

VICTIM TURNED PERPETRATOR: THE TRANSFORMATION OF VICTIMIZATION EXPERIENCES INTO CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR

Kurnia Mega Tulung, Adrianus Eliasta Meliala

Universitas Indonesia, Indonesia

Email: kurniatulung@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The phenomenon of victims transforming into perpetrators (Victim-Offender Overlap) in Indonesia is a phenomenon that is still developing. This study employs a qualitative approach to explore the process of transformation from victimization experiences to criminal behaviors, focusing on those with a history of victimization. Data collection involved purposive sampling and semi-structured interviews to gain in-depth insights into the victims' experiences and transformation processes of the informants. The findings of this study have proven to support and even complement the results of previous studies related to the transformation caused by post-victimization experience, namely, Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE's), Other Forms of Victimization Experiences, and Other Adverse Experiences. These findings suggest that the transformation process is not only triggered by victimization in adulthood, so it is important to further explore the relationship between victimization and criminal behavior in a broader context.

Keywords: victimization, perpetrators, crime, general strain theory, childhood experiences

INTRODUCTION

Many crime cases in Indonesia and abroad show that perpetrators of crimes are often victims of previous victimization, including since childhood, as reported by the National Police and the Ministry of PPA regarding pedophile cases (Pusiknas Polri, 2022a). For example, the case of murder by a teenager with the initials NF who was a victim of rape and was 14 weeks pregnant, as well as a case of sexual harassment by a teacher who was also a victim of violence as a child (Garjito, 2020; Velarosdela & Belarminus, 2018). With data showing that 2,267 children were victims of crime between January and May 2022 (Pusiknas Polri, 2022b). Meanwhile, many pedophiles are victims of childhood violence (KumparanNEWS, 2022). A global study in 2022 by Basto-Pereira et al. (2022) supported these findings by showing that physical and sexual abuse affects criminal behavior. Therefore, research on the experience of victimization and its impact on criminal behavior is essential to enrich the science of criminology and develop effective interventions (Grady et al., 2017).

A collection of studies on the etiology of crime has found evidence that past experiences of victimization have been a big predictor of future criminal behavior. Victim-Offender Overlap is a terminology used in describing an individual who plays two roles, namely as a criminal and on the other hand as a victim. Evidence supporting the existence of a cycle of crime experienced by people who have been victims of crime before has been found in various studies. A synthesis of findings from several important studies shows that victimization experiences in the form of physical or non-physical abuse, sexual abuse, psychological abuse and various forms of contact with adverse childhood experiences have become the main predictors of how a person transforms into a criminal later in life (Aebi et

al., 2015; Basto-Pereira et al., 2022; Braga et al., 2017; Karlsson et al., 2021; Miley et al., 2020; Papalia et al., 2018; Plummer & Cossins, 2018). Miley et al. (2020) in their study, for example, found results that provide considerable support that crime victims are at higher risk of criminal behavior in the future. The findings specifically suggest that experiences of physical abuse, sexual abuse, and witnessing substance abuse in the home in childhood, respectively, significantly and substantially increase the risk of criminal behavior later in life (Kuo et al., 2022).

Other studies that focus more on Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE's) such as neglect, various forms of violence, exposure to crime, living in the same house with criminals, etc. have resulted in the finding that ACE's history proven to be a risk factor in shaping individuals in anti-social behavior and even serious crimes later in life (Baglivio et al., 2015; Chen & Chu, 2021; Fox et al., 2015; Grady et al., 2017; Levenson & Socia, 2016; Pierce & Jones, 2022). For example, a study conducted by Fox et al. (2015), resulted in the finding that the increasing number of adverse childhood experiences (ACE's), namely the accumulation of difficulties such as parental divorce, domestic violence, social disorganization, and various forms of abuse is proven to increase and strengthen the risk of a teenager becoming a serious, violent, and chronic offender (SVC).

