

SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN UNIVERSITIES IN INDONESIA: BETWEEN STUDENT NEGATION AND RESISTANCE

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Abstract

This qualitative study aimed to investigate how the academic community at a university in Aceh, Indonesia, views the handling of cases of sexual violence on campus. After conducting preliminary research, this research was continued by conducting in-depth interviews with nine students, three lecturers, and two university leaders. Through thematic analysis, this study found that although students are at high risk of becoming survivors, some students still deny the potential for sexual violence on campus because of the lack of critical consciousness and the absence of standard rules from the university regarding sexual violence. On another side, the researchers found the emergence of resistance among female students against the sexual violence issue, even though it did not base on critical awareness and collective organization. The implication of this research is the potential for dealing with cases of sexual violence by utilizing the seeds of resistance that arise among students. Future research should explore how the academic community in higher education builds critical awareness in a collaborative and participatory way to deal with the issue of sexual violence.

Keywords: Aceh; Higher Education; Sexual Violence; Students' Resistance.

Abstrak

Penelitian kualitatif ini bertujuan menemukan bagaimana civitas academica di sebuah perguruan tinggi di Aceh, Indonesia, memandang penanganan kasus kekerasan seksual di kampus. Setelah melakukan penelitian pendahuluan, penelitian ini dilanjutkan dengan mewawancarai secara mendalam sembilan mahasiswa, tiga dosen, dan dua pimpinan perguruan tinggi. Melalui analisis tematik, penelitian ini menemukan meskipun mahasiswa berisiko besar menjadi korban, namun sebagian mahasiswa masih menyangkal potensi terjadinya kekerasan seksual di kampus. Hal ini disebabkan lemahnya pengetahuan dan kesadaran kritis mahasiswa, serta ketiadaan aturan baku dari perguruan tinggi mengenai kekerasan seksual. Di sisi lain, peneliti menemukan munculnya resistensi dari mahasiswi dalam menghadapi kekerasan seksual, meskipun belum berbasis kesadaran kritis dan belum terorganisasi secara kolektif. Implikasi penelitian ini adalah potensi kampus menghadapi kasus kekerasan seksual dengan memanfaatkan benih-benih resistensi yang muncul di kalangan mahasiswa. Penelitian

di masa depan dapat menelusuri bagaimana civitas academica di perguruan tinggi membangun kesadaran kritis secara kolaboratif dan partisipatif guna menghadapi isu kekerasan seksual.

Kata Kunci: Aceh; Kekerasan Seksual; Perguruan Tinggi; Resistensi Mahasiswa.

INTRODUCTION

Many sexual violence cases on universities in Indonesia have been exposed. This has motivated many university leaders to take prevention and treatment efforts by issuing special regulation and form a collective spirit of students to participate in fighting sexual predators. The sexual violence cases have a negative impact on institutions and survivors. Artaria's research (2012) at one of the state universities (PTN) in East Java shows that survivors of sexual violence experience psychological harm, including the feeling of ashamed, sad, angry, sinful, revengeful. These impacts are exacerbated by accusations of others who pronounce the incident occurred because the survivor was not careful or even considered inviting the perpetrator to do so.

Another study confirms that among students at the State Islamic University (UIN) Malang, survivors of sexual violence tend to choose to acquiesce, keep their mouths shut, and do not seek professional help even though the cases they experience are classified as severe, such as sexual coercion. The reason is, they are afraid to suffer more socially and economically, and face the negative stigma that is often attached to the survivor. In contrast to the experiences of survivors of minor harassment such as gender harassment, the female students in this finding were relatively motivated to seek professional help (Hayati, Nabila, Nuqul, & Ningrum, 2020).

This condition is exacerbated by the unavailability of a safe and comfortable space for survivors who in several studies are mostly female students. In the research of Istiadah, Indah, and Rosdiana (2020), religious values, especially in the context of Islamic Religious Colleges (PTKI), are often used as a tool to prevent sexual violence on campus. However, this also makes it difficult for survivors to obtain justice because efforts to protect institutions are hindered. Students expressed their dissatisfaction in complaining to the campus because of their lack of trust in the institution. Although several universities have issued special regulations for the prevention and handling of sexual violence, their implementation is still a big challenge for universities. Nikmatullah's research (2020) reveals that the human resources (HR) of the campus academic community are the key to implementing this rule. The claim of "the good reputation of the campus" is one of the inhibiting factors for the regulation of the prevention and handling of sexual violence. This factor causes the rules to become unequal and discriminatory, especially from the perspective of the survivors.

