PAPER NAME

**49. The Phenomenon of Ambivalence in Policy Implementation.pdf**

AUTHOR

**Fauziyah**

WORD COUNT

**6089 Words**

CHARACTER COUNT

**36489 Characters**

PAGE COUNT

**17 Pages**

FILE SIZE

**2.2MB**

SUBMISSION DATE

**Oct 1, 2024 9:12 PM GMT+7**

REPORT DATE

**Oct 1, 2024 9:13 PM GMT+7**

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JGCS

2 ISSN 2579-4396
E-ISSN 2579-440X

# Journal of Government & Civil Society

Journal of Government and Civil Society | Volume 8 | No. 1 | Pages 1 - 160 | April 2024 | ISSN 2579-4396

Published By:
Government Science Study Program
Faculty of Sosial and Political Sciences
Universitas Muhammadiyah Tangerang

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Journal of Government and Civil Society
Vol. 8, No. 1, April 2024, pp. 77-90
DOI: 10.31000/jgcs.v8i1.10056
Received 17 November 2023 ■ Revised 25 March 2024 ■ Accepted 26 March 2024

# The Phenomenon of Ambivalence in Policy Implementation: How Muhammadiyah Universities Protect Women against Sexual Violence

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## *ABSTRACT*

*This article discusses "The phenomenon of ambivalence in policy implementation: How Muhammadiyah / Aisyiyah Universities protect women from sexual violence". This phenomenon began when the Ministry refused to change the statement by the Council for Higher Education, Research and Development regarding the revision of article 5 (paragraph 2). ).Due to the Minister's rejection, the Rectors of Muhammadiyah/Aisyiyah as street level bureaucracy, only adopted clauses in the articles of the ministerial regulations that were in line with Islamic values and principles, and integrated them with interpretive clauses related to Article 5 (paragraph 2). ) becomes a new policy. This research uses qualitative research. The informant were the Rectors of Muhamamdiyah/ Aisyiyah Universities in the Eastern part of East Java. Qualitative descriptive techniques are used to analyze the data. Each Muhamamdiyah/Aisyiyah University is currently implementing this new policy internally. Presumably because it is enforced internally, the Ministry has not banned this practice. These findings highlight the flexibility of implementing policies to protect women against sexual violence, allowing for changes in line with the internal norms and principles of street-level bureaucracy.*

***Keywords**: Ambivalence policy, Muhammadiyah/Aisyiyah, eastern part of east Java, protection, sexual violence against women*

## ABSTRAK

Artikel ini membahas tentang "Fenomena ambivalensi dalam implementasi kebijakan: Bagaimana Perguruan Tinggi Muhammadiyah /Aisyiyah melindungi perempuan dari kekerasan seksual". Fenomena ini bermula ketika Kementerian menolak mengubah pernyataan Majelis Pendidikan Tinggi, Penelitian dan Pengembangan terkait revisi pasal 5 (ayat 2). Atas penolakan Menteri tersebut, maka para Rektor Muhammadiyah/Aisyiyah sebagai street level birokrasi, hanya mengadopsi klausul dalam pasal-pasal peraturan menteri yang sejalan dengan nilai-nilai dan prinsip-prinsip Islam, serta mengintegrasikan dengan klausul penafsiran terkait dengan Pasal 5 (ayat 2). ) menjadi kebijakan baru. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif.Informannya adalah Rektor Universitas Muhamamdiyah/ Aisyiyah di Jawa Timur bagian Timur.Teknik deskriptif kualitatif digunakan untuk menganalisis data. Masing-masing Universitas Muhamamdiyah/ Aisyiyah saat ini sedang melaksanakan kebijakan baru secara internal. Agaknya karena diberlakukan internal, Kementerian belum melarang praktik ini. Temuan- temuan ini menyoroti fleksibilitas penerapan kebijakan perlindungan perempuan terhadap kekerasan seksual, yang memungkinkan perubahan sejalan dengan norma dan prinsip internal birokrasi tingkat jalanan.

