Identity Politics & Power Relations Against Sexual Violence in Religious Higher Education Environment

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Abstract: This study aims to analyze how identity politics and power relations related to sexual violence in a religious campus environment. The research approach used was qualitative with a phenomenological method that can analyze the problem of sexual violence by analyzing the theory of hegemony and power relations. The informants for this study were campus officials, namely the Chancellor and his staff, the sexual violence task force and active university students with data collection techniques through observation, documentation, in-depth interviews, and literature studies, then analyzed descriptively and using source triangulation techniques. This study's results showed that identity politics and power relations influence sexual violence in the campus environment. This study concludes that the problem of sexual violence by perpetrators and victims in the campus environment can happen to anyone based on identity politics. This research implies that the higher education environment should be aware of social issues, especially sexual violence caused by identity politics and power relations.

Introduction

Problems resulting from the many cultural differences and social inequality in Indonesian society, such as inter-ethnic conflicts, criminalization, identity politics, and power relations, are often encountered, especially on religious campuses (Brown, 2020). According to data from the Statistics Agency in Indonesia, in 2022, there were 126 inter-ethnic cases which were caused by various factors, besides that criminalization data continued to increase in the real world and cyberspace, especially sexual crimes in 2022, according to Komnas Perempuan there, were three recorded. 014 cases of gender-based sexual violence against women, including cases of sexual violence in the personal sphere, recorded 899; in the public domain, as many as 860 cases, especially in areas that should be safe and comfortable, namely in environments that incidentally have higher education, cases of sexual violence will occur in 2022 according to the Ministry Culture of Research and Technology Throughout 2022 there were recorded 2,500 cases of sexual violence (DiPlacidi, 2018). This social relationship is owned by those with power, which is practiced as a strategy that is spread and implemented everywhere (Ketter, 2022). Indirectly power is not found in the political sphere in Indonesia. Relations and power justify the existence of domination within certain groups over certain people who do not have relations and power, the power that occurs is seen from various aspects based on race, gender, religion, and social class (Schiopu, 2020). The existence of relations and power within an institution indeed results in problems of social class inequality to problems of gender inequality. In a higher education environment, there is an obvious structure between the ranks of the Chancellor and Deputy Chancellor or other educators such as lecturers, so there is an unequal relationship and power among students in

the higher education environment (Fox, 2019). One of these power gaps occurs in the higher education environment of educators or lecturers with rights and powers in teaching grades and assignments (Nikmatullah. 2020). This gap was used as an opportunity by some individuals to commit acts of sexual violence (Octora, 2019). Lately, there have been many cases due to relations and power in higher education, such as sexual violence committed by those in power in that environment. Until now, cases of sexual violence have occurred in higher education. Identity politics of Islamic studies in higher education, especially on campuses based on religion or religion, ensure people have an identity with their organization; of course, these Islamic studies organizations are very contradictory to gender studies on the campus (Muliyati, 2019). Making gender studies on religious campuses only a formality, even gender studies organizations always have obstacles in carrying out activities or are limited to religious campuses. According to sources of identity politics, Islamic organizations in Indonesia, namely NU, Muhammadiyah, HMI, PMII and many more. Academics, including staff, lecturers, or students, can carry out sexual violence perpetrators in higher education. Judging from the characteristics of the perpetrators, the average person has the appearance and character of being polite, religious, and intelligent.

In general, the perpetrator knew the victim from the start, and the victim initially did not view the perpetrator negatively (Joshep, 2018). Types of sexual violence that are often encountered in higher education settings are direct and online types of violence. There is an invitation or communication by the perpetrator to the victim, starting from an invitation to sexual content through private chat or conducting communication such as consulting guidance to ask questions about the sexual context (Wulandari, 2021). In addition, practicing a culture of sexual violence in the community of students, educators and education staff, carrying out attempted rape, even though penetration did not occur, carrying out attempted rape, including penetration with objects or body parts other than genitals, forcing or tricking the victim into having an abortion, forcing or tricking the victim into becoming pregnant, allowing sexual violence to occur on purpose, committing other acts of sexual violence (Rahmi, 2018). In 2021 the Minister of Education, Mr Nadiem Makarim, expressed concern about this. Ultimately, he issued a new policy regarding handling and solutions to sexual violence in higher education, regulated by Permendikbud No. 30 of 2021(Murray, 2012). It is hoped that the new policy will reduce the rate of sexual violence in higher education through the task force for handling and preventing cases of sexual violence in higher education for further research.