The high statistics on sexual violence, as well as the enormous challenges faced by women on campus, have led to the emergence of independent and collective movements by women, which aim to increase knowledge of the potential threats of sexual violence they will face. For example, in West Java, female students are more knowledgeable about sexual violence than male students. This is not solely influenced by the intelligence factor of female students, but because of the high risk of potential survivorization which makes them independently motivated to protect themselves (Rusyidi, Bintari, & Wibowo, 2019).

Sexual violence in universities is often perpetrated by several individuals. First, through the findings of Artaria (2012), the majority of perpetrators of sexual violence on campus are male. Second, lecturers were also found to be perpetrators of sexual violence, particularly sexual harassment, against students. Students are often threatened with not getting good grades from the perpetrators. The survivor feels scared and considers the bad experience a disgrace that should be kept behind closed doors (Susantia & Mas'udah, 2020).

In Aceh, research on sexual violence is mostly carried out at the early, primary, and secondary education levels. In a kindergarten, there was research on increasing understanding of sex education in children using the Part of Body poster medium (Fajriah & Nurtiani, 2015). At the elementary school level, research was conducted on the formulation of strategies to prevent sexual violence in the school environment (Amelia, Bakar, & Zuliani, 2017). Meanwhile, at the high school level, the factors causing sexual violence among students were studied (Fahriansyah & Hermansyah, 2019).

In addition, sexual violence had also been investigated in the area of *dayah* (the term *pesantren* or Islamic boarding school in the Aceh context) in North Aceh. Dayah which is assumed by the community as a safe place for its *santri* (students in Islamic boarding school) actually has a high level of sexual violence (Fadlia & Ramadani, 2018). The study reveals that there are four factors that make sexual violence happen and are difficult to uncover in the dayah. First, the facilities provided by the dayah do not support security for its santri. Second, the power relation between the santri and the perpetrator who is the leader of the dayah. Third, the community tends to trust the perpetrator more because of the power relations as the leader of the dayah. Fourth, human resources (HR) in the dayah have not been able to support the regulations that have been formed in the dayah.

The lack of research on sexual violence at the campus level in Aceh has become a research gap in this research. Although there have been many studies of sexual violence on universities in Indonesia, the phenomenon that occurs in each campus certainly has its own uniqueness and is important to study. Most recently, a study in Aceh found that aspects of critical awareness have a significant role in the issue of sexual violence in universities (Fitri, Haekal, Almukarramah, & Sari, 2021). The results of the preliminary research in this study found the fact that there had been several sexual violence in the form of sexual harassment at one campus in Aceh. But on the other hand, there are still students who do not believe that the campus has the potential to practice sexual violence. This finding underlies this study to be carried out further. This research is essential because the potential for sexual violence is still probable. In addition, several previous studies also found that students are the academic community who are most at risk of becoming victims. Some of the cases that were revealed at one of the campuses in Aceh could be just a few of the many cases that have not been detected. Therefore, this research departs from the research question of how one campus in Aceh deals with cases of sexual violence both in terms of prevention, handling, and resolution of cases, as well as how the academic community, especially students, respond to these problems.

RESEARCH METHOD

Before carrying out this qualitative research, the researcher first conducted preliminary research through Google Forms to get an initial picture of cases of sexual violence on a campus in Aceh. The survey contains general questions related to the definition of sexual violence, experiences as survivors/ witnesses, causes of sexual violence, as well as what are considered important informants facilitated by the campus. Respondents involved were

students, lecturers, officials/leaders, and staff (administration and security) of the campus with a total of 51 informants.

The information obtained from the initial research became the starting point for the research team in conducting qualitative research using the semi-structured in-depth interview method to female lecturer informants (3 people), male students (4 people), female students (5 people), and male and female leaders (2 people). In order to respect and maintain the privacy of the informants, the researcher gave the initials M for students, D for lecturers, and R for university leaders. Informants at this stage were selected by using a purposive sampling technique which aims to explore into some important information from the answers of the informants that appeared in the preliminary research stage. The data was then analyzed using thematic analysis, which was carried out by making transcripts, familiarizing the data, coding, finding emerging themes, reviewing themes and seeing possible relationships that emerged (thematic-map), defining themes, and analyzing themes that are in accordance with the research objectives (Terry, Hayfield, Clarke, & Braun, 2017).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The researcher uses the definition of sexual violence which refers to the formulation of Komnas Perempuan. As of 1998-2013, Komnas Perempuan recorded 15 forms of sexual violence, including rape, sexual intimidation, sexual harassment, sexual exploitation, trafficking in women for sexual purposes, forced prostitution, sexual slavery, forced marriage, forced pregnancy, forced abortion, forced contraception and sterilization, sexual torture, inhumane punishments with sexual nuances, and traditional practices of sexual nuances that harm or discriminate against women, as well as sexual control through discriminatory rules based on morality and religion. This form is tentative because of the possibility of the emergence of other forms as new cases are revealed (Komnas Perempuan, n.d).