**Kata Kunci:** Kebijakan ambivalensi, Muhammadiyah/Aisyiyah, Jawa Timur bagian timur, perlindungan, kekerasan seksual terhadap perempuan

Citation : Angin, R., Fauziah, & Haerah, K. (2024). The Phenomenon of Ambivalence in Policy Implementation: How Muhammadiyah Universities Protect Women against Sexual Violence. *Journal of Government and Civil Society*, 8(1), 77–90. https://doi.org/10.31000/jgcs.v8i1.10056



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## INTRODUCTION

With 736 million victims, violence against women has increased noticeably in recent years, according to UN Women (2021). Sexual violence can be broadly defined as an unwanted act perpetrated by an individual or group of individuals against another person. It can be viewed from three perspectives: sexual coercion; unwanted sexual attention; and gender harassment (Gelfand, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow, 1995; Rusyidi, Bintari, & Wibowo, 2019; Slaughter & Newman, 2022). Common definitions of sexual violence include "nonconsensual conduct of a sexual nature" and "physical acts of a sexual nature" (The Lancet, 2015). Although men are also victims of sexual violence, women typically experience greater rates and more severe injuries, a situation that has drawn significant international attention since the twenty-first century (Oram et al., 2017). Physical and non-physical violence are the most prevalent types of violence against women. The two types of violence are linked together and increase the perpetrator's capacity for violence. Physically violence can take the shape of any action that results in bodily pain, such as slapping, punching, binding, slamming, pushing, and so forth. Non-physical aggression might take the shape of swearing, using vulgar language, whistling, glaring, or making jokes about sex that are meant to degrade women. Catcalling is an example of non-physical sexual aggression; it causes mental, psychological, and psychological disorders (Yuni Kartika, 2020).

Discussions about violence against women has recently expanded to gender- based violence (GBV). The UN defines gender-based violence (GBV) as any act, whether committed in public or private, that results in physical, sexual, or psychological harm to women. This definition also includes threats of such acts, coercion, or arbitrarily depriving a woman of her freedom. Gender-based violence (GBV) is a worldwide violation of human rights that occurs in both developed and developing countries, regardless of culture, social level, or religion.

Indonesia has been classified as the second most dangerous country for women in Asia Pacific, after the Philippines, based to an analysis released by Singapore's Value Champion (The Jakarta Post, 2019). In 2020, there were 2,389 documented cases of violence against women, compared to 1,413 in 2019, according to the National Commission on Violence Against Women (2020). This suggests a sixty percent increase in violent incident reports. In recent years, Indonesia experienced a rise in the number of incidents of sexual violence. According to 2020 data, there has been an eight-fold rise in violence against women during the previous 12 years, or 792% increase.

According to Komnas Perempuan (2021), violence against women in higher education between 2015 and 2021 were 35 %. This number has gradually increased. That's why the Ministry of Higher Education, Research, and Technology published Regulation No. 30 / 2021 as an effort to eradicate violence against women in universities.

This ministerial regulation received with opposition upon its enactment by Muslim organizations such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, since it featured clauses that ran against to their fundamental principles. This response attracted the attention of scientists, who carried on with their research. Muhammadiyah's viewpoint on the regulations of this ministry has been documented in 275 academic articles (Faizin et al., 2022), where 220 research throughout the last five years resulted in 214 publications published in open access journals. Only 33 research specifically focus on Indonesian locations. However, no study has focused on how street-level bureaucrats who carry out the role of policy implementers implement these restrictions in Muhammadiyah/Aisyiyah organizations. This article contributes to our understanding of the function of Muhammadiyah's street-level authorities in implementing policy.

## RESEARCH METHOD

The type of this study known as qualitative descriptive research. The research location the Muhammadiyah /Aisyiyah Universities in the eastern part of East Java, Indones ia. These universities not yet have any formal procedures to protect women against sexual violence. Informants that had been purposively chosen were the policy formulation team and all rectorate levels.. Primary data and secondary data are data sources which are used through data collection techniques such as interviews, observation and documentation methods. The techniques used in testing the quality of data use triangulation techniques. Then data were examined in accordance with assessment (Seidel, 1998). Make field notes; the field data should be coded to allow for continued tracing of the data's source. Gathering, classifying, and categorizing thought by giving the data categories meaning, seeking out and identifying patterns and linkages, and reaching to broad conclusions.

