

An Analysis of the Implementation of Sexual Violence Prevention and Response Policies (PPKS) in Higher Education in Indonesian

Abdul Rachman Pambudi¹, Edy Sutrisno², Firman Hadi Rivai³

¹²³Politeknik STIA LAN Jakarta, Indonesia

Correspondent: abdulrachman.pambudi@gmail.com¹

Received : May 25, 2025

Accepted : July 3, 2025

Published : July 31, 2025

Citation: Pambudi, A. R., Sutrisno, E., Rivai, F. H. (2025). An Analysis of the Implementation of Sexual Violence Prevention and Response Policies (PPKS) in Higher Education in Indonesian. *Ijomata International Journal of Social Science*, 6(3), 1142-1162.

<https://doi.org/10.61194/ijss.v6i3.1820>

ABSTRACT: Sexual violence in higher education is a systemic issue that threatens student safety and academic well-being. Although 77% of Sexual violence in higher education is a systemic issue that endangers student safety and academic well-being. Although 77% of lecturers acknowledge its occurrence, 63% of cases go unreported, revealing significant institutional gaps. In response, the Indonesian Ministry of Education introduced the Regulation on the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence in Higher Education (PPKS). While prior studies have explored the prevalence of such violence, few have assessed policy implementation using a structured theoretical framework. This study applies the Mazmanian and Sabatier implementation model to analyze institutional and systemic challenges and propose evidence-based strategies. Using a descriptive qualitative approach, the study combines document analysis with in-depth interviews involving national policymakers and stakeholders from five purposively selected universities. Selection criteria reflect institutional diversity, geographic spread, and variation in PPKS best practices. The findings highlight ongoing challenges, including the absence of structural task force integration, limited human resource capacity, insufficient budget support, and low awareness and literacy regarding sexual violence. To address these barriers, the study proposes three strategic directions: (1) strengthening institutional mandates and issuing national technical regulations; (2) transforming campus culture through curriculum reform and multi-stakeholder collaboration; and (3) ensuring sustainability through capacity building, peer learning among task forces, and performance-based evaluation mechanisms. The study concludes that overcoming structural and cultural constraints is essential for effective implementation and that coordinated efforts are needed to create safer, more inclusive higher education environments.

Keywords: Sexual Violence, Higher Education, Policy Implementation



This is an open-access article under the CC-BY 4.0 license

INTRODUCTION

Sexual violence in educational settings is a universal phenomenon occurring across the globe. According to the data from the United Nations Children's Fund ([Unicef \(2018\)](#)) report half of the students aged 13–15 years, approximately 150 million children, have reported experiencing peer violence, including sexual violence in schools. Reports by UN Women and WHO further indicate that one in three women aged 15 and above has experienced physical and/or sexual violence ([Bondestam & Lundqvist, 2020](#)).

[WHO \(2021a\)](#) reports that 35.6% of women worldwide have experienced physical and/or sexual violence by either an intimate partner or a non-partner at some point in their lives. In comparison, the South-East Asia Region shows a higher prevalence at 40.2%, making it the second highest among the six WHO regions. A previous WHO study already highlighted this concerning trend, reporting a 40.2% lifetime prevalence of sexual violence in Southeast Asia % ([WHO, 2013](#)). A subsequent [WHO \(2021b\)](#) A Study reported that 16% of young women aged 15–24 had experienced sexual violence at least once in the past 12 months. This alarming phenomenon has sparked global solidarity movements. According to [UN Women \(2020\)](#) the #MeToo social media campaign during 2017–2019 garnered over 24 million participations, reflecting heightened public awareness regarding sexual violence.

According to [WHO \(2012\)](#), cases of sexual violence frequently occur in environments that should be safe, such as schools and universities, with perpetrators often coming from close circles, including teachers, lecturers, and peers. The impacts on victims are severe, ranging from physical injuries, sexually transmitted infections, psychological trauma, and depression to suicidal ideation ([Unicef, 2021](#)). [Steele et al. \(2024\)](#) emphasize that within higher education settings, sexual violence negatively affects mental health, academic outcomes, and learning engagement and can even lead to student dropout. The prevention and handling of sexual violence has thus become a global policy priority, particularly within the framework of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), especially Targets 16.1 and 16.2, which aim to significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates (16.1) and to end abuse, exploitation, trafficking, and all forms of violence against children (16.2) ([United Nations, n.d.](#)). However, [Miele et al. \(2023\)](#) observe that international guidelines and policies for preventing and addressing sexual violence remain limited and fragmented.

In response to these concerns, Indonesia's Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology (MoECRT) designated the prevention and handling of violence in educational settings as a priority program in its 2020–2024 Strategic Plan, articulated in Regulation No. 13 of 2022. The government introduced a specific policy addressing sexual violence in higher education through Regulation No. 30 of 2021 on the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence (PPKS Regulation), which aims to prevent and respond to sexual violence in universities by establishing legal certainty in both preventive and responsive measures.

The government enacted the PPKS Regulation in response to the high incidence of sexual violence cases on university campuses. The National Commission on Violence Against Women [Komnas Perempuan \(2020\)](#) reported that higher education institutions accounted for 27% of total reported cases of violence in the education sector, amounting to 51 cases. A survey by the Directorate General

of Higher Education, Research, and Technology revealed that 77% of lecturers acknowledged the occurrence of sexual violence on their campuses, yet 63% of these cases went unreported. ([Andini, 2020](#)). [Ardi & Muis \(2014\)](#) found that 40% of students in the Faculty of Language and Arts at the State University of Surabaya reported experiencing sexual violence. [Noer and Kartika \(2022\)](#) cited a 2018 survey by Jaringan Muda Setara, where 54 out of 70 female students reported experiencing sexual violence. The Inspectorate General of MoECRT recorded 49 cases of sexual violence in both public and private universities in 2022, including major cases at the University of Riau, Sriwijaya University, and Andalas University ([Kompas, 2023](#)).

The PPKS Regulation mandates the establishment of Sexual Violence Prevention and Handling Task Forces (Satgas PPKS) within universities. These task forces are designated as key actors in coordinating and implementing prevention and response efforts. [Lunenburg \(2010\)](#) underscores that the success or failure of organizational change largely depends on the quality of collaboration between change agents and decision-makers. In this context, Satgas PPKS holds a strategic role in operationalizing the PPKS policy.