A number of studies related to sexual abuse in childhood (Child Sexual Abuse – CSA) finds a variety of destructive effects, both physically, mentally and psychologically after CSA events and in life as an adult (Briere & Elliott, 1994; Filipas & Ullman, 2006; Hébert et al., 2023). Research conducted by Filipas & Ullman (2006), for example, reported findings that individuals who had a link to childhood sexual abuse experiences (Child Sexual Abuse – CSA) and adult sexual abuse (Adult Sexual Assault – ASA) have symptoms of PTSD (Posttraumatic Stress Disorder), more likely to engage in drug and drug abuse as a business coping, engage in sexual acts, withdraw from others, and seek therapeutic services. CSA experiences in children produce emotional dysregulation compared to children without CSA experiences (Langevin et al., 2020). Rape victims with CSA history, using more neural and cognitive strategies, and have a tendency to blame themselves or society (Arata, 1999). The experience of CSA exposure to a number of adult males negatively impacts the parenting they pass on to their children, while the impact of various CSAs on women is self-harming behaviors and drug abuse. The above findings provide a summary of how the impact of CSA experiences can have adverse effects on a person's internal life, which can show symptoms of trauma disorder, and even affect the involvement of transgressive or criminal behavior in adolescence or adulthood (Arata, 1999; Robboy & Anderson, 2011; Wark & Vis, 2018).

Research shows that individuals who experience victimization not only suffer from physical, but also psychological and mental disorders, which can turn them into criminals (Briere & Elliott, 1994; Rajan et al., 2017; Roberts, 2009). Disorders such as drug abuse, alcohol, and depression are more common in victims of sexual abuse, which is an indicator of their potential to commit crimes (Rajan et al., 2017). Although many studies abroad have examined the phenomenon of Victim-Offender Overlap, similar research is still rare in Indonesia, even though this phenomenon is seen in many criminal cases in the country. To understand more deeply, this research will not only focus on the typologies defined in policy, but also cover different forms of victimization experiences, such as adverse childhood

experiences, neglect, and intimate partner violence. This research is expected to break the cycle of crime that starts from victims who are not handled properly, thus preventing them from transforming into perpetrators (Pusiknas Polri, 2022b; Siegel, 2016).

The purpose of this research is to understand the phenomenon of victims transforming into criminals (Victim-Offender Overlap) in Indonesia, through the exploration of victimization experiences that can turn individuals into criminals. This research aims to complete the knowledge of this phenomenon that is still developing, as well as enrich the general strain theory by proving two hypotheses related to the impact of victimization experience. The significance of this research academically is to fill the scarcity of empirical studies related to the victim-offender overlap phenomena in Indonesia, as well as to add novelty in the discipline of criminology. Practically, this research is expected to provide scientific evidence for policymakers and improve the coaching process in correctional institutions, especially for the handling of inmates who have a history of victimization.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study employs a qualitative approach to explore the phenomenon of individuals transforming from victims to perpetrators, focusing on those with a history of victimization. The target subjects are individuals meeting the Victim-Offender Overlap criteria in correctional institutions in North Sulawesi. Researchers selected six locations, including prisons and detention centers, to gather information from informants—prisoners with victimization experiences. Data collection involved purposive sampling and semi-structured interviews to gain in-depth insights into the victimization experiences and transformation processes of the informants. The data analysis followed six stages, including organizing data, coding, and identifying themes related to general strain theory. The findings are anticipated to provide a deeper understanding of the relationship between victimization experiences and criminal behavior, highlighting the cycle of crime that often begins with neglected victims.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Process of Transformation from Victimization Experience to Criminal Behavior

The phenomenon of victims transforming into perpetrators of crimes, also known as the term Victim-Offender Overlap. The term Victim-Offender Overlap is a terminology that describes an individual who plays two roles, namely as a victim of crime and on the other hand also as a perpetrator of crime (Kuo et al., 2022). The concept of Victim-Offender Overlap is defined as a perpetrator of a violation or crime who was previously a victim. In general, the findings in this study show evidence of the existence of the phenomenon of victims who transform into criminals (Victim-Offender Overlap) (Daigle & Muftić, 2020), really happened in the context of Indonesia. This is based on the report of research data findings from 20 informants who were all confirmed to have experienced victimization events before being involved in criminal cases. Exposure to various forms of victimization experiences was found in the history of all informants, before they were involved in various criminal acts later.

The process of transformation from victimization experience to criminal behavior is shown to occur in three stages, namely: 1) Exposure to victimization experiences; 2)

Transformation or changes that occur after the experience of victimization; and 3) Acts or criminal behaviors that result at the end. The three stages in this research finding are in line with the elements contained in the framework of General Strain Theory (GST) from Agnew (1992) in explaining how a crime occurs. The General Strain Theory states that crime or delinquency occurs as a result of strain resulting from negative relationships. There are three important elements in this theory that are found to be linear with the three stages of the transformation process of the victim into a criminal in this study, namely: 1) Negative relations (negative relationship) which is also in line with the findings on the Victimization Experience; 2) Strain which is also a stage of Transformation; and 3) Crime or delusion in this study is Criminal Acts or Behavior. An analysis of the three stages of the process of transformation from victimization experience to criminal behavior is further described below.

