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Advocacy Politics in Addressing Sexual Violence in Higher Education: A Comparative Case Study of Two Indonesian Universities

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A R T I C L E I N F O

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A B S T R A C T

This study examines advocacy politics against sexual violence in Indonesian higher education, comparing Siliwangi University (UNSIL) and Parahyangan Catholic University (UNPAR). Data came from in-depth interviews with PPKS Task Force members and university stakeholders, plus document analysis and field observations. Analysis applies theories of power relations, institutional patriarchy, structuration, transnational advocacy networks, network society, and contentious politics. Findings show advocacy is shaped by power relations, institutional capacity, and networks. Established in August 2022 following Regulation No. 30/2021, UNSIL's Task Force relies on key actors and needs stronger resources, recognition, and survivor support. UNPAR provides sustained funding, formal recognition, and psychological and legal partnerships. Both use digital platforms for education and awareness. Advocacy effectiveness depends on institutional support and political opportunities.

INTRODUCTION

Sexual violence in higher education has become a significant global concern, shaped by institutional cultures, social norms, gender inequality, and power relations. A study across four universities in the United States involving 23 Asian students found that cultural stigma, fear of social judgment, and concerns about family reputation discouraged survivors from reporting sexual violence (Lai et al., 2024). Similar challenges exist in Indonesia, where a survey of 1,026 university students indicated widespread sexual harassment but low reporting rates due to stigma, limited institutional support, and distrust in reporting mechanisms. Research at two Ethiopian universities also found that victim-blaming attitudes reinforce survivors' fear, silence, and distrust of institutional responses (Kaufman et al., 2019). These findings highlight the need to understand sexual violence as a structural and institutional issue rather than solely as individual misconduct. Universities have consequently adopted different prevention approaches, including survivor-centred services and bystander intervention programmes involving students, faculty, and staff (Patel & Roesch, 2018).

Recent scholarship emphasizes comprehensive institutional responses combining prevention policies, survivor support, education, and accessible reporting mechanisms. McCall et al. (2023) highlight the importance of integrating policy reform with educational initiatives, while Fedina et al. (2024) emphasize institutional commitment, survivor-centred decision-making, and collaboration among university leaders, policymakers, survivors, and civil society organizations. However, these approaches provide limited understanding of advocacy as a political process through which institutional policies are negotiated and transformed. Research in the Philippines found relatively high student awareness of different forms of gender-based violence but did not examine how advocacy networks influence institutional responses (Bando et al., 2024). Similarly, Jones, Farrelly, and Barter (2024) identified the prevalence of sexual violence in UK universities and its consequences for survivors' mental health, academic performance, and well-being. Research at the University of Oxford also demonstrated variations in sexual violence and harassment according to gender identity and sexual orientation, highlighting the importance of coordinated institutional responses (Steele et al., 2021). Furthermore, transgender and gender-diverse students face elevated risks of sexual and dating violence, reinforcing the need for inclusive institutional policies and support mechanisms (Tonya et al., 2023).

In Indonesia, sexual violence remains a critical concern. Data published by the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak) recorded 12,381 reported cases of sexual violence, compared with 9,754 cases of physical violence and 8,941 cases of psychological violence. These figures underscore the urgency of strengthening institutional prevention and response mechanisms.

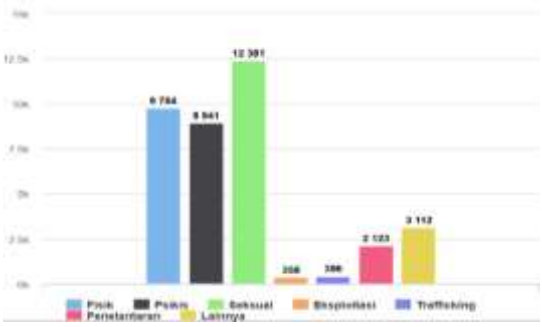


Figure 1. Forms of Sexual Violence

Official education-sector data further demonstrate the importance of addressing sexual violence in higher education. Between 2021 and October 2024, the Ministry of Higher Education handled 338 cases of violence across educational institutions, with sexual violence representing the largest category. Universities recorded 97 cases of sexual violence, compared with 32 in secondary schools and 31 in early childhood and primary education institutions (Kemdikbudristek, 2025). These figures position universities as critical settings for strengthening institutional accountability, prevention, and survivor support.