## RESULTS

### The Muhammadiyah's Perspective

Since its founding, Muhammadiyah has expanded quickly and taken part in various humanitarian endeavors, including as teaching and education. The field of education and teaching is growing, starting with elementary schools and continuing through junior high schools, Tsanawiyah Islamic schools, Senior high schools, vocational high schools, Aliyah Islamic schools, Islamic boarding schools, and universities. Muhammadiyah has managed a number of universities, high schools, academies, and polytechnics. The governance of higher education is the responsibility of the Muhamamdiyah Central Leadership Higher Education Council which also has a subordinate institution which called the Research and Development Council. The other institutions are the Primary and Secondary Education Council, which manages basic education through secondary

education, and the Higher Education. The Muhammadiyah Central Leadership has managed 161 universities, high schools, academies, and polytechnics, and 10 Aisyiah Universities. The Primary and Secondary Education Council manages 5358 primary and secondary schools. The Education, Research, and Development Council, the assistant leaders of the organization, and the Muhammadiyah Higher Education Institutions have eight (eight) task points in general. These activities are created in different programs and put into practice as tasks. Through higher enrollment and improved quality, these initiatives seek to develop higher education within the Muhammadiyah community. Structurally, the Muhammadiyah Central Leadership *(Pimpinan Pusat Muhamamdiyah/Aisyiyah)* has sub-organizations: 1). Provincial level which calls Muhamamdiyah/Aisyiyah regional leadership), 2). Regional level (*Pimpinan Daerah Muhammadiyah/Aisyiyah*), 3) *Kecamatan* level (*Pimpinan Cabang Muhammadiyah/ Aisyiyah*) and village level (*Pimpinan RantingMuhammadiyah/Aisyiyah)*. The central leadership also has some institution which called Assembly, Institution, Agency, or Bureau etc. One Muhamamdiyah institution that has enormous significance is the Council for Higher Education, Research and Development, 1) Develop a curriculum for Muhammadiyah education future. 2) Promoting the position of cadre development, and Islamic principles in the Muhammadiyah educational system as a whole. 3) Creating quality criteria in order to hasten the establishment of Muhammadiyah educational institutions as centers of excellence. 4) Making quality the primary objective of all Muhammadiyah educational initiatives' development 5) Combining community development initiatives with the advancement of Muhammadiyah's charity educational endeavors 6) Creating an educational program for Muhammadiyah that is based on the Qur'an and Sunnah 7) Creating research and development projects in the domains of science, technology, education, and other critical facets of life to serve as a foundation for formulating regulations and advancing the Association's objectives. 8) Create networks and foster cooperation across the Association's research and development centers and institutes.

Muhammadiyah is a social organization that preaches Islamic teachings from a humanist perspective and returns to the Al-Qur'an and Hadith (Mocham, Puspita Handayani, Ima Faizah, 2020). Based on this, Muhammadiyah has a responsibility to eradicate sexual violence against women. Muhammadiyah is very serious to eradicate women from sexual violence. This can be seen in the jurisprudence of child protection in the results of the 30th *Tarjih* National Conference in 2019 in Makassar, which in this jurisprudence protects the rights of children not to be treated sexual violence

Other Muhammadiyah norms are *Pedoman Hidup Islami Warga Muhammadiyah's* (PHIWM). This book compiles Muhammadiyah's perspective regarding members' daily lives. PHIWM based on the Sunnah and the Qur'an becomes a model for how the Muhammadiyah members perform their daily lives. These concepts cover personal, family, community, and organizational aspects in the context of administering non-profit

organizations, operating businesses, and pursuing careers for individuals, states, and nations. These norms also call for the advancement of science and technology, the arts and culture that uphold moral principles, and environmental preservation. Muhammadiyah is a movement that promotes humanist interpretations of Islamic teachings together with a return to the Al-Qur'an and Hadith. It's called *an amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* movement, according to Mocham (2020). Muhammadiyah is therefore committed to contribute to the elimination or prevention of sexual violence as a crime.

The foundation and source of the PHIWM for Muhammadiyah members are the Al-Quran and the Prophet's Sunnah. These gave rise to formal (standard) principles that are relevant in Muhammadiyah; these include the organization's struggle, ideology, personality, principles of organization, and Tarjih Board determinations. PHIWM includes fundamental and significant principles in the form of benchmarks and standards. PHIWM offers a wealth of resources for developing the nobility of action and spirituality. PHIWM provides guidance for exemplary performance at the individual and group levels. Thus, PHIWM's mission is to support all Muhammadiyah members in developing individual and group behaviors that serve as models (*uswah hasanah)* for the building of an Allah SWT-blessed society.