Satgas PPKS typically consists of lecturers, administrative staff, and students who have undergone basic training on sexual violence. The composition must meet specific criteria: an odd number of members, a minimum of five members, with at least two-thirds female representation, and at least 50% student representation. As of February 2023, Satgas PPKS had been established in 125 public and 20 private universities ([MoECRT, 2023](#)). However, the Ministry's Center for Character Development monitoring in December 2022 revealed that 36 universities had yet to meet the student representation requirement, and 17 had not fulfilled the female representation requirement.

Despite formal establishment, the implementation of Satgas PPKS faces multiple challenges. Komnas Perempuan reported that a significant barrier is institutional impunity, as institutions shield perpetrators to protect their reputations. [Nikmatullah \(2020\)](#) successful policy implementation depends on leadership commitment, effective bureaucracy, and adequate resources. Lair (1993) argues that university bureaucracies often handle sexual violence cases slowly and opaquely, while [Page et al. \(2019\)](#) note that institutions frequently neglect cases involving staff members.

These issues are evident in media reports such as [Detik Edu \(2023\)](#), which reported that the Satgas PPKS at the University of Indonesia temporarily suspended its reporting services due to a lack of institutional support. Similarly, research by [Erlina et al. \(2022\)](#) in Kalimantan, regulatory barriers, insufficient human resources, and university leadership's non-implementation of task force recommendations were identified as key obstacles. [Mabachi et al. \(2020\)](#) similar task forces in other countries also encounter challenges related to limited capacity, lack of knowledge, low student participation, and rigid bureaucratic structures.

Further, [Pambudi and Utami \(2023\)](#) revealed that initial online training only provided basic knowledge and did not sufficiently build practical capacities for task execution. [Wagner \(2018\)](#) stresses the importance of robust monitoring systems to ensure universities effectively implement Satgas recommendations.

Although the PPKS policy has become a national priority, there remains a need for a deeper understanding of its implementation dynamics across diverse institutional contexts within Indonesian higher education. Previous studies have made significant contributions, particularly in examining the normative and legal dimensions of the policy (Noer & Kartika, 2022; Erlina et al., 2022). However, considering Indonesia's institutional, geographical, and cultural diversity, a more comprehensive mapping of factors influencing implementation effectiveness is required as policy implementation progresses at the institutional level.

Given Satgas PPKS's strategic role and the challenges they face, including leadership support, representation discrepancies, and capacity constraints, this study aims to conduct an in-depth analysis of PPKS policy implementation across various types of Indonesian universities. It also seeks to formulate strategies for optimizing policy implementation and provide practical insights for strengthening the evolving PPKPT (Prevention and Handling of Violence in Higher Education Policy). In doing so, this study aspires to contribute to the broader academic discourse on public policy implementation within Indonesia's higher education sector.

METHOD

This study employs a descriptive qualitative approach with a case study strategy to understand the dynamics of PPKS policy implementation in Indonesian higher education institutions. A qualitative approach was chosen because it allows the researcher to explore in-depth experiences and perceptions of stakeholders regarding the policy's implementation, which are essential for capturing the complex and context-specific nature of institutional responses. As explained by Denzin and Lincoln in Anggito & Setiawan (2018), this approach enables researchers to interpret social phenomena deeply within their natural context, with the researcher as the primary instrument.

Using a descriptive qualitative approach, the research combines document analysis with in-depth interviews involving policymakers and stakeholders from five universities across Indonesia. The researcher collected primary data through semi-structured, in-depth interviews with nine purposively selected key informants. Informants were selected based on their experience and strategic roles in implementing the PPKS policy. At the national level, key informants included ministerial-level policymakers who were members of the National Task Force for the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence, appointed through a Ministerial Decree. At the university level, informants were selected from institutions identified for implementing good practices and diverse contextual experiences, to enrich the analysis and support the formulation of optimization strategies. Data from the university level gathered through institutional reports, policy documents, and selected interviews with members of the Sexual Violence Prevention and Handling Task Forces (Satgas PPKS), served as secondary data to supplement the findings.

To capture institutional and contextual diversity, five universities were purposively selected based on institutional status, type of institution, and geographical distribution:

1. Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa University (Academic University, Banten) represents a general university in western Indonesia and demonstrates good practices in peer support mechanisms for case handling.
2. Nusa Cendana University (Academic University, East Nusa Tenggara) reflects the geographical and resource-related challenges universities face in eastern Indonesia, with notable practices in case management and survivor assistance.
3. Ganesha University of Education (Teacher Education University, Bali) is an education-focused institution that prepares future educators and is recognized for integrating local cultural values into its prevention and handling efforts.
4. Putra Sang Fajar Blitar State Community Academy (Vocational Higher Education Institution, East Java) represents small, vocationally oriented institutions and showcases strong governance practices in PPKS implementation.
5. Kalimantan Institute of Technology (Public Institute, East Kalimantan) is a newly established, technology-focused institution in eastern Indonesia. It is noted for its innovative peer-to-peer education approach to raising awareness and prevention.

These five sites were selected to provide a comprehensive overview of the varied contexts of PPKS policy implementation across Indonesia's higher education landscape.

Data analysis followed the interactive model of Miles and Huberman, which consists of three stages: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing ([Miles & Huberman, 1994](#)). The analysis steps included coding interview and documentary data, grouping themes, and drawing conclusions based on emerging patterns. Interview and documentary data were coded and categorized based on Mazmanian and Sabatier's policy implementation framework ([Mubarok et al., 2020](#)), which includes three key variables:

1. Problem characteristics: technical complexity and target group behavior;
2. Regulatory capacity: clarity of policy objectives and division of responsibilities;
3. Non-regulatory factors: stakeholder support, media attention, and socio-technological conditions.

The researchers conducted an inductive and cross-case comparative analysis to identify patterns, barriers, and adaptive strategies in PPKS policy implementation.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The findings of this study indicate that the success of PPKS policy implementation in universities is strongly influenced by the complexity of problem characteristics, institutional capacity, and support from various stakeholders. Based on Mazmanian and Sabatier's policy implementation model, this analysis examined key variables affecting policy implementation effectiveness. The main findings related to each variable are discussed below.