From the several forms of sexual violence above, this study finds data that in one campus in Aceh there have been several cases of sexual violence in the form of sexual harassment. These cases were committed by unscrupulous lecturers to students, as well as fellow students. In 2018, a male lecturer harassed a female student when they were alone in one of the classrooms. This harassment was carried out in the form of rubbing the female student's body parts. The student rebelled against the lecturer by asking why the perpetrator did this. This case was eventually discovered by the rector after receiving a report from the survivor's family. The lecturer is a dean in a faculty. In the end, the case was resolved by the campus through family deliberation. The news of this case was not widely circulated among the academic community, in the sense that only the leaders and the academic community at the faculty knew about it. However, the news spread by word of mouth, especially among several lecturers. As far as D1 is concerned, the case is considered closed because the survivor did not have solid evidence that the lecturer had abused her.

In 2019, a male lecturer was caught almost having sex with a student at one of the lecturers on campus. This was known through CCTV cameras installed by several lecturers, from the same study program, who became suspicious after observing the perpetrator's behavior. The lecturer has a structural position on campus. The recorded evidence was submitted by the lecturers to the rectorate. By the rectorate, the perpetrator was asked to resign, while the student was expelled from the campus, although the case is not clear whether

with a consensual motive or under coercion. This case is also not widely known by the academic community, but only known by the leadership and some lecturers at the campus.

Still in the same year, one male lecturer was reported by two of his female students for sending them obscene messages several times. After feeling uncomfortable and afraid while on campus and interacting with the lecturer, in the end, both of the survivors reported it to a female dean whom they considered to be personally close to them. This case came to light after the husbands of the survivors threatened to beat the male lecturer if he continued sending inappropriate messages. The leader and several lecturers in the same faculty could hardly believe it, considering that the perpetrator was considered to be of good behavior, and was considered an *ustaz* (teacher in Islamic education context) who was actively lecturing both on and off campus. After investigating the similarity of mobile phone numbers, the dean confirmed the reports from the survivors. However, this case was not clearly resolved. The male lecturer always avoided being called by the leader. Currently, the male lecturer is still actively teaching and even has a structural position on campus.

Among students, several cases have occurred both on and off campus. In the campus environment, a case occurred in 2018 in a classroom when lecture hours had ended at 6 PM. The pair of students were caught almost having sexual intercourse but were caught by the security guard first. The case ended with them being married off by a family claiming “*suka sama suka*” or consensual. On the other hand, outside the campus, two cases were recorded. In 2017, a pair of college students and university students were reported by the local dignitary, a *keuchik* (village chief), for being caught together. In 2019, a similar case also occurred at 11 pm and eventually involved the campus. However, because this case took place outside the campus, the campus only took the role of mediating the *gampong* (village) officials and the families of the two students. If the case is considered to be tolerable, the campus will take the attitude of providing guidance, but if not, the campus will leave it entirely to the decisions of the village officials and their parents.

Weak Critical Awareness of Campus Academics

There are at least two methods of resolving cases of sexual violence committed at one campus studied in this research. First, provide sanctions by referring to normative rules, such as campus rules and regulations and the ethics of lecturers and students. This rule is considered R1 and R2 are sufficient to accommodate and meet the standards for resolving cases of sexual violence on campus. On the other hand, this finding contradicts the research findings of Marfu'ah, Rofi'ah, & Maksun's (2021) which emphasizes that special rules are one way out in avoiding and dealing with sexual violence cases.

Second, some cases were resolved by unwritten rules, and referring to moral, ethical, and religious values, such as deliberations amicably. In addition to tending to harm survivors, this method causes cases to be not resolved transparently and cannot be known by the entire academic community. Based on research findings, cases of sexual harassment on campus are only known to lecturers. This implies the formation of knowledge among students and some lecturers that the campus is free from the threat of sexual predators.

Although on the one hand the university leader admits that he is very concerned about preventing and handling cases of sexual violence, the campus does not yet have specific rules for preventing and responding to cases of sexual violence. This indicates the lack of knowledge and awareness of the leadership in looking at the issue of sexual violence. This vacancy also has implications for the lack of knowledge and awareness of the academic

community, especially students who are at high risk of becoming targets of sexual predators on campus. At the level of general knowledge, through preliminary research, data was found that there were still student respondents who did not know about sexual violence. This also has implications for their knowledge in responding to this issue.