The Experience of Victimization as a Negative Relationship

The first stage is about how the transformation from the experience of victimization to criminal behavior occurs, namely the stage of exposure to the experience of victimization. The findings show that there are various types of victimization experiences that every informant has experienced before they are involved in a criminal act. Analyzed using General Strain Theory (GST), the victimization experience in line with the first element of this theory is the negative relationship which is the starting point for the transformation process of the victim into a criminal begins. General Strain Theory specifically focuses on what are called negative relationships, i.e. a relationship in which an individual does not get the treatment he expects from others. There are three types of negative relations in general strain theory, namely (Agnew, 1992): 1) Failure to achieve positive goals; 2) Loss of positive stimulus; and 3) The entry of negative stimulus. The three types of negative relationships in this study refer to the victimization experiences experienced by the informants.

Three categories of victimization experiences were identified in this study, namely: Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE's), Other Forms of Victimization Experiences, and Other Adverse Experiences. In detail, the types of victimization experiences in the ACE category are: Violent experiences; Experiences of harassment; Experiences of neglect; Experience witnessing violent events in the home or community; Family members attempted to die by suicide; Family members have drug and substance use problems; Unstable condition due to parental divorce; and family members imprisoned. Other types of victimization experiences in the category of Victimization are: 1) Intimate Partner Violence (IPV); 2) Victims of theft; 3) Victims of persecution; and 4) Secondary victimization. Meanwhile, other types of victimization experiences in adverse experiences are: 1) Physical disability due to accidents; 2) Loss of family and loved ones; and 3) Divorce. The findings of various types of victimization experiences in the 3 categories above, in the General Strain Theory (GST) are also called negative relationships.

The first type of negative relationship in general strain theory is the failure of an individual to achieve a goal of positive value. Agnew (1992) argues that strain is not only generated from positive goals that fail to be achieved, but is also caused by the inability of the individual to avoid difficult or painful circumstances and situations. Failure to achieve positive goals is not only limited to failure in terms of economics, but also failure to achieve

in school, failure to succeed in sports teams, failure to make friends, and various other forms of failure in positive goals. Some forms of failure to achieve positive goals in the findings of this study are: failing to achieve goals due to dropping out of school; failure to have an ideal household due to a wife who has an affair and divorce; and failure to get justice due to secondary victimization (Agnew, 1992).

The second type of negative relationship in general strain theory is the loss or threat of elimination of a stimulus that has a positive value in a person. The second type of strain, which is strain as events in a person's life, such as: the loss of a girlfriend, a divorce of a parent, an unpleasant experience at work, death or severe illness experienced by a friend or close person, etc., are examples of various forms of loss of positive stimuli that result in the appearance of strain (Agnew, 1992). Several forms of positive stimulus loss events in the findings of this study are: loss of family and loved ones; divorced parents; and loss of property due to repeated theft (Agnew, 1992).

The third type of negative relationship in general strain theory is another individual who gives or threatens to provide a harmful stimulus or a negative one. Agnew (1992) describes several forms of harmful stimuli that have negative values such as: child abuse, child neglect, victimization experiences, corporal punishment, negative relationships with parents or peers, and various adverse experiences and events in life. Some forms of negative stimuli in the findings of this study are: various forms of sexual harassment experiences; experience of bullying; various forms of physical violence experience; experience of neglect; etc.

The three forms of negative relationships, be it failure to achieve goals with positive values, loss of positive stimulus, and entry of negative stimulus, are all found in the history of the informants before they were involved in criminal behavior. Negative relationships in various forms of victimization experiences were found in the history of each informant. The findings showed that each informant had a history of more than one exposure to the victimization experience. The accumulation of exposure to various forms of victimization occurs, whether it is the same form of victimization but experienced repeatedly, or different forms of victimization but occur gradually.

Post-Victimization Experience Transformation

The second stage is about how the transformation from the victimization experience to criminal behavior occurs, namely the transformation stage or changes that occur after the victimization experience. The impact of exposure to the victimization experience has been proven to transform various aspects in a person who experiences it. Various aspects that undergo changes after the victimization experience are grouped into 5 aspects, namely: physical aspect, emotional aspect, life aspect, behavioral aspect, and the impact of memory aspect. Transformation to 5 aspects in individuals with a history of victimization experience, was found persisted consistently until the event of involvement with criminal behavior later.