The limited technical capacity of the Satgas PPKS emerged as a dominant challenge in implementing the PPKS policy at the university level. In most institutions, the Satgas has not been fully integrated into the formal organizational structure, resulting in restricted administrative

authority and limited access to institutional resources. This lack of institutional embedding directly hinders the effectiveness of the Task Force in handling reports of sexual violence quickly and appropriately, as they often lack the staff, budget, and infrastructure needed for proper case management. For instance, at University 1 (PT1), the Satgas operates informally with minimal budgetary support, leading to a high dependence on external collaboration with local government agencies. One Satgas member noted:

“Administratively, the Satgas PPKS is not yet recognized as a formal unit, so it lacks the dedicated staff to handle secretarial and financial tasks. The dual roles of Satgas members, who must also manage secretarial and financial duties, make it difficult to maintain proper documentation and formal correspondence.”

Compounding this issue is the uneven human resource capacity within Satgas teams. Many members have not received the sustained and substantive training necessary for handling sexual violence cases with the required sensitivity and competence. At University 2 (PT2), for example, although some efforts had been made to provide training in peer support and psychological first aid, these remained limited in scope and depth, despite a sharp rise in reported cases. As one Satgas member emphasized, *“the number of personnel with specialized training in preventing and handling sexual violence remains minimal.”* This mismatch between the increasing complexity and volume of cases and the lack of adequately trained personnel further weakens Satgas's ability to perform its duties effectively.

This situation is further exacerbated by the dual workload of Satgas members without permanent secretariat support and limited technical competence, which slows down case resolution processes. Even at the national level, knowledge regarding handling sexual violence remains at an early stage. A ministry official noted:

“The technical challenges during the initial implementation of the PPKS regulation were very new... There was a lack of aligned mindsets at the time. In the Inspectorate General, the mandate focused more on oversight, typically dealing with fraud or corruption. We did not yet possess sufficient knowledge on this matter”.

This institutional gap becomes even more pressing when viewed in the national context. According to an interview with the Ministry of Education's Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) Team, reported cases of sexual violence increased significantly from 37 in 2021 to 1,361 in 2024. Ironically, the case resolution rate declined from 83.8% to 59% during the same period. This widening gap between growing reporting and declining case resolution underscores how limited technical and organizational capacity at the university level severely constrains the responsiveness and effectiveness of the Satgas in addressing sexual violence cases.

These conditions reflect the absence of an ideal institutional foundation for effective policy implementation, particularly regarding administrative structure and personnel readiness. Previous research by [Tezera \(2019\)](#) shows that an effective administrative structure is key to successful policy implementation, highlighting the importance of streamlined organizational systems, efficient financial management, and clearly defined operational procedures. Similarly, [Andrews et al. \(2017\)](#) emphasize that enhancing the implementation capabilities of public institutions is a critical prerequisite for achieving intended policy and development outcomes, especially in complex governance environments.

In the case of Satgas PPKS, many units continue to experience significant institutional weaknesses. The lack of formal integration into university governance structures, minimal financial and administrative support, and insufficient technical training for task force members contribute to delays in case responses and limit overall effectiveness. These gaps undermine not only the operational capacity of Satgas but also the broader legitimacy and sustainability of the PPKS policy at the institutional level. Such challenges are not unique to Indonesia. [Mabachi et al. \(2020\)](#), for instance, found that task forces addressing sexual violence in university settings across multiple countries faced persistent obstacles related to limited institutional capacity, inadequate member training, low student engagement, and rigid bureaucratic systems that hindered timely and flexible responses. These parallels indicate that the structural and human resource constraints encountered by Satgas PPKS are part of a broader global pattern in the implementation of campus-based sexual violence prevention and response policies.

The PPKS policy also faces challenges from diverse social and cultural norms that do not always support a victim-centered approach. In regions with strong patriarchal and conservative cultures, resistance to the establishment and functioning of Satgas remains high. A steering committee leader observed, *"There are still areas with strong patriarchal cultures... a victim-centered approach to handling cases is not well supported."*

Conversely, University 4 (PT4), which enrolls students from various regions, faces challenges in managing cultural diversity and differing ethical norms. The risk of sexual violence increases, particularly in informal settings such as off-campus housing (indekos), which lack institutional oversight. This cultural resistance renders prevention efforts not merely technical but also political and ideological, particularly when local norms conflict with the values of gender equality and justice promoted by the policy.

These findings align with institutional theory, which posits that dominant sociocultural norms can shape or constrain the distribution of organizational characteristics over time ([Dacin, 1997](#)). In the context of the PPKS policy, successful implementation is not solely determined by technical readiness or regulatory instruments, but also by the extent to which the policy's core values, such as gender justice and a victim-centered approach, are accepted within prevailing local norms. This reinforces the notion that institutional norms do not operate in a vacuum but interact dynamically with ecological and cultural contexts, affecting how organizations conform to or resist policy demands.

These patterns of resistance are further supported by the findings of [Tildesley et al. \(2022\)](#), who identified multiple forms of resistance to gender equality policies within higher education institutions. Such resistance may manifest not only through overt rejection, but also through more subtle mechanisms such as issue avoidance, minimizing the urgency of the problem, or denying the need for structural change. However, the study also highlights the emergence of counter-resistance—individual and collective efforts in support of gender equality, mobilized through both personal agency ("power to") and institutional solidarity ("power with"). These counter-movements create incremental openings for policy change, suggesting that cultural transformation is possible even in challenging normative environments.

Nevertheless, there are indications of a cultural transformation from a culture of silence to a culture of reporting. On several campuses, the increased number of reports following the establishment of Satgas PPKS reflects growing trust among the academic community in the institutional mechanisms for handling sexual violence. A national survey indicated that over 94% of academic community members reported participating in awareness-raising activities, and 97% felt safer due to the Satgas PPKS. This cultural shift was also reflected in the statement of a key informant involved in both policy formulation and serving as the head of the Satgas selection committee at their university: *"Students, educational staff, and lecturers are now increasingly willing to report acts of sexual violence, and nearly every campus has its anti-sexual violence policy as well as an established Satgas PPKS."* As [Kivivuori \(2014\)](#) emphasizes that increased cultural sensitivity to violence is critical in shaping public perceptions of violence and the willingness to report it. These findings suggest that shifts in reporting behavior often reflect broader transformations in cultural norms and institutional trust.

