Policy Transfer for Sexual Violence Prevention and Management in Indonesian Higher Education Institutions

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Abstract

This research delves into the intricacies of policy transfer in the domain of sexual violence prevention and management within Indonesian Higher Education Institutions (HEIs). Through a phenomenological approach, the study engaged with 15 key informants and scrutinized 17 policy documents, uncovering that the applicability of such policies is not universal and is significantly influenced by diverse social, economic, and political contexts. The study underscores the important role of effective communication with the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology, advocating for an understanding of the varied contexts in which these policies are executed. It highlights the disconnection between policy formulation and its practical enactment, suggesting that initial attempts at linear policy transfer eventually evolve into more complex processes once implementation unfolds. This complexity arises from the intersection of theoretical policy frameworks with the pragmatic realities of institutional contexts, underlining the need for adaptable and context-sensitive approaches in the fight against sexual violence in educational settings.

Keywords

Transferencia de Políticas para la Prevención y Gestión de la Violencia Sexual en las Instituciones de Educación Superior de Indonesia

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Resumen

Esta investigación examina las complejidades de la transferencia de políticas en el ámbito de la prevención y gestión de la violencia sexual en las instituciones de educación superior de Indonesia. La investigación utilizó una técnica fenomenológica y consultó 17 documentos de política. Se descubrió que la aplicación de estas políticas no es universal y está significativamente influenciada por diversos contextos sociales, económicos y políticos. El estudio destaca la importancia de la comunicación efectiva con el Ministerio de Educación, Cultura, Investigación y Tecnología, promoviendo una comprensión compleja de los diversos contextos en los que se implementan estas políticas. It emphasizes the disconnection between policy formulation and its practical enactment, suggesting that initial attempts at linear policy transfer eventually evolve into more complex processes once implementation unfolds. Esta complejidad surge de la intersección de marcos teóricos de política con las realidades prácticas de contextos institucionales. Esto destaca la necesidad de enfoques adaptables y contextuales en la lucha contra la violencia sexual en las instituciones educativas.

Palabras clave

T he regulation of the Minister of Education, Culture, Research and Technology Number 30 of 2021 concerning Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence in Higher Education is a major step toward making campuses safer for all the academic community. Behind the controversy, there are various appreciations about the Permendikbud (regulation of the Minister of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology). It is because the details of the articles and verses in this regulation were actually compiled from the victim's point of view. This regulation also defines sexual violence in a more comprehensive framework, noting that sexual violence consists of verbal, non-physical, and physical attacks as well as attacks through information and communication technology. In fact, sexual jokes, catcalls, whistles, and ridicule are also regulated in this regulation. There are various types of punishment, whether light, moderate or severe.

Compiled to National Commission for Women, sexual violence in higher education institutions has fluctuated in the last five years (Katadata, 2021). In 2015, for example, Komnas Perempuan received 3 reports. This increased to 10 reports in 2016 and decreased to 3 cases in 2017. This case increased to 15 reports in 2019 and is counted as the highest number. From 2020 to August 2020, there were 10 reports. Ignoring the quantification of sexual violence, cases of sexual violence both inside and outside the higher education environment are an iceberg phenomenon(Oni et al., 2019). There is a collection of literature that discusses victims of sexual violence often choose to remain silent, mainly because of power relations (O'Connor et al., 2021).

In the extreme, sexual harassment is called an epidemic (Bondestam & Lundqvist, 2020) in the global higher education system and impacts individuals, groups, and entire organizations. In the literature, it is stated that the causes are hierarchical organizations, normalization of gender-based violence, academic masculinity, a culture of silence, and a lack of active leadership (Aborisade, 2021). This brings consequences to the occurrence of sexual violence in higher education institutions which then results in physical, mental, and academic problems (Gautier et al., 2020; Oluwatelure, 2013). Female students may experience sexual harassment from various perpetrators such as peers, teaching staff, and educational staff (Kotze et al., 2021; Morley, 2010).