Analyzed using General Strain Theory (GST), transformation due to the experience of victimization in line with the second element of this theory is the strain resulting from the experience of victimization. Three types of sources of strain from negative relationships which in various forms are summarized in the victimization experience, producing strain or

also called negative emotions, such as: anger; hatred; dissatisfaction; disappointment; unhappiness has been explained previously in the findings of this study, that the impact of victimization experiences has resulted in a transformation in the emotional aspects of the informants, namely: hurt, disappointment, resentment, regret, feelings of injustice, hatred, dissatisfaction, anger, etc. Negative relationship with other people and the impulses lead to criminal behavior or delinquent as a result of negative influences, especially the anger it generates. The transformation in the form of stress or negative emotions found in the study, was also found to be in line with several findings in other studies that found the same traits in individuals who had experienced various exposures to victimization experiences. The effects that arise in individual crime victims were examined by several researchers who found that in addition to physical disorders, those who experience victimization will experience psychological and mental disorders, which tend to turn them into criminals (Briere & Elliott, 1994; Rajan et al., 2017; Roberts, 2009). People diagnosed with drug abuse, alcohol, psychotics, bipolar, anxiety disorders, stress, depression, and somatic disorders, are more common among individuals who have experienced sexual abuse than individuals who have not experienced sexual abuse, where the disorders experienced by victims of such abuse are potential signs of a crime perpetrator (Rajan et al., 2017). These findings also support previous research on sexual abuse in childhood Child Sexual Abuse – CSA). Some researchers found various destructive effects, both physically, mentally and psychologically after CSA events and in life as adults (Briere & Elliott, 1994; Filipas & Ullman, 2006; Hébert et al., 2023).

Research conducted by Filipas & Ullman (2006), for example, reported the finding that individuals who had a link to childhood sexual abuse experiences (Child Sexual Abuse – CSA) and adult sexual abuse (Adult Sexual Assault – ASA) have symptoms of PTSD (Posttraumatic Stress Disorder), more likely to engage in drug and drug abuse as a coping strategy, engage in sexual acts, withdraw from others, and seek therapeutic services. CSA experiences in children produce emotional dysregulation compared to children without CSA experiences rape victims with (Langevin et al., 2020). CSA history also reported to have high rates of trauma symptoms, using more neural and cognitive strategies in an effort coping effort, and have a tendency to blame themselves or society. The experience of CSA exposure to a number of adult males negatively impacts the parenting they pass on to their children, while the impact of various CSAs on women is self-harming behaviors and drug abuse. The findings of this study have proven to support and even complement the results of previous studies, related to the transformation caused by the post-victimization experience (Arata, 1999; Robboy & Anderson, 2011; Wark & Vis, 2018).

Another finding in this stage of transformation is in the later life of the post-victimization experience, whose aspects of life are affected by strain. Strain due to exposure to the victimization experience has been found to bring individuals to life conditions that have the potential to experience repeated exposure to the same victimization, be exposed to new victimization events, experience behavioral deviations, and then engage in delinquent or criminal behavior.

The effect of the strain caused by exposure to the first victimization experience, is to expose the individual to a living condition that has the potential to experience repeated

exposure to the same victimization. This is as found in informants LT01 and LT05, both of whom experienced sexual abuse in childhood. The transformation in the initial exposure to sexual abuse that they experienced, namely feelings of fear and helplessness, led them to experience the same form of victimization over and over again. Transformations in feelings after exposure to victimization experiences were found not to directly lead to involvement with criminal behavior, but also potentially to a state of helplessness that led the individual to be targeted by the same form of victimization repeatedly.

The second effect of post-exposure strain of victimization experiences, is the strain that leads the individual to exposure to a new victimization event. Individuals who initially experience a certain form of victimization experience are also found to have the potential to be exposed to different forms of victimization later in life. Some forms of victimization experience are shown to produce strain that leads the individual to different experiences of victimization later on. This is found in almost all forms of victimization experiences in the form of neglect in childhood. Forms of neglect, be it physical neglect, emotional neglect, educational neglect, and inadequate supervision, have all been shown to produce strains that lead to subsequent forms of victimization. For example, informant LB01 who experienced a background of previous neglect led him to become a victim of bullying by his schoolmates. In addition to the experience of neglect, various other forms of victimization also show the same in bringing individuals to subsequent experiences of victimization. For example, in the LT03 informant who previously experienced theft, then experience the next form of victimization, namely becoming a victim of persecution. Not stopping there, LT03 also became a victim of secondary victimization by several authorities who repeatedly did not respond to his reports as a victim of theft and persecution. These findings are proof that the experience of victimization can generate strain that further leads the individual to another form of victimization experience.

