

Case Study On Law Enforcement Against Sexual Violence in Educational Environments

Nur Rois^{1✉}, Lena Claudia Angwarmasse², Folman P Ambarita³

Universitas Baturaja, Indonesia¹, Universitas Cenderawasih, Indonesia², Universitas
Krisnadwipayana Jakarta, Indonesia³

e-mail: [*nurrois@unbara.ac.id](mailto:nurrois@unbara.ac.id)

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ABSTRACT

Sexual violence in higher education is a critical legal and social issue requiring interdisciplinary responses. This study examines law enforcement against sexual violence in Indonesian universities through case studies of Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) and Universitas Mataram (UNRAM) using a mixed legal-sociological approach. Data were collected through document analysis, policy review, and academic literature synthesis. Findings reveal that although Law No. 12/2022 on Sexual Violence and Ministerial Regulation No. 30/2021 provide a progressive legal framework, implementation remains constrained by institutional hierarchy, cultural resistance, insufficient trauma-informed capacity, and limited coordination with law enforcement. Both cases demonstrate gaps between legal norms and university practices, particularly regarding victim protection, confidentiality, and administrative response. Strengthening campus task forces, establishing secure reporting mechanisms, ensuring structured collaboration with law enforcement, and mainstreaming gender-awareness education are crucial for creating safe academic environments and achieving substantive justice for victims.

keywords: *campus, law, sexual violence, victim protection.*

INTRODUCTION

Sexual violence in educational settings, particularly universities, is a serious issue that demands a comprehensive response from the legal system, educational institutions, and society. In recent years, cases of sexual violence occurring on Indonesian campuses have been increasingly exposed through the media and public advocacy, confirming that academic spaces are not yet completely safe for students and academics. The educational environment, which ideally should be a place for character and intellectual development, can instead become a locus for sexual violence due to unequal power relations, a culture of silence, and ineffective reporting mechanisms.¹ Sexual violence not only affects victims physically and psychologically, but also impacts the academic future of victims,

¹ Komnas Perempuan. (2023). *Catatan Tahunan Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan 2023*. Komnas Perempuan.



the sense of security of the academic community, and the reputation of educational institutions.

The phenomenon of sexual violence in higher education is not only an individual problem, but also a structural issue related to institutional culture, power relations between lecturers and students, seniority, and the lack of sex education and victim protection.² Data from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology (Kemendikbudristek) in 2022 shows that there were more than 27,000 reports of sexual violence in the education sector between 2019 and 2021, with most occurring in higher education institutions.³ Komnas Perempuan (2023) also noted that 25% of reports of sexual violence against women came from higher education institutions. This figure indicates that the issue of sexual violence is not a sporadic case, but a systemic phenomenon that requires serious monitoring and handling.

The case of Gadjah Mada University (UGM) is one of the most prominent examples in public and academic discourse regarding the handling of sexual violence on Indonesian campuses. The case, which came to light in 2018, highlighted the unclear reporting process, the slow response of the institution, and the controversy surrounding the internal investigation.⁴ Empirical studies show that victims experience revictimization in the process of seeking justice, including psychological pressure, social stigma, and a lack of institutional protection.⁵ This case became the momentum for the birth of a civil society movement and encouraged changes in government policy through Permendikbud No. 30 of 2021 concerning the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence (PPKS) in higher education.

Apart from UGM, the case at Mataram University (UNRAM) also came to light as a representation of the complexity of law enforcement against sexual violence on campus. Cases involving female students as victims reveal structural barriers in the form of intimidation, stigma, and legal processes that are not biased towards victims.⁶ In these cases, victims not only experience sexual violence, but also social pressure from the campus environment and investigation processes that trigger multiple traumas. A study found that the handling of sexual violence in higher education is often influenced by power dynamics, institutional reputation concerns, and a lack of victim perspective in campus administration.⁷

State regulations have provided an important legal umbrella to protect victims and prosecute perpetrators of sexual violence. Law No. 12 of 2022 concerning Criminal Acts of Sexual Violence (TPKS Law) strengthens the legal framework for handling cases of sexual violence with a victim-based approach. This law affirms the rights of victims to receive assistance, restitution, privacy protection, and guarantees of recovery (Law No. 12/2022). At the university level, Permendikbud No. 30 of 2021 emphasizes the

² Ramona Alaggia, Delphine Collin-Vézina, and Rahel Lateef, "Facilitators and Barriers to Child Sexual Abuse (CSA) Disclosures: A Research Update (2000–2016)," *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse* 20, no. 2 (2019): 260–83.

³ Kemendikbudristek. (2022). *Pedoman Pelaksanaan Permendikbud 30/2021*. Kemendikbud.

⁴ Amalia, S., & Setiawan, H. (2020). *Respons kampus terhadap korban kekerasan seksual: Studi kasus di perguruan tinggi negeri*. *Jurnal Hukum & Pembangunan*, 50(3), 512–530.

⁵ Pratisti, A., & Fitriani, I. (2021). *Dampak psikologis proses hukum bagi korban kekerasan seksual*. *Jurnal Psikologi Sosial*, 19(3), 221–234.