Referring to Perkins and Warner (2017), the response of the academic community regarding sexual violence can be reflected in four things: (1) It is important to recognize inconsistencies in the definition of sexual violence or sexual harassment; (2) The unintended consequences of being obliged to report; (3) Lack of inclusiveness in the development of policies, procedures, and programs; (4) The impact of campus climate on policies and practices. The definition of sexual violence among academic community informants, both through surveys and in-depth interviews, is very diverse. In general, there are many definitions that describe sexual violence. Therefore, it is important for university leaders to facilitate the formulation of standard definitions, so that they can be used as a frame of reference when dealing with these cases.

Although quantitatively the number of students who are not familiar with the term sexual violence and who are involved in this research are not many, this number could be a small part of the many other academics, especially students, who have the same understanding. Furthermore, the lack of understanding both at the definition level and their response also affects the ignorance and awareness of some respondents in identifying whether the experience experienced by the respondent is a form of sexual violence or not. Through the graph below, it can be seen that 5.9% of respondents admitted to having "doubt" or not having experienced sexual violence.



Figure 1. Percentage of Sexual Violence Experienced by Respondents

This awareness was seen in several lecturer respondents and a few students who were involved in this study. D1 (interview 19 April 2021) explained that he received a lot of information about sexual violence from mass media, social media, but never from campus. D1 also explained that the seemingly indifferent attitude of the campus leadership affected the attention of the entire academic community. According to him, students will have more impact if they are not given a comprehensive understanding. D2 (interview 20 April 2021) added that the campus leadership must facilitate the entire academic community with a sense of security in terms of prevention, handling, and post-treatment. D2 alluded to the need for a call center service for anyone to report their case confidentially and securely. This is considered to work if the campus leadership has a critical awareness, and is supported by the entire academic community. D1 also stated the same thing, that special rules should be issued

by the leadership to answer problems so far, for example how survivors are prevented from getting justice because of the obligation to present witnesses.

From the student's perspective, only M1 and M2 (interview 20 April 2021) are aware that cases of sexual violence have the potential to occur anywhere. Both also added the need for counseling and protection institutions to be established on campus. They value this facility as very important because cases of sexual violence are very sensitive, confidential, and have the risk of discriminating against survivors, especially women

The absence of rules and other attributes such as counseling services causes cases of sexual violence that occurred on campus to seem resolved only symbolically. 'Lip service' of campus leaders as education providers indirectly contributes to fertilizing this practice. This is exacerbated because the campus is dominated by male leaders who are having limited gender consciousness. D2 stated that the resolution of cases is often called a "*suka sama suka*" (consensual) case by the leadership. Women are often considered not as victims. Leaders do not fully see that sexual violence can be related to power relations. For example, even though they are considered consensual, women can be victims who are threatened and coerced.

This also intersects with Susantia and Mas'udah's research (2020) that students are often threatened with not being given good grades. Likewise, the survivor's fear will not be trusted by the campus, when dealing with perpetrators who have a good image, are pious, and have a position in the institution. This phenomenon does not even occur in Indonesia, but also in other countries. As in the research of Karami, White, Ford, Swan, and Spinel (2020) which shows that students, both undergraduate and postgraduate (including doctoral students) have experienced sexual violence by lecturers who use power relations to force and lure students, especially to get good grades, or to facilitate other academic activities.

Student Negation in Sexual Violence Cases

Although students are often become survivors, this study found that there were student respondents, both through preliminary research and in-depth interviews, who still did not believe that one of the campuses in Aceh could potentially lead to sexual violence. Seen from the graph below, 31.4% of respondents considered that sexual violence on campus in Aceh was at the level of 'possible.'

14) Menurut Anda, apakah kekerasan seksual berpotensi terjadi di lingkungan perguruan tinggi khususnya di kampus saat ini Anda belajar/ bekerja?
51 responses

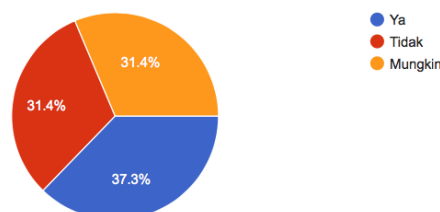


Figure 2. Percentage of Potential Sexual Violence on Campus

These points also affect the assessment of lecturers and students regarding how important it is for the campus to accommodate this issue. A total of 5.9% of the responses considered that one of the campuses in Aceh did not need to give serious attention to the phenomenon of sexual violence. All the respondents actually came from the students themselves. They stated that sexual violence was not a specific issue and it was very important to observe, but rather a problem of violations in general.