The third effect of post-exposure stress is the strain that leads the individual to change behavior. Findings related to the transformation after the experience of sexual harassment, especially same-sex sexual harassment (sodomy), were found not only to have a direct impact on involvement in a criminal act. Two informants (LB02 and LT01) who had experienced sodomy reported a change in sexual orientation, namely attraction to the same sex (male), after experiencing the harassment. These findings show that behavior change is one of the hallmarks of previous victimization experiences.

The fourth effect of post-exposure strain is the strain that leads the individual to engage with delinquating or criminal behavior. This finding was found in all the interviewed informants. General Strain Theory (GST) that focuses on negative relationships (negative relationship) with other people and their impulses that lead to criminal behavior or delinquent as a result of negative influences, especially the anger it generates (Agnew, 1992). The effects on criminal behavior and delinquency, it will be discussed in detail below (Agnew, 1992).

Victims Who Transform into Criminals

Findings related to the third stage of the process, namely criminal behavior after the victimization experience, is the discovery of an association between previous victimization experiences and criminal acts committed later. In line with the views of General Strain Theory (GST) which states that delinquency or criminal behavior is the result of pressure. In the explanation of General Strain Theory (GST) from Agnew (1992), repetitive strains can produce crime and delinquency by reducing social control and encouraging social learning about crime. In general strain theory, Agnew (1992) explains that events that involve losing something of positive value in a person's life, pressuring a person to prevent the loss of the positive stimulus, taking the lost stimulus, looking for a replacement stimulus, taking revenge, or processing the negative effects of the loss with self-detrimental behaviors such as drug use. The stress and emotions that arise after these bereavement events lead a person to various attempts such as involvement in illegal drugs, using illegal means to gain or reclaim what is lost, or venting emotions and resentment against other individuals. Various forms of failures faced by a person as a form of reality that does not match expectations, ultimately produce stress and frustration that leads to criminal behavior or delinquency (Bao et al., 2014). These findings reinforce the concept of victim-actor overlap (Victim-Offender Overlap), that crime victims are at higher risk of future criminal behavior (Miley et al., 2020).

The findings related to victimization experiences in the form of adverse childhood experiences (ACE's) in this study, also show the same evidence as previous studies, in relation to the impact of ACE exposure. Experiences of neglect, various forms of violence, exposure to crime, living in a house with a criminal, etc., have resulted in the finding that a history of ACE proves to be a risk factor in shaping individuals in anti-social behavior and even serious crimes later in life (Baglivio et al., 2015; Chen & Chu, 2021; Fox et al., 2015; Levenson & Socia, 2016; Pierce & Jones, 2022). For example, a study conducted by Fox et al. (2015) resulted in the finding that the increasing number of adverse childhood experiences (ACE's), namely the accumulation of difficulties such as parental divorce, domestic violence, social disorganization, and various forms of abuse is proven to increase and strengthen the risk of a teenager becoming a serious, violent, and chronic offender (SVC).

One form of victimization experience in the category of Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE's) is the experience of sexual abuse. Evidence that supports the phenomenon of victims transforming into perpetrators of crimes (Victim-Offender Overlap), one of which is found in the history of sexual harassment experiences before involvement in a criminal act. There were 8 informants who reported having a history of exposure to sexual harassment experiences, both sexual harassment of the opposite sex experienced by 5 informants, and same-sex sexual harassment experienced by 3 informants. All informants who experienced a form of victimization in the form of sexual harassment, were confirmed to have committed criminal acts in the future. A synthesis of findings from several important studies shows that victimization experiences in the form of physical or non-physical abuse, sexual abuse, psychological abuse and various forms of contact with adverse childhood experiences have become the main predictors of how a person transforms into a criminal later in life (Aebi et al., 2015; Braga et al., 2017; Karlsson et al., 2021; Miley et al., 2020; Papalia et al., 2018; Plummer & Cossins, 2018). The findings specifically suggest that experiences of

physical abuse, sexual abuse, and witnessing substance abuse in the home in childhood, respectively, significantly and substantially increase the risk of criminal behavior later in life. These findings complement the Victim-Offender Overlap study, which begins with a form of victimization experience in the form of sexual harassment that leads to involvement with a criminal behavior later in life.