⁶ Suryani, E. (2022). *Koordinasi kampus dan aparat hukum dalam kasus kekerasan seksual*. *Jurnal Penelitian Hukum*, 39(1), 77–96.

⁷ Arsyad, L., & Yusuf, F. (2023). *Penanganan kekerasan seksual di universitas daerah: Perspektif korban dan regulasi*. *Jurnal Sosiologi Pendidikan Indonesia*, 5(2), 85–99.

obligation of campuses to form a PPKS Task Force, prepare SOPs for handling cases, establish a confidential reporting system, and provide psychological and legal assistance services. This policy is a progressive legal breakthrough that promotes a restorative and trauma-based perspective.

However, the implementation of these regulations still faces serious challenges. Some campuses have not optimally carried out the mandate to form PPKS Task Forces, either due to limited capacity, cultural resistance, or institutional fear of reputational risk.⁸ A study emphasize the phenomenon of institutional defensiveness, whereby campuses tend to protect the good name of the institution rather than prioritize the recovery of victims. This condition shows that the implementation of the law does not only depend on written legal norms, but is also influenced by social structures, organizational culture, and academic leadership ethics.⁹

In addition, there are still obstacles in synchronizing internal campus mechanisms with criminal law enforcement processes. There are still many universities do not yet have clear coordination procedures with law enforcement officials in handling reports of sexual violence. This causes victims to be trapped in a lengthy bureaucratic process that hinders access to justice. The situation is exacerbated by socio-cultural factors such as taboos surrounding sexuality, victim-blaming, and gender inequality that are still deeply rooted in society.¹⁰

This situation highlights the urgency of in-depth academic studies to assess the effectiveness of the law enforcement system in handling cases of sexual violence in higher education institutions. Although there are several studies that discuss Permendikbud 30/2021 and the TPKS Law, there are still research gaps: first, there is a lack of research that systematically compares the handling of cases at two large campuses (UGM vs. UNRAM). Second, there are few studies that empirically examine the integration of campus regulations and the criminal justice system in the context of sexual violence based on academic power relations. Third, there is still a limited number of comprehensive analyses that include the victim's perspective, sociological dimensions, and legal implementation simultaneously.¹¹

This study aims to analyze the effectiveness of law enforcement in cases of sexual violence in Indonesian universities through case studies of UGM and UNRAM, assess the synergy between national legal policies and internal campus mechanisms, and formulate recommendations for strengthening victim protection based on a juridical and sociological approach.

The issue of law enforcement against sexual violence in universities cannot be separated from the dynamics of institutional culture and social factors in Indonesian society. Many universities still operate within a paternalistic and hierarchical cultural framework, where academic authority is often seen as unquestionable. This hierarchical structure creates a strong power relationship between lecturers and students or between seniors and juniors, so that victims are often in a vulnerable position to report the incidents

⁸ Juliane A. Kloess, Catherine E. Hamilton-Giachritsis, and Anthony R. Beech, "Offense Processes of Online Sexual Grooming and Abuse of Children via Internet Communication Platforms," *Sexual Abuse* 31, no. 1 (2019): 73–96.

⁹ Hadi, R., & Nurlaila, S. (2023). *Tantangan implementasi Permendikbud 30/2021*. *Jurnal Ilmu Administrasi*, 13(1), 77–92.

¹⁰ Chris Linder, *Sexual Violence on Campus: Power-Conscious Approaches to Awareness, Prevention, and Response* (Emerald Publishing Limited, 2018).

¹¹ Wiwik Nuroniyah, "Law Enforcement Cases of Sexual Violence Against Children," *BIRCI Journal* 5, no. 2 (2022)

they have experienced.¹² In many cases, the perpetrators have higher academic or social positions, which complicates the victims' courage to seek justice. Victims tend to experience high emotional and social pressure, leading them to remain silent for fear of academic consequences and social stigma. The phenomenon of victim-blaming and a culture of blaming victims remain major issues in the context of reporting sexual violence in higher education.¹³

On many campuses, victims often have to face demeaning questions related to their clothing, social style, or actions outside the context of the case. This shows the failure of institutions to provide a victim-centered response. Many campuses that fail to adopt a victim-centered approach tend to be unable to provide a sense of security, thereby affecting students' trust in the internal reporting system.¹⁴ This condition is in line with a research which shows that internal campus mechanisms that are insensitive to trauma can exacerbate the suffering of victims and hinder the legal process.¹⁵

Furthermore, the implementation of Permendikbud No. 30 of 2021 still faces resistance from some groups who misinterpret the regulation. The initial controversy when this policy was issued showed that some parties considered the regulation to open up opportunities for promiscuous behavior, even though the regulation explicitly aims to provide legal protection for victims and strengthen the system for handling sexual violence cases.¹⁶ This public debate reflects a lack of comprehensive understanding of the concepts of consent, victim protection, and due process standards in handling sexual violence cases. This resistance highlights the importance of legal education and continuous dissemination of regulations to prevent misconceptions that hinder the implementation of the law.

