education, community awareness, and institutional capacity building. The findings of this study provide a robust empirical foundation for the design of such a multi-level prevention framework specifically calibrated to the Cirebon Regency context.

CONCLUSION

This five-year mixed-method criminological study of CSA prevalence and risk factors in Cirebon Regency yields several critical conclusions. First, CSA represents a growing and inadequately addressed child protection crisis in Cirebon Regency, with documented cases increasing by 34.7% between 2021 and 2024 and actual incidence substantially exceeding official figures given persistent underreporting. Second, intra-familial perpetration constitutes the dominant risk pathway (58.3%), followed by digital grooming and online exploitation (31.4%), reflecting both enduring structural vulnerabilities and rapidly emerging technological risk vectors. Third, victim vulnerability is concentrated among adolescent girls (51.3% aged 14–17), children from low-income households (63.5%), and rural communities (57.1%), establishing clear priority populations for targeted prevention investment. Fourth, institutional response capacity, while demonstrating measurable improvement over the study period, remains critically insufficient in terms of psychological rehabilitation access, conviction rates, and interagency coordination. The following recommendations are advanced: (1) immediate expansion of child protection workforce capacity, including psychologist recruitment and training of forensic interviewers; (2) mandatory, developmentally appropriate CSA prevention education integrated into all school curricula; (3) development of a regency-level digital safety framework with mandatory reporting obligations for platform providers; (4) establishment of a multi-agency CSA task force with unified data management and rapid response protocols; and (5) community-based awareness programs targeting high-risk sub-districts, with particular emphasis on engaging fathers and male community leaders as prevention stakeholders. Future research should employ longitudinal cohort designs to assess the long-term developmental impacts of CSA on victim populations in this context, and experimental or quasi-experimental designs to evaluate the efficacy of prevention programs.

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