In terms of coverage, the policy has formally reached more than 3,000 higher education institutions under the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology. However, although the policy has been introduced across these institutions, by the end of 2024, only about 60% of private universities had established a functioning PPKS Task Force (Satgas PPKS). Public universities have generally been more adaptive, developing more structured reporting, training, and survivor support systems. In contrast, smaller institutions such as vocational colleges face significant challenges in establishing permanent mechanisms, primarily due to rapid student turnover—with study durations of only one to two years—and limited professional staff, as these institutions typically lack faculties of psychology, medicine, or law. Further problem characteristics of PPKS implementation are illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1. Problem Characteristics of PPKS Implementation in Higher Education Institutions

University (PT)	Identified Problem Characteristics
PT1	Limited Institutional Structure of the Task Force Dual Workload of Satgas Members Geographically Dispersed Campus Coverage
PT2	Limited Technical Competence of Human Resources Dual Workload of Satgas Members Budget Constraints Low Collective Awareness Among Campus Community
PT3	Budget Constraints Limited Work Infrastructure Limited Time for Policy Socialization Limited Satgas Regeneration Due to Short Study Duration
PT4	Multicultural Campus Environment and Liberal Social Interaction Norms

PT5	Technical Challenges in Measuring the Effectiveness of Satgas Programs
-----	--

These findings suggest a shift in campus social norms from previously permissive or normalizing attitudes toward sexual violence to the development of a more participatory and survivor-centered campus ecosystem. Overall, the problem characteristics in implementing the PPKS policy demonstrate a complex interplay of technical, socio-cultural, and institutional capacity factors. Accordingly, contextually adaptive strategies, institutional capacity strengthening, and deeper policy integration into campus culture must continue to be systematically promoted.

The capacity of a policy to structure its implementation process is a critical factor in ensuring its successful execution. In the context of the PPKS policy in higher education, the implementation structure faces substantive and technical challenges.

The PPKS policy was initially designed to adopt a socio-ecological intervention model, which addresses multiple levels: individual, community, and institutional. ([Tekkas Kerman & Betrus, 2020](#)). As stated by a member of the policy drafting team:

“The policy was envisioned using the four-level socio-ecological model of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), which considers individual risk and protective factors, interpersonal relationships, organizational (campus) structures, and community-level factors in addressing sexual violence.”

This approach has begun to be adopted in several university case studies, with efforts to build integrated interventions such as peer support training, strengthened community advocacy, and enhanced coordination among campus units. However, the implementation of this model remains uneven and largely dependent on each institution's capacity and local initiative. Table 2 presents examples of interventions at the university level.

One of the substantive challenges in implementing the PPKS policy lies in the divergence of content and approaches adopted by different universities in formulating their institutional PPKS policies. This variation directly results from the non-operational and largely declarative nature of the objectives articulated in the PPKS Ministerial Regulation. Such a lack of clarity has created expansive room for interpretation at the implementation level, leading each institution to respond to the policy with differing frameworks and areas of focus.

Table 2. Socio-Ecological Interventions in PPKS Implementation Across Universities

Level of Intervention	PT1	PT2	PT3	PT4	PT5
Individual	Social media campaigns on sexual violence	Training on Psychological First Aid, Prevention of Sexual	PPKS learning modules via Learning Management System (LMS)	Body literacy and gender awareness training	Mental health seminars

Level of Intervention	PT1	PT2	PT3	PT4	PT5
		Exploitation and Abuse (PSEA), and trauma-informed care			
Relationship	Analysis of interpersonal relations in case reports	Peer support for survivors	Door-to-door dissemination of regulations	Peer champion cadre development	Peer-to-peer support networks
Community	Inclusive Satgas structure across faculties	Regulation and faculty-student collaboration in Safe Campus campaigns	Visual campaigns using banners and pamphlets	Advocacy of campus values through strategic media	Campus climate survey and peer educator programs
Societal	Collaboration with police and the judiciary	Collaboration with Mennonite Central Committee and Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association (PKBI)	Collaboration with the Office of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection and the Regional Police's Women and Children Protection Unit	Mainstreaming local cultural values (Tri Hita Karana)	Collaboration with the Regional Police and Business/Industry sectors

Some universities prioritize victim protection and the development of a humane and inclusive campus culture, while others focus more heavily on administrative procedures or case-handling mechanisms. This inconsistency reflects variations in institutional capacity and highlights the absence of uniform technical standards to guide consistent policy implementation. Table 3 illustrates the diversity of objectives embedded within institutional policy adaptations.

Table 3. Variation of Policy Objectives in PPKS Implementation Across Universities

Objective Component	PT1	PT2	PT3	PT4	PT5
General Guidelines	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No derivative regulation
Prevention of Sexual Violence	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Handling, Protection, and Recovery of Victims	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Safe and Humane Campus Culture	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	

Strengthening Family and Community Support	No	Yes	No	Yes
Integration into the Curriculum	No	Yes	No	No

Internal regulations, such as the Rector's Regulations and Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs), have proven to be a distinguishing factor in the effectiveness of policy implementation at the university level. PT2, which has developed a comprehensive set of regulatory instruments, demonstrates a more substantial capacity to respond to reports, manage survivor support, and conduct preventive efforts.

This finding aligns with observations from the Monitoring and Evaluation Team of the Ministry of Education, which indicated that not all universities have developed SOPs derived from the PPKS Ministerial Regulation. This was underscored in the following statement:

“Not all universities have developed SOPs derived from the PPKS Ministerial Regulation. However, this is crucial to ensuring the sustainability of implementation.”

Without transparent and standardized SOPs, policy implementation risks inconsistency and operational confusion in practice, as emphasized by [Roje et al. \(2023\)](#), who stated that SOPs ensure the uniformity and quality of performed actions.

Technical challenges also arise on the budgeting front. The PPKS Ministerial Regulation does not explicitly mandate the allocation of funding to support the operational activities of Satgas PPKS. As a result, several universities, such as PT3, operate their Satgas with minimal fiscal support. In such cases, the continuity of Satgas operations heavily depends on the initiative and commitment of university leadership. One example of good practice is demonstrated by PT2, where the Rector's Regulation explicitly stipulates strengthened budgeting provisions, including (1) provision of operational facilities and infrastructure, (2) funding for prevention and response activities, (3) security protection for Satgas members, and (4) legal assistance for Satgas members.