Figure 2. Distribution of Cases Across the Three Major Issues in Higher Education

Source: Kemenristekdikti

Sexual violence must also be understood within broader systems of gender inequality and unequal power relations. Rodríguez-Burbano et al. (2021) explain that sexual violence can function as a mechanism of domination and control through physical, psychological, economic, and sexual coercion. Although awareness of gender-based violence is important, awareness alone does not necessarily translate into institutional advocacy or structural change (Bando et al., 2024). Likewise, evidence concerning the heightened vulnerability of transgender and gender-diverse students demonstrates the importance of inclusive and intersectional approaches to institutional protection (Tonya et al., 2023). Together, these findings indicate that effective responses require more than educational interventions or administrative procedures; they also require institutional commitment, coordinated action, and strategies that address unequal power relations.

In Indonesia, the Regulation of the Minister of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology No. 30 of 2021 concerning the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence in Higher Education provides a regulatory foundation for establishing the Task Force for the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence (SATGAS PPKS). Article 23(1) mandates university leaders to establish these task forces as institutional mechanisms for coordinating prevention and response efforts, supporting survivors, and managing cases (Probosambodo & Widiastuti, 2023). Nevertheless, regulatory compliance does not automatically ensure effective implementation. Decisions concerning investigations, sanctions, institutional accountability, and survivor protection often involve negotiations among university administrators, task forces, academic communities, and civil society organizations. Brubaker (2024) emphasizes the importance of sustained collaboration among academics, activists, and advocates in protecting survivors' experiences and rights. Accordingly, advocacy involves not only implementing regulations but also negotiating institutional authority, challenging unequal power relations, and managing competing interests.

Despite growing international scholarship, research has predominantly examined prevalence, awareness, reporting behaviour, survivor services, and prevention programmes. Comparatively limited attention has been given to advocacy politics as a multidimensional process involving institutional power relations, patriarchal structures, advocacy networks, governance, and policy implementation. This gap is particularly relevant in Indonesia, where understanding how institutional and non-institutional actors influence organizational change remains essential to strengthening responses to sexual violence in higher education.

This study addresses the gap through a comparative case study of Siliwangi University (UNSIL) and Parahyangan Catholic University (UNPAR). The institutions represent contrasting organizational, cultural, and governance contexts. UNSIL is a public university located in Tasikmalaya, a region characterized by strong Islamic traditions, whereas UNPAR is a private Catholic university with comparatively formalized governance structures and institutional mechanisms for preventing and responding to sexual violence. Comparing these settings enables an examination of how institutional characteristics, patriarchal culture, power relations, and advocacy networks shape the development and implementation of advocacy initiatives.

Drawing on Foucault's concept of power relations, Walby's theory of institutional patriarchy, Giddens' structuration theory, Keck and Sikkink's advocacy network perspective, Castells' network society, and Tarrow's contentious politics, this study conceptualizes advocacy as a political process involving negotiation, contestation, coalition-building, and institutional transformation. It addresses two research questions: (1) How are advocacy politics constructed and implemented in preventing and handling sexual violence at Siliwangi University and Parahyangan Catholic University? (2) How do power relations, patriarchal culture, and institutional characteristics shape

advocacy politics in responding to sexual violence within higher education institutions?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical Framework: Advocacy Politics, Power Relations, and Institutional Change

This study conceptualizes advocacy politics as a dynamic political process through which institutional actors negotiate authority, mobilize networks, contest unequal power relations, and promote institutional change. Rather than viewing advocacy solely as victim assistance or legal compliance, this research understands advocacy as a political arena in which competing interests, institutional norms, and organizational structures interact to shape policy implementation and responses to sexual violence in higher education.

The concept of advocacy politics is primarily informed by the advocacy network framework developed by Keck and Sikkink (1998), who argue that advocacy networks are transnational and domestic coalitions organized around shared values, principled ideas, and common discourses. These networks exchange information, mobilize symbolic resources, and generate political pressure to influence public policy. As they state, "advocacy networks are organized to promote causes, principled ideas, and norms" (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). Within higher education institutions, advocacy networks encompass university leaders, the PPKS Task Force, students, women's organizations, survivor support groups, civil society organizations, and media actors that collectively influence institutional policy and organizational culture.