The researchers also found evidence that enriched the concept of victim-offender overlap, which showed several characteristics and forms of association between victimization experiences and later criminal behavior. The strong association found between the events of victimization experiences and the criminal acts committed later is identical in several aspects. The first identity found was in several informants who reported the same form of crime between the experience of victimization and the crime committed later. An example is experienced by the RM03 informant, who previously experienced victimization in the form of rape in the 1st grade of high school by his female friend, and then became an inmate for a rape case. The LP02 informant, who has a history of violent experience, namely slapping carried out by a junior high school teacher, was also found to have committed 10 criminal acts, all of which were cases of persecution in the form of slapping. LP02 informant admitted that he had never experienced similar treatment, namely the experience of being slapped by anyone before. The initial response shown by the informant when slapped by the teacher, was spontaneously retaliating by slapping the teacher because she was shocked. Informant LB02 also reported involvement in the same criminal case as what he experienced in his childhood, namely a sodomy case. LB02 carried out 4 cases of sodomy to minors, who in his confession, stated that the first case of sodomy was due to the memory of past experiences as victims. The memory of the experience of being a victim of sodomy prompted LB02 to do the same to others, namely minors. The same thing was also found in two female informants (LP01 and LP03) who in childhood had witnessed drugs in the house and also both had family members involved in drug abuse. The two informants, when interviewed, were found to be involved in the same case, namely narcotics abuse. These findings show evidence that past experiences of victimization can be a form of criminal behavior committed in the future. Based on the above findings, the variation of Victim-Offender Overlap in this study found a type of identity, namely the victim of a criminal act can become the perpetrator of the same criminal act in the future.

The second identity found is in the same *modus operandi* between the experience of victimization and the crime committed. The *modus operandi* carried out by the perpetrator against the informant when experiencing previous victimization, was also found to be carried out by the informant when committing his criminal act. For example, informant LT01 who previously had a history of being a victim of sodomy in childhood, when he was interviewed was a prisoner in a similar case, namely the perpetrator of sodomy against minors. LT01 admitted to committing sodomy with a *modus operandi*, namely persuading by lending a mobile phone so that the victim could watch or play, and then the informant committed sodomy. In recounting his experience of being a victim of sodomy, LT01 informant said that he also experienced the same *modus operandi* when he was a victim of sodomy in his childhood. The same *modus operandi* was also found in the RM03 informant who committed the act of rape on several female victims. RM03 put a special drug in the victim's drink,

before he finally raped the victim who was unconscious or semi-conscious due to the influence of drugs. RM03 informant admitted that he had repeatedly done the same thing to many women who were his victims. The same *modus operandi* was found to be exactly the same as his experience when he was a victim of rape in high school, namely being made unconscious with drugs and then raped. Based on the above findings, the variation of Victim-Offender Overlap in this study found that the type of identity, namely the *modus operandi* when experiencing victimization, can be the same *modus operandi* when committing criminal behavior later.

The third identity found is the similarity in the background or characteristics of individuals who are victims of crime by the informant with the perpetrator of previous victimization. The findings show that individuals who experience victimization do not necessarily commit the same form of criminal behavior, or retaliate for a criminal act to the perpetrator of previous victimization. Individuals with victimization experience can also transform into criminals, by committing criminal acts on victims who have the same background or characteristics as the perpetrators of victimization against them before. For example, in RM01 informant who previously experienced other adverse experiences, namely 3 divorces due to his wife being caught having an affair, reported that there was a connection between this experience and the current criminal act, namely trafficking in women. RM01 admitted that the experience of failing 3 times in marriage because all ex-wives cheated on him, had an impact on his disappointment and hurt towards women. Criminal acts such as trafficking women, admitted by RM01, are a way to vent his heartache. RM01 admitted that it is better to sell women than to feel hurt by women. Something similar was found in informant LM02 who in his childhood was a victim of sodomy by three transvestites. In the later days, the LM02 informant did not directly commit criminal acts against the 3 sodomy perpetrators. When interviewed, informant LM02 was a prisoner with a life sentence for the murder of another transvestite, who repeatedly invited him to have same-sex sex. Post-victimization transformation, as described in the previous section, produces strain in the form of negative emotions in the form of anger. As explained in General Strain Theory (GST), negative relationships with others generates negative emotions, especially anger, and its impulses that lead to criminal or delinquent behavior (Agnew, 1992). This can be seen in how the LM02 informant who killed his victim sadistically, took out his heart and stabbed him until the victim died. Based on the evidence above, the variation in the overlap of the victims and perpetrators (Victim-Offender Overlap) in it. This study found a type of identity, namely the victim of a victimization event can commit a criminal act against someone who has the same background or characteristics as the perpetrator of the victimization of him before.

