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**Breaking the Silence:
The Struggle of a Feminist Movement Combating Impunity of
Sexual Violence Against Women in Indonesia**

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To each and every woman's survivor of sexual violence who endured the pain and persistently transformed it into a struggle to fight for their right, I owe them so much!

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List of Acronyms

GP	<i>GERAK Perempuan</i> or “Anti-Violence against Women” Movement
SVAW	Sexual Violence against Women
RUU KKG	<i>Rancangan Undang-Undang Keadilan dan Kesetaraan Gender</i> or Gender Equality and Justice Bill
DPR RI	<i>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Indonesia</i> or House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia
SPHPN	<i>Survei Pengalaman Hidup Perempuan Nasional</i> or National Survey on Women’s Life Experience
PKS	<i>Partai Keadilan Sejahtera</i> or The Prosperous Justice Party
RUU TPKS	<i>Rancangan Undang-Undang Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual</i> or Sexual Violence Crime Bill
RUU PKS	<i>Rancangan Undang-Undang Penghapusan Kekerasan Seksual</i> or Elimination of Sexual Violence Bill
Prolegnas	<i>Program Legislasi Nasional</i> or National Legislation Program
PKK	<i>Pemberdayaan dan Kesejahteraan Keluarga</i> or Family Empowerment Program
Gerwani	<i>Gerakan Perempuan Indonesia</i> or Indonesia Women's Movement
KUHP	<i>Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana</i> or Indonesia's penal code
GOI	<i>Pemerintah Indonesia</i> or the Government of Indonesia
WCC	Women’s Crisis Centre
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
FPL	<i>Forum Pengada Layanan</i> or Service Provider Forum for Women Victims of Violence
IWD	International Women’s Day
KAMMI	<i>Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia</i> or Indonesian Muslim Students' Action Union
AILA	<i>Aliansi Cinta Keluarga</i> or Indonesian Family Love Alliance
FPI	<i>Front Pembela Islam</i> or Islamic Defenders' Front
KASBI	<i>Kongres Aliansi Serikat Buruh Indonesia</i> or Indonesian Trade Union Alliance Congress
PSBB	<i>Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar</i> or Large-Scale Social Restriction
UU ITE	<i>Undang-Undang Informasi dan Transaksi Elektronik</i> or Electronic Transactions Law

Abstract

The success of *GERAK Perempuan* in their initial attempt to combat the impunity of sexual violence against women, has marked the rise of feminist movement in Indonesia after it has been suppressed by the New Order regime since 1965. Hence, it is important to analyse why and how *GERAK Perempuan*, as a feminist movement, succeeded in its struggle despite the socio-cultural challenges. The main research question is why *GERAK Perempuan* succeeded in urging the Government of Indonesia to ratify the Sexual Violence Crime bill into Law No. 12 of 2022. This research paper studies the main strategies used by *GERAK Perempuan* and it how it mobilizes resources to gain success. In addition, this research paper also discusses the main internal and external challenges faced by *GERAK Perempuan* and how it tackles them. The study shows that the strategies employed by *GERAK Perempuan* since 2018 was able to raise public awareness about the impunity of sexual violence against women and gained public support on the Sexual Violence Crime bill. Furthermore, *GERAK Perempuan* succeeds in lobbied the House of Representatives of Republic of Indonesia to pass the bill in 2022.

Relevance to Development Studies

For a long time, women's experience is not counted in science and the discussion of knowledge production. By integrating feminist perspectives in all the research processes, this research paper tries to transform the source of women's experiences and resonate their voices into a source of knowledge in development studies. This research paper is fundamental to investigate how the feminist movement engaged in agenda-setting and succeeded in influencing the policy-making process. The study contributes to the development studies by providing empirical evidence of the feminist movement's success in bringing about progressive social change to improve women's rights in developing country.

Keywords

Feminist movement; struggle; gender-responsive law change; impunity; sexual violence against women; Indonesia.

Chapter 1 Introduction

“The rampant cases of sexual violence against women are picturing us, Indonesia. It mirrors how women's rights are repeatedly being violated in our country. Facts have spoken and we cannot be silenced!” (Substance Team 1, 2022).

The statement by the substance team member above reflects women's condition in Indonesia, a country that has the world's largest Muslim population (Pew Research Center, 2010). In Indonesia, a patriarchal culture, which places women as second-class citizens, has been entrenched (Fakih, 1996). Furthermore, the culture that oppresses, subordinates, and discriminates against women manifests in several aspects of life, such as education, law, and the economy.

A study by ValueChampion in 2019 (The ASEAN Post, 2019) showed that Indonesia is the most dangerous country for women in Southeast Asia. The research also found that Indonesia has subpar access to women's sexual reproductive health and rights, lax laws to protect women from violence in the domestic and public sphere, and poor access to healthcare. Moreover, there are 124 discriminatory policies in five biggest provinces in Indonesia that criminalize women, 90 policies on how women should dress, 35 policies on curfews for women, and 30 policies on segregation of public space between men and women (Women Research Institute, 2014).

In order to overcome the poor condition experienced by Indonesian women caused by unequal power relations between men and women in every aspect of life, in 2011 coalition of women's activists proposed the Gender Equality and Justice Bill (RUU KKG) to the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR RI) (Martiany, 2012). The bill regulates women and men and states that no one should have dominant power over another. In detail, the bill aims to cover 12 areas, including education, employment, citizenship, economy, health, administration and population, marriage, law, politics, environment, social and cultural, and communication and information (RUU KKG, 2011). For instance, the provisions in RUU KKG stipulate equal pay, equality for women and men to work in every sector, equality before the law and freedom to choose wives or husbands without being forced.

However, it has been an uphill battle for the women's movement of RUU KKG's proponents to urge the GOI to pass the bill, as there is no such easy way to achieve gender equality and justice because those who benefit from the established system will not give up their advantages without a fight. At that time, conservative Muslim groups opposed the bill and widely spread their misinterpretation of the bill to the Indonesian Muslims adhering. They said that the bill has a strong contrary value to their understanding of the teachings of Islam; men are the leaders of women in every aspect of life (Women Research Institute, 2014). Hence, the women's movement lost its fight, and the bill failed to be ratified into law after languishing in DPR RI for three years. One of the reasons it happened because of the lack of women's representation in DPR RI, only 17,9% in the 2009-2014 period, which implicated the inadequacy of total voters in the DPR RI's internal decision-making process, mostly done by voting (Women Research Institute, 2014). In addition, the women's movement found difficulties in extensively spreading the contra narration against the conservative Muslim group and campaigning on the urgency of the bill to gain more supporter, as social media campaign was not common in Indonesia then.

In 2016, a survey called *Survei Pengalaman Hidup Perempuan Nasional* (SPHPN), or National Survey on Women's Life Experience, depicted that **one in three** Indonesian women in a range of age from 15-64 years old had become a victim of violence and sexual violence

against women in their life (PUSKAPA, 2018). In addition, according to National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan), 14.314 reported cases of sexual violence against women (SVAW) between 2018 and 2021 (Komnas Perempuan, 2022). However, only 22% can be legally processed and receives a verdict from the court or *inkracht*, because Indonesia does not have a specific law on sexual violence (Tardi, 2020).