Advocacy networks, however, do not operate in politically neutral environments. Their activities are embedded within institutional power relations that determine whose voices are recognized, whose interests prevail, and how institutional decisions are made. To explain these dynamics, this study draws upon Foucault's concept of power relations. Foucault (1978) argues that power is diffused throughout social institutions and operates through discourse, disciplinary mechanisms, institutional norms, and everyday practices rather than solely through formal authority. Consequently, resistance inevitably accompanies power, as reflected in his well-known proposition that "where there is power, there is resistance" (Foucault, 1978). Within universities, advocacy therefore represents a form of institutional resistance that challenges dominant discourses, organizational silence, and unequal distributions of authority in responding to sexual violence.

This analysis is complemented by Walby's (1990) theory of institutional patriarchy, which explains how gender inequality is reproduced through organizational structures, institutional rules, and everyday practices. Patriarchal institutions often privilege organizational reputation, hierarchical authority, and dominant gender norms over survivors' rights and protection (Walby & Allen, 2004). Consequently, sexual violence is understood not merely as individual misconduct but as an outcome of broader institutional arrangements that normalize unequal gender relations and constrain effective institutional responses.

While institutional structures constrain advocacy, they simultaneously create opportunities for transformation. This duality is explained through Giddens' (1984) structuration theory, which conceptualizes structure as both the medium and the outcome of social action. As Giddens argues, "structure is both the medium and the outcome of the practices it recursively organizes." Institutional actors therefore possess the capacity to reproduce existing governance arrangements or transform them through strategic action, negotiation, and collective agency. This perspective is particularly relevant for understanding how advocacy initiatives reshape institutional governance in addressing sexual violence.

To capture the broader political dynamics of advocacy, this study further incorporates Castells' theory of the Network Society and Tarrow's theory of contentious politics. (Castells, 2015) argues that communication networks constitute the primary infrastructure through which social movements mobilize collective action, disseminate information, and construct public legitimacy. Complementing this perspective, (TARROW, 2011) explains that sustained policy change emerges through contentious interactions among state institutions, civil society organizations, and social movement actors operating within changing political opportunity structures. Together, these theoretical perspectives enable advocacy politics to be analysed as a multidimensional process involving power relations, institutional structures, advocacy networks, communication systems, and political contestation.

By integrating these complementary theoretical perspectives, this study develops an analytical framework capable of explaining how advocacy politics emerges, evolves, and influences institutional responses to sexual violence in higher education. The framework moves beyond descriptive accounts of policy implementation by examining advocacy as an interactive process of negotiation, resistance, coalition-building, and institutional transformation.

METHODOLOGY

This study employed a qualitative multiple-case study design following Yin (2018). A multiple-case design was selected because it enables an in-depth examination of complex contemporary phenomena within their real-life institutional contexts while facilitating systematic comparison across cases. According to (Yin, 2018), case study research is particularly appropriate when the boundaries between the phenomenon under investigation and its contextual conditions cannot be clearly distinguished.

The cases examined in this study are the advocacy politics surrounding the prevention and handling of sexual violence at Siliwangi University and Parahyangan Catholic University. These universities were purposively selected because they represent contrasting institutional settings within Indonesian higher education. Siliwangi University is a public university operating within the socio-cultural and religious environment of Tasikmalaya, whereas Parahyangan Catholic University is a private faith-based institution characterized by comparatively formalized governance structures and institutional mechanisms for responding to sexual violence. Comparing these contrasting contexts enables

the identification of convergent and divergent patterns of advocacy politics across different institutional environments.

The unit of analysis is advocacy politics in the prevention and handling of sexual violence within each university. The units of observation comprise members of the PPKS Task Force, university leaders, lecturers, students, student organizations, and external advocacy organizations involved in policy implementation and survivor assistance. Data were collected through semi-structured in-depth interviews, participant observation, institutional documents, and policy analysis to ensure methodological triangulation.