There is a large amount of literature on sexual violence in higher education institutions (Bondestam & Lundqvist, 2020). Most of them focus on individuals and institutions of higher education. In the individual focus, there has been already available literature examining the causes, and impacts of sexual violence (Emslie, 2009; Kotze et al., 2021). Meanwhile, from an institutional perspective, higher education responses and prevention efforts have also been available in various quantities (O'connor & Irvine, 2020; Vohlídalová, 2015). From the setting, the literature mostly focuses on western countries or the world's leading higher education institutions (Kotze et al., 2021; Pérez et al., 2020). In addition, in a developing country setting such as Indonesia, there has not been much discussion on national government policies and the response of higher education institutions to these policies.

Revealing the extent data of sexual violence in developing nations proves challenging due to entrenched cultural taboos, societal norms, and systemic inadequacies (Hardt et al., 2023). For example, Chairunnisa et al. (2022) showed a high prevalence of sexual violence cases against female students, but the majority were reluctant to report. Victims' reluctance to

report incidents, driven by stigma, contributes to a pervasive culture of silence. Insufficient awareness and education compound the problem, while flawed legal systems and distrust in law enforcement (even at the university level) hinder the pursuit of justice (Noor & Iamtrakul, 2023; Rana, 2023). In recent years, there is a sexual harassment task force that has been established in several Indonesia universities. However, the effectiveness of this task force is still debatable. To fill this gap and asses the existing challenge, this research aims to analyze how policies on prevention and prosecution of sexual violence in higher education institutions at the national level are transferred within the framework of higher education governance. Considering that the policy of preventing sexual violence in universities in Indonesia is an old story with a response to sporadic and case-based actions and efforts to reform the management of higher education institutions that are safe for all recently introduced in Indonesia comprehensively, practically, this research is important to carry out.

This research aims to build an understanding of globally accepted policies for preventing and handling sexual violence as a strategy to reduce the number of sexual violence in HEI and deal with victims and perpetrators in a socially fair manner. The specific objectives of this research are to examine how this policy is interpreted, understood, and introduced on a national and HEI scale and to identify barriers to institutional arrangements in HEI sexual violence prevention and management policies in Indonesia.

Literature Review

Policy Transfer

Policy transfer is the process that knowledge of policies, administrative arrangements, institutions, and ideas in a political system is used in developing similar features elsewhere (Evans & Davies, 1999). Policy transfer research is rooted in comparative policy analysis in the US (Bulmer et al., 2007; D. Dolowitz et al., 1999). Policy transfer is often used to classify and explain the many processes that occur both within and between different political contexts (Benson & Jordan, 2011). This concept developed along with the emergence of studies that describe lessons and theoretical arguments about policy transfer (Brunn, 2021; Peters, 1997). Furthermore, this concept is used to analyze and study several empirical policy cases such as social policy, crime, public education, and the environment (Bartlett, 2013; Nakray, 2018; Vidovich, 2004).

In a more practical realm, policy transfer is a government strategy, action plan, guidelines, goals, and objectives as well as rules and regulations (Barabasch, 2010). Policy transfers have three basic questions: who is involved, what is transferred, and when the policy is transferred (Wolman & Page, 2002). Minkman et al. (2018) stated that policy transfer refers to a proactive engagement undertaken by independent policy entities, encompassing both willing and potentially forceful policy actions. An alternative explanation characterizes policy transfer as a mechanism in which insights from policies, administrative structures, or institutions from a particular context are utilized in the formulation of policies, administrative structures, or institutions in a different context, either temporally or spatially (D. P. Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000).

Policy transfer in the literature is often used interchangeably in other concepts such as policy borrowing, policy adaptation, policy convergence, and learning (Benson, 2009; Dussauge-Laguna, 2013; Kiese, 2010). Policy transfer is more often seen as part of policy learning. Real policy learning lies in the conscious and voluntary process of deciding whether governments adopt policies from the past or elsewhere (Dobbins, 2014). However, policy transfers are more often carried out in a coercive manner. Policy transfer gives rise to a policy learning process (Prichard, 2020).