In response to this, Komnas Perempuan, in collaboration with the service provider forum for women victims of violence (FPL) and collective women's organisation, has proposed a Sexual Violence Crime Bill (TPKS Bill), which was included in the *Program Legislasi Nasional* (Prolegnas) or National Legislation Program in June 2016 (Komnas Perempuan, 2021). Since first this bill was introduced to the public, it was again objected by conservative Muslim groups. The opposition also came from the internal body of the DPR RI by the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), which has also been based on religious and moral grounds and successfully influenced several individual members of the faction.

Rejection of the TPKS Bill by the conservative Muslim groups was indeed a catalyst for the feminist movement's emergence in 2018, which named themselves *GERAK Perempuan* (GP), or the Anti-Violence against Women Movement (Tirto.id, 2018). From the first time it was formed, GP set its overriding agenda to fight all forms of violence against women and demanded the DPR RI pass the TPKS Bill into law immediately to end the impunity of SVAW as its initial step. Moreover, after a long journey of strenuous effort, in April 2022, TPKS Bill passed into Law No. 12 of 2022 about Sexual Violence Crime (ABC News, 2022).

The prior research carried out on the movement, which aimed to fight SVAW in Indonesia and support the TPKS bill's ratification, discussed its social media campaign strategies and challenges (Wizein, 2021; Stephani and Sarwono, 2018; Octaviani et al., 2022; Miragusviana, 2022; Saputri, 2020). Moreover, other research focused on the process of offline campaign strategies (Yuniar and Utami, 2020; Risman, 2021). These studies were conducted before the TPKS bill was passed into law and gave little to no attention to the dimensions of the personal experience and struggle of women members of the feminist movements.

Considering the TPKS Bill was recently ratified into law and the previous studies' contributions, this research paper aims to analyze why and how GP, as a feminist movement, succeeded in its struggle to urge the Government of Indonesia (GOI) to pass the TPKS Bill into law in 2022. The discussion in this research is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the trajectory of impunity of SVAW in Indonesia and the urgency of the TPKS bill and discusses the contextualization of the feminist movement in Indonesia. Chapter 2 theorizes the success of GP as a feminist movement in Indonesia. Chapter 3 discusses the research methodology and method, which incorporates feminist methodology, method, study limitations, and the data collection story. Chapter 4 analyzes GP as a feminist movement and analyzes the main strategies GP employed to gain success in urging GOI to provide legal protection for SVAW and close the impunity gap of existing law. Chapter 5 explore the internal and external challenges GP's member encountered in their struggle and how they tackled them. Finally, chapter 6 concludes the findings and analysis.

1.2 Delve into the Impunity of SVAW in Indonesia and the Urgency of a Specific Law

The heinous history of SVAW and its impunity in Indonesia had dated back to the colonial era. During Japan's annexation of Indonesia from 1942 to 1945, a *jugun ianfu* system, or a practice called Japanese military comfort women, was imposed (Dania and Singhaputargun, 2020, p. 80). During that period, the Japanese military "forced" and even abducted at least

10,000 Indonesian women to be sex slaves (Dania and Singhaputargun, 2020, p. 81). Yet, because of society's strong stigmatization of ex-jugun ianfu by labeling them as prostitutes, not many survivors were willing to raise their voices for years (Dania and Singhaputargun, 2020, p. 93). Thus, some of them committed suicide since they could not bear the physical and psychological trauma of sexual violence (Dania and Singhaputargun, 2020, p. 95). Moreover, Japanese government had refused to make a formal apology and never acknowledged the hideous women's rights violation they committed in Indonesia (Kim and Motaghi, 2017). As a result, victims of Japanese forced prostitution were never granted the justice they deserved.

After two decades of declaring independence, a new situation leading to the impunity around SVAW in Indonesia recurred in 1965. During the transition from Indonesia's first president to the second president, sexual violence against Gerwani (*Gerakan Perempuan Indonesia*-Indonesia Women's Movement) occurred as they were accused of being affiliated with the Indonesian Communist Party (Wieringa, 2002). Many Gerwani members and women suspected of being affiliated with Gerwani were tortured, raped, and murdered. Wieringa (2002) interviewed several survivors who claimed that the Indonesian military tortured and gang-raped them before sending them to prison. Yet the Indonesian government has never officially recognized this structural SVAW (Komnas HAM, 2013).

Thirty years after the tragedy of 1965, violence erupted in the days leading up to the fall of President Suharto after 32 years of ruling in power, targeting the Chinese Indonesians. This tragedy happened in 1998 and followed sexual violence against Chinese Indonesian women committed by organized groups disguised as security force orders in several big cities in Indonesia (Pohlman et al., 2022, p. 247). Yet, despite evidence of heinous SVAW, the cases were never brought to court (Pohlman et al., 2022, p. 243). As a result, justice for the survivors remains uncertain, and there is ongoing denial and silencing of this event.

The dark historical trajectory of SVAW in Indonesia continues to haunt and worsen wounds that are still unhealed and largely unrecognized today. Based on government statistics stated that in Indonesia, at least three women experience sexual violence every two hours (TIME, 2022). Moreover, in 2022 from January to September, data from Komnas Perempuan noted that there were 4.660 cases of SVAW (Komnas Perempuan, 2022). In detail, 3.400 cases happened in the private sphere, and there are 1.256 cases in total that occurred in the public sphere. In the private sphere, SVAW is dominated by perpetrators who have blood relations with the victim (incest), such as the biological father, uncle, grandfather, and brother. In addition, other cases of SVAW in the private sphere are committed by the closest ones to the victims, such as the husband and stepfather. Most of the SVAW cases in the public and private sphere experienced by the victim are rape. Moreover, other SVAW cases include forced abortion, sexual exploitation, prostitution, and forced marriage.

In this regard, the total number of reported cases does not precisely represent the actual data in the field. As SVAW in Indonesia can be analogous to the iceberg phenomenon, the reported cases are just the tip of the iceberg that appears on the water's surface. On the other hand, the unreported cases are more extensive and hidden under the surface (Krug et al., 2002, p. 189). Moreover, data compiled by Komnas Perempuan are mainly based on the violence against women cases submitted by services providers such as the Women's Crisis Centre in the provinces. Yet not all provinces in Indonesia have established Women's Crisis Centre. Furthermore, not all Women's Crisis Centre are accessible as it is mostly in the city, far from the rural area.

Impunity of SVAW also happens due to loopholes in Indonesia's penal code (KUHP) that do not acknowledge the intricacies and pervasiveness of sexual violence. Article 285 on KUHP about Rape, for example, is defined as forced sexual intercourse between men and

women outside of marriage, and the element of force must be physically proven. In light of this, absolute evidence of physical coercion can be a stumbling block for women victims of sexual violence in Indonesia as they face layers of obstacles such as rape culture, society's victim-blaming behavior and unequal power relation that hinder and discourage them from reporting their case immediately (Setyawati et al., 2020). Furthermore, eyewitnesses are required to initiate the litigation process, meanwhile, the majority of rape against women in Indonesia happened in the private sphere with no other witness than the victims (Komnas Perempuan, 2022). As a result, it does not cover the various forms of sexual violence cases experienced by Indonesian women (TIME, 2022).