Data analysis followed Yin's multiple-case study procedures. First, within-case analysis was conducted to examine the configuration of advocacy politics within each university independently. Second, cross-case analysis was employed to compare similarities and differences between the two institutional contexts. Third, pattern matching was used to compare empirically observed patterns with theoretically predicted patterns derived from advocacy networks, power relations, institutional patriarchy, structuration theory, network society, and contentious politics. Finally, explanation building was undertaken to construct an integrated analytical explanation of how institutional characteristics, power relations, and advocacy networks shape advocacy politics in preventing and responding to sexual violence in higher education.

RESEARCH RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Within-Case Analysis: Advocacy Politics in the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence at Siliwangi University

Siliwangi University (UNSIL) established its Task Force for the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence (Satgas PPKS) in August 2022 in response to Ministerial Regulation No. 30 of 2021. Support from university leadership, particularly the Rector, legitimized prevention programmes, educational campaigns, and case-handling procedures. However, the Task Force initially lacked an independent budget, received limited institutional recognition, and had insufficient access to legal and psychological expertise. This reveals a gap between formal institutional commitment and organizational capacity.

From a Foucauldian perspective, the Task Force is an institutional apparatus through which knowledge, authority, and disciplinary practices are reorganized. As (Foucault, 1977) argues, "power and knowledge directly imply one another." Socialization, educational activities, campaigns, and Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) produce knowledge, reconstruct institutional norms, and redefine responsibilities for preventing and responding to sexual violence. These procedures therefore function as technologies of governance, not merely administrative guidelines. Change has nevertheless been incremental: the initial lack of legal and psychological expertise limited survivor assistance and legal assessment, while the later recruitment of lecturers with legal expertise strengthened case investigation and administrative decision-making.

These developments also reflect the gradual transformation, rather than complete replacement, of gendered organizational structures. (Walby, 1990) defines patriarchy as "a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress, and exploit women." Although the Task Force recognizes gender-based violence as a governance issue, limited resources, inadequate professional support, and dependence on university leadership continue to constrain protective policies. Institutional change therefore remains partial and contested. UNSIL integrates prevention into routine academic activities, including new-student orientation, National Defence Education, Community Service Programme (KKN) preparation, and activities organized by study programmes. The Task Force also uses Instagram to disseminate educational materials, publicize reporting mechanisms, and raise awareness of survivor protection. Consistent with Castells' Network Society, digital communication extends advocacy beyond face-to-face activities and allows public education to reach a broader academic audience. Social media thus serves as both a communication channel and a political arena in which institutional legitimacy, public trust, and collective awareness are negotiated.

Case handling is embedded in formal university governance. The Task Force coordinates with university leaders, particularly when recommending disciplinary sanctions, making advocacy part of institutional decision-making while leaving its scope partly dependent on university authority. Giddens' structuration theory explains this relationship: Regulation No. 30 of 2021 provides the structural conditions for the Task Force, but rules alone cannot ensure effective implementation. As (Giddens, 1984, 25) argues, "the structural properties of social systems are both the medium and outcome of the practices they recursively organize." The gradual development of SOPs, educational programmes, and organizational routines shows how actors mobilize available resources to reproduce and transform institutional structures.

Advocacy also extends beyond UNSIL through partnerships with professional psychologists and Taman Jingga, a non-governmental organization (NGO). These largely informal collaborations, which have not been formalized through Memoranda of Understanding (MoUs), provide expertise, information, and survivor support despite limited internal resources. This reflects the advocacy network perspective of (Keck & Sikkink, 1998, 2), who define advocacy networks as actors linked by "shared values, a common discourse, and a dense exchange of information and services." The UNSIL case suggests that networks can operate through shared commitments, interpersonal trust, and collaboration even without formalized arrangements. Ministerial Regulation No. 30 of 2021 also created a political opportunity structure, consistent with Tarrow's theory of contentious politics. At UNSIL, actors have relied mainly on normative commitment, solidarity, and sustained individual engagement to use these opportunities despite resource constraints. Overall, advocacy at UNSIL combines procedural institutionalization with incremental transformation, organizational learning, and selective collaboration.