The PHIWM materials contains are: 1) Personal Life; 2) Life in the Family; 3) Life in the Community; 4) Organizational Life; 5) Life in Managing Muhammadiyah Charity Business; 6) Life in Business; 7) Life in Professional Development; 8) Life in the Nation and State; 9) Life in Preserving the Environment; 10) Lives in Developing Science and Technology; and 11) Life in Arts and Culture. Al Islam and Muhammdiyah curriculum is the foundation for building students' religious attitudes.

**The Ambivalence Policy Implementation**

On November 8, 2021, the Muhammadiyah Higher Education and Research Council responded to Regulation No. 30/2021 by stating *First*, asking the Ministry of Education and Culture, Research and Technology to make policies and regulations more accommodating to the public, especially higher education administrators, norms and legal regulations. *Second*, asking the Ministry of Education and Culture, Research and Technology to develop policies and guidelines that are based on religious principles, Pancasila, and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Muhammadiyah is an Islamic movement, which believes that Islam is a source of values to regulate all aspects of life (Al-Maidah: 3). This includes the values that regulate the equality of men and women who glorify each other in the name of religion (Al-Hujarat verse 13 and Al-Isro verse 70). Then a comprehensive system of Islamic values includes regulating sexual values and relations that are halal, civilized and dignified (An-Nur: 30-31). Muhammadiyah has a high commitment to preventing and protecting against all forms of violence both in

domestic and public environments, including that which occurs in higher education environments. The Muhammadiyah universities depend on the *Catur Dharma* standards as the basis for their academic programs. The educational program at Muhammadiyah Universities integrates research, community service, education, and Al-Islam. The *dharma* of *Kemuhamamdiyahan* and *Al Islam* consists of Islamic precepts and norms that dictate daily behavior, like the propriety of protecting women from sexual assault.

Furthermore, the Muhammadiyah Higher Education Council saw that there were formal and material problems with the ministerial regulation No. 30/2021. These formal issues include, first, ministerial regulation No. 30/2021 does not fulfill the principle of openness in its formation process. This is because the team whose drafted the Ministerial Regulation No. 30/2021 was not involved widely, completely, and there was minimal information at every stage of policy formation. This is not in line with Article 5 letter g of Law no. 12/2011 concerning the Formation of Legislative Regulations which confirms that the formation of statutory regulations (including Ministerial Regulations) must be carried out based on the principle of openness. Second, Ministerial Regulation No.30 / 2021 is not orderly in terms of content. Ministerial Regulation no. 30/2021 contains two incorrect materials that reflect illegal authority. These are, firstly, Ministerial Regulation No. 30/2021 regulates content that should be regulated at the statutory level, such as regulating norms for sexual violence which are followed by various disproportionate sanctions. Second, Ministerial Regulation No. 30/2021 regulates norms that are too rigid and reduce the institutional autonomy of higher education institutions (Vide Article 62 of Law No. 12 / 2012 concerning Higher Education) through the formation of a "Sexual Violence Prevention and Handling Task Force" (Vide Article 23 of Ministerial Regulation No. 30 /2021).

The statement of the Higher Education and Development of Muhammadiyah Central Leadership contains of these problems:

a. Article 1 point 1 which formulates norms regarding sexual violence on the basis of "inequality in power relations" contains a view that simplifies the problem to one factor, even though it is multi-causal, and for religious Indonesian society, this view is contrary to religious teachings, especially Islam which upholds glory. men and women in a relationship on "mu'asyarah bil-ma'ruf" (based on noble relationships)
b. The formulation of norms for sexual violence as regulated in Article 5 paragraph (2) which contains the phrase "without the victim's consent" in Ministerial Regulation No. 30/2021, degrades the substance of sexual violence, which means it can be justified if there is "victim consent".
c. The formulation of norms for sexual violence as regulated in Article 5 of Ministerial Regulation no. 30/2021 gives rise to the meaning of legalization of immoral acts and consent-based free sex. The standards of right and wrong in sexual activity are no

longer based on religious values and God's principles, but rather on the consent of the perpetrators. This has implications for the development of a perspective that as long as there is no coercion, the deviation is right and justified, even though it occurs outside of a legal marriage.

d. The denial of religious values and the principles of the Almighty God as well as the legalization of immoral acts based on consent, is contrary to the vision of education as emphasized in Article 31 paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which states that"The government organizes a national education system, which increases faith and piety as well as noble morals in order to educate the life of the nation which has been regulated by law."