Research Method

This study used a phenomenological research method. It is hoped that this research method can reveal the phenomenon of the power relations system that occurs in the educational environment against sexual violence. Suyanto and Sutinah (2005) revealed that phenomenology departs from the philosophy initiated by the German philosopher Edmund H. Husserl (1859-1938). Denzin and Linckoln (2009) add that a phenomenological research method focuses more on interpreting "reality" as to what interpretive practices shape data regarding sexual violence in higher education. Furthermore, it is explained that this method explores the informants determined by research participants about their personal experiences in a higher education environment and examines how humans build and give meaning to their every action in concrete situations. Suyanto and Sutinah (2005) reveal that this perspective has implications. First, what is essential to know is what people experience and how they interpret the world. It is the primary concern of phenomenological investigation.

Second, the only way to know what someone else is experiencing is to experience it ourselves. It is where the importance of participatory observation is. Lucas (2017) concluded that the phenomenological research method studies the structure of conscious experience (from the first-person perspective) and the relevant conditions.

So, phenomenology will lead us all to the background and conditions behind an experience. The research location was on one of the religious campuses in Bandung. The informants of this research were the rector and his staff, the task force for handling and preventing cases of sexual violence and active students on campus. Data collection techniques were through in-depth interviews, observation, documentation, and literature studies. They were analyzed using a qualitative approach to phenomenological methods and triangulation of sources and data regarding identity politics and power relations towards sexual violence in higher education (Olivia, 2020).

Results and Discussion

The results of the research conducted by researchers are processed and described in this section. The researcher explains and describes the findings in related research regarding cases of sexual violence in the Higher Education environment and then how are identity politics and power relations in the Higher Education environment. The following is a data table regarding cases and perpetrators of sexual violence in the Higher Education environment.

Table 1. Gender of Victim

No	Gender	2020	2021	2022	Total
1.	Man	40	18	60	118
2	Woman	3	6	7	16
				Total	134

Table2. Violence Type

No.	Violence Type	2020	2021	2022	Total
1.	Sexual harassment	17	5	44	66
2.	Online Violence	7	3	8	18
3.	Domestic Violence	1	-	-	1
4.	Dating Violence	2	-	7	7
5.	Flirting	1	3	8	8
6.	Physical abuse	-	2	5	8
7.	Academic Violence	1	3	-	4

Sexual violence can occur in the domestic and public spheres, including educational institutions. The campus environment, which ideally is a place to study life and humanity, is where human values are taken away and violated. The campus environment, which is dominated by 'intellectuals' with the length of the titles they hold, is not directly proportional to the behavior of respect for the values and dignity of women, especially as fellow human beings. One of the main indicators of gender issues in society, especially in higher education, is the stark gap between men and women. So far, gender socialization circulates messages, discourses, values, norms, beliefs, and models representing certain gender constructs. These elements are included in what Foucault calls discourse. In educational institutions, gender socialization is a contestation between socialization agents who carry different or opposite gender messages and discourses. With this socialization framework, educational institutions can be seen as social institutions where the process of gender socialization takes place. Higher Education Environment as one of the educational institutions, various studies have

not paid attention to the socio-cultural dynamics through which gender concepts, norms, beliefs and behaviors of social actors are formed, contested and changed with one another. In addition, the studies mentioned above have not examined the parties' role in power in this dynamic. Special attention to the process of gender socialization is one of the efforts to approach this dynamic.