Within-Case Analysis: Advocacy Politics in the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence at Parahyangan Catholic University

At Parahyangan Catholic University (UNPAR), the establishment of the Satgas PPKS reflected both internal needs and national regulatory requirements. An internal survey conducted from late 2021 to early 2022 identified the need for a coordinating body, while Ministerial Regulation No. 30 of 2021 required universities to establish one. Institutional learning and regulatory implementation therefore developed together. UNPAR's support for the Task Force is formalized within university governance. The university allocates financial resources, coordinates with senior leadership, and recognizes advocacy as institutional work: student members receive honoraria equivalent to internship programmes, administrative staff receive overtime compensation, and lecturers' contributions are included in their Lecturer Performance Workload (BKD). These arrangements reduce reliance on voluntary commitment and strengthen organizational sustainability.

From a Foucauldian perspective, the Task Force produces institutional knowledge, rules, and mechanisms for regulating behaviour. As (Foucault, 1977, 27) argues, "power and knowledge directly imply one another." The internal survey informed SOPs, confidentiality protocols, reporting mechanisms, and educational programmes, making the Task Force both a case-handling body and a technology of governance that reshapes campus norms. UNPAR combines formal policy with continuous education and communication. Ngopi Bareng Mbak Nophie ("Coffee with Mbak Nophie"), led by a lecturer who is also a PPKS Task Force member, provides an informal setting for students to discuss sexual violence, gender equality, and healthy relationships. By involving female and male students, the programme recognizes that campus culture change requires participation across the university community. This approach is consistent with research showing that critical discussions involving male students can promote more positive understandings of masculinity and strengthen prevention commitments (de Villiers et al., 2021). Similarly, (Welson & Mohamed, 2019) found that most university students regard sexual violence as a serious institutional issue requiring comprehensive intervention.

Face-to-face education is complemented by prevention pocketbooks, guidance on online gender-based violence (OGBV), and ongoing social-media education. (Rodríguez-Rodríguez & Heras-González, 2020) observed that many universities had not fully used information and communication technologies to prevent and respond to sexual harassment. UNPAR's approach contrasts with this pattern by integrating digital platforms into public education, reporting guidance, transparency, and community engagement. Digital media thus functions as a governance tool rather than merely an information channel.

UNPAR also adopts a multidisciplinary approach to survivor protection, drawing on educational staff with psychological training, the UNPAR Counseling Unit, lecturers with legal expertise, and external organizations providing legal, psychosocial, and advocacy support. This coordination extends assistance beyond case administration to psychological recovery, legal protection, and social support. From Walby's perspective, it is an institutional effort to challenge gendered arrangements that restrict survivors' access to justice. (Walby, 1990, 20) defines patriarchy as "a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress, and exploit women." Although such structures are not eliminated, coordinated professional services can reduce barriers associated with victim-blaming, unequal power relations, and prioritizing institutional reputation over survivor protection.

Giddens' structuration theory further explains how advocacy becomes embedded in governance. Regulation No. 30 of 2021 provides structural legitimacy, while organizational actors develop SOPs, campaigns, partnerships, and prevention programmes. As (Giddens, 1984, 25) argues, "the structural properties of social systems are both the medium and the outcome of the practices they recursively organize." The Task Force therefore both reproduces and transforms institutional structures through its routine activities and resource mobilization.

UNPAR's advocacy network includes SAFEnet, the Pasundan Women's and Children's Crisis Center (WCC Durebang), Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Pengayoman, the Asosiasi Advokat Indonesia, the UNPAR Counseling Unit, and relevant government agencies responsible for protecting women and children. These partnerships expand access to legal assistance, psychological counselling, institutional consultation, and survivor advocacy. Consistent with (Keck & Sikkink, 1998, 2), the case demonstrates how shared values and exchanges of information and services strengthen collaboration across organizational boundaries. Several relationships operate without formal MoUs; informants nevertheless emphasized shared values, mutual trust, reciprocity, and commitment to survivor protection. Network effectiveness therefore depends not only on formal agreements but also on relational governance.

Digital platforms further support public education, access to SOPs and reporting information, and collective engagement, including programmes such as Ngopi Bareng Mbak Nophie. In Castells' Network Society, communication networks provide infrastructure for social change; at UNPAR, they also help construct institutional legitimacy, collective awareness, and gender norms. Tarrow's theory of contentious politics similarly explains how Regulation No. 30 of 2021 created opportunities for reform. Those opportunities became actionable through leadership commitment, dedicated funding, multidisciplinary expertise, student participation, and external partnerships. Overall, UNPAR illustrates institutionalized collaborative governance supported by evidence-based learning, professional collaboration, integrated networks, and sustained resources.