e. Sanctions for terminating assistance and reducing the level of accreditation for universities that do not prevent and handle sexual violence as stated in Article 19 of Ministerial Regulation No. 30 / 2021 are disproportionate, excessive and repressive

(Written statement from the Chair of the Higher Education, Research and Development Council, Lincollin Arsyad and Secretary Muhammad Sayuti, 11/8/2022). This statement get a serious appreciation from the Ministry of Education, Culture and Research and Technology. The ministers and staff then visited the Muhammadiyah central leadership office and met with the Muhammadiyah Leaders. During their visit they discussed about the statement that Muhammadiyah had released. The key issues that Muhammadiyah had raised were answered by the ministry of education. The Council for Higher Education, Research, and Development's opinion on the suggested statement remained unchanged following this meeting. Nonetheless, the Central Leadership Muhammadiyah Research and Development and Higher Education Council continues to hold the views they have stated in their statement.

The rectors of Muhammadiyah/Aisyiyah Universities decide not to comply with the Ministerial Policy's compliance with Article 5 (paragraph 2), using the justification which stated by the secretary of the Higher Education Research and Development Council. According Ripley and Franklin, the reasons are: 1) the existence of non- bureaucratic factors when the policy is implemented, and 2) the existence of programs that are not well designed. The existence non-bureaucratic factors are related to the phrase "consensual relationship" which connotes the interpretation of sexual relations between a male and female partner based on consensual feelings. Formulation of norms for sexual violence as regulated in Article 5 paragraph (2) which contains the phrase "without the victim's consent" in Ministerial Regulation No. 30/2021, degrades the substance of sexual violence, which means it can be justified if there is "victim consent". The formulation of norms for sexual violence as regulated in Article 5 of Ministerial Regulation No. 30/2021 legalizes immoral acts and consent-based free sex. The standard of right and wrong in sexual

activity is no longer based on religious values and the principles of the Almighty God, but on the consent of the perpetrator.

However, the existence of programs that are not well designed are related to the clauses that state sanctions for terminating assistance and reducing the level of accreditation for universities that do not prevent and handle sexual violence as contained in Article 19 of Ministerial Regulation No. 30/2021. The inclusion of clauses as contained in Article 19 is disproportionate, excessive and repressive. The government should prioritize efforts to develop and collaborate with various parties to strengthen educational institutions. Furthermore, Article 19 regulates norms that are too rigid and reduce the institutional autonomy of higher education institutions.

All Muhammadiyah/Aisyiyah rectorates throughout Indonesia expressed their enthusiastic gratitude for the Muhammadiyah Central Leadership Research and Development Council's release. They do not automatically disagree with every article of the ministerial rule just because they agree with it. Muhamamdiyah/Aisyiah Universities are managed by the Ministry of Education, similarly to other universities. They must thus abide by any government regulations. The Muhammadiyah/Aisyiyah universities have no difficulties adhering to items that the Council for Higher Education, Research, and Development has not rejected. For this reason, there is double compliance at the Muhammadiyah /Aisyiyah universities.

According to Grindle (1980), the Muhammadiyah/Aisyiyah universities' reactions are influenced by the policy's content and the context of implementation. The policy content variable shows how the target group's goals and the policy's objectives align. It also shows what changes the target group hopes to see, what benefits are offered, whether the program's location is appropriate, and whether the policy has been successful in advancing its targets' goals.

However, the success of the implementation process (implementability) is determined by the content of the policy, which includes the interests affected by the policy, including: The type of benefits that will result, the degree of change desired, the position of the policy maker and who implements the program? 1). The policy 's content includes a. The type of benefits that will result, b. The degree of change desired, c. The position of the policy maker, d. (Who) implements the program, e. Generated resources. 2).The context of policy consists of: a) The power, interests and strategies of the actors involved; b) Characteristics of institutions and authorities.

Muhammadiyah University has shown its adherence to ministry regulations through the development of a Task Force (Satgas) and a team that monitors all requirements related to the internal regulations. Article 27 of Ministerial Regulation No. 30/2021 regulates this task force and specifies that: (a) Members of the Task Force must be hired by a relevant higher education institution and consist of the following: (a) lecturers; (b)

education workers; (c). Student. The members of the task force as stated in paragraph (1) are as follows: a. the Chairman, who also serves as a member; b. the Secretary, who also serves as a member; and c. the member. The task force contains a balance of members, at least five (five), as stated in paragraph (2).