The fourth identity found is in the role of the victim of the informant that play two roles. The first role is as perpetrator in the past and then secondly as the victim of crime by the informant. This was found in the LT03 informant who had experienced theft and persecution, and later committed crime that caused the death of that person. In this case, LT03 informant and the perpetrator of theft and persecution against him have dual role, namely as a victim and a criminal. Two informants (LB01 and RM03), both of whom had experience of bullying, reported a similar association between previous victimization

experiences and later criminal cases. LB01 has a history of victimization in the form of bullying experience. The impact of the bullying experience led LB01 to commit murder against the perpetrator of the bullying. The association between exposure to the experience of bullying and the act of murder committed by the victim is the perpetrator of bullying. LB01 was forced to defend himself in one incident of physical bullying, by retaliating for the blows given by the bully, but then causing the perpetrator to fall and die. These findings complete one of the challenges in the study of Victim Offender-Overlap which arises related to the methodological challenge, namely about the order in which the crime events occur: whether the individual perpetrator then becomes a victim of crime or the victim of crime then becomes a perpetrator of crime. In these findings, two types of overlap were found in one event of the same crime. Two actors in a criminal event, namely the perpetrator and the victim, were found to be able to swap opposite roles. The process of the emergence of victims and perpetrators was found to occur in the same or continuous criminal event (Berg & Schreck, 2021).

In addition to the various identicalities that make associations between previous experiences of victimization and later criminal behavior, researchers have also found other associations that explain how victimization victims can transform into criminals. The association is in the inability of individuals to respond to the victimization events that are being experienced, and to commit criminal acts as an alternative or vent to others. This is as found in LA02 informants who experienced victimization in the form of violence and persecution from their siblings. The impact of the violence resulted in strain in the form of revenge and anger towards his brother as the perpetrator of violence. What is interesting in this finding is the way in which resentment and anger are channeled. The LA02 informant did not vent these negative emotions to the source of the negative relationship, which was his brother, but to someone else. LA02 stated that he had committed several criminal acts, namely stabbing several people as an outlet for revenge and anger towards his brother. The informant admitted that he stabbed his victim because he was hurt by his brother's treatment. In fact, he stabbed others several times, imagining that he was stabbing his brother. However, this finding expands the perspective of the concept of Victim-Offender Overlap, namely victimization victims do not just retaliate to the perpetrators of victimization. The helplessness of victimization victims over victimization perpetrators can also be channeled in the form of venting to other individuals even though it has no connection with previous victimization experiences.

Other Findings Related to Victim-Offender Overlap

In addition to the three stages that explain the process of transformation from victimization experience to criminal behavior, this study also revealed interesting findings, namely criminal behavior that is connected to a history of secondary victimization previously. Based on its definition, victimization is distinguished in two forms, the first is primary victimization and the second is secondary victimization. Primary victimization is the experience of victimization experienced directly by victims of crimes committed against them, while secondary victimization is the experience of victimization experienced by victims of crimes by criminal justice institutions such as the police, prosecutors, and in court.

An interesting fact in the findings of this study is that the phenomenon of Victim-Offender Overlap does not only occurs in individuals with a history of exposure to primary victimization, but also occurs in secondary victimization (Wolhuter et al., 2008).

Based on the data findings in the previous chapter, there are three categories of Victimization Experiences in this study, namely: 1) Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE's); 2) Other Forms of Victimization; and 3) Other Adverse Experiences. Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE's) are various forms of victimization experiences experienced in childhood, while other forms of victimization are various forms of victimization experiences that occur in adulthood. Secondary victimization based on the data findings in this study is categorized into other forms of victimization.

This study found that there was a secondary victimization experience among 3 inmates (LA03, LA04 and LT03) as informants. Surprisingly, these findings show that the three informants who experienced secondary victimization, were identified as committing criminal acts against the perpetrators of victimization against them before. The forms of secondary victimization exposure experienced by the three informants were: Various authorities did not respond to reports of theft and persecution experienced by LT03 informants; The police did not act on the report of abuse experienced by the LA03 informant; and Police who did not respond to reports of erosion experienced by LA04 informants. The findings show a transformation in the aspects of the feelings of these three informants after experiencing secondary victimization, namely feelings of disappointment with law enforcement officials and feelings of resentment with criminal perpetrators who are still on the loose. The strain generated after being a victim of a criminal act, then experiencing secondary victimization, ultimately led the three informants to involvement with criminal behavior. The LA03 informant stabbed 2 victims who were previously the perpetrators of the persecution against him. The LA04 informant also stabbed one of the perpetrators of the previous demolition against him. Meanwhile, the LA04 informant committed persecution that caused the death of the victim who was previously the perpetrator of theft and the persecution of him. This finding adds to the wealth of new variations in the concept of Victim-Offender Overlap, that the phenomenon of victims transforming into perpetrators does not only occur in the form of primary victimization experienced directly, but also occurs in the form of secondary victimization.