Cross-Case Analysis: Advocacy Politics in the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence at Siliwangi University and Parahyangan Catholic University

Both UNSIL and UNPAR established Satgas PPKS under Ministerial Regulation No. 30 of 2021, but their advocacy politics differ in institutional capacity, governance, resource mobilization, network integration, and policy implementation. The first difference concerns institutionalization. At UNSIL, the Task Force and SOPs were established while organizational capacity developed gradually through normative commitment, internal solidarity, and learning. UNPAR embedded funding, professional expertise, multidisciplinary collaboration, and organizational support within university governance. The comparison indicates that formal commitment and regulatory compliance are insufficient without sustained resources and capacity.

Resource mobilization and advocacy networks also differ. UNSIL relies on selective, largely informal partnerships with professional psychologists and Taman Jingga NGO to supplement limited internal capacity. UNPAR maintains broader collaborations involving legal aid, survivor support, civil society, its Counseling Unit, and government agencies. These partnerships expand access to legal, psychological, educational, and institutional assistance. Their effectiveness depends not simply on the number of partners but on how collaboration is integrated into governance. This interpretation aligns with studies showing that local support services encourage survivors to report sexual violence (Denti & Iammarino, 2022) and that survivor-centred institutional approaches improve access to protection and support services (Corboz et al., 2023).

The cases also differ in institutional knowledge and responses to patriarchy. At UNSIL, knowledge develops through socialization, campaigns, and gradual SOP development. At UNPAR, an internal survey in late 2021–early 2022 identified institutional needs before the Task Force was established, complementing the national regulatory mandate. Both universities have mechanisms intended to address gender inequality, but UNSIL's transformation remains constrained by resources and evolving institutional recognition, whereas UNPAR's multidisciplinary support and integrated governance have enabled more comprehensive changes. These differences suggest that resistance to institutional patriarchy requires more than formal protection mechanisms: institutions must also sustain the resources and professional services needed to implement them.

From Giddens' structuration perspective, the same regulation created opportunities for reform, but actors used them differently. UNSIL adapted limited resources and developed practices incrementally, while UNPAR mobilized greater resources to establish programmes, partnerships, and service mechanisms. This comparison shows that institutional change emerges from the interaction of structural opportunities and organizational agency rather than regulation alone.

The universities also differ in digital advocacy. Both use social media for education, awareness, information, and reporting mechanisms. UNSIL primarily uses digital platforms for public education and institutional communication. UNPAR has developed more participatory engagement through SOPs, digital awareness campaigns, OGBV guidelines, educational pocketbooks, and programmes such as Ngopi Bareng Mbak Nophie (UNPAR, 2025). These practices reflect Castells' view of communication networks as infrastructure for social transformation and align with studies showing that digital interventions can raise awareness of sexual violence (Nagamatsu et al., 2021), facilitate access to reporting and support mechanisms (Rodríguez-Rodríguez & Heras-González, 2020), and strengthen survivors' capacity to make informed safety decisions (Glass et al., 2015). Digital advocacy therefore functions not only as an information strategy but also as a governance mechanism that can strengthen participation, transparency, and collective engagement.

Tarrow's theory of contentious politics helps explain how Regulation No. 30 of 2021 created political opportunities at both universities. At UNSIL, advocacy has relied primarily on normative commitment, solidarity, and adaptive learning despite resource limitations. At UNPAR, political opportunities have been reinforced by stronger resources, multidisciplinary expertise, and integrated networks. Political opportunities are therefore enabling conditions rather than guarantees of change; their effects depend on whether institutional actors can mobilize resources and sustain advocacy.

Overall, UNSIL represents a procedural–reputational and informally collaborative advocacy model, characterized by procedural compliance, cautious governance, incremental learning, and selective networks. UNPAR represents a procedural–collaborative and network-based advocacy model, characterized by multidisciplinary governance, integrated institutional support, evidence-based learning, and extensive advocacy networks. Both demonstrate institutional progress, but sustainable advocacy depends on the interaction of governance, organizational capacity, advocacy networks, digital communication, and collective agency. This conclusion is consistent with evidence that institutional support strengthens resilience, organizational effectiveness, and survivor-centred responses to sexual violence (Kaul et al., 2024).