In Indonesia, SVAW occurs repeatedly and continuously, but not many people understand and are sensitive about this issue. Because of the embedded patriarchy and reinforced by conservative Muslim values, sexual violence is often regarded as a crime against decency and dignity, despite the fact that the impact of sexual violence on victims is very serious and may cause lifetime trauma. In some cases, sexual violence can even lead the victim to suicide (Chrisler and McCreary, 2012). The perspective that views sexual violence as a crime against decency and dignity is supported by the law and stated through the contents of the KUHP, a Dutch colonial era legacy.

In the KUHP, sexual violence, such as rape, is considered a violation of moral norms. This categorization reduces the degree of criminal acts committed and creates the view that sexual violence is a matter of morality alone. This, in turn, has an impact on many cases of sexual violence that are not handled legally but through non-litigation efforts outside the judicial process. Moreover, the aspect of sexual violence, which is associated with morality discourse, is also one of the biggest obstacles in the victims' efforts to obtain their rights to truth, justice, reparation, fulfillment of a sense of justice, and the guarantee of non-recurrence of events. Hence, Indonesia needed a specific law (*lex specialis*) that comprehensively regulates sexual violence, such as the TPKS bill.

TPKS bill is a breakthrough so that the law accommodates the needs and interests of women victims of violence because this bill is based on a study of the experiences of victims of violence and how they face the legal process. The legal reforms in the TPKS Bill are realized in a comprehensive manner, which includes regulation on preventing the occurrence of sexual violence and forms of sexual violence. TPKS bill also emphasizes victims' rights, including remedies, procedural law for the criminal justice of sexual violence, monitoring the elimination of sexual violence, and sentencing. In addition, the most important thing to do is to determine how this bill can form a new system that better protects women from the side of law enforcement and encourages the state's role to be more responsible for efforts to recover victims and prevent sexual violence in the future. Furthermore, the TPKS bill is an effort to overhaul the legal system to address systemic sexual violence against women.

1.3 A Glimpse of the Trajectory of the Feminist Movements in Indonesia

The first Women's Congress in Indonesia was held on December 22, 1928, in Yogyakarta (Vreede-de Stuers, 1960). The central theme of the discussion at that time was consolidating the struggle of women in the Indonesia's independence from colonialism. However, they did not abandon their main agenda to fight for women's rights, such as against early marriage and polygyny and demand for equal divorce rights; wives entitled for asking for a divorce, to become the colonial government's policy.

The issue of women's suffrage for Indonesian women to be a member of the City Council became the agenda for discussion at the third Women's Congress in Bandung in July

1938 (Vreede-de Stuers,1960). The Congress decided in a mandate to fight for the right for Indonesian women to be elected in a colonial government as a step in the struggle for the feminist movement at that time. However, the right to vote for Indonesian women was only given by the colonial government five years later, in 1942. At that time, the feminist movement fought for women's rights to be included in colonial policies. The feminist movement transformed issues that were seen as domestic issues, such as marriage and divorce, into a public-state agenda, which continued until Indonesia's independence.

The progressive Indonesian feminist movement was then destroyed in 1965 (Wieringa, 1995). This began with the destruction of Gerwani through the sexual slander of mass media between October 10, 1965 – October 12, 1965. Through the military newspaper, campaigned that Gerwani is the killer of the seven generals in *Lubang Buaya* (Wieringa, 1995). Gerwani are accused of having performed an erotic dance, seduced, castrated, and killed the generals. Which in 1995, this accusation proved to be wrong (Wieringa, 1995), yet, as a movement Gerwani was suppressed by the New Order regime and its activists were arrested, raped, exiled, or killed until 1968.

Since the New Order military regime came to power from 1966-1998 through destroying the image of the women's movement against custom and imperialism, the regime banned progressive feminist movement to fight for women's rights and their political ideologies and event enacted State Ibuism¹ ideology (Suryakusuma, 2011). In this period, women only allowed is to run a national program, such as Family Planning Program and become a member of a wife's organization called *Dharma Wanita* (for civil servant's wives) and *Dharma Pertivi* (for military's wives). As for other women, they are directed to be active in Family Empowerment Program or *Pemberdayaan dan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* (PKK) and Integrated Services Post or *Pusat Pelayanan Terpadu* (Posyandu) to become family planning instructors (Suryakusuma, 2011). To avoid Indonesian women, violate this rule, a principal called *Panca Dharma Wanita*, or five pillars of a woman was imposed. These principals contain of five points, namely woman as a descendant successor, a housekeeper, as husband's companion, woman as citizens and woman as an additional breadwinner. The regime also ordered that women must be controlled by their husbands or state officials from local to central to be a *konco wingking*².

The New Order regime period made the Indonesian women only a tool for political mobilization of the pro-capitalist military regime. The patriarchy and conservative Muslim ideas were redeveloped and strengthened to subjugate the critical power of the feminist movement. Yet, after Suharto was impeached, the feminist movement began to grow and found its way to consolidate again. They focused on the problem of exploitation of women workers, as they are the reality of the oppressed class that is attacked by patriarchy in the household, militarism, and capitalism.

After 1998, the struggle for women's rights moved to the issue of violence against women. In this period, Indonesian women consolidated to build a movement to dismantle state violence against women, such as the tragedy of Gerwani in 1965. Furthermore, the struggle of the feminist movement continues today with more advanced and creative strategies to mobilize resistance to reclaim women's rights and achieve gender equality.

¹ A concept derived from the Dutch bourgeoisie housewife-domestication notion and Javanese upper-class of mother (*Ibu*).

² *Kanca wingking* roughly translated as friend in the back, it is a Javanese idiom that refers to women are always behind their husband in a marriage.

Chapter 2 Theorizing the Succeed of GERAK Perempuan as a Feminist Movement in Indonesia

This chapter provides the theoretical framework to explain the success of GP in urging the GOI to pass the TPKS bill. First, the feminist standpoint (Harding, 2004) helps to highlight the experiences of women members of GP. Second, collective identity (Melucci, 1995) explains how GP creates value to motivate its members to work together toward a common goal. Finally, resource mobilization (McCarthy and Zald, 1977) helps to understand better how GP mobilized its resources to succeed in meeting its goal despite socio-cultural and other challenges.

2.1 Feminist Standpoint

Sandra Harding (2004) contended that modern western science and philosophy are against 'folk thought,' in which society included women's experiences. Feminist standpoint theory aims to acknowledge "folk thought," including women's experiences, by identifying and understanding their experiences and how they are constructed. Moreover, feminist standpoint theory claims that women's social positions as the unprivileged group give them the privilege of gaining more knowledge of social reality than the privileged group (Rolin, 2009, p. 218). It also "helps in the production of opposing and shared consciousnesses in oppressed groups, including women" (Harding, 2004, p. 3).

Nowadays, knowledge is still considered gender-neutral and value-neutral (Longino, 1993). Indeed, the assumptions that knowledge is gender-neutral and value-neutral are preserved to perpetuate the hegemony of knowledge in all aspects, such as what knowledge is, how knowledge is being made, and who can produce the knowledge itself. The ongoing assumptions of knowledge do not recognize that the process of knowledge production is an activity, not merely a thought and reflection (Grosz, 1992). Consequently, there is an inequality of control over the knowledge that has been produced, where women's experience is not counted in the discussion of knowledge production.