At the practical level, one of the biggest challenges is ensuring effective coordination between campus PPKS task forces and law enforcement officials. Some educational institutions are still hesitant to involve law enforcement officials from the outset, citing the need to protect the institution's reputation. In fact, this approach has the potential to delay victims' access to formal legal processes. In the case of UGM, for example, the involvement of law enforcement required a long public advocacy process and pressure from civil society for the campus to take more transparent and accountable steps.¹⁷ Meanwhile, at UNRAM, show that victims experience obstacles in the internal reporting process and intense social pressure. These cases illustrate the gap in the implementation of regulations, especially in ensuring legal and psychological assistance and security guarantees for reporters.¹⁸

An important aspect to note in the enforcement of sexual violence laws in higher education is the role of external institutions such as Komnas Perempuan, Legal Aid

¹² Tara N. Richards, "An Updated Review of Institutions of Higher Education's Responses to Sexual Assault," *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 34, no. 10 (2019): 1983–2012

¹³ Amalia, S., & Setiawan, H. (2020). *Respons kampus terhadap korban kekerasan seksual: Studi kasus di perguruan tinggi negeri*. Jurnal Hukum & Pembangunan, 50(3), 512–530.

¹⁴ Romli, A., & Taufiq, M. (2023). *Socio-legal review of sexual violence policy in Indonesian universities*. Indonesian Journal of Law and Society, 4(1), 55–74

¹⁵ Leila Wood et al., "Climate Surveys: Understanding Sexual Assault at Institutions of Higher Education," *Violence Against Women* 23, no. 10 (2017): 1249–67.

¹⁶ Kemendikbudristek. (2022). *Pedoman Pelaksanaan Permendikbud 30/2021*. Kemendikbud.

¹⁷ Amalia, S., & Setiawan, H. (2020). *Respons kampus terhadap korban kekerasan seksual: Studi kasus di perguruan tinggi negeri*. Jurnal Hukum & Pembangunan, 50(3), 512–530.

¹⁸ M. A. P. Sartika and H. Prasetyo, "Law Enforcement and the Role of Educational Institutions in Handling Cases of Sexual Harassment," *Eduvest: Journal of Universal Studies* 4, no. 11 (2024): 10544–55.

Institutions (LBH), and student communities. Komnas Perempuan emphasizes that the involvement of civil society organizations plays a major role in promoting campus transparency and accountability. Public advocacy helps monitor the law enforcement process and ensures that victims are not left to face a psychologically exhausting process without support.¹⁹

This is reinforced by a study by Arsyad and Yusuf,²⁰ which shows that students, as social actors on campus, are often the catalyst for policy change and the driving force behind victim advocacy. From a theoretical perspective, the legal-sociological approach provides a comprehensive analytical framework because it assesses the effectiveness of the law not only from a normative-textual perspective but also from a social implementation perspective.

The theory of law in society emphasizes that new laws are only effective when they are translated into social practice through awareness, institutional compliance, and cultural support.²¹ Thus, the effectiveness of the TPKS Law and Permendikbud 30/2021 greatly depends on the extent to which campus culture changes from hierarchical-defensive to inclusive and victim-oriented.

The novelty of this research lies in its analytical approach, which not only examines the formal legal framework but also sociologically analyzes its implementation through a comparative study between the UGM and UNRAM cases. Unlike previous studies that tended to focus on normative criticism of Permendikbud No. 30 of 2021 or general studies on sexual violence in higher education, this study specifically traces the dynamics of coordination between campus mechanisms and law enforcement agencies, and highlights how academic power relations affect victims' access to justice. This study also presents the perspective of victims as the center of the issue by placing their experiences and the obstacles they face as indicators of the effectiveness of law enforcement.

Thus, the urgency of this study lies not only at the academic level, but also in practical aspects as a contribution to the formation of a higher education system that is safe, fair, and respects the rights of victims. This research aims to map the problem, examine gaps in law enforcement, and propose strategic recommendations for strengthening mechanisms for handling sexual violence in higher education, especially in ensuring victim protection and institutional accountability

METHOD

This study uses a mixed legal-sociological approach to analyze law enforcement against sexual violence in Indonesian universities through case studies of Gadjah Mada University (UGM) and Mataram University (UNRAM). The legal approach is used to examine applicable legal norms, including Law No. 12 of 2022 on Criminal Acts of Sexual Violence, Permendikbud No. 30 of 2021 on the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence, as well as provisions of the Criminal Code and internal procedures of higher education institutions. Meanwhile, a sociological approach was used to understand institutional social dynamics, power relations in the academic environment, victims'

¹⁹ Komnas Perempuan. (2023). *Catatan Tahunan Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan 2023*. Komnas Perempuan.

²⁰ Arsyad, L., & Yusuf, F. (2023). *Penanganan kekerasan seksual di universitas daerah: Perspektif korban dan regulasi*. Jurnal Sosiologi Pendidikan Indonesia, 5(2), 85–99

²¹ Shaheen Shariff, "Navigating the Minefield of Sexual Violence Policy in Expanding University Contexts," *Education & Law Journal* 27, no. 1 (2017): 39–XII.

perceptions, and the responses of educational institutions and law enforcement agencies. This combination of methods is relevant because the effectiveness of legal norms is not only determined by the substance of the rules, but also by their social implementation and the power structures that surround them in higher education practice.