This example illustrates that structured budgetary support is a fundamental prerequisite for the effectiveness and sustainability of Satgas PPKS operations at the institutional level. Without adequate funding guarantees, PPKS efforts in higher education institutions risk becoming sporadic and unsustainable. The issuance of the new Ministerial Regulation No. 55 of 2024 marks a step forward, as the policy framework now explicitly requires budget allocations covering Satgas operational costs, honoraria for members, and funding for external partnerships. However, as of May 2025, this regulation has yet to be accompanied by technical implementing guidelines that clearly define the planning process, integration into institutional Work Plans and Budgets (RKA), and budget disbursement mechanisms at the operational unit level. The absence of such technical guidance may exacerbate implementation disparities across universities, given varying levels of administrative capacity and understanding of budget management within different institutions.

Table 4. Hierarchical Coordination Structures at the University Level

University	Satgas Structure	Internal University Units Involved in Coordination
PT1	Divisions based on academic disciplines: Law, Guidance and Counseling, Communication, and Religious Studies	Research and Community Service Institute, ICT Unit, Public Relations Office, Finance Office, Academic Support Unit for Guidance and Counseling, Student Organizations, Dharma Wanita Persatuan (DWP)
PT2	Prevention Division, Reporting, Fact-Finding, and Enforcement Division, Recovery Division	Health Promoting University Program, Faculty of Law, Student Affairs Bureau, Academic Affairs Office, Human Resources Office, Research and Community Service Institute, DWP, Peer Support Student Mentors
PT3	Prevention Team, Response Team	Director, Heads of Study Programs, Laboratory Technicians, Librarians, Security Officers, Student Affairs Team
PT4	No information available	Faculty of Law and Social Sciences, Student Executive Board, Gender and Child Studies Center
PT5	No information available	Vice-Rector for Student Affairs, Student Counseling Services Unit, Faculties

In parallel with budgeting challenges, the degree of hierarchical integration among implementing institutions is also a key factor in ensuring the consistency and effectiveness of PPKS policy implementation. Mazmanian and Sabatier emphasize that policy implementation success is strongly influenced by the extent to which clear and authoritative coordination relationships exist among implementing bodies. At the central level, the Ministry of Education has established a Working Group (Pokja) on the Prevention and Handling of Violence through Ministerial Decree No. 334/P/2024. This Pokja structure is designed to strengthen vertical coordination from the central government to universities, with LLDIKTI (Higher Education Service Institutions) serving as regional coordination nodes. The Head of the PPKPT Team stressed the importance of formal legitimacy for the Pokja in facilitating cross-unit coordination. However, in practice, coordination efforts still face challenges, particularly in ensuring the active participation of all units and clarifying the division of functions between prevention and response components. Variations in hierarchical coordination across universities are presented in Table 4.

Although Satgas PPKS is generally not yet institutionalized at the university level as a formal structural unit, various adaptive models of functional coordination have been developed. At PT1, for example, cross-unit synergy is reinforced through leadership integrity pacts and collaboration with support service units. PT2 integrates Satgas operations with the Health Promoting University program and actively engages students. PT3 emphasizes practical coordination among units within a small campus environment, while PT4 and PT5 have established collaborative networks with

faculties, gender and child studies centers, and student organizations. These findings indicate that despite variations in the formalization of Satgas structures, adaptive and collaborative coordination approaches constitute a key success factor in effective policy implementation at the institutional level.

The recruitment of implementing officials is a key determinant of policy implementation effectiveness, as emphasized by Mazmanian and Sabatier. Within the PPKS policy framework, the recruitment process for Satgas members serves as a strategic instrument to ensure a victim-centered approach. However, field practices reveal that Satgas recruitment still faces significant technical and substantive challenges, including limited human resources, the short study duration of vocational college students, and gaps in the initial capacity of new members. As noted by the Head of the PPKPT Team:

“Building the capacity of Satgas members remains an ongoing task during the initial formation phase, as they often do not yet understand their roles except in universities that already have strong awareness of sexual violence issues and prior experience with similar task forces.”

Nevertheless, some universities, such as PT1 and PT2, have adopted good practices by conducting selection processes based on academic expertise, involving multiple stakeholders, and providing specialized training such as Prevention of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse (PSEA) and Psychological First Aid (PFA), as illustrated in Table 2.

Regulatory changes introduced through the new PPKPT Ministerial Regulation have simplified the recruitment process compared to the earlier PPKS Regulation by eliminating the Selection Committee mechanism and relaxing substantive competency requirements. While this step enhances administrative efficiency and encourages greater university compliance, it raises concerns regarding transparency, public legitimacy, and the substantive quality of Satgas members. [Komnas Perempuan \(2025\)](#) cautioned in its report:

“In practice, the appointment of Satgas members by university rectors or leadership carries the potential for conflicts of interest and the reinforcement of power dynamics, particularly when perpetrators of sexual violence are themselves part of university leadership. This situation opens the door to potential abuses of power and institutional impunity.”

Therefore, additional oversight mechanisms are needed, including ongoing capacity-building, continuous training, and regular evaluations, to ensure that the regulatory flexibility introduced by the new regulation does not undermine Satgas's effectiveness as the primary protector of survivors and agents of cultural change on campus.

Overall, the policy's ability to structure the implementation of PPKS still requires strengthening. Clear regulations, sustainable funding systems, structured cross-unit coordination, and credible recruitment processes are key aspects that should be prioritized in future policy development. A systemic and context-sensitive approach is essential to ensure that PPKS policy implementation proceeds effectively, inclusively, and sustainably across all higher education institutions in Indonesia.

According to Mazmanian and Sabatier's policy implementation theory, socio-economic and technological conditions are positioned as non-regulatory variables that significantly influence the achievement of policy objectives. This study's findings reveal that technological advancement plays a catalytic role in reinforcing the institutional capacity of the Satgas, expanding service accessibility, and increasing the transparency of reporting and case-handling processes. These three factors are interrelated: strong technological infrastructure enhances institutional capacity by streamlining administrative and case management systems, broadening the reach of services, and making reporting mechanisms more accessible to survivors.