The feminist standpoint is described as "derived from the feminist exploration carried out on the women's experiences of oppression" (Stanley & Wise, 1990, p. 27). Moreover, Bernstein's (2005) review of the study of identity politics contends that the development of a feminist standpoint is the political activism part, and women who engage in anti-oppression activism result from their experiences' collective interpretation and analysis (Bernstein, 2005, p. 60). In addition, feminist standpoint theory draws on the political struggle to derive insights that can be used to obtain access to and encourage a group consciousness among women, which can then be transformed into an oppositional awareness.

With this being said, this research paper employed feminist standpoint theory to highlight the knowledge of GP members developed through their experiences as a woman and SVAW survivors in Indonesia. Furthermore, feminist standpoint theory also helps this research paper to understand the progressiveness of the women members of GP resistance to oppression and their struggle to fight against SVAW and its impunity. Yet, to comprehend the collective identity of GP's members, this research paper needs collective identity theory, which can support the feminist standpoint to analyze how GP's members construct their understanding and experiences to shape a common goal as a feminist movement. Melucci's (1995) approach provides a method that can clearly explain the theory of feminist standpoint, uncovering what lies behind collectivity's articulation.

2.2 Collective Identity

Collective identity is a significant element in analyzing movement, as the collective identity approach emphasizes its political aspects, as contended by Stacey Young (1997, p. 20), that "misses the efforts of movements (particularly the feminist and LGBTQ movements) to analyze in social and political terms of oppression and resistance grounded in identity." Young's arguments are also justified by Aldon Morris (1992, pp. 360-372), who points out that the different forms of "political consciousness" emerged from different standpoints and experiences of certain domination; for example, gender consciousness arises from men's domination over women.

In the matter of collective identity, it is not a "thing to be studied" (Melucci, 1995, p. 46). Rather, Melucci (1995) emphasized that it should be used as a tool to understand the opportunities and constraints experienced by collective action (Melucci, 1985, p. 792). Moreover, Meyer (2002, p. 298) said that "opportunities and constraints take place in a particular context, organizations, and setting," which will have or not influence the constraint of diversity. In this regard, Melucci (1995, p. 51) explains that they are "experienced by movement participants as an action rather than a situation," which is the pivotal function within and from themselves. In this sense, Polletta and Jasper (2001, p. 298) consider that collective identity is "fluid and relational as well as involving acts of perception and construction." Indeed, collective identity can be useful for understanding the process of the way the feminist movement determines "who they are" (Taylor & Whittier, 1995, p. 105) and the issues they want to focus on. Furthermore, Whittier (2010, p. 15) points out that "in the process of constructing collective identity, movements develop interpretive frameworks, draw lines between insiders and outsiders, and develop a political consciousness through which members understand the world."

Whittier (2010, p. 24) points out that the collective identity concept is fundamental to understanding movements, in this case, feminist movements that are politically engaged in social transformation yet less institutionalized (Melucci, 1995, p. 45). The notion of collective identity enabled this research to explain how GP construct value to motivate its member to act collectively toward the common objective. However, Whittier (2010, pp. 56-58) also emphasizes that collective identity is insufficient to mobilize a movement's members. Thus, this research also employed a resource mobilization approach to understanding better how GP as a feminist movement can succeed despite socio-cultural and other obstacles (McCarthy and Zald, 1977).

2.3 Resource Mobilization

The resource mobilization approach proposed by John McCarthy and Mayer Zald (1977) emphasized sociocultural support and constraint of social movement. In order to understand comprehensively how social movements achieve their social and political goals, McCarthy and Zald (1977) stated that control and over-access to and is a critical factors in determining a movement's potential success. Therefore, the resource mobilization approach helps this research understand how GP, as a feminist movement, succeeds in effectively achieving its goals by emphasizing access to and control over resources, which is a critical factor in determining a movement's potential success.

According to Edwards and McCarthy (2004), there are at least five types of intangible and tangible resources that influence the success of social movement; moral, cultural, social-organizational, human, and material resources. First, moral resources include legitimacy, solidarity support, sympathy support, and the support of famous people or figures such as celebrities. Moral resources tend to come from outside the social movement and are generally

provided by external sources. In this regard, Movements could also rely on established infrastructure, such as institutions, mainstream media, and networks (Powell and DiMaggio, 2008). Second, cultural resources are cultural products such as a set of conceptual and specialized knowledge that is widely recognized, although not necessarily universal. This includes unwritten knowledge of how to carry out certain tasks, such as organizing a protest, holding a press conference, conducting a meeting, forming an organization, or initiating a festival (Oliver and Marwell, 2007). Not all community or group members have specific competencies or knowledge that can be of value to a social movement.

Third, social organization resources include both intentional social organization, which is formed to advance the goals of a social movement, and appropriable social organization, which is formed for other reasons along which members of a movement could gain access to resources (Coleman, 2000). Moreover, the two are further distinguished by the distinctive way in which actors gain access to it. The resources contained in an appropriable social organization must be co-opted, while access to an intentional social organization is relatively easy and unproblematic. In both cases, the ease of accessing these resources will vary according to the suitability of the specific legitimacy, organizational form, goals, and tactics of the groups involved. Both forms of social organization have proven to be very important in explaining patterns of movement mobilization. Thus, the presence of social organization resources in a given location will allow for increased mobilization of movements and actions as a whole in this setting.

Fourth, human resources are more tangible and easier to appreciate than the previous three resources. The human resource category includes labor, experience, skills, and expertise (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004). Human resources, in this case, are more individual than social or cultural organizational structures. Movements usually have the right to control human resources and labor use. For instance, movement can more easily aggregate and deploy personnel based on members' passion and expertise. However, the movement's capacity to deploy personnel is limited by the cooperation of the individuals involved. And their participation is, in turn, shaped by spatial and economic factors and social relationships, obligations, and moral commitments. Fifth, material resources include monetary and property rights, equipment, and supplies (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004). Monetary or financial resources have received great attention and are very much needed and important.

Figure 2.1 The Logic of Analysis of the Succeed of GERAK Perempuan



From figure 2.1 above, I regard that to explain GP's success as a feminist movement in reaching its goal, it is pivotal to depart from a feminist standpoint (Harding, 2004), as GP's existence is impossible without its member. Hence, this research acknowledges GP member's

personal experience, their wounds, traumas, and voices matter. In addition, the feminist standpoint is also pivotal to understanding GP's member struggle to combat SVAW in Indonesia. Furthermore, by using feminist standpoint, this research paper also desires to challenge the assumptions that social movements are gender-neutral.

Meanwhile, it cannot be denied that GP members' personal experiences as Indonesian women and SVAW survivors also contributed to the construction of collective identity (Melucci, 1995), which finally led them to form a feminist movement to influence sympathizers to join and continue their engagement with GP to achieve its common objective. However, to explain the GP's victory in urging GOI to ratify the TPKS bill into Law No. 12 of 2022 despite societal constraints, both feminist standpoint (Harding, 2004) and collective identity (Melucci, 1995) cannot stand alone. It is also essential to investigate how GP gained access and mobilized its resources to elevate its chance and potential to succeed.

Chapter 3 Methodology and Methods

This chapter will discuss the feminist methodology and the methods used in this research paper. In addition, it provides the research objective, questions, and study limitations, which consist of the study scope, and the limitations of methodology and methods. In the end, it discusses the researcher's positionality and explores the story of the data collection process.