Data collection was conducted through document studies, including court decisions (if available), campus case handling guidelines, official reports from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology, the National Commission on Violence Against Women, Legal Aid Institutions, credible media, and accredited academic publications. Scientific literature was obtained through the Google Scholar, ScienceDirect, and SINTA databases using the keywords “enforcement of campus sexual violence laws,” “Permendikbud 30/2021,” “TPKS law on higher education,” and “handling of sexual violence cases at UGM/UNRAM.” Literature selection was conducted for publications from 2018 to 2024 to ensure contextual relevance with the current period of development of the national legal and policy framework. The purposive sampling technique was used to select documents and studies relevant to the issue of sexual violence in higher education institutions.²²

The data were analyzed using legal content analysis and thematic analysis to identify patterns of policy implementation, obstacles to law enforcement, institutional responses, and victim protection mechanisms.²³ Legal content analysis was conducted on the normative content of the TPKS Law, Permendikbud 30/2021, and campus SOPs related to reporting and sanctions for sexual violence. Meanwhile, thematic analysis was conducted on the narratives of the UGM and UNRAM case studies, including cultural factors, authority structures, institutional resistance, and victim experiences as reported in academic research and official institutional. The validity of the findings was strengthened through source triangulation and confirmation of the findings' consistency with official government documents and reports from women's advocacy organizations.²⁴

Through this approach, the study seeks to understand not only how the law is written, but also how it works when confronted with academic power relations, social stigma, and the interests of higher education institutions' reputations. Thus, the study provides an empirical picture of the gap between legal norms and field practices in the enforcement of sexual violence cases on campus, as well as strategic efforts to improve the victim protection system in the context of higher education in Indonesia.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Legal Framework and Structure for Enforcing Sexual Violence in Indonesian Higher Education Institutions

Law enforcement against sexual violence in higher education institutions in Indonesia is based on a national legal framework and internal higher education regulations that complement each other. At the national legal system level, Law No. 12 of 2022 concerning Criminal Acts of Sexual Violence (TPKS Law) is the most important legal instrument that serves as a response to the increasing number of gender-based violence cases in various sectors, including education. This law provides a broader

²² Snyder, H. (2019). *Literature review as a research methodology*. **Journal of Business Research**, **104**, 333–339.

²³ Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2020). *Qualitative data analysis* (4th ed.). SAGE.

²⁴ Komnas Perempuan. (2023). *Catatan Tahunan Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan 2023*. Komnas Perempuan.

definition of sexual violence, strengthens victim protection, and emphasizes a more humanistic approach to recovery and justice (Law No. 12/2022). On the other hand, for universities, Permendikbud No. 30 of 2021 concerning the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence serves as an administrative basis that explicitly requires higher education institutions to create internal mechanisms for the systematic prevention, reporting, and handling of cases. These two regulations illustrate the state's recognition that the academic environment requires a multidisciplinary and victim-sensitive approach, given the vulnerability of students, especially in relation to power relations and academic dependence on lecturers or educational institutions.²⁵

Normatively, the existing legal framework has provided a relatively comprehensive structure. The TPKS Law introduces the principle of a victim-centered approach, guaranteeing victims' rights to privacy, psychological recovery, and legal assistance from the beginning of the reporting process (Law No. 12/2022). Meanwhile, Permendikbud 30/2021 emphasizes the formation of a Task Force for the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence (Satgas PPKS) as a special organ within the campus tasked with receiving reports, conducting initial assessments, providing assistance and recommendations for action, and ensuring a process that avoids revictimization.²⁶

Thus, the national legal framework and higher education policies have actually moved towards a victim protection paradigm, which theoretically supports the cultural transition of campuses towards safe and equitable spaces. Although normatively adequate, the implementation of law enforcement in higher education cannot be separated from structural and cultural challenges.

Legal academics and gender researchers highlight that the culture of academic hierarchy often prevents students from reporting incidents of sexual violence, especially when the perpetrator is in a position of power, such as a supervisor, program chair, or campus.²⁷ In this context, power relations are not only related to formal positions, but also to access to academic resources such as academic recommendations, research access, and academic assessment. This condition creates what Romli and Taufiq refer to as an institutional power barrier, a situation in which the reporter faces academic and social risks when seeking justice. This reinforces the argument that legal regulations alone are not enough without changes in campus governance culture.²⁸

Furthermore, the effectiveness of the law is influenced by the institution's readiness to develop a credible, safe, and accessible reporting system. Permendikbud 30/2021 requires universities to provide easily accessible reporting channels, counseling services, psychological assistance, and objective preliminary examination procedures. However, a report by the National Commission on Violence Against Women shows that some campuses have not fully implemented this mandate, particularly in terms of the capacity of human resources in the task force, budget, institutional support, and mechanisms for following up on the task force's recommendations. These administrative obstacles reveal a gap between the idealism of the policy and the reality of its implementation. In some cases, universities even prioritize the image of the institution

²⁵ Regulation of the Minister of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology of the Republic of Indonesia Number 30 of 2021 on the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence in Higher Education Institutions.