"I feel that campuses don't need to be serious in this matter, because I think that in college people are adults, and can think more broadly, so if anyone wants to do it, they will think that it is a sin, harming others and themselves. Thank you." Love." (M5 Interview April 2, 2021)

In addition, the pattern of resolving cases of sexual violence by campuses that are confidential in nature is related to the ignorance of the entire academic community about the cases that occurred, especially students who are most at risk of being targeted by perpetrators. There were 3 female respondents (M7, M8, M9) in this study who stated that the campus did not need to give serious attention to sexual violence. This is due to the assumption that there has never been sexual violence on campus. M3, M4, M5, M7, M8, M9 admitted that they did not really know in detail about sexual violence. However, their view has a common thread, that sexual violence on campus should be prevented by more controlling the appearance, attitude, and behavior of female students. M3, M4, M5 who were students assessed that women's clothing was the main trigger for sexual harassment and violence. They also agreed that although female students were often victimized, female students needed to be regulated in such a way in terms of dress, including setting the hours of activity on campus.

"Making regulations for students or teaching staff, especially women, must wear closed and loose clothes so that the desired thing doesn't happen." (M4, Interview 2 April 2021)

"In my opinion, the information is to maintain a distance between men and women both inside and outside campus, interaction is necessary, and also natural." (M5, Interview 8 April 2021)

In addition, M7, M8, M9, who are female students, admitted that they had experienced and witnessed sexual harassment in physical form. They had experienced being touched on the arms and back by several male students. However, the three female students did not feel the need to report, seek help, or even try to fight back even though they felt uncomfortable. All three tend to think the problem is over, without trying to understand why the crime happened.

The lack of inclusiveness in the development of policies, procedures, and programs can also illustrate the lack of awareness of campus leaders in managing the issue of sexual violence (Perkins & Warner, 2017). One of the campuses in Aceh even only resolved cases with normative rules that did not regulate specific reporting, handling, and prevention mechanisms. This pattern has continued for years. Even until this research was carried out, the campus still considered that the existing regulations were sufficient to be used as a legal basis

for cases of sexual violence. The campus has also never involved lecturers, staff, or students in educating or even reviewing policies related to cases of sexual violence. This pattern creates a gap in knowledge, awareness, and power, between the university leadership as education providers and the rest of the academic community.

Apart from going through the rules, the absence of campuses in educating the academic community, especially students, makes basic problems related to sexual violence on campus complicated. For example, in this finding, several students stated that even if sexual violence has the potential to occur, the solutions that can be taken by the entire campus academic community to prevent and deal with cases of sexual violence are solutions that are not substantial. Like the interview snippet below:

"Put calligraphy/ Qur'an verses in the room, so that people always remember Allah." (M3, interview 9 April 2021)

"By limiting the interaction of the opposite sex." (M9, student)

"Keeping up appearances." (M7, interview 3 April 2021)

"Improve security at USM and enforce a code of modesty." (M5, Interview 8 April 2021)

"Sexual violence starts from the heart where a person's psychology has been disturbed. And also added with the survivor wearing something revealing clothes." (M6, interview 26 April 2021).

If examined further, these ideas are relatively incompatible with the mechanism for preventing and handling cases of sexual violence. The absence of a leader who is aware and sensitive to cases of sexual violence causes the university to continue to dwell on the same issues. The campus response that has not accommodated the rules, as well as the absence of efforts to educate the academic community illustrates the legitimacy of the campus rectorate in determining how the academic community views, thinks, and acts on cases of sexual violence on campus. In *The Archeology of Knowledge*, this phenomenon is explained by Foucault as a form of discourse (Foucault, 2013). This discourse has the autonomy to claim something, to determine what is considered true from knowledge. The overall absence of the campus in this matter has implications for the low awareness of the entire campus academic community. This is exacerbated by the emergence of individuals who take advantage of power relations to further pressure the survivor. Survivors are ultimately unable to identify their own problems, and even tend to remain silent. Cases of sexual violence are not simple cases. By only relying on normative rules based on ethics and morals, cases of sexual violence are still far from being fairly resolved.