3.1 Feminist Methodology

Based on its aims, this research entailed a feminist methodology that incorporate and transforms women's experiences, struggles, and resistance into this study. "Feminist research urges the underpinning's structure and ideologies that oppress women into question. Women and other disadvantaged communities are empowered and emancipated by feminist research, and feminist researchers usually use their findings to encourage social change and social justice for women" (Brooks and Biber, 2006, p. 4). Feminist research integrates all research processes, including theoretical, data collection, methodological, and research question formulation, until the findings are explained from a feminist perspective (Brooks and Biber, 2006).

Harding (2004) highlights how scientific knowledge has historically ignored women's endeavors and representation in science. Some feminists worked to mainstream women's voices, activities, and experiences in research. They also criticized the positivist paradigm regarding the objectivity of knowledge, which continuously endorses neutral instruments and value-free researchers. Instead of emphasizing research objectivity, feminist methodology emphasizes the representation of 'the other,' the marginalized, and women's experiences, as it is believed that knowledge is politically and socially situated rather than objective (Harding, 2004). In addition, women's knowledge is rooted in their everyday experiences and struggles. Thus, by presenting the production of knowledge about GP members' experiences, this research tries to transform the source of oppression into a source of knowledge (Harding, 2004, p. 11).

The fact that Reinharz (1992) states that feminist research aims to enact social change highlights the significance and utility of considering feminist methods in studying activism. Feminist research methodologies are frequently "driven by a concern for social justice" and thus "tailored to reveal the gender problematic by prioritizing women's personal experiences of the social and telling their experience 'in their own voice'" (Byrne & Lentdin, 2000, p. 7)

Using a feminist methodology allows me to acknowledge my positionality as a researcher and a woman. According to Rose (1997, p. 309), the researcher's position is visible through 'inward' reflection, where the researcher's identity can affect the researcher's understanding and 'outward' position, which focuses on the researcher's external aspect, including the relation with research and the broader community. These aspects are relevant to this research regarding my position as a researcher. 'Inward' reflexivity leads me to understand that my identity as a woman, master's student, and part of the middle class affects my perception of an issue. I used these identities to navigate myself in the research process by performing insider and outsider positions.

Using 'outward' reflexivity, I acknowledged that my past involvement with GP in the campaign team and my prior relationship with some research participants affected the research process. Moreover, I acknowledge that a power relationship exists between the researcher and the researched as the research participants hold more power during data construction due to their position as informants. However, the researcher has the power to

tell the finding to the public through writing. The ethics of care plays an important role in ensuring that the research process is not harmful to the research participants.

3.2 Methods

This research utilizes online in-depth interviews and open-ended questions to gain in-depth knowledge exploration from the experiences of GP members. The interview was conducted with 10 members of GP and 2 members of DPR RI 2019-2024 period. Two research participants from the substance team have been involved in drafting the TPKS bill since 2014. The interview gave information on the general overview of the movement, the member experience in the struggle, the team’s target, strategies, internal and external challenges and how they overcame it, and the political relation formed by GP with DPR RI. Considering the numbers of the members of GP and DPR RI, research participants were gathered by purposive sampling with the criteria of their role in the movement and in the parliament.

During the interview, in accordance with constructivism, I used the traveler approach, which treats data as the result of an interpretation through a reflective process (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2008, p. 48). This approach is pivotal, given my prior involvement as a member of GP in the campaign team. However, considering that I have known and have a friendly relationship with some of the research participants, I also consider myself an outsider due to my status as a researcher. Moreover, to avoid bias in data collection and analysis, I also applied data triangulation by reviewing prior research, news piece, and media coverage about GP and their struggle to help with the data construction. In addition, I also analysed GP’s prior webinar and discussion, which were documented on several YouTube canal and GP’s Instagram page, to construct the findings.

Table 3.1 List of Research Participants

No	Reference Code	Pronoun	Affiliation	Date of Interview
1	Campaign Team 1	She/Her	GERAK Perempuan	24/08/2022
2	Campaign Team 2	She/Her	GERAK Perempuan	22/08/2022
3	Campaign Team 3	She/Her	GERAK Perempuan	29/08/2022
4	Campaign Team 4	He/They	GERAK Perempuan	16/09/2022
5	Lobby Team 1	She/Her	GERAK Perempuan	13/08/2022
6	Lobby Team 2	She/Her	GERAK Perempuan	22/08/2022
7	Lobby Team 3	She/Her	GERAK Perempuan	07/09/2022
8	Substance Team 1	She/Her	GERAK Perempuan	09/09/2022
9	Substance Team 2	She/They	GERAK Perempuan	13/08/2022
10	Substance Team 3	She/Her	GERAK Perempuan	31/08/2022
11	DPR RI 1	He/Him	Member of DPR RI and Legislative Body	21/10/2022
12	DPR RI 2	She/Her	Member of DPR RI and Indonesia Women’s Parliamentary Caucus	27/10/2022

3.3 Research Objective and Questions

This research aims to analyze GP as a feminist movement in their success in demanding the GOI to ratify the TPKS bill into Law No. 12 of 2022. This research emphasizes the personal experience of GP members in their struggle, including strategies, internal and external challenges, and tensions, and how they overcome them as the center of this research. In addition, this research focuses on feminist activists' perspectives and gives them a voice as the research subject. The findings will contribute to women and social movements studies to understand the struggle of women activists as a member of feminist movements fighting for gender-responsive law change to combat the impunity of SVAW in Indonesia. With this objective, the main research question is:

Why did GERAK Perempuan succeed in urging the GOI to ratify the Sexual Violence Crime Bill as a law in 2022?

To answer the main question, I have developed two sub-questions, as follows:

1. What are strategies used by GERAK Perempuan, and how did it mobilize resources to gain success in passing the TPKS bill in 2022?
2. What are the main internal and external challenges, and how does it tackle them?

3.4 Study Limitation

3.4.1 Study Scope

By considering the objective and questions, this research addresses the internal dynamic of the movement through the experiences of women activists of GP members. The research pays limited attention to the external dynamic, such as the political, social, and cultural context within the movement struggle period. The research does not use first-hand information³ from the point of view of external parties from the opponent's group of the TPKS Bill, which is affiliated with a conservative Muslim group. In addition, the scope of this research is limited according to the GP's timeline (2018-2022), only from the beginning GP was formed until the TPKS bill was ratified into law No. 12 of 2022. This study does not analyze GP actions afterward to combat the impunity of SVAW in Indonesia. It focuses on the first attempt of the movement's struggle to urge the GOI in the TPKS bill ratification.

3.4.2 Methodology and Methods' Limitations

Several ethical issues arise in the methodology and methods. With regard to the technique of gathering research participants by using purposive sampling also could be contributed to the bias as the sample was gathered based on the subjectivity of the researcher, yet it can be reduced by data triangulation (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2008, p. 48). Furthermore, an issue arising from the method is that obstacle in the in-depth online interview due to bad connection. For instance, in the middle of the interview, the research participants unintentionally left the room zoom meeting. I am also aware that in the interview process, I failed to inform the research participants that their answers were sometimes irrelevant to the question I asked. This resulted in scattered answers, and I had to clarify the question after they finished answering as I was afraid it could disrupt their mood and concentration if I cut them off while they were answering my question. Moreover, as the movement's activities, such as protests, had been carried out since 2018, participants had some difficulties recalling

³ Instead, it is analyzed from online newspapers, news from YouTube, and prior research as secondary data.

the detail of the events. Nevertheless, they suggested looking into news pieces and press releases regarding past events.