At the same time, researchers also found an interesting fact related to the form of victimization experience that became the starting point of transformation into criminal behavior. These interesting findings show that the victimization experience that transforms individuals into engaging with criminal behavior is not only a form of victimization experienced in childhood, but also a victimization experience experienced in adulthood as well. As reported in the previous data findings chapter, it was found that 19 out of 20 informants had a history of exposure to victimization in childhood, namely Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE's). This means that there is 1 informant who is the only informant who has never had a history of victimization experience in childhood. This informant is LT03, who has experience being a victim of theft and persecution, then experiencing secondary victimization. The LT03 informant experienced victimization in adulthood, in the form of theft and persecution carried out repeatedly by the same perpetrator.

Furthermore, LT03 experienced repeated secondary victimization where complaints and reports were addressed to the authorities but ended up not being responded to. There are 6 stages that have been carried out by LT03 informants, namely: 1) Reporting to the head of RT but not succeeding; 2) Reporting to the village head but to no avail; 3) Reprimanding parents repeatedly but to no avail; 4) Returned to report to the village head but failed; 5) Reporting to the village head but not succeeding; and 6) Reporting to the social service but not being acted upon. The accumulation of various experiences of victimization then led LT03 to commit a criminal act in the form of persecution that caused the death of the perpetrator of theft and the persecution of him. Regarding the study of Victim-Offender Overlap, the above findings show that the starting point of the transformation process from victimization experiences to criminal behavior does not always begin with the experience of victimization in childhood, but also from the accumulation of various victimization experiences in adulthood.

In general, this study has answered the first proposition, namely negative relations (failure to achieve positive goals, loss of positive stimulus, and entry of negative stimulus) in the form of victimization experiences, resulting in strain in individuals who experience it. Three types of negative relationships have been proven to be found among informants who have the status of inmates of a criminal event. The negative relationship in this study was reported in the form of various victimization experiences, which were confirmed, experienced by the informants before they were involved in various criminal behaviors. Exposure to negative relationships in the form of various victimization experiences, has been proven to produce various negative emotions called strain. This strain was found to persist in the informants after exposure to the victimization experience, to the next stage of transformation, which is involvement in a criminal behavior.

This study also answers the second proportionality in this study, which is that the strain caused by the experience of victimization leads individuals to involvement with criminal behavior, deviant behavior, and/or delinquent behavior. The findings suggest that the strain of negative emotions resulting from victimization experiences is proven to influence individuals in engaging with criminal behavior. The strain, which stems from various previous victimization experiences, has been found to have various associations with later criminal behavior. Various forms of associations between previous experiences of victimization and later criminal behavior, namely: Identity to the same type of criminal behavior; Identity on the same modus operandi; Identity in the background and characteristics of the victim; Identity of the victim and the perpetrator who exchanged roles; and Association of criminal behavior as an alternative to the helplessness of victimization experienced.

As a conclusion in this chapter, it can be concluded that the phenomenon of Victim-Offender Overlap is really proven to exist in the Indonesian context. The process of transformation from the experience of victimization to criminal behavior occurs through three stages. The first stage is exposure to the victimization experience, which is the starting point of this process. Exposure to the victimization experience then leads to a stage of transformation, namely strain in the form of various negative emotions whose existence is found to persist until the next stage. The third stage, which is the culmination point, is

involvement in criminal behavior. These three stages have provided a comprehensive overview of how the process of transformation from the experience of victimization to criminal behavior occurs.

CONCLUSION

This study explores the transformation from victimization experiences to criminal behaviors, identifying three main stages: exposure to victimization, the subsequent transformation, and the resulting criminal acts. These findings align with the General Strain Theory, which posits that negative relationships and victimization experiences create strain that can lead to criminal behavior. Various victimization experiences, such as failure to achieve goals and exposure to negative stimuli, were noted, along with their impact on individuals' physical, emotional, and behavioral states. The study also highlighted secondary victimization among some inmates, suggesting further contributions to criminal behavior. It emphasizes the need for future research to examine the broader context of victimization and criminality, considering factors like socio-economic status and community support, and to explore the long-term effects of victimization across different life stages, with a focus on developing effective prevention and rehabilitation strategies.

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