Potential Student Resistance

Weak knowledge and critical awareness of the academic community adds to the risk that the campus will continue to be trapped in the iceberg of sexual violence cases. In contrast to several campuses in Indonesia, although sexual violence occurs in relatively high numbers, many academics are moved to organize internal forces to reduce the number of sexual violence and demand justice for survivors. For example, through student-based groups such as Girl Up UGM, Girl Up Unpad, Girl Up UI, Girl Up Unair, Girl Up Diponegoro, and so on. These communities continue to provide advocacy in the form of knowledge of the importance

of gender justice, including the issue of sexual violence. This effort continues even though the campuses already have regulations regarding sexual violence. Although on the other hand, under the pretext of the good name of the campus, abuses of power and other injustices still occur. This is in line with the research of Nikmatullah (2020) and Rusyidi et al., (2019).

In this study, the researchers observed that although there were students who did not have weak knowledge and awareness regarding sexual violence, some student actions actually showed the potential for mechanisms of self-protection and resistance against sexual predators. The issue is that this scheme is not organized and is only carried out in small groups. First, students are not willing to enter the lecture room if the number of lecture participants is still small. Some of the lecture buildings are far from the crowds. Therefore, the researcher saw that it was easier for female students to unite to take care of each other. Second, during thesis supervision/ KKN (student study service)/ academic guidance/ certain consultations, students will ask their colleagues to accompany them if they have to meet lecturers outside the classroom, such as the lecturer's room/ study program.

This pattern does not work in all study programs. This finding is in line with the explanation of D1, D2, D3, that students in their faculties never enter the room if not many other students or lecturers have entered the room. This pattern also occurs during academic guidance and thesis. In addition, D3 also said that he often takes a personal approach to his students, the aim is to ensure that no male lecturer in his study program takes actions that lead to sexual violence. D1, D2, and D3 also appreciate the campus which provides room facilities made of transparent glass in the study program so that it can be seen by anyone.

If this potential is not utilized by the campus academic community, it will not form a strong defense system. If solidarity and collective spirit have been formed, then this movement can be used as a vehicle to urge the leadership, as the party most responsible, to provide security guarantees for the entire academic community, both in terms of regulations and so on. Moreover, there are still academics who do not have a critical awareness in responding to cases of sexual violence. Based on these findings, resistance by students and lecturers indicates that they have sufficient knowledge, but not all of them have critical awareness.

M6 (interview 26 April 2021) admitted that he had attended a lecture with a male lecturer who liked to speak obscene words while the lecture was in progress. M6 and his colleagues admitted that they felt very uncomfortable.

"I hope that lecturers are given knowledge or advice that they should not teach pornography if it is not related to the subject at all, and I have felt that when a lecturer taught him to talk about pornography and the course was very inversely proportional to the course he taught, I and my friends are very disturbed and feel very uncomfortable, I hope university academics can pay attention to problems like this." (M6, interview 26 April 2021)

Based on this experience, the least they can do is to wear headscarf and clothes that they think will not attract the attention of the lecturers. Although this step is not a step that can solve the problem in a structured way, the researcher assumes that what all students on campus are doing reflects a form of resistance and self-protection mechanism. Student

resistance in this study intersects with the findings in the research of Rusyidi et al., (2019), that in the end female students inevitably increase their understanding and awareness that they are vulnerable to being survivors of sexual violence on campus. This is a shield for them to avoid sexual predators. This finding is also in line with Nikmatullah's research (2020), that however special rules are needed by every campus. However, the enforcement of existing sexual violence regulations may not necessarily work well if it is not supported by adequate campus human resources.

In the midst of the dilemmatic attitude and the urgency of sexual violence cases to be handled, the impact of climate that affects campuses related to certain policies and practices is also important to investigate (Perkins & Warner, 2017). Campuses must strive to provide security guarantees for the entire academic community. For example, by making strict and pro-survivor regulations, providing complaint and counseling services, and strengthening the collective movement to move together, especially among students.

Circle of Maintaining “A Good Campus Reputation”

In the research of Istiadah et al., (2020) and Nikmatullah (2020) it was found how the force of maintaining a good campus reputation still becomes an obstacle to resolve cases of sexual violence. Likewise, in this study, the campus reputation is still the main thing for university leaders to be protected. This effort can be seen from the lack of an open attitude from the campus and even tends to harm survivors, such as the expulsion of female students from campus as described above. P1 said that the campus reputation needs to be maintained because it is under an Islamic law-based area. Each case that occurs not only disgraces the good reputation of the campus but is also considered to disgrace Islamic values and Islamic law. P2 also considered that the cases that were revealed were feared to disgrace the image of the campus in relation to moral and religious values. This attitude was shown by P2, one of which was by trying not to prolong the case but trying to resolve it immediately and in a simple way such as the deliberation method.