3.5 Conveying “Kudos” through Research

Knowledge is created at its origin (Haraway, 1988; Harding, 2016). It arises from a certain subjectivity, with its limitations and partialities. Thus, knowledge is limited and specific. It means I will not claim to find universality solely in my knowledge, findings, and analyses. In this context, I recognize how my position as a researcher creates power dynamics and gaps with research participants. Situating knowledge necessitates that we carefully position, reflect on, and recognize the power dynamics at work in the process of knowledge production.

Departing from feminist research methodologies, I have to be aware of my positionality in every process of knowledge production, during my data collection, and in the process of my writing. To clarify my positionality, in 2017, I was working part-time at the Women Crisis Centre (WCC) "Dian Mutiara," Malang, Indonesia. As a paralegal, I supported and assisted women victims of gender-based violence in litigation and non-litigation processes. For instance, I accompanied the victims to report their cases to the police station, to the hospital for a forensic medical examination to get *visum et repertum*⁴, and attended court hearings and trials. My encounter with victims and survivors of violence against women and witnessing that many of them, especially sexual violence, could not get justice due to impunity and must suffer lifetime trauma profoundly grew my concern for women's rights in Indonesia, especially SVAW. In addition, to channel my anger towards the "world" that always puts women under its feet and tramples down their bodies, after graduating in 2019, I joined GP to combat the impunity of SVAW in the campaign team. Thus, I initiated this research as a "kudos" to every woman survivor of SVAW who endured their pain and persistently transformed it into a struggle and fights for their rights. Regarding this, I am aware that my position could influence and lead to bias in my interpretation.

3.6 Data Collection: Sharing Familiarity and Vulnerability

The interviews were conducted between the 13th of August 2022 to the 27th of October 2022. The interviews were conducted online through zoom meetings, considering the limited financial resource and time given for the research. The majority of the research participants from GP are Indonesian women, as this research aims to make women's experiences the center of the research. The research participants come from different backgrounds, ages, and expertise. In addition, for GP members, the year they joined GP also was different; six of the research participants was joined GP from the beginning it formed, and two of them were involved in the first drafting of the TPKS bill before it submitted to the DPR RI, while the rest joined in 2019.

Most of the research participants have full-time jobs at Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), and the other two are a member of DPR RI. Thus, setting a schedule to interview them was a bit hard, and I had to be flexible. My flexibility also had to apply in the interview time selection as I had to keep up with their schedule. For instance, time differences are another issue, as Indonesia and Netherlands have 5 hours of time differences. To interview most participants, I had to wake up at 04.00 am Netherlands time or equal to 09.00 am Indonesian time.

⁴ Written report from a forensic expert concerning court proceedings on proof issues.

One of the participants has already been familiar with me since I was in the second year of my undergraduate degree, as we are a member of the Service Provider Forum for Women Victims of Violence (FPL), which is the national forum for all the WCC in Indonesia. In addition, two of the research participants already had a friendly relationship with me as we were on the same campaign team and in charge of the online campaign. For the rest of the participants from GP, we only had prior encounters in a meeting or protest organized by GP. Furthermore, I encountered the research participants from DPR RI in person when there was a public hearing about TPKS Bill conducted by DPR RI in 2021. The familiarity we had made them comfortable to share their experiences with me and allowed us to have mutual interactions.

Despite our familiarity, they were aware that, as a researcher, I was there to learn from their experiences. They tried to explain their experiences to me clearly, and even afterward, they sent me useful material regarding the movement and TPKS bill that could benefit the research. Several research participants from GP shared their vulnerability as SVAW survivors and their experiences getting caught and beaten by the police in the protest to fight for the TPKS bill. Hence, to build trust in the interview process, I became vulnerable and opened my activism journey as an Indonesian woman concerned about women's rights. In addition, as SVAW and the activism of the research participants is a sensitive issue in Indonesia, showing my vulnerability and concern allows me to create a safe space and build a deep and meaningful conversation with research participants from GP.

Moreover, concerning GP research participants' mental health, as most of the members I interviewed were SVAW survivors, I was afraid that the interviews could trigger their existing and subconscious trauma. Thus, I have stated in the written informed consent and verbally told them that I will provide access to the free counseling services. Furthermore, during the interview process, I told them it was fine if they wanted to stop in the middle of the interview if the conversation was too triggering. After the interview, I checked on their condition several times through personal chat on WhatsApp, and they were all fine, gratefully. Also, considering Liamputtong's (2006) statement, vulnerable research participants may be unable to withdraw even if they feel uncomfortable. Hence, I gave GP's research participants time, from one to two days, to carefully read and sign the written informed consent before the interview. It was indeed my privilege to listen to ten of the research participant's fearless and persistent experiences in activism in combating the impunity of SVAW in Indonesia.

Chapter 4 Understanding GERAK Perempuan: Strategies Combating Impunity of SVAW in Indonesia

This chapter provides the analysis of GP as a feminist movement and its chronological struggle timeline. In addition, this chapter also intends to answer the GP's main strategies to urge the GOI to pass the TPKS bill into law as its initial attempt to combat the impunity of SVAW in Indonesia. The finding shows that to gain its victory, GP has three teams, namely campaign, lobby, and substance, to effectively work in its struggle to succeed in demanding the ratification of the TPKS bill. In this regard, the campaign team raised public awareness of SVAW and its impunity through online and offline approaches. In addition, the lobby team in charge politically lobbied the DPR RI member. Finally, the substance team in charge of drafting and redrafting the bill along with other drafters such as Komnas Perempuan and creating narration to counter the wrong accusation towards the TPKS bill.

Since GP comprises people from various backgrounds, from university students, activists, gender and law experts, and artists, GP realized that team segregation based on individual expertise would ease their advocacy and human resources mobilization (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004). Nevertheless, as a feminist movement valuing and fighting for equality, the main decision-making is always decided together in the consolidation, as will be discussed in the analysis of GP as a feminist movement.

4.1 GERAK Perempuan as a Feminist Movement

Right after two-year RUU TPKS was included in the Prolegnas, in 2018, several individuals who are members of the International Women's Day (IWD) committee conducted a meeting to discuss one of DPR RI's member reluctance statement towards RUU TPKS stated that "Indonesia does not need a new law on SVAW, as KUHP is already sufficient to deal with sexual violence cases" (Tirto.id, 2018). In the meeting, they indeed shared their experience of marginalization living as Indonesian women to forge connections to build a nationwide resistance movement with goals rooted in feminist ideologies. They were angry with the DPR RI's statement, as the majority of the participants were survivors of SVAW who failed to get justice because of the impunity of existing law in Indonesia.

"Majority of the GP's initiator were survivors of SVAW [...] In the consolidation, we all agreed that Indonesia need this bill and we have to fight for it to be ratified, so that there are no more women like us who failed to get justice" (Campaign Team 3, 2022).

After several meetings, they concluded that they needed to form a nationwide alliance to fight all forms of violence against women and its impunity. Hence, consolidation was conducted with more than 30 women from all across Indonesia (Lobby Team 1, 2022), who then played a key role in forming GP as a new progressive feminist movement. In the consolidation, they gathered to determine the movement's name and main objectives and set the initial step to reach the goal. After their first consolidation, GP's network expanded to student organizations, feminist scholars, women's trade unions, legal aid providers for battered women, women's crisis centers, women gender-based violence survivors, and individuals who were concerned about the impunity of SVAW (Substance Team 3, 2022).