According to Foucault, power has formed a body to submit to a policy of coercion. A campus that feels safe and comfortable, of course, from various aspects as a whole is not only free from discrimination, violence, or other unpleasant actions but in terms of spatial planning, starting from the area of the building in the form of glass and doors and whether the room can be accessed by anyone or not (Hamh, 2018). Especially in the lecturer's room when meeting or guiding students, which should not be closed, meaning that the lecturer or other students can see the activities in the room. Also, the campus must have gender and disability-friendly social inclusion spaces. According to information from gender study organizations on campus, until now, at the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic, cases of sexual violence continued to increase; cases of sexual violence were generally caused by seniority, KDP (dating violence), and relations of power. There are very diverse cases of sexual violence on campus, such as students against students and lecturers against students; however, from the existing and recorded cases, most students are perpetrators of sexual violence cases, and the victims are women (Rafiqah, 2018). Cases of sexual violence encountered on religious campuses are quite diverse; not only direct violence but online violence also occurs. One example of online sexual violence is when online learning is done by female students who carry out memorization tests on male lecturers using VN voice notes from the WhatsApp application. For example, falling in love with the student's voice and immediately asked her to marry even though the lecturer already has a wife. There are also many incidents between lecturers and students in online spaces, such as private chats; it is done inviting invitations to sexual content or being ordered to send photos of female students' faces with selfies without rational reasons (Islami, 2017).

In addition to online gender studies recording cases of sexual violence on religious campuses, most of them were groomed with words that should not be said to women, such as "your lips are red", "your thighs are big", "do you want to go to the bathroom? Can I come along?" and sometimes these trivial cases are indirectly tolerated and normalized by some students. Sometimes the victims do not feel they are victims of sexual violence. Religious campuses which are famous for their religious side make there a lot of Islamic organizations in them such as NU, Muhammadiyah, HMI, PMII, and many other Islamic organizations. Regarding the structural and functional roles on religious campuses, it is still dominated by men as well as in faculties and study programs (Abdibah, 2019). Fact data in the field of informants stated that sexual violence in the environment often occurs, especially lecturers who take advantage of their power relations to marry their female students. This phenomenon has been going on for a long time. Even informants said there is a special community on the campus, namely male lecturers who marry female students, until there is a particular group on social media, namely on Facebook and WhatsApp, this phenomenon is still there. There is no action—assertiveness from the campus to find out the whereabouts of the community. According to the informant, this phenomenon is very embarrassing to see a campus that is so thick with religion and that lecturers are graduates from Islamic boarding schools and religious campuses who should be able to behave well and even protect female figures. The informant stated that if we want to do this activity, it should not be done in the campus environment, even with female students. However, if we want to do something like that, it is

better outside, meaning that the informant justifies actions related to sexual violence, such as marrying just to have intimate relationships. However, these actions are not carried out on campus. Not only that, many male lecturers dare to do grooming in the campus environment, such as by inviting them to chat even though they have no interest in the learning process. In 2021, at that time, there was a huge commotion when there was a case of sexual violence committed by a senior lecturer who was already married. This case even spread in the news media on TV and social media. The act of sexual violence dared to take physical action. This case has reached the legal stage, but in the campus environment, a hearing was held to resolve this case in collaboration with the WSC community for handling and preventing sexual violence in the campus environment; it can be seen that a power relationship is practiced in it. Moreover, the informant confirmed that the formation of power relations on the campus was based on identity politics, especially for promotions within the campus environment. Informa himself is often directed to join one of the Islamic organizations on campus to promote his position.