According to D1, it is feared that this pattern will continue to trigger other actors to do the same thing, because there are no firm and detailed rules and excuses for the good name of the campus. D2 stated that the campus should not cover up cases of sexual violence that occurred. Cases of sexual violence can occur in any campus. A firm attitude in opposing sexual violence is an attitude that is expected to form joint solidarity between campuses in Aceh. Considering cases of sexual violence that occurred were carried out by individuals who used their power (good image, higher education, academic position) to manipulate survivors.

Perkins & Warner (2017) also mentions that every report or complaint of sexual violence has certain consequences. Reflecting on the case at one campus in Aceh, the absence of complaints and counseling services led to the consequence that similar cases were kept behind closed doors. If the campus provides the same thing, then the campus must openly accept the consequences of the impact, whether it is reduced public trust, disgraced the campus' reputation, damaged relations with perpetrators, and so on. However, reporting every case that occurs is still important to be accommodated. If the pretext of the good reputation of the campus is always used as an excuse, then this will become knowledge that is considered natural for the academic community. The campus leadership has the power to determine what is important to complete and what is not, including what method is chosen to save the campus. Foucault (in Patton & Morris, 1979) explains that power relations are related to knowledge. Knowledge and power have a reciprocal relationship. The application of a power will continue to create knowledge, and knowledge will cause the effect of power. This has

implications for the academic community who behave in accordance with the dominant knowledge product. The mechanism for resolving cases in the name of the campus will be considered as the correct settlement. The perpetrators and potential perpetrators will also assume that the university leadership will not be transparent and firm, so that there is no significant fear because they know the risks are not substantial.

On the other hand, D1, D2, D3, M1, M3, and M4 stated that the good reputation of the campus can actually be obtained by declaring itself as a campus that is responsible for preventing and dealing with sexual violence. This was assessed by the informants as a step to improve the reputation and performance of the campus. The open attitude of the campus is considered to be able to increase the confidence of prospective students to choose this campus compared to other campuses. P1 and P2 also have the same opinion, but concrete steps have not yet taken place. Researchers assume the deadlock is caused by at least two things. First, the lack of knowledge and critical awareness of the academic community. Second, there is no party that initiates the formation of special handling regulations of sexual violence cases. D1, D2, D3, M1, M3, and M4 considered that they did not have the power to discuss this matter, including the leaders in study programs and faculties. Each case that occurs is only discussed in secret in certain circles. D1 and D2 considered that the campus must be very sensitive and start a breakthrough in creating a safe campus for the entire academic community.

Power Relations and Challenges for Universities in Aceh

In Indonesia, in general, the rules that have been formed have not been able to accommodate the protection of survivors of sexual harassment/ violence, the majority of whom are women. Handayani, Prasetyo, & Rahmat's research (2019) with the aim of examining the legal arrangements for the protection of women from cases of sexual violence by male perpetrators found two main things. First, the need for special regulations related to the protection of women from acts of sexual harassment. Second, it is necessary to optimize preventive measures (socialization, legal awareness training) and repressive measures (involving action by the police) so that the number of sexual violence can decrease. The study also reviewed the need for revision of article 281 of the Criminal Code on decency and law enforcement in accordance with local wisdom, guarantees for legal aid, counseling, medical assistance, and so on. This protection is solely so that women can rise up, advance, and contribute greatly to the country without the threat of sexual harassment.

The lack of awareness of the academic community, the lack of partisanship of the leadership in maintaining the good name of the campus, and the unorganized resistance of the academic community add to the severity of cases of sexual violence that occur. The definition used by the campus leadership determines the effect of campus characteristics on the existence, completeness, and effectiveness of sexual violence policies. The campus response regarding sexual violence is an important point. A holistic understanding of the entire campus academic community is needed to encourage the realization of a responsive campus. For example, campuses can take advantage of the new student orientation period as a momentum to instill an anti-sexual violence attitude into the entire academic community. Campuses can also continue to educate through various mediums, for example by integrating anti-sexual violence values into the curriculum.

D2 said that the absence of this rule was assumed to be related to the existence of the term sharia on campuses in Aceh. The term is considered to be a shield, thus giving rise to the

assumption among the entire academic community that sexual violence will not be possible. This finding is also consistent with previous research, that religious values are often used as a tool to prevent sexual violence on campus. However, this also makes it difficult for survivors to resolve cases and obtain justice, and prevent survivors from uncovering cases because efforts to protect institutions are hindered (Istiadah et al., 2020).