GP is a feminist movement based on the way its members formulated the movement's objectives together in a consolidation which is in line with Molyneux's (1985, cited in Ferree and Mueller 2004, p. 579) argument stating that the feminist movement's goal is constructed by "the women who are themselves within the movement rather than through external

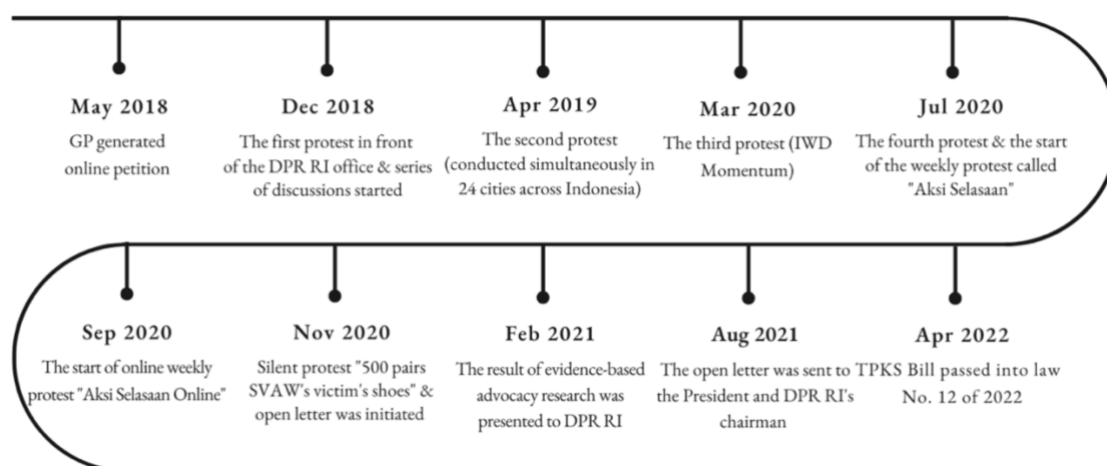
interventions." GP's main objective is to fight all forms of violence against women and its impunity. To meet its main objective, the first place it takes is to urge the GOI to pass RUU TPKS into law. Based on Ferree and Mueller (2004), GP also already fulfills one of the feminist movement criteria that is derived from its main objective of feminist beliefs, theory, and practices. Moreover, by forming a movement to mobilize women's rights, GP tried to redefine what it means to be a woman (Whittier, 2013) and challenge the traditional gender role fostered in Indonesian society, which places women in the domestic sphere. Furthermore, as a feminist movement with a clear main objective to fight violence against women, GP tried to raise public awareness about "gender consciousness" (Whittier, 2013, p. 2). This argument is also in line with Ferree and Mueller's (2004, p. 580) argument that "bringing issues of women's oppression into the realm of politics at all is a key aspect of women's self-definition of their needs (e.g., by defining rape as a crime against humanity)."

As a feminist movement derived from feminist principles, GP adopted "nonhierarchical ways of women organizing with one another" (Dominielli, 1996, p. 135). Substance Team 1 stated, "we also intentionally carried out and cultivated egalitarian collaboration in the decision-making" (Substance Team 1, 2022). Regarding that, to effectively perform its work, GP established a labor division based on the member's passion and expertise into three divisions, namely campaign, substance, and lobby team.

In its struggle timeline to urge the GOI to pass the TPKS bill as its initial step to combat the impunity of SVAW, from 2018-2022, GP organized a series of protests in front of the DPR RI. Not only protest as GP's members realized that to challenge the traditional gender role and bring about social change, they could not address it solely from the political aspect but also a cultural aspect. Therefore, they also conducted a series of public discussions across Indonesia with a big theme of impunity of SVAW and the urgency of the TPKS bill in between the protests. Protests and discussions GP conducted are essential and inseparable parts of the feminist movement. As pointed out by Batliwala (2014, cited in Spalter 2020, p. 455) that "raising women's consciousness of their oppression and exploitation is a critical first step in building feminist movements."

4.1.1 GERAK Perempuan Struggle Timeline

Figure 4.1 GP's Timeline in the Struggle



After GP was formed, its first move was generating an online petition on an online platform called change.org. The petition was addressed to the President of the Republic of Indonesia, DPR RI's chairman, and the Minister of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection.

However, the petition did not have enough power to urge the GOI to pass the TPKS bill, which ignited public outrage.

“The GOI seems to ignore our online petition at that time [...] we realized that they need to be pressured, then we conducted our first protest and series of discussion to expand the awareness about SVAW to public” (Campaign Team 3, 2022).

Hence, in December 2018, GP organized its first protest and demanded the immediate ratification of the bill in front of the DPR RI office in Jakarta. Moreover, GP also conducted a series of discussions in several Universities in Indonesia to gain more support and raise public awareness of the bill's importance. The second protest, in April 2019, was conducted simultaneously in 24 cities in Indonesia. Indeed, 2019 is a tough battlefield for GP, as there is firm rejection from conservative Muslim groups who argue that the bill strongly contrary to Islamic values (The Jakarta Post, 2019).

“The strong rejection came from conservative Muslim groups, from students, women’s group, and party without any exception” (Campaign Team 1, 2022).

Several civil society organizations, such as the Indonesian Muslim Students' Action Union (KAMMI), the Islamic Defenders' Front (FPI), and the Indonesian Family Love Alliance (AILA), are outright opposed to the bill. Members of AILA are mostly women whose work and campaigns are openly anti-feminist. In a similar manner, the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) faction has intensely opposed the bill and stated that their opposition is a party's official position.

In response to the situation, GP conducted its third protest in Jakarta, several labor unions, such as the Indonesian Trade Union Alliance Congress (KASBI) and the Confederation of Indonesian Worker's Union, joined the rally, and their participation indeed elevated twice the number of the masses. After the third protest, DPR RI put the TPKS Bill back on the agenda for 2020 deliberation after discussions came to stalled in 2018 and 2019 (Lobby Team 1, 2022).

“When the protest starts to be gained support from the labour union which has a lot of members, COVID-19 hit Indonesia [...] the difficult condition of COVID-19 makes the movement reckless, thus the GOI took a chance to withdraw the bill” (Campaign Team 2, 2022).

However, not long after COVID-19 hit Indonesia and the GOI imposed Large Scale Social Restriction (PSBB) (The Jakarta Post, 2020), the TPKS bill was withdrawn from the list of 2020's legislative priorities. Regarding this, Deputy Chairman of Commission VIII DPR RI Marwan Dasopang made a controversial statement that the TPKS bill is “too difficult and complicated to discuss” (Vice, 2020). This statement ignited GP's fourth protest and weekly protest every Tuesday in front of the DPR RI office, called “*Aksi Selasa*,” or Tuesday's protest (Campaign Team 2, 2022).

In September 2020, as the PSBB was imposed more strictly in every city in Indonesia, GP initiated “*Aksi Selasa Online*,” or Tuesday's online protest conducted through Zoom's online platform and broadcasted through Facebook Live and YouTube Streaming (Campaign Team 2, 2022). A silent protest called Shoes in Silence was followed in November 2020 by displaying 500 pairs of shoes of the victims of SVAW in front of the DPR RI office. In addition, in the same month, GP also initiated an open letter directed to Joko Widodo (JOKOWI) as Indonesian President, Puan Maharani as DPR RI's chairwoman, and I Gusti Ayu Bintang Darmawati as the Minister of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (Campaign Team 1, 2022).