Pattern Matching

Pattern matching was conducted by comparing the theoretically predicted patterns derived from the analytical framework with the empirical patterns identified in the two case studies. Overall, the empirical findings demonstrate a high degree of congruence with the theoretical expectations, while also revealing important contextual variations that extend the existing theoretical perspectives.

The findings are consistent with Foucault's conception of power as operating through the production of knowledge, institutional procedures, and disciplinary practices. In both universities, advocacy politics involved the construction of institutional knowledge, the establishment of Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs), educational programmes, reporting mechanisms, and organizational coordination. However, the cases differ in the degree and trajectory of institutionalization. At UNSIL, knowledge production developed incrementally through organizational learning and gradual procedural development. At UNPAR, the internal survey conducted from late 2021 to early 2022 identified institutional needs during the same period in which the national regulatory mandate emerged. Internal knowledge and regulatory requirements thus complemented one another in informing the establishment of the Task Force. These findings suggest different trajectories through which institutional knowledge and formal rules contributed to organizational reform.

The findings also largely confirm Walby's theory of institutional patriarchy. Both universities have established institutional mechanisms intended to reduce structural gender inequalities and strengthen survivor protection. Nevertheless, the comparison demonstrates that the effectiveness of these mechanisms depends upon institutional capacity rather than formal policy adoption alone. UNPAR has institutionalized gender-responsive governance through multidisciplinary services, dedicated budgets, and professional support, whereas UNSIL continues to strengthen its institutional arrangements within more constrained organizational conditions. Consequently, institutional resistance to patriarchy appears to be shaped by organizational capacity as much as by institutional commitment.

The comparison equally supports Giddens' structuration theory by demonstrating that identical structural opportunities may generate different institutional outcomes. Although both universities operate under the same national regulatory framework, organizational actors exercise agency differently according to available institutional resources. These findings reinforce Giddens' proposition that institutional change emerges through the interaction between structure and agency rather than through regulatory intervention alone.

Pattern matching also confirms the explanatory power of advocacy network theory. Both universities developed collaborative relationships beyond their institutional boundaries, consistent with Keck and Sikkink's expectation that advocacy networks facilitate the exchange of information, services, and resources. However, the empirical findings extend this perspective by demonstrating that network effectiveness is determined not only by the existence of collaborative actors but also by the level of institutional integration. The UNPAR case illustrates a highly integrated advocacy network embedded within institutional governance, whereas UNSIL demonstrates an emerging network characterized by selective collaboration and gradual expansion.

Similarly, Castells' Network Society perspective is strongly supported. Digital communication has become an integral component of advocacy politics at both universities. Nevertheless, the empirical comparison reveals two distinct patterns of digital advocacy. UNSIL primarily employs digital platforms as instruments of public education and information dissemination, whereas UNPAR has transformed digital media into participatory governance spaces that facilitate institutional transparency, student engagement, and collective awareness. This suggests that digital communication contributes not only to information exchange but also to the institutionalization of advocacy itself.

Finally, the findings support Tarrow's theory of contentious politics by demonstrating that the enactment of Ministerial Regulation No. 30 of 2021 created political opportunities for institutional reform at both universities. However, the empirical evidence indicates that political opportunities alone are insufficient to generate institutional transformation. Rather, successful advocacy depends upon actors' capacity to mobilize organizational resources, build collaborative networks, and sustain institutional commitment over time.

Table 1. Pattern Matching

Theoretical dimension	Predicted pattern and comparison	Empirical pattern at UNSIL	Empirical pattern at UNPAR
Power relations (Foucault)	Power operates through procedures, knowledge and the normalization of behaviour. Pattern comparison: consistent, with different levels of institutionalization.	Socialization, campaigns, coordination with the rector and SOPs developed gradually.	Internal survey in late 2021–early 2022 complemented the regulatory mandate; SOPs, confidentiality mechanisms and public education developed more systematically.
Institutional patriarchy (Walby)	Institutions build mechanisms intended to reduce structural gender barriers. Pattern comparison: stronger institutional support is reported at UNPAR.	The Task Force provides protection, but faces constraints in budget, HR and institutional recognition.	The Task Force is supported by budget, multidisciplinary HR, psychological and legal services, and recognition of its work.
Structuration (Giddens)	Regulation provides a structure through which actors	Task Force actors use limited resources to develop SOPs,	Task Force actors use institutional support to develop