This research used three key questions, namely what, how, and where policy transfer takes place, policy transfer proceeds as follows. The first question is about what describes the details of the transferred policy. Then, how are the criteria for the government's mechanism to put into practice the details of the transferred policy. Meanwhile, the third part is "where" revealing the location or situation where the policy is transferred. No less important is the analysis of policy transfers. It discusses what is redirected and the level of redirection that is frequently used. The use of voluntary and coercive continuums is globally accepted to classify transfer types.

Research Method

This study employed qualitative methods and a phenomenological approach to comprehend how Indonesia has dealt with sexual violence on university campuses since the policy shift (Silverman, 2011). We analyse policies and procedures, investigate the perspectives of policy actors, and examine policies regarding the prevention and response to sexual violence (Caelli, 2001). The first stage of this research consisted of document analysis, which prepared interview questions and yielded significant insights into the policymaking process and its results (Ahmed, 2010; Karppinen & Moe, 2019) Because documents may contain bias, we also conducted semi-structured interviews to triangulate our findings (Tight, 2020). In the second and third stages of data collection, we used semi-structured interviews, which allowed us to pose pertinent questions and elicit detailed responses (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). We decided to review a variety of documents pertaining to the prevention and management of sexual violence in Indonesian universities. During the second and third phases, we interviewed policy actors from 15 institutions that have established policies pertaining to this issue, each represented by one resource person. The interviews began by sending permission letters to several universities in Indonesia, where 15 task forces agreed to be interviewed on different dates and times. These task forces are official members of the university that have a responsibility to advocate the prevention and handling of sexual violence at the university level. Our sources are university employees with knowledge and expertise regarding this policy. Each interview lasted between 45 minutes and two hours and was conducted via various platforms such as zoom, the telephone, and WhatsApp (Etzioni, 2009). During the interview, notes were taken to aid in creating a coding book based on the available data and information.

This analysis utilised 17 documents and 15 interview transcripts written in Bahasa Indonesia, with thematic analysis serving as the primary technique for identifying and

analysing data patterns (Wach & Ward, 2013). The reason of selecting this method is because it can observe and interpret data in a systematic and informative manner. The codebook facilitates coding and quality assurance for data analysis. Through this method, we identify four major codes, namely: global standards and national requirements for handling sexual violence in Indonesia, locality in handling sexual violence, locality of policies for preventing and handling sexual violence in universities, and policy transfer challenges (Skjott Linneberg & Korsgaard, 2019). Triangulation was used to support the results, which involved data collection via interviews, document analysis, and self-reflection (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Code journals were compiled to ensure data consistency (Cypress, 2017). Transcripts were compared to records to ensure data accuracy. This research was conducted with respect for ethics, confidentiality, and anonymity of the participants. No one was compelled to participate, and each informant received a thorough explanation (Henrickson et al., 2020).

Results

The Global norms and national needs for the prevention and handling of sexual violence in Indonesia

Universities and colleges in Indonesia have designed, implemented, and changed sexual violence prevention and response programs in response to international treaties and pledges pertaining to women's rights and gender equality. The 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) has had an impact on Indonesian policy, as seen by the passage of Law No. 1984 and Law No. 39/1999. Both documentary analysis shows the speed at which these conventions and commitments establish the obligation for the Indonesian government to adopt and introduce the prevention and treatment of sexual violence in Indonesia. Over the years, as an increasing number of nations have endorsed the CEDAW convention and initiated policies aimed at preventing and safeguarding against sexual violence, there has been a shift in emphasis within prevention strategies. The focus has evolved from prioritizing support for victims to directing efforts towards addressing and reducing the actions of perpetrators, thereby aiming to diminish the incidence of sexual violence as quoted below:

> To restore the condition of unequal power relations to reduce the abuse of power from parties with strong bargaining positions to parties with weak bargaining positions (especially due to gender construction), a process is needed to change the power relations to equal or gender equality conditions occur. The process towards gender equality in society requires a series of affirmative actions as referred to in CEDAW. (Permendikbud Academic Papers 30/2021).