However, Grindle's theory succeeds in providing a thorough understanding of the policy context, particularly with regard to the implementor, beneficiaries of the implementation, possible points of contention between the participants, and the resources needed for the implementation. The policy's content covers several aspects: type of benefits, degree of change desired, position of policy makers, program implementers and resources. All Muhammadiyah/Asyiyah University rectors want the benefits when implementing the Ministerial Regulation No. 30/2021 which guarantees that the policy clause provides comfort for the entire academic community in studying and especially ensures women from sexual violence.

There are two content problems in the ministerial regulation, first, the Minister Regulation No. 30/2021 regulates material that should be subject to legal regulation, such as establishing standards for sexual violence and a range of disproportionate penalties. By creating a "Task force for the prevention and handling of sexual violence" (see Article 23 of the Minister of Education and Culture Regulation, Research, Technology, and Higher Education No. 30 of 2021), the policy regulates norms that are overly rigid and reduce the institutional autonomy of higher education institutions (see Article 62 of Law Number 12 of 2012 concerning Higher Education). The Council for Higher Education, Research and Development has declared a statement which Muhamamdiyah/Aisyiyah University has used as a guide when implementing the ministerial regulations. In this process, the attitude of these Muhamamdiyah/Aisyiyah street level bureaucrats seems ambivalent. They have implemented a statement from the council for higher education, research and development which has opposed article 5 (paragraph 2). However, at the same time they also implemented the other ministerial's regulations articles. This situation also demonstrates the double compliance of the street-level bureaucrats, the first compliance was for the Muhammadiyah Central Leadership Council for Education, Research, and Development and the second compliance was for the Ministry of Education.

There are various opinions on how to protect and prevent women from sexual violence, as evidenced by the protest statement released by the Secretary of the Council for Higher Education, Research and Development. The interpretation of Article 5 (Paragraph 2) is critical since, in the phrases of the Higher Education Council, research and development do not align with Muhammadiyah ideals. The statement expresses the public's desire for flexibility to interpret ministry policies in a way that aligns with community norms and values.

In the context of this research, the implementation policy process contains two domains: the macro and micro levels. The macro level, was the place where the minister designed regulations to be implemented by the target group which consist of universities which are under the management of the minister The micro level, was the place where the Council for Higher Education, Research, and Development makes statement which asked to the Education Ministry to revise the clause in Article 5 (Paragraph 2) which is inconsistent with Islamic morals. The Research and Development Council for Higher Education's statement acts as the foundation for Muhammadiyah's street level bureaucrats' policies when implementing ministerial regulations.

## CONCLUSION

When the Muhammadiyah / Aisyiyah's universities street-level bureaucracy implemented the women's protection policy against sexual violence, the phenomenon of ambivalence in implementation of policies happened. This phenomena, began when the Ministry rejected to change the Higher Education, Research and Development Council's statement concerning the revision of article 5 (paragraph 2). Due to the minister's rejection, the rectors of Muhammadiyah/Aisyiyah's as the street level bureaucracy, adopted the other clauses in ministerial regulation articles which aligned with Islamic values and principles, as well as integrating the interpretation clause related to Article 5 (paragraph 2) into a new policy.

According to Lipsky's (2010) hypothesis, policies are concurrently implemented by the street-level bureaucrats using their own discretion and authority. Nevertheless, studies showed that the practice of ambivalence in the implementation of policies has culminated in the merging of two policies: the ministerial policies, particularly those that align with Islamic values and principles, and the policy of the Higher Education Council, research and development of the Muhammadiyah Central Leadership, an institution above the street level bureaucracy. Internally, this new policy has been implemented by the acting rector of Muhamamdiyah/Aisyiyah, who perform as street-level bureaucrats. Since each university is currently implementing the new policy internally, the ministry has not yet forbidden this practice. The findings highlight the implementation flexibility of the women's protection policy against sexual violence, which allows it to be changed to the internal norms and principles of street-level bureaucracy.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

We truly appreciate the contributions made by all of the following people to our research project: 1. The Institute for Research and Community Service, Universitas Muhammadiyah Jember, provided support for this study. 2. Leaders of the

Muhammadiyah East Java Region in Indonesia 3. The rectors of the Muhammadiyah/ Aisyiyah University campus in Java East. 4. Research subjects and references.

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