“As the bill was withdrawn from Prolegnas, we need solid evidence to open the GOI's eyes that the TPKS bill need to be passed immediately, then we presented the evidence-based research” (Substance Team 2, 2022).

GP presented evidence-based advocacy research in DPR RI's public hearing on February 2021. The research was about Public Responses and Attitudes toward the TPKS bill, conducted by telephone survey with 2.210 respondents from 34 provinces in Indonesia. The main findings of the research show that most of the respondents (71.8%) said that either they, their family members, or their friends had experienced SVAW. Moreover, most of the respondents (70.5%) support the ratification of the TPKS bill (Tiyas et al., 2021).

However, in August 2021, the nomenclature of the bill was changed by DPR RI from The Elimination of Sexual Violence Bill (PKS Bill) to the Sexual Violence Crime Bill (TPKS Bill). Sabari Barus, one of the members of DPR RI's Legislative Body, said that the reason behind the change in nomenclature is because the term "elimination" in the TPKS bill was abstract and complex as it is impossible to abolish sexual violence completely in Indonesia (CNN Indonesia, 2021). In addition, Substance Team 3 said that the bill initially consisted of 128 articles, yet DPR RI reduced it to 43 articles.

The reduction is mostly made in the form of sexual violence articles. Previously TPKS Bill stipulates nine forms of sexual violence, namely sexual harassment (physical and non-physical), forced marriage, sexual exploitation, forced contraception, rape, forced prostitution, sexual slavery, and sexual torture. Yet, it is reduced to only four forms of sexual violence, namely sexual harassment (physical and non-physical), forced contraception, sexual exploitation, and rape (Substance Team 3, 2022). To respond to the issues that arose, GP sent the second open letter to the President of the Republic of Indonesia and DPR RI's chairwoman. The second open letter demanded the restoration of the nine forms of sexual violence (Substance Team 2, 2022).

4.2 Revealing the Impunity of SVAW in Indonesia through Campaign

In GP's struggle, the campaign team took charge of creatively amplifying the movement's demand, which was already drafted by the substance team to escalate public support for the TPKS bill (Campaign Team 1, 2022). In addition, all the campaign materials GP created are based on the true experience of the women survivor of SVAW in Indonesia and derived from the feminist perspective. Campaign Team 1 said that the campaign team was also responsible for raising public awareness about the impunity of SVAW and the urgency of the need for specific laws about sexual violence that can combat the impunity. In their mission, the campaign team must disentangle the complexity of SVAW and its impunity and articulate it into something that could easily be digested, non-jargonistic though maintaining the substantive portion of it. In their endeavor, the campaign team also had to translate sensitive and taboo topics in Indonesia, a country with the world's largest Muslim adherer, into openly discussed topics. Therefore, it divided the campaign into two approaches, offline and online, which will be discussed in the sub-chapters below.

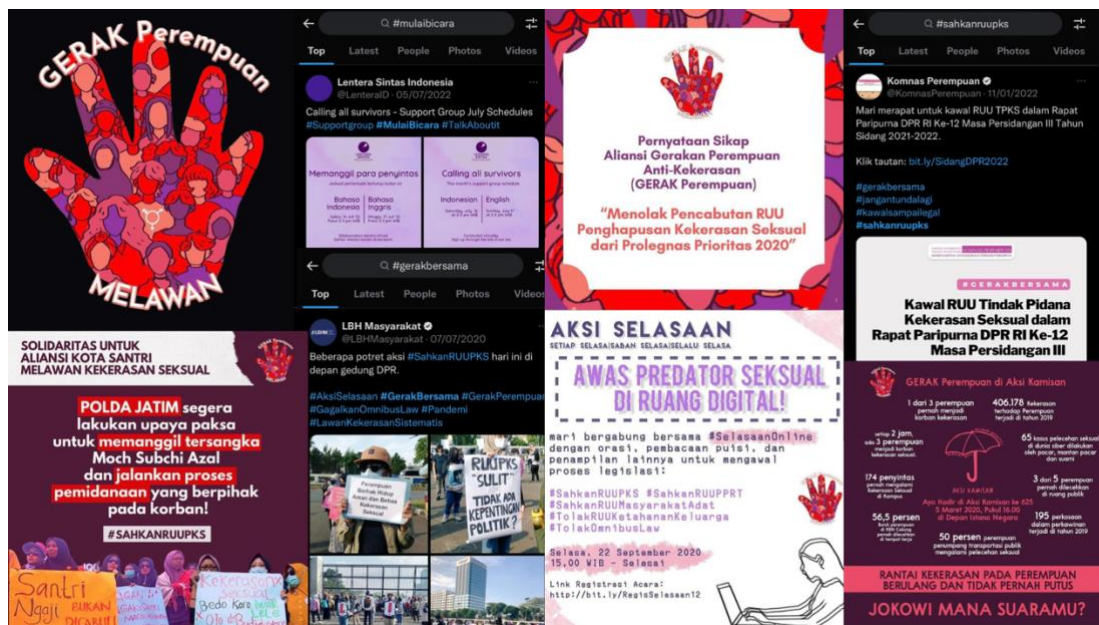
“Back then, our short-term goal is to make the issue of sexual violence against women and the urgency of the TPKS bill be openly discussed in Indonesia [...] It is fine if there is a pros and cons debate in public regarding the narrations that are made; at least, in the end, it is discussed in public, which eventually makes people ask questions about the issue and feel the need to find out the information [...] Indeed, as a feminist movement, we also have to provide the information needed that are easy to access and easy to understand” (Campaign Team 1, 2022).

4.2.1 Changing SVAW Discourse from Private to Public through Digital Realm

After the hashtag #MeToo exploded on social media in 2017 (Fileborn and Loney-Howes, 2019), Indonesian feminist activists also began to use social media as a platform to escalate their activism. In this momentum, GP as a feminist movement is also leveraging the growth of social media to change the discourse of SVAW, which was initially seen as a private issue, into becoming a public issue and from a specific group concern into everyone's concern. As expressed by one of the interviewees, before GP raised the issue of SVAW in Indonesia, this issue was rarely discussed in social media conversation.

“At the beginning of our campaign, it was hard for us as sexual violence against women is considered a taboo and private issue, thus we have to give a very basic understanding of the issue. Yet, as the netizen slowly increase inquisitive about sexual violence against women, other official social media accounts also began to create informative content about sexual violence against women” (Campaign Team 2, 2022).

Figure 4.2 Screen Capture Compilation of GP's Online Campaign



Source: Compiled by the author from Instagram and Twitter, 2022.

GP's strategies in campaigning about SVAW in Indonesia and its impunity in social media are also considered unique, as it does not have an official social media account. GP only play with hashtags; GP's campaign team created the campaign's content material and circulated it through the GP's member's account and the account of the member's organization. For instance, the hashtags #GerakBersama or #MoveTogether, #MulaiBicara or #StarttoSpeak, and #SabkanRUUPKS or #PassthePKSBill on Instagram have already been used 9.0057 times in total as of September 2022. The contents posted on Instagram were mostly infographics wrapped in the form of carousel posts⁵ which