Besides CEDAW, some global norms influence this policy-making such as:

> Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960), International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (1966), Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1966), Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979), Convention on the rights of

the Child (1989), International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (1990), Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006) (Permendikbud Academic Papers 30/2021).

Many international human rights instruments above specifically guarantee the fulfilment of the right to education for certain vulnerable groups such as children, women, persons with disabilities, refugees, and immigrants. International human rights instruments that generally regulate the state's obligation to guarantee the fulfilment of the right to education for everyone are the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education and the International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR).

These international norms are a form of illustration that international policies also affect the decisions of bureaucrats in transferring policies and facing sexual violence in higher education institutions in Indonesia. It also demonstrates how the international community can affect the transfer of policies through the dissemination of norms and the cultivation of a global policy culture.

In addition, there are also various kinds of instruments at the national level such as:

The 1945 Constitution, Law no. 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System, Law no. 12 of 2012 concerning Higher Education, Government Regulation no. 4 of 2014 concerning the Implementation of Higher Education and Management of Higher Education and Regulation of the Minister of Research Technology and Higher Education No. 44 of 2015 in conjunction with Regulation of the Minister of Research Technology and Higher Education No. 50 of 2018 in conjunction with Regulation of the Minister of Education and Culture No. 3 of 2020 concerning National Higher Education Standards. (Academic Papers of Permendikbud 30/2021).

Education, according to the provisions above, is a conscious and planned effort to create a learning atmosphere and learning process. Thus, students actively develop their potential. The Law on the National Education System also regulates the principles of providing education which include the principles of democratic and fair education and non-discrimination by upholding human rights, religious values, cultural values and national pluralism. In order to achieve this goal, higher education providers must build an academic culture within the framework of the Tridharma of Higher Education (organization of education, research and community service). This means that in each scope of educational, research and community service activities, higher education providers is required to ensure the establishment of an academic culture that includes the entire system of values, ideas, norms, actions and works that originate from science and technology in accordance with the principles of higher education.

The Permendikbud 30/2021 Academic Manuscript lists several countries as references, such as South Africa, Nigeria, and the United States. The following is an excerpt from the academic manuscript:

South Africa and Nigeria, for example, already have the Protection from Harassment Act (South Africa 2011) and the Anti-Sexual Harassment Act in Higher Education (Nigeria 2020). The two countries decided to establish a national level regulation considering the high number of sexual

violence, including those that occur on campus. The enactment of laws at the national level was also triggered because students did not or did not understand the forms of sexual violence (Mayekiso and Bhana 1997). (Academic Manuscripts of Permendikbud 30/2021)

The United States also has the same problem related to the number of sexual violence that occurs on campus. The Federal Government then tried to deal with this problem by establishing anti-discrimination regulations in the education sector or better known as Title IX since 1972. 30/2021)

This localization approach reflects a type of emulation policy transfer where one country implement another country's policy as the standard (Rose, 1991). However, the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture does not immediately include accepted global standards in the Indonesian context. Instead, there is a localization process in this. This evidence demonstrates that the formal process of transferring policies for preventing and addressing sexual violence within Higher Education Institutions in Indonesia into the national policy domain commences once global standards are adhered to and aligns with domestic laws.

Our research findings demonstrated the localization of policies related to the prevention and response to sexual violence in higher education institutions within the context of Indonesia. This localization process involves interpretation, evaluation, selection, and transformation carried out by policy actors who determine what gets transferred, when it happens, and the manner of transfer. This improvisational aspect on the part of policy agents underscores that policies undergo nuanced processing, rather than a simple transference from one context to another. It highlights diverse approaches employed in shaping gender mainstreaming to align with the specific nuances of the new setting.