Unlike the other campuses, it is a campus under the Ministry of Religion, not under the Ministry of Education and Culture, which requires the implementation of a ministerial regulation on handling and preventing sexual violence in higher education. Therefore, until now, in the campus environment, there has not been a special sexual violence task force to operate or serve in the campus environment. The Ministry of Education and Culture should be able to coordinate with the Ministry of Security so that it can be implemented on all campuses in Indonesia, not just those under the Ministry of Education and Culture. The division of roles in the campus structure is seen from the background of the Islamic organization they adhere. Each of these organizations has had its allotment to have power on campus until now, it can be seen from the campus leadership or the Chancellor, and his staff have the same Islamic organizational background. It sometimes makes the minority with no organizational background; the majority will be hampered in the bureaucracy, service or learning in class. However, not all of them are like that, but some people are often found when doing services and so on, always using the name of an organizational background (Afnibar, 2019). It is the same with the student activity unit, namely gender studies, which is a student activity unit that can be said to be a stepchild on campus because seeing this religious campus is very close to its religious nature. There are many student activity units on Islamic studies; this is very much the opposite of the activity unit. Gender studies students who can be said to be liberal due to gender studies student activity units often experience problems from the campus bureaucratic system, especially regarding finance. Judging from the structure, where the majority are male, issues regarding gender, in particular, are often used as a susceptible issue among religious campuses because it is very inconsistent with the Islamic religion. However, there are now many gender activists from an Islamic religious perspective, and this religious campus is still firm with the system. The existing patriarchy and women who hold structural positions on religious campuses are less aware of existing gender issues; they prefer to be safe (Indrasty, 2018).

For the learning process in the class, there is still a patriarchal system that exists, seeing that one of the lecturers arranges the seats for men and women not to mix, from the learning process, the lecturers who teach this course interact more with men, as well as students who ask questions and think that men highly prioritize it compared to women. Gender studies have existed for more than 25 years on religious campuses, but for more than 25 years, this gender study has stood alone without any interference from the campus except for the supervisor of the gender studies themselves; the same is the case with WSC assistance

and never assisted by the campus. Generally, gender studies have separate SOPs or pathways for preventing and handling cases of sexual violence on religious campuses, which are divided into two, directly and indirectly, for reporting. This direct intention is that the victim goes directly to the gender study party to take action on the case experienced by the victim, and the second is indirect reporting through the gender study hotline or social media. For follow-up, it must ask the victim whether this case will be processed in person, flow in gender studies or not. If not, at least the victim will be given counseling from a gender study party collaborating with SaFaInstitut. However, if, for example, the victim wants to follow up on the case, the victim will conduct an assessment first and then what kind of action will be taken. Is it only given a warning and agreement not to commit acts of sexual violence again, or will administrative sanctions be given by the campus or the program study (Personal, 2016)? Not only collaborating with psychologists or counseling on gender studies in collaboration with law enforcement agencies, namely LBH APIK Jakarta, and what is regrettable is that gender studies are still looking for social networks to work with the medical team to follow up on cases of sexual violence because there are no cases that require a third party medical. There is no such policy at all from the campus. Until now, the campus only uses a student code of ethics which only deals with students' ethical and moral behavior. Moreover, what is regrettable is that gender studies are still looking for social networks to work together with the medical team to follow up on cases of sexual violence because there are no cases that require a medical team.

Conclusion

Based on the results of the research, it is known that sexual violence has so far become a very complex problem. Various policies have been implemented but have not been able to significantly reduce the number of sexual violence as well as perpetrators of sexual violence based on identity politics and power relations being one of the factors that perpetuate sexual violence in the religious campus environment. Women are hegemony due to identity politics and power relations practiced in religious campuses. The various acts of sexual violence that occurred turned out to be quite a few women on religious campuses who were less aware of gender issues.

Recommendation

The recommendations from this study are, first, for campus leaders to be more aware of gender issues and socialize more about the rector's regulations regarding cases of sexual violence because there are still many students who do not know about these regulations. Second, the Minister of Education must be able to work closely with the Ministry of Religion because the implementation of this Permendikbud cannot yet be implemented on campuses under the Ministry of Religion, not only for future researchers to choose research locations that must be diverse, not only researching in a religious campus environment but in the public universities so that research in the field is not constrained by sources that cannot be explored too many. It means that state campuses are usually more open to conducting research.

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