	develop new practices. Pattern comparison: actor agency is evident in both cases.	expand socialization and build networks.	programmes, networks and service mechanisms.
Advocacy networks (Keck and Sikkink)	Networks facilitate information exchange, services and resource mobilization. Pattern comparison: UNPAR's network is more integrated.	Selective collaborations with professional psychologists and Taman Jingga NGO complement internal capacity.	Partnerships include SAFEnet, WCC Pasundan Durebang, LBH Pengayoman, DPC AAI Bandung, UNPAR Counseling Unit and government agencies.
Network society (Castells)	Digital media provide channels for information, education and collective awareness. Pattern comparison: UNPAR offers more participatory forms of digital advocacy.	Instagram is used for education, campaigns and information about services.	Social media communicates SOPs, pocketbooks and online gender-based violence guidance, alongside participatory educational programmes.
Contentious politics (Tarrow)	Political opportunities enable actors to mobilize resources for institutional change. Pattern comparison: mobilization capacity differs.	The ministerial regulation provides opportunities; mobilization relies on normative commitment and internal solidarity.	The ministerial regulation provides opportunities supported by budget, HR, networks and institutional legitimacy.

Overall, the pattern matching analysis identifies two distinct empirical models of advocacy politics. The first is a Procedural Reputational and Informally Collaborative Advocacy Model, represented by UNSIL, in which institutional change develops incrementally through procedural compliance, organizational caution, normative commitment, and selective collaborative networks. The second is a Procedural--Collaborative and Network-Based Advocacy Model, represented by UNPAR, in which institutional transformation is supported by multidisciplinary governance, integrated advocacy networks, evidence-based organizational learning, and sustained institutional investment.

These findings extend the literature beyond the existing theoretical framework by demonstrating that the effectiveness of advocacy politics in higher education is determined by the interaction of three mutually reinforcing capacities: institutional capacity, advocacy network capacity, and actor agency capacity. The stronger the integration of these three capacities, the more institutionalized, sustainable, and effective the governance of sexual violence prevention and response becomes. This proposition is further supported by previous research showing that collective advocacy and community mobilization contribute to transforming social norms and reducing gender-based violence ((Christofides et al., 2018). Both universities illustrate this mechanism, although the institutionalization of community mobilization is considerably more advanced at UNPAR than at UNSIL.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This research shows that the handling of sexual violence in universities is not only determined by the existence of formal regulations, but also by policy advocacy capacity and the quality of institutional governance. Based on a case study at three universities in the Semarang area involving 15 key informants, it was found that the effectiveness of policies is influenced by three main factors, namely the ability of policy actors to build institutional support, coordination between units in policy implementation, and accountability mechanisms in providing protection to victims. These findings strengthen the study of political science on public policy by showing that institutional change is a political process that involves interaction between actors, organizational structures, and mechanisms of legitimacy. Therefore, universities need to strengthen the capacity of policy actors, build an integrated coordination system, and ensure that reporting and mentoring mechanisms run in a transparent, safe, and victim-oriented manner. Further research is suggested to expand the scope of the research area, involve the perspective of the victim directly, as well as use a longitudinal approach to understand changes in the governance of sexual violence in the long term.

As a practical recommendation, universities need to develop a governance model for handling sexual violence that focuses not only on resolving cases, but also on prevention, public education, and strengthening organizational culture. Governments and policymakers also need to push for more consistent implementation standards so that national policies can be translated effectively at the institutional level. Strengthening collaboration between universities, students, civil society organizations, and victim assistance institutions is an important strategy to create a more responsive protection system. Thus, policy advocacy and institutional governance can be an instrument of change in building a safe, inclusive, and accountable academic environment.

ADVANCED RESEARCH

Further research can develop this study through a mixed method approach to combine institutional analysis with the measurement of the perception of the academic community. Comparative studies between universities are also needed to understand variations in governance capacity in the implementation of sexual violence policies.

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