Conversely, in universities with limited digital infrastructure, institutional weaknesses are further compounded, as slow and opaque processes reduce survivors' trust in the system and limit their access to timely support. In line with the literature emphasizing the transformative potential of digital technologies in public service delivery, particularly in improving efficiency, responsiveness, and accountability (Gil-Garcia et al., 2018), field data demonstrate that universities with integrated technological platforms, such as online reporting portals, learning management systems (LMS), and open communication channels, are better positioned to support survivors and implement preventive education. As illustrated in Table 5, this convergence of technology, capacity, and accessibility strengthens overall policy implementation by enabling timely responses, widening public outreach, and fostering institutional trust.

Nevertheless, challenges remain. This study found that existing systems are not yet designed with universal accessibility principles and adequate user experience considerations. As noted in findings from PT1:

"Offline reporting remains the most frequently chosen channel. This has made us realize that our secondary focus should be strengthening external support."

This statement indicates that the use of digital channels continues to face limitations regarding user acceptance and trust. Meanwhile, PT2 emphasized the importance of developing a reporting system that is secure, confidential, and easily accessible for both survivors and witnesses.

Table 5. Utilization of Technology to Optimize PPKS Policy Implementation

University	Utilization of Technology
PT1	Although an online complaint channel is available, offline complaints are still more commonly used.
PT2	An online reporting system, hotline, and walk-in reporting center have been designed and implemented.
PT3	PPKS learning modules are delivered regularly each semester via the LMS, improving PPKS literacy among the academic community; CCTV has been installed in high-risk areas.
PT4	The development of a dedicated Satgas PPKS website has strengthened the company's digital presence and accelerated the dissemination of information to a broader audience.
PT5	Technology is utilized through an anonymous campus climate survey conducted via Google Forms.

These findings are consistent with [Paselle et al. \(2025\)](#), who emphasized that while e-government can enhance public participation and accountability, its practical implementation is often hindered by the digital divide, low levels of technological literacy, and regulatory and policy frameworks that do not fully support transparency and inclusion. Therefore, strengthening the technological infrastructure in the implementation of the PPKPT policy must be accompanied by the development of reporting systems that are responsive, secure, easily accessible, and capable of providing relevant information to all stakeholders. In addition, building user capacity and conducting continuous evaluations of the effectiveness of digital systems are crucial strategies to ensure that technology utilization goes beyond mere administrative tools and genuinely drives service transformation toward a safe, just, and inclusive campus environment.

Another critical factor is media attention, both mainstream and social media, which plays a significant role in driving institutional responses to sexual violence in higher education. The case at PT1 demonstrates how national media virality accelerated the formation and activation of the Satgas PPKS. However, media attention that is not wisely managed can exacerbate the psychological condition of survivors, as cautioned by the Head of the PPKPT Team:

“Viralizing a sexual violence case is not a solution; it may lead to re-traumatization of the survivor. The priority must always be victim protection.”

Table 6. Utilization of Campus Media for Public Campaigns

University	Utilization of Campus Media
PT1	Use of the official Satgas Instagram account for reporting and education.
PT2	Podcasts through media channels for online PPKS education based on trauma-informed care and peer support.
PT3	Use of digital pamphlets at strategic locations across the campus.
PT4	Distribution of campaign pamphlets in collaboration with student organizations across all faculties.
PT5	Collaboration with student organizations for seminars, podcasts, and digital campaigns.

[Aroustamian \(2020\)](#) also highlights the media’s central role in shaping public understanding and responses to sexual violence. When media narratives are biased and sensationalized, they not only undermine survivors’ well-being but also impede policy progress toward prevention and justice. In response, several universities have strategically used campus media to raise awareness and campaign on PPKS issues, as summarized in Table 6.

Public support is crucial in enhancing the effectiveness of PPKS policy implementation in higher education institutions. Various collaborative models are reflected across several campuses, as illustrated in Table 7.

Table 7. Strengthening Public and Constituency Support

University	Strengthening Public and Constituency Support
PT1	Intersectoral support is achieved through formal collaboration with stakeholders and establishing the PPKS Satgas Forum of Banten.
PT2	The student movement provides peer support and tutoring to assist survivors and facilitate legal processes.
PT3	Regulation-based and collective commitment approach through signing integrity pacts and implementing PPKS learning modules.
PT4	Integration of local cultural perspectives through collaboration with youth communities and student organizations.
PT5	A peer-to-peer approach and collaboration with external partners are needed to strengthen education and support networks.

At the national level, cross-agency alliances among the Ministry of Education, the Witness and Victim Protection Agency (LPSK), the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan), and the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KemenPPPA) have strengthened victim protection and expanded the scope of public education. This aligns with [Coy et al. \(2021\)](#), who argue that community empowerment in transformative processes requires more than inclusion; it demands a reconceptualization of empowerment as a multifaceted, community-driven process that fosters agency, autonomy, and long-term structural change. Applying such a lens to PPKS suggests that meaningful engagement and the redistribution of power to affected communities are essential for building resilient and justice-oriented policy outcomes. These findings indicate that participatory, collaborative, and empowerment-oriented public engagement is a key element in ensuring the sustainability and effectiveness of PPKS policy implementation.

The support of high-ranking officials is a determining factor in successfully implementing the PPKS policy in higher education institutions. At the national level, political commitment has been reinforced through issuing a Ministerial Decree establishing an inter-unit working group tasked with reporting directly to the Minister on PPKS implementation progress. However, at the university level, evaluations reveal disparities in leadership support. [Komnas Perempuan \(2025\)](#) reported that only 53% of Satgas members felt they received adequate support from university leadership, while 23% felt they received no support, reflecting weak political legitimacy in some higher education institutions.