Localization of policies on prevention and handling of sexual violence in higher education institutions in Indonesia to implementation arrangements

The main national policy actors adopt two approaches: a vertical and a horizontal approach, to introduce policies on the prevention and management of sexual violence in higher education institutions in Indonesia to universities so that they can integrate them into practice. The vertical approach entails the issuance of directives from the national level down to the university scale. On the other hand, the horizontal approach relies on the voluntary engagement of implementation entities in incorporating policies for preventing and addressing sexual violence in higher Indonesia education institutions into their respective organizations. The specifics of these two approaches are elaborated upon below.

Vertical approach. The vertical approach to introducing the idea of preventing and dealing with sexual violence in higher education institutions in Indonesia can be divided into three methods: the use of directive policy documents, command and control, and universal patterns. The use of directive policy documents is demonstrated by Permendikbud 30 which instructs universities to establish regulations at the level of higher education institutions as a mechanism and define their roles related to policies on prevention and handling of sexual violence in higher education institutions in Indonesia at their universities. The use of the policy also illustrates how the Ministry of Education and Culture uses policy documents to officially produce a policy transfer process for the prevention and handling of sexual violence

in higher education institutions in Indonesia. This evidence clearly supports the idea that government practice becomes official when policy document/record are established (Greener, 2002; Li, 2021).

Each university was asked to demonstrate how they use this instrument by producing their own policy document, namely regulations at the level of higher education institutions on the prevention and treatment of sexual violence in higher education institutions in Indonesia that show how each organization applies the prevention and treatment of sexual violence.

> University is required to carry out Sexual Violence Prevention through a. learning; b. strengthening governance; and c. strengthening the culture of the student community, educators, and education staff (Permendikbud 30/2021).

In addition, if these obligations are not carried out, the following sanctions will also be applied:

> Universities that do not carry out the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence are subject to administrative sanctions in the form of a. termination of financial assistance or facilities and infrastructure assistance for Higher Education; and/or b. decrease in the level of accreditation for Universities. (Permendikbud 30/2021).

Six of the universities that already have regulations at the university level regarding the prevention and management of sexual violence are universities under the Ministry of Education and Culture. It is impossible for them not to respond quickly to these instructions due to mandatory policies. This was also revealed by our informant:

> It's hard for us to refuse this because our university is under the Ministry of Education and Culture. if other universities from certain organizations are possible, it's easy because they don't depend much on the government and also have representatives in Jakarta (Informant L).

The narrative above shows how the command-and-control approach is applied. The Ministry of Education and Culture drafts and introduces general regulations, while universities have the responsibility to implement and report back to the Ministry of Education and Culture.

Furthermore, the Ministry of Education and Culture introduced the idea of preventing and handling sexual violence in higher education institutions to various implementation arrangements using universal methods through the identical Permendikbud 30/2021 instructing all universities. The documentary analysis illustrates that the design of Permendikbud 30/2021 generally includes, Sexual Violence, Prevention, Handling, Examination, Targeting, Victims, Reported, Task Force on Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence, Scope of Sexual Violence, Forms of Sexual Violence, Victim Consent, Prevention, Prevention through learning, prevention through strengthening governance, prevention through strengthening the culture of the student community, educators, and education personnel, assistance, protection, imposition of administrative sanctions, and recovery of victims. The following are our findings regarding the similarities between the

Minister of Education and Culture and the regulations at the university level regarding the prevention and management of sexual violence.

Our findings that the seven universities, such asUnila, Unpad, UNJ, Palangka Raya University, IAIN Ponorogo, Jenderal Sudirman University, and Jember University adopted Permendikbud 30/2021 exactly and developed 1-4 additional points to localize violence prevention and handling policies. sexual. Of the seven universities, the University of Jember fully adopted the points of Permendikbud 30/2021.