²⁶ Kemendikbudristek. (2022). *Pedoman Pelaksanaan Permendikbud 30/2021*. Kemendikbud

²⁷ Hadi, R., & Nurlaila, S. (2023). *Tantangan implementasi Permendikbud 30/2021*. *Jurnal Ilmu Administrasi*, 13(1), 77–92.

²⁸ T. Sorensen, J. Miller, and E. Russel, "Trauma-Informed Response to Campus Sexual Violence," *Journal of Higher Education* 93, no. 5 (2022): 785–803.

over the protection of victims, so that the reporting process is often hampered by a tendency toward reputational risk management.²⁹

In the context of the UGM case, sharp criticism arose regarding the initial handling mechanism, which was considered to be biased against victims. As discussed in the analysis by Amalia and Setiawan (2020), victims faced significant social and internal bureaucratic pressure, while the university took a long time to adopt more victim-centered policies. Although a special service unit was eventually established and transparency was improved, the initial gap between public expectations and the institution's response illustrates the importance of institutional readiness in implementing the principle of victim-centered justice. Meanwhile, the UNRAM case study shows similar dynamics, in which victims face procedural challenges, social pressure, and uncertainty regarding the direction of legal proceedings. Both cases show that the success of law enforcement is not only determined by written legal norms, but also by institutional ethics and social support for victims.

From a law in society perspective, Friedman's theory emphasizes that the effectiveness of law depends on three elements: legal substance, institutional structure, and the legal culture of society. In cases of campus sexual violence, the substance of the law is progressive; institutional structures are in the process of adapting through the formation of the PPKS Task Force; however, the legal culture, both on campus and in society at large, still faces resistance. Factors such as the taboo of discussing sexuality, the culture of blaming victims, distrust of the legal process, and the normalization of power relations are major obstacles to the effective implementation of the law. Thus, the biggest challenge today is not the legal regulations, but the process of transforming the culture of educational institutions to truly uphold justice and protect victims.

Overall, the Indonesian legal framework has regulated the mechanisms for handling sexual violence quite comprehensively, both from a criminal perspective through the TPKS Law and from an administrative perspective through Permendikbud 30/2021. However, the implementation of the law is still in the developing phase, marked by a gap between regulation and practice, especially in terms of institutional readiness, the commitment of academic leaders, and a campus culture that is not yet fully aligned with the principles of victim protection. Therefore, the analysis of the enforcement of sexual violence laws in higher education requires a simultaneous legal and sociological approach in order to capture the complexity of normative, institutional, and cultural dynamics in victim protection and perpetrator prosecution.

Enforcement of Law in the Cases of UGM and UNRAM and Comparison with International Standards

The implementation of law enforcement against sexual violence in Indonesian universities can be seen concretely through case studies of Gadjah Mada University (UGM) and Mataram University (UNRAM). These two cases are important representations in seeing how legal norms are enforced, how campus mechanisms work, and the extent of interaction between internal regulations and the national criminal justice system. Through a comparative approach, this study assesses the normative obligations of higher education institutions based on the TPKS Law and Permendikbud No. 30 of 2021, then examines the facts on the ground through academic documentation and official

²⁹ Rahmawati, F., & Wulandari, N. (2023). *Tantangan budaya dalam penanganan kekerasan seksual*. Jurnal Gender Indonesia, 17(1), 49–63.

sources. Thus, this analysis focuses not only on the substance of written law, but also on the social and institutional contexts that influence the implementation of regulations³⁰

To provide an initial overview, the following is a mapping of legal instruments and campus obligations:

Table 1. Legal Instruments and Institutional Obligations for Sexual Violence Handling in Universities

Legal Framework/Policy	Key Provisions	Obligations for Universities	Victim Rights Ensured
UU TPKS (2022)	Criminal definitions, victim-centered justice, restitution		Legal aid, psychological support, confidentiality restitutions
Permendikbud 31/2021	Prevention & handling framework, consent-based standards	Establish Satgas PPKS, reporting channels, internal investigation, student protection	Academic safety, psychosocial support, privacy, non-victim blaming
KUHP (Revised)	Criminal liability & sexual violence elements	Mandatory reporting to authorities for serious offenses	Due process protection
University/Internal Policy	Institutional codes of conduct & sanctions	Case recording, disciplinary hearings, campus-level sanctions	Safe reporting, non-discrimination

Source: UU No. 1/2022; Permendikbud 30/2021; Kemendikbudristek (2022)

This table illustrates that Indonesia already has a normative foundation that is in line with modern victim protection legal principles. However, its effectiveness is determined by implementation and inter-institutional coordination. UGM and UNRAM are important examples of how gaps between rules and practice can occur.

Analysis of Implementation in the Case of Gadjah Mada University

The UGM case shows the complex dynamics of handling sexual violence in a large university with a strong academic reputation. Research by Amalia and Setiawan documents that victims initially faced administrative challenges and psychological pressure in reporting their cases.³¹ The campus's initial response was considered slow, and the internal investigation process was not fully transparent.³² Following student advocacy and media coverage, UGM improved its handling procedures, including establishing a support unit and enhancing coordination with external authorities. These changes indicate that public pressure can be a driving factor for campus bureaucracies to

³⁰ Nirwana, I., & Hadi, M. (2022). *Relasi kuasa akademik dan kekerasan seksual*. Jurnal Sosiologi Reflektif, 16(2), 267–282.