Implementing Leadership and Commitment. Satgas units led by figures with technical competence and a strong victim-centered orientation tend to be more effective. Transformative leadership fosters public trust and service sustainability. At PT2, Satgas's leadership is reflected in the active involvement of students and the strengthening of peer support roles that are both psychologically

and legally informed. PT1 demonstrates strong institutional commitment through direct leadership support, dedicated operational facilities, and the initiative to establish a PPKS Satgas Forum for the Banten region. PT5 emphasizes a participatory, community-based approach, building peer-to-peer networks and fostering external collaborations to enhance collective awareness. At PT3, despite resource constraints, Satgas leadership has successfully established strategic partnerships with local government agencies to compensate for internal service gaps. Meanwhile, at PT4, integrating local values and cross-actor collaboration has fostered a reflective and transformational leadership model.

These findings underscore that effective PPKS policy implementation requires a systemic approach, regulatory support, and multi-stakeholder collaboration to drive sustainable cultural and institutional change within higher education environments.

CONCLUSION

Interrelated challenges, including limited institutional capacity, resource constraints, uneven leadership support, and persistent socio-cultural barriers, shape the effectiveness of PPKS policy in Indonesian higher education institutions. These factors interact in ways that hinder timely case responses, reduce policy compliance, and undermine the legitimacy of the Satgas PPKS. Many task forces still operate without formal structures, sufficient funding, or adequately trained personnel, particularly in smaller or vocational institutions where sexual violence remains a taboo issue. Leadership commitment proves critical, with stronger outcomes evident in universities where the rectorate actively supports Satgas operations. These challenges are reflected across the five dimensions of policy implementation identified by Mazmanian and Sabatier—policy outputs, target group compliance, actual impacts, perceived impacts, and policy revision—revealing a persistent gap between regulatory mandates and meaningful, sustainable institutional change.

Conversely, good practices observed in several universities demonstrate that leadership commitment, strengthened cross-sectoral networks, active student participation, and the strategic use of technology can drive campus cultural transformation toward a safer, more just, and inclusive environment. Effective policy implementation also requires clear regulatory support, robust monitoring systems, and public communication strategies sensitive to survivors' needs.

Several strategic actions are recommended to strengthen future implementation of the PPKPT policy:

First, accelerate implementation through institutional mandates and national-level technical regulations. As an initial step, the Ministry of Education should develop clear operational guidelines for budget allocation to support Satgas activities and ensure their integration into annual institutional planning. Cross-unit coordination can be reinforced through an active PPKPT Working Group (Pokja) that oversees policy rollout, monitors compliance, and facilitates inter-university collaboration.

Second, promote campus cultural transformation through curriculum reform and structured stakeholder engagement. University leadership should institutionalize Satgas within the formal organizational hierarchy, appoint full-time staff, and mandate minimum hours of certified training for task force members. They should also enact survivor-centered internal regulations and reporting protocols. To build a responsive campus culture, gender perspectives should be embedded into general education courses. At the same time, awareness campaigns and service linkages with local civil society and government agencies should be regularly scheduled and monitored.

Third, establishing capacity-building programs and peer-learning forums among Satgas units can ensure long-term policy sustainability. Institutions should adopt a performance evaluation system using standardized indicators—such as case resolution time, training coverage, and reporting accessibility—to ensure continuous improvement, transparency, and institutional accountability.

Stronger collaboration is required across all policy levels—ministry, university, and campus units to ensure effective implementation of the proposed recommendations. The Ministry of Higher Education, Research, and Technology must strengthen vertical coordination by activating the cross-directorate PPKPT Working Group (Pokja) and build horizontal commitment through rector forums and institutional networks. A comprehensive and adaptive national technical guideline—including budgeting procedures, derivative regulations, M&E indicators, and Satgas competency standards—is urgently needed to minimize implementation gaps at the institutional level.

In addition to these practical strategies, this study also provides insights that may help enrich the application of the Mazmanian–Sabatier implementation model, particularly in contexts marked by socio-cultural complexity such as Indonesian higher education. The findings show that factors such as cultural resistance, conflicting local norms, and informal practices play a major role in shaping how policies are received and applied.

REFERENCE

- Andini, O. G. (2020). *Urgensi Keterlibatan Lpsk Dalam Penanganan Kasus Kekerasan Seksual Di Perguruan Tinggi*.
- Anggito, A., & Setiawan, J. (2018). *Metodologi penelitian kualitatif*. CV Jejak (Jejak Publisher).
- Ardi, N. M. S., & Muis, T. (2014). Perilaku seksual remaja mahasiswa fakultas bahasa dan seni Universitas Negeri Surabaya. *Jurnal Bk*, 4(03), 650–657.
- Aroustamian, C. (2020). Time's up: Recognising sexual violence as a public policy issue: A qualitative content analysis of sexual violence cases and the media. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 50, 101341. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2019.101341>