Horizontal Approach. Besides the prior section's exploration of the vertical approach, universities occasionally incorporate the implementation scale to enact gender mainstreaming through the adoption of a complementary horizontal approach. The horizontal approach can be categorized into methods such as visits and comparative studies to see the good practices of universities that have implemented policies to prevent and handle sexual violence. In addition, the university also invites presenters to come online or offline to provide socialization on the implementation of policies on preventing and handling sexual violence in higher education institutions as stated by the informant: "We did a comparative study at a campus that has a policy of preventing and handling sexual violence. We had time to go abroad but it is COVID-19 pandemic" (Informant J).

Our informant also revealed that the regulations regarding the prevention and handling of sexual violence at the university level where he/she works using languages that have been used by other universities as stated in the following interview excerpt: "in the rules in our college, the points are also follow other universities, so apart from the Minister of Education and Culture, we also look at other campuses" (Informant K).

In addition, the experience of seeing similar practices at other universities abroad also helps in the formation of policies on the prevention and handling of sexual violence in the universities where our informants worked. This is revealed in the following interview: "My friends and I study abroad. We have seen similar cases and how they are handled abroad, we conveyed this during the policy formulation" (Informant L)

These findings reflected indications that policy actors are seeking to achieve other jurisdictions to manipulate their agendas through voluntary collaborative efforts (Balme, 2019; Dąbrowski et al., 2018). One of the main reasons explaining the use of the horizontal approach is the confusion of universities in interpreting policies on preventing and handling sexual violence in higher education institutions in Indonesia. Therefore, they use the benchmarking method.

The challenge of policy transfer on prevention and handling of sexual violence in higher education institutions in Indonesia

There are four fundamental flaws in the strategy that national actors have taken to bring policies on prevention and handling of sexual violence in higher education institutions to universities. The first is a mistaken belief in the authority of policy documents; the second is the myth of mandatory policies; and the third is a refusal to acknowledge the variety of implementation situations.

The illusion of the power of policy documents. When asked about the usefulness of policy papers and their implementation, national policy actors had differing opinions on the transfer

of responsibility for preventing and responding to sexual abuse at institutions of higher education to individual universities. The Ministry of Education and Culture regards this directive policy document as an effective vehicle for ensuring the proper implementation and administration of sexual violence in schools. For some, the imminent adoption of this rule could be alarming. This paper is intended to serve as a guide to the university's procedures and rules. By law, higher education institutions must adhere to any orders made by the Ministry of Education and Culture.

Regarding the significance of policy texts, national policy bodies and universities disagree. The adoption of policy directives by national actors frequently results in the erroneous belief that the approval of these policies will immediately transfer their notions to universities and compel their implementation.

> The conditions at that time were difficult because our campus was being highlighted whether or not we wanted this regulation the right solution and we fully accommodated it in the rector's regulation, we forgot the local context and ignored input from several academics (Informant N).

The results also indicate that Permendikbud 30/2021 has had minimal influence on the execution at the university level, primarily due to ineffective follow-up on practices guided by this policy. This finding explains why universities regard Permendikbud 30/2021 as just a written paper without any enforcement status, and the policy was unable to enforce implementation at universities when this policy was moved to a new arrangement.

The mirage of policy documents. The Ministry of Education and Culture used a command and control approach by demanding that universities provide plans and quarterly updates on the implementation of this policy. The findings from the interviews showed that the university's plans and reports are often unrealistic and provide no guarantee that the policy would be implemented. Several school heads have complained that, despite having written regulations, it has been difficult to put them into action.

Another example, as expressed by a university official, also showed that the rector's regulation is difficult to implement, and is made to fit within the framework established by the Ministry of Education and Culture. Some of the points of the regulations that they designed are not following the context of the university as revealed by the informants in this research: "Fortunately, there is still room to adjust to the context of Islamic educational institutions because actually there are our lecturers who openly refuse because of the word of approval" (Informant K).

This study demonstrates how changes in policy actors result in a power rebalancing in the background. Over time, the mechanisms employed to enforce these norms also evolve. As the conditions under which this strategy was implemented changed, so did the commitment and capacity to maintain it.