³¹ Amalia, S., & Setiawan, H. (2020). *Respons kampus terhadap korban kekerasan seksual: Studi kasus di perguruan tinggi negeri*. Jurnal Hukum & Pembangunan, 50(3), 512–530

³² Pratisti, A., & Fitriani, I. (2021). *Dampak psikologis proses hukum bagi korban kekerasan seksual*. Jurnal Psikologi Sosial, 19(3), 221–234.

undertake internal reforms. However, this process also reveals delays in implementing the victim-centered principle as mandated by Permendikbud 30/2021 and the TPKS Law.

From a victimology perspective, the experiences of victims at UGM reveal a form of secondary victimization that arises from a lack of sensitivity in the initial administrative. This situation underscores the importance of trauma-sensitive training for campus task forces and all academic officials involved in the reporting process. In addition, the UGM case indicates that efforts to protect the institution's reputation and academic power relations are still important variables that can influence the direction of case handling.³³ Although there are indications of improved post-case governance, the victims' initial experiences remain a systemic lesson for higher education in Indonesia.

Analysis of Implementation in the UNRAM Case

The UNRAM case is also a significant example of how social and structural challenges shape the victim's experience. Victims face social pressure and administrative difficulties from the beginning of the reporting process. Pressure from the local community and fear of social stigma exacerbated the victims' experiences. These empirical findings show that in addition to technical issues related to campus bureaucracy, aspects of local culture, social relations, and community norms also influence the effectiveness of access to justice. Despite strong national regulations such as the TPKS Law, access to justice still requires the support of a responsive and pressure-free social environment.³⁴

Another issue observed in the UNRAM case was the lack of clarity in the initial coordination between the campus and law enforcement officials. Several reports indicate that the campus needed time to determine its administrative and legal position regarding the alleged violation. This situation reflects the need for clearer SOPs and guidance for university leaders regarding the obligation to report cases of sexual violence to law enforcement agencies when there are strong criminal elements in accordance with the TPKS Law.³⁵

Comparison of Handling Practices with International Standards

To broaden the perspective, Indonesian practices can be compared with international standards, particularly campuses in the United States and Europe that have long implemented Title IX-like procedures or guidelines for the protection of victims in higher education. Global standards emphasize independent reporting mechanisms, protection from retaliation, legal assistance, and transparency in internal disciplinary processes.³⁶ The following table summarizes a comparison of victim protection guidelines in Indonesia with those in the United States and Europe.

³³ Putri, L., & Wijaya, M. (2023). *Implementasi Satgas PPKS di perguruan tinggi*. Jurnal Kebijakan Publik, 10(2), 155–176.

³⁴ Kresno, S., & Maharani, D. (2022). *Reviktifikasi dalam penanganan kasus kekerasan seksual kampus*. Jurnal Kriminologi Indonesia, 18(1), 65–79.

³⁵ Yulianti, A., & Darmawan, R. (2023). *Evaluasi pelatihan Satgas PPKS*. Jurnal Pendidikan & Kebijakan, 14(2), 233–249.

³⁶ Sorensen, T., Miller, J., & Russel, E. (2022). *Trauma-informed response to campus sexual violence*. Journal of Higher Education, 93(5), 785–803.

Table 2. Comparison of Campus Sexual Misconduct Handling: Indonesia vs International Standards

Aspect	Indonesia (UGM/UNRAM)	US/EU University Standards
Reporting System	Satgas PPKS, evolving & varied effectiveness	Dedicated Title IX offices, independent structures
Legal Framework	UU TPKS & Permendikbud 30/2021 (new & progressive)	Long-established sexual misconduct legislation
Support Services	Increasing availability, uneven across institutions	Mandatory trauma-informed support centers
Investigation Process	Often internal first, external later	Parallel internal & criminal processes
Institutional Culture	Hierarchical, reputation protection concerns	Strong accountability culture, student advocacy strong

Sources: Sorensen et al. (2022); Komnas Perempuan (2023); Amalia & Setiawan (2020); Arsyad & Yusuf (2023)

The table shows that although Indonesia's normative framework has been progressive, the implementation process is still in the phase of strengthening and cultural adjustment. In developed countries, victim protection systems have undergone a long process of legal evolution, while in Indonesia there is still a need for institutional capacity building, training, and stronger accountability standards.

Reflection on these two case studies reveals that the main challenge in enforcing sexual violence laws in higher education is not only a matter of regulation, but also the tension between formal legal structures and institutional cultures that are still undergoing transformation. On the one hand, Indonesia already has a strong normative framework through the TPKS Law and Permendikbud 30/2021, which explicitly prioritize the victim's perspective, psychological protection, and the principle of confidentiality. However, on the other hand, practices in the field show that academic power relations, concerns about institutional reputation, and social norms related to gender and sexuality still influence how campuses carry out their legal mandate.