Understanding power has to do with being aware of how and in what ways power operates. According to Foucault, power relations are a form of ongoing power (Kristensen, 2013). Women are socially and culturally still considered powerless compared to men. Sexual violence occurs because of unequal gender-based power relations and becomes more complex when the perpetrator has power over the survivor, whether politically, in terms of knowledge, social status, and so on.

As in the findings of this study, although it was not clearly revealed, female students involved in sexually charged cases could be victims of sexual violence. However, the university leadership gave an attitude that tends to be unfair, such as expelling the student from campus, or even suggesting that she should get married. The need to present witnesses also adds to the burden on the survivor. Religious values in the sharia province also seem to be a mask for institutions so that cases like this do not deserve great attention.

The three themes above reflect the discourse of trying to form disciplinary power, knowledge that is carried out and is believed to be true will seek to discipline every academic community on campus. According to Foucault (in Olsson, 2010), this pattern creates a reality in which every subject involved must submit, understand this knowledge as normal, and internalize it in every line of subjects, while making the subject an effective vehicle in perpetuating the discourse. (vehicles of power). The university leaderships, students, staff, and all academia on campus are subjects who are involved and interact with each other in this relationship. The attitude taken by the university leaders will certainly be carried out by the entire academic community.

Cases of sexual violence are still unique and require special handling. The survivor's low trust in institutions makes this case continue to settle. The discourse formed and believed by the academic community adds to the fact how complex the cases of sexual violence are. Although cases of sexual violence can be committed by anyone, this study did not find any view that male students/lecturers also have the potential to become survivors of sexual violence, both by female students/lecturers and staff. For example, this is reflected in the research of Henning et al., (2017) which found variants of cases of sexual violence committed by fellow staff on campus. However, many studies have found that it is women who have the highest risk of being survivors of sexual violence in college, both by faculty staff and by peers (Wood, Hoefler, Kammer-Kerwick, Parra-Cardona, & Busch-Armendariz, 2021).

On the campus side, Marshall, Dalyot, and Galloway (2014) stated that it is important for universities to conduct background checks on staff and students regarding records/history of sexual harassment cases. However, this has not yet been carried out in an organized manner by one of the campuses in Aceh. This lack of understanding and the lack of action from campus leaders make sexual violence relatively difficult to decipher. This finding also identifies that online-based violence has not yet emerged from among the informants.

The challenge of preventing violence and sexual harassment on campus can be met in various ways. A study describes the behavioral service concept that can be adopted by campuses. This concept is carried out by professional counselors to foster an attitude of

awareness, openness, and confidentiality in dealing with the symptoms and patterns of preventing sexual violence (Maulida, 2017). This concept relies on the importance of the processes of communication, education, training, commitment building, development, monitoring, and evaluation. Referring to this research, this behavioral service should be internalized through the campus vision and mission and curriculum. However, this concept can be another challenge to implement, especially if the campus does not have study programs such as Psychology or Guidance and Counselling. Universities that do not have these two study programs may have weak power in seeing how important the role of professional counselors on a campus is in preventing sexual violence and harassment. In addition to the urgency of special regulation for sexual violence to be issued, campuses can also take other preventive measures such as issuing rules for interaction mechanisms for academics, for example when conducting thesis supervision, and others.

CONCLUSION

The high number of sexual violence that occurs should be able to motivate universities to protect the entire academic community with regulations, critical awareness, and productive ideas to prevent cases of sexual violence. However, the universities in this study have not taken any measurable steps to prevent sexual violence. This can be seen in the absence of special rules, as well as the lack of education to the entire academic community. Several cases that have occurred have been handled by a mechanism that is not transparent, is not based on an appropriate legal basis, and does not stand with the survivor.

This study also confirms data from previous studies, that female students are the most vulnerable to becoming survivors. However, in this study, there are other interesting findings, such as the existence of male and female students who do not have critical knowledge and awareness regarding sexual violence which has implications for responses, denial attitudes, and steps taken to get out of the puddle of sexual violence in the campus. On the other hand, this study also found potential resistance, especially among female students, although it has not been formed collectively and has not been based on critical awareness. Resistance and self-protection mechanisms are still carried out on a very small group scale. However, this potential for resistance should be utilized by the academic community on campus to move, fight, and urge the rector to create a campus that is safe from sexual predators. This research is expected to be the starting point for one of the campuses in Aceh, as well as adding essential literature for other universities in Indonesia, in mobilizing the collective spirit to make higher education institutions free from sexual violence. Future research shall explore how the academic community in higher education builds critical awareness in a collaborative and participatory manner to deal with the issue of sexual violence.

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