- Bondestam, F., & Lundqvist, M. (2020). Sexual harassment in higher education – a systematic review. *European Journal of Higher Education*, 10(4), 397–419. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21568235.2020.1729833>
- Clair, R. P. (1993). The Bureaucratization, Commodification, and Privatization of Sexual Harassment through Institutional Discourse. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 7(2), 123–157. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0893318993007002001>
- Coy, D., Malekpour, S., Saeri, A. K., & Dargaville, R. (2021). Rethinking community empowerment in the energy transformation: A critical review of the definitions, drivers and outcomes. *Energy Research & Social Science*, 72, 101871. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2020.101871>
- Dacin, M. T. (1997). Isomorphism In Context: The Power And Prescription Of Institutional Norms. *Academy of Management Journal*, 40(1), 46–81. <https://doi.org/10.5465/257020>
- Detik Edu. (2023, July 25). *Satgas PPKS Tutup Sementara karena Tak Ada Dana, UI Buka Suara*. <https://www.detik.com/edu/perguruan-tinggi/d-6841141/satgas-ppks-tutup-sementara-karena-tak-ada-dana-ui-buka-suara>
- Erlina, E., Erniyati, T., Athaya, D. F., Khairiani, U., & Al Fisah Jannah, R. (2022). The Policy Of Preventing And Handling Of Sexual Violence In Universities In Kalimantan. *International Journal of Law, Environment, and Natural Resources*, 2(2), 71–80. <https://doi.org/10.51749/injurlens.v2i2.24>
- Gil-Garcia, J. R., Dawes, S. S., & Pardo, T. A. (2018). Digital government and public management research: finding the crossroads. *Public Management Review*, 20(5), 633–646. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14719037.2017.1327181>
- Kivivuori, J. (2014). Understanding Trends in Personal Violence: Does Cultural Sensitivity Matter? *Crime and Justice*, 43(1), 289–340. <https://doi.org/10.1086/677664>
- Komnas Perempuan. (2020). *Kekerasan Seksual di Lingkungan Pendidikan*. [https://komnasperempuan.go.id/uploadedFiles/webOld/file/pdf_file/2020/Lembar Fakta KEKERASAN SEKSUAL DI LINGKUNGAN PENDIDIKAN \(27 Oktober 2020\).pdf](https://komnasperempuan.go.id/uploadedFiles/webOld/file/pdf_file/2020/Lembar_Fakta_KEKERASAN_SEKSUAL_DI_LINGKUNGAN_PENDIDIKAN_(27_Oktober_2020).pdf)
- Komnas Perempuan. (2025, April 24). *Siaran Pers Komnas Perempuan Merespons Kasus Kekerasan Seksual di Perguruan Tinggi*. <https://komnasperempuan.go.id/siaran-pers-detail/siaran-pers-komnas-perempuan-merespons-kasus-kekerasan-seksual-di-perguruan-tinggi>
- Kompas. (2023). *Kekerasan Seksual di Kampus Sudah Darurat, Butuh Penanganan Satu Atap*. <https://www.kompas.id/baca/humaniora/2023/03/15/kekerasan-seksual-di-kampus-darurat-butuh-penanganan-satu-atap>
- Lunenburg, F. C. (2010). Managing change: The role of the change agent. *International Journal of Management, Business, and Administration*, 13(1), 1–6.
- Mabachi, N. M., Quiason, M., Doan, A. E., & Carlson, J. (2020). Developing an Effective Campus Sexual Assault Prevention Task Force: Lessons Learned From Multiple Midwestern Universities. *Health Education & Behavior*, 47(1_suppl), 17S–25S. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1090198120909809>

- Miele, C., Maquigneau, A., Joyal, C. C., Bertsch, I., Gangi, O., Gonthier, H., Rawlinson, C., Vigourt-Oudart, S., Symphorien, E., Heasman, A., Letourneau, E., Moncany, A.-H., & Lacambre, M. (2023). International guidelines for the prevention of sexual violence: A systematic review and perspective of WHO, UN Women, UNESCO, and UNICEF's publications. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 146, 106497. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2023.106497>
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. sage.
- Mubarok, S., Zauhar, S., Setyowati, E., & Suryadi, S. (2020). Policy Implementation Analysis: Exploration of George Edward III, Marilee S Grindle, and Mazmanian and Sabatier Theories in the Policy Analysis Triangle Framework. *Journal of Public Administration Studies*, 005(01), 33–38. <https://doi.org/10.21776/ub.jpas.2020.005.01.7>
- Nikmatullah, N. (2020). Demi nama baik kampus vs perlindungan korban: kasus kekerasan seksual di kampus. *QAWWAM*, 14(2), 37–53. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.20414/qawwam.v14i2.2875>
- Noer, K. U., & Kartika, T. (2022). *Membongkar kekerasan seksual di pendidikan tinggi: pemikiran awal*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Page, T., Bull, A., & Chapman, E. (2019). Making power visible: “Slow activism” to address staff sexual misconduct in higher education. *Violence against Women*, 25(11), 1309–1330. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801219844606>
- Pambudi, A. R., Putri Utami, R., & . H. (2023). Evaluation of Training Program for the Taskforce of Sexual Violence Prevention and Handling in Higher Education with Context, Input, Process, and Product (CIPP) Model. *KnE Social Sciences*, 101–115. <https://doi.org/10.18502/kss.v8i11.13541>
- Paselle, E., Nurrahman, M. A., Taufik, M., & Fatmala, A. N. P. (2025). E-Government and Citizen Participation: Enhancing Public Accountability through Digital Technology. *International Journal for Science Review*, 2(2).
- Roje, R., Tomić, V., Buljan, I., & Marušić, A. (2023). Development and implementation of research integrity guidance documents: Explorative interviews with research integrity experts. *Accountability in Research*, 30(6), 293–330. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08989621.2021.1989676>
- Steele, B., Martin, M., Sciarra, A., Melendez-Torres, G. J., Degli Esposti, M., & Humphreys, D. K. (2024). The Prevalence of Sexual Assault Among Higher Education Students: A Systematic Review With Meta-Analyses. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 25(3), 1885–1898. <https://doi.org/10.1177/15248380231196119>
- Tekkas Kerman, K., & Betrus, P. (2020). Violence Against Women in Turkey: A Social Ecological Framework of Determinants and Prevention Strategies. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 21(3), 510–526. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838018781104>
- Tildesley, R., Lombardo, E., & Verge, T. (2022). Power Struggles in the Implementation of Gender Equality Policies: The Politics of Resistance and Counter-resistance in Universities. *Politics & Gender*, 18(4), 879–910. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X21000167>

- UN Women. (2020). *#MeToo: Headlines from a global movement*.
<https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2020/08/brief-metoo-headlines-from-a-global-movement>
- Unicef. (2018). *Half of world's teens experience peer violence in and around school*.
<https://www.unicef.org/press-releases/half-worlds-teens-experience-peer-violence-and-around-school-unicef>
- Unicef. (2021). *School, Protecting children from violence in*.
<https://www.unicef.org/protection/violence-against-children-in-school>
- United Nations. (n.d.). *Goal 16 | Department of Economic and Social Affairs*. Retrieved June 4, 2025, from <https://sdgs.un.org/goals/goal16>
- Wagner, C. Z. (2018). Change from within: Using task forces and best practices to achieve gender equity for university faculty. *JL & Educ.*, 47, 295.
- WHO. (2012). *Understanding and addressing violence against women*.
http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/10665/77434/1/WHO_RHR_12.37_eng.pdf
- WHO. (2013). *Global and regional estimates of violence against women*.
<https://www.who.int/publications/i/item/9789241564625>
- WHO. (2021a). *Gender, equity and human rights SEARO*.
<https://www.who.int/southeastasia/health-topics/gender-equity-and-human-rights>
- WHO. (2021b). *Violence Against Women Prevalence Estimates, 2018*.
<https://iris.who.int/bitstream/handle/10665/341337/9789240022256-eng.pdf?sequence=1>