The UGM and UNRAM case studies show that the case handling process is often a negotiation between legal values and local culture. In the UGM case, systemic change occurred after public mobilization and pressure from the academic community, demonstrating that collective awareness among the academic community plays an important role in pushing for policy reform. Meanwhile, in the UNRAM case, local socio-cultural factors and the power distance between students and campus authorities appear to influence the courage of victims to report and the response of the education bureaucracy. This phenomenon shows that the concept of victim protection cannot be separated from the social dynamics of each institution; formal law is only effective when supported by an institutional culture that upholds the values of equality, empathy, and victim advocacy.

The sociological implication of these findings is the need to shift the perspective of educational institutions from a normative approach that only focuses on formal mechanisms to a transformative approach that strengthens a campus culture that is anti-violence and responsive to the experiences of victims. Such cultural change cannot be achieved solely through the formation of task forces or the issuance of SOPs, but requires the internalization of values, ongoing training, student participation, and a commitment from university leaders to not tolerate sexual violence in any form. In this context, the

existing legal framework serves as a structural foundation, while socio-institutional support is a prerequisite for legal norms to go beyond being normative texts and truly manifest as an experience of justice for victims.

Strategies for Legal Reform and Strengthening Victim Protection in Higher Education

Strengthening law enforcement against sexual violence in higher education does not only depend on the existence of regulations, but also on how the system is implemented through institutional governance, campus culture, and the participation of the academic community. In the Indonesian context, the existence of the TPKS Law and Permendikbud 30/2021 is a significant normative foundation, but these legal instruments cannot necessarily function optimally if they are not accompanied by institutional reform and changes in academic culture. Several studies emphasize that the complexity of handling sexual violence cases in higher education lies in the intersection of legal structures, academic power relations, and institutional resistance to transparency when the reputation of the institution is at stake.³⁷ Thus, reform strategies must start from the understanding that sexual violence on campus is not only a violation of the law, but also a reflection of gender inequality, institutional hierarchy, and a weak victim support system.

The first urgent reform is to strengthen the institutional capacity of the PPKS Task Force so that it not only functions administratively, but also has moral, technical, and procedural authority in handling reports. Permendikbud 30/2021 has mandated the formation of a functionally independent Task Force; however, several studies show that implementation challenges still exist, particularly in terms of human resource training, budget constraints, and the lack of uniform operational procedures across universities.³⁸ An effective Task Force requires members who have trauma-informed training, legal understanding, and psychological counseling competencies. Without these competencies, the handling process has the potential to create revictimization, as found in the evaluation of cases at UGM and UNRAM. Thus, increasing the professionalization of the PPKS Task Force is key to ensuring that internal procedures are able to support victims' access to justice in a safe and dignified manner.

Further reforms concern the establishment of reporting mechanisms that are truly safe, confidential, and easily accessible. In a victim-centered legal system, confidentiality of identity and information security are important principles that enable victims to report without fear of stigmatization or social retaliation. A studies states that psychological barriers, concerns about loss of privacy, and fear of retaliation are factors that prevent victims from reporting on campus. Therefore, universities need to develop encrypted digital reporting mechanisms, provide anonymous reporting options, and ensure that no internal parties can access report data without procedural authorization. The transparency of this system needs to be supported by explicit whistleblower protection policies, including guarantees that whistleblowers will not experience academic, social, or administrative discrimination.³⁹

³⁷ Romli, A., & Taufiq, M. (2023). *Socio-legal review of sexual violence policy in Indonesian universities*. Indonesian Journal of Law and Society, 4(1), 55–74.

³⁸ Hadi, R., & Nurlaila, S. (2023). *Tantangan implementasi Permendikbud 30/2021*. Jurnal Ilmu Administrasi, 13(1), 77–92.

³⁹ Handayani, M. (2022). *Perspektif psikologis korban kekerasan seksual perguruan tinggi*. Jurnal Psikologi Klinis Indonesia, 8(2), 144–159.

In addition to reporting mechanisms, reforms must address the structural coordination between campuses and law enforcement agencies. The TPKS Law stipulates that cases of sexual violence that meet the elements of a criminal offense must be processed through formal legal channels. However, case studies show that some institutions have continued to handle cases through internal mechanisms first, which sometimes slows down victims' access to formal legal processes. This condition not only hinders law enforcement but can also cause jurisdictional conflicts if campuses consider that cases can be resolved through internal administrative sanctions alone. In fact, administrative handling is complementary, not a substitute for criminal proceedings.⁴⁰ Therefore, it is necessary to strengthen standard procedures that ensure rapid coordination with the police and legal assistance institutions from the moment a report is filed, so that the campus system does not become a barrier to victims' sense of justice.

The transformation of campus culture is also an important foundation for law enforcement reform. The legal system can only function optimally if it is supported by a social environment that rejects sexual violence and does not tolerate silencing or victim-blaming practices. Komnas Perempuan (2023) notes that patriarchal culture, taboos surrounding discussions of sexuality, and the tendency to question victims' behavior affect the effectiveness of reporting. To overcome this, campuses need to implement gender awareness education programs, consent education, and academic social ethics training for students, lecturers, and educational staff. International studies show that gender-based education and power awareness training can increase empathy and reduce victim-blaming behavior in academic communities (Sorensen et al., 2022). In line with this, research by Pratisti and Fitriani (2021) emphasizes that campuses that integrate gender equality education into their curriculum and new student orientation activities tend to have better reporting rates and increased student trust in institutional protection mechanisms.