Failure to recognize the diversity of implementation contexts. The utilization of a universal design for propagating measures against sexual violence highlights that national actors give insufficient consideration to the unique aspects of each implementation context in two

regards. The first aspect is the lack of sensitivity to the complexities of thematic areas and the diversity of the university's institutional context.

Our document study investigated rejection by certain Islamic-based university for the following reasons: Article 1, number 1 contradicts religious teachings by oversimplifying the multifaceted issue of sexual violence. Article 5, paragraph 2 of Ministerial Regulation No. 30 of 2021 trivializes sexual violence by implying consent could permit it. Article 5 gives new weight to legalizing immoral acts and free sex based on consent, disregarding religious precepts. The disregard of religious values in the agreement conflicts with the educational vision in Article 31, paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution of Indonesia. Article 19 suggests defunding colleges not taking enough measures against sexual assault, an excessively authoritarian punishment.

This was also expressed by informants J and E who stated that there is a religion-based approach, Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution that must be accommodated. This is stated in the following interview:

> We support the efforts of the Minister of Education and Culture to eradicate sexual violence and crime in the campus environment and other educational institutions. However, it must be following Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, and applicable religious and cultural norms. Instead of ignoring it and being permissive, it also legalizes the practice of sexual relations in universities that are not in accordance with religious norms, laws, and customs in Indonesia, by taking refuge behind western culture, namely the pretext of consent (consensus) and non-violence" (Informant E.)

This finding is following our document study which states that overall, the universities in our study made additions to the points already stated in Permendikbud No. 30 of 2021. It seems that the addition of points can be made for Indonesian national values (such as Pancasila values, religion and norms) as well as old points in previously applicable regulations. Our research findings show that the universal content of Permendikbud 30/2021 reflects the assumption that all universities can use this general knowledge to integrate it into their thematic areas and institutional contexts.

This Permendikbud 30/2021 barely scratches the surface of articulating the broader notion of policies on preventing and addressing sexual violence, making it challenging to implement them in university settings. According to an insider, "as the foundation of this policy, this regulation is more than sufficient to protect victims and provide ultimate therapy; implementation is the only remaining issue." Consistent with Ventura et al (2019) observation that "sexual assault prevention and response programs do not allow for context sensitivity, but rather use a one-size-fits-all strategy," this study indicates that there is opportunity for improvement in this area.

The second issue is that university leadership isn't considering the varied experiences and knowledge of those who have to implement university policies. The results of this research reveal that there is a considerable range in how university administrators understand sexual violence. The university's position isn't being considered, which further decreases the possibility that this regulation will be upheld. In the following passage, our source makes this assertion: "Big campuses may find it easier to implement this because they are "supervised"

by the media, have large resources, and have various kinds of experts from doctors, psychologists, law, policy and so on" (Informant G).

Evidently, when the universal policy transfer approach is applied to higher education institutions, they are all regarded as if they were identical. The procedure failed to account for the university's multicultural makeup. In this study, we find that policies cannot be implemented globally without taking institutional diversity into account.

Discussion

This article investigates how Indonesian colleges have implemented a new national policy against sexual assault. We utilize the policy transfer model to accomplish this objective. This study determined that soft and hard policy transmission mechanisms are employed in Indonesian HEI environments. There has been a significant cultural movement in Indonesian colleges toward the acceptance of the policy principle of preventing and addressing sexual assault (Evans, 2017). Adopting HEIs as a policy target, implementation approach, and strategy is a type of soft transfer (Evans, 2009). Based on the findings of this study, HEI has amended its policy for the handling of and protection against sexual violence in accordance with Permendikbudristek 30 criteria. Based on these findings, it would indicate that HEI has adopted this strategy in cases where doing so enhances the formation of meaning. As more people are exposed to the policy and given the opportunity to interpret and rediscover its meaning based on their own knowledge and experience, the number of concepts and the nature of those concepts will rise and change (D. P. Dolowitz, 2017; Stubbs, 2002).

Our research found that HEI builds meaning by accommodating public interests and modifies by adding points such as upholding human rights, religious values, cultural values and national diversity (Peruhype et al., 2018). This proved that this interpretation illustrates that under the assumed policy consensus in written form or policy acknowledgment, in reality, it is an illusion about the concept of sexual violence itself. Then the sexual violence prevention and treatment movement has varied meanings and this proves that 'meanings usually move - they rarely become crystallized and condensed' (Vecchio, 2022).

This study found that the idea of preventing and handling sexual violence has shifted from the national government to HEI in Indonesia. The implementation strategy consists of two main things. The first is to prevent sexual violence by carrying out a series of institutional arrangements and also to provide certainty to obtain social justice for victims as well as perpetrators. Some elements of the policy are translated while others are not, demonstrating that policy is never objective (Ady & Choi, 2019; Paris et al., 2011). This study also revealed that the policy transfer phase produces novel outcomes from policy innovation and knowledge transfer. Several studies provide support for this assumption (Cassarino, 2014; Legrand, 2012).

This study also demonstrates that confusing language on how to prevent and respond to sexual abuse in Indonesia's higher education institutions, as well as rigid policy documents and institutional structures, are significant impediments. In policy transfer research, these obstacles are included in the same category as those of a mental or physical nature (Hadjiisky

et al., 2017; Hodges & Grubnic, 2005). This study provides support to the notion that policymaking is an endless process with cognitive hurdles at every stage, not only the pre-decision phase. Due to uncertainty, doubt, dispute, and contestation, the prevention and management of sexual assault at Indonesian HEIs are problematic, according to this study.

In addition, the environmental barriers are related to written policies that cannot respond to changes in the institutional structure and the fluidity of the issue of preventing and handling sexual violence at HEI in Indonesia. This issue opens up uncertainty for policy actors in practice (Park et al., 2014; Saguin & Sha, 2021). In addition, the construction of space and scale in the bureaucratic structure in the mechanism for preventing and dealing with sexual violence may hinder its implementation. In addition, a lack of political will is a common obstacle. Patriarchy in HEI in Indonesia may be embedded, rooted in and control the entire body of the organization (Herri et al., 2016). In fact, policy documents are formed by policy actors and they must also understand and implement these policies.

Conclusion

This research argues that the prevention and handling of sexual violence is not a complete and universal object that can be directly mobilized in a top-down and universal manner. In order to prevent a break in its written practice and policies, the policy initiative should be regarded as a translation by observing the implementation of the policy and acknowledging the disparity between intended and actual outcomes. This study also finds that there is diversity in the prevention and treatment of sexual violence in HEIs in Indonesia. The Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology should be aware that this policy will be transferred in different social, economic, and political contexts.

Our research delineated the nonlinear progression and interconnectedness across various scales in the adoption of the universal policy movement for sexual violence prevention and management within Higher Education Institutions (HEI) in Indonesia. The examination has elucidated the facets that necessitate uniform as well as distinct transfers. The non-transferability aspect underscores the policy's contingent and intricate translation, encompassing a layered complexity of both explicit and implicit meanings held by policy actors. The research reaffirms that policy constitutes an ongoing process subject to interpretation, negotiation, reinterpretation, and transformation throughout its trajectory.

This study is a qualitative study that is methodologically limited in the generalization of findings because of the small number of informants. Even so, the informants in this study provided in-depth explanations about the prevention and handling of sexual violence at HEI in Indonesia. Second, we interviewed actors at the ministry level because our focus was on setting policies for the prevention and treatment of sexual violence at HEIs in Indonesia. However, we studied various documents containing the ideology of this policy found in the policy's academic texts. For this reason, future studies may employ quantitative methods to examine how this policy impacts HEIs in Indonesia, especially to provide a sense of security and comfort for HEI people.

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