In addition to internal education, it is also important to strengthen cooperation between universities and external institutions such as the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan), Legal Aid Institutes (LBH), psychological service centers, and victim support organizations. This collaborative approach has proven effective in improving the quality of victim assistance and strengthening the legitimacy of case handling processes. In the cases of UGM and UNRAM, the support of student organizations and external legal assistance were key factors that encouraged the institutions to be firm in handling the. Strategic collaboration allows universities to expand their service capacity without placing the entire administrative and technical burden on a single internal unit.

At the policy level, reform also requires external oversight of the commitment to implement Permendikbud 30/2021 and the TPKS Law on campus. This oversight can be carried out through periodic audits of reporting procedures, task force performance, and case documentation, while ensuring the confidentiality of victims' identities. External oversight models have become common practice in a number of countries to prevent conflicts of interest and ensure the accountability of educational institutions.⁴¹ In the Indonesian context, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology can collaborate with the Ombudsman, the National Human Rights Commission, and the National Commission on Violence Against Women to develop indicators for monitoring

⁴⁰ Kemendikbudristek. (2022). *Pedoman Pelaksanaan Permendikbud 30/2021*. Kemendikbud.

⁴¹ Sorensen, T., Miller, J., & Russel, E. (2022). *Trauma-informed response to campus sexual violence*. *Journal of Higher Education*, 93(5), 785–803.

case handling, so that no campus merely fulfills administrative requirements without carrying out the substantive function of protecting victims.

Legal reform also requires strengthening the dimension of victim recovery as part of holistic justice practices. A trauma-based restorative justice approach focuses not only on punishing perpetrators but also on the physical, psychological, and academic recovery of victims. The TPKS Law provides a legal umbrella for restitution mechanisms and psychological recovery services; however, its implementation requires a referral system for mental health services and trained counselors (Law No. 12/2022). In practice, the recovery process often receives little attention when the focus is more on the criminal justice process. Therefore, campuses need to guarantee mechanisms for temporary academic leave, class rearrangement, and continued academic support so that victims do not suffer academic losses as a result of reporting sexual violence. These steps are in line with international practices that place victim empowerment as a criterion for successful case handling, rather than simply the number of sanctions imposed on perpetrators.

Ultimately, reforming the enforcement of laws against sexual violence in higher education requires the integration of regulations, administrative structures, cultural education, and psychosocial recovery mechanisms. The handling of the UGM and UNRAM cases shows that positive change does not happen automatically through regulations, but through a combination of public awareness, student advocacy, and institutional governance that is open to criticism. This reform is a long-term process that demands moral and political commitment from university leaders, as well as the willingness of the academic community to continue to oversee consistent law enforcement. In this way, universities can fulfill their function not only as centers of knowledge, but also as safe spaces that guarantee the dignity and safety of the entire academic community.

CONCLUSION

Enforcing laws against sexual violence in higher education requires more than just the availability of legal instruments; it requires a consistent implementation system, an institutional culture that supports victims, and social support that enables reporting without intimidation. Case studies of UGM and UNRAM illustrate that although Indonesia has a progressive regulatory framework through Law No. 12 of 2022 on Criminal Acts of Sexual Violence and Permendikbud No. 30 of 2021, its implementation faces structural challenges and cultural resistance. Academic power relations, the tendency of institutions to protect their reputation, and a lack of understanding of the trauma perspective are factors that influence the effectiveness of case handling. The complexity seen in these two cases shows a gap between legal norms, administrative implementation, and the social reality experienced by victims. The research findings indicate that successful legal implementation requires the integration of formal mechanisms, institutional capacity, and campus cultural reform. The role of the PPKS Task Force is very strategic, but it can only be effective if it is supported by professional capacity, institutional protection, and coordination with law enforcement officials. On the other hand, the victim's courage to report does not only depend on formal procedures, but also on the sense of security built by the academic community, student support, and the involvement of companion organizations. Thus, a socio-legal approach is important to read the dynamics of power, social norms, and legal structures simultaneously, so that victim protection does not stop at the textual aspects of regulations, but is realized in the practice of substantive justice.

As a recommendation, universities need to strengthen the capacity of the PPKS Task Force through trauma-based training, ensure safe and confidential reporting channels, and strengthen formal coordination with law enforcement agencies from the initial stage of reporting. External oversight, the involvement of support institutions, and procedural transparency are key to ensuring institutional accountability and preventing conflicts of interest. In addition, gender awareness education, digital ethics, and anti-sexual violence curricula need to be integrated into student orientation and faculty training to encourage a more inclusive campus culture that is responsive to victims. This reform requires long-term commitment, multi-stakeholder collaboration, and the moral courage of higher education leaders to ensure that academic spaces are truly safe, dignified, and fair for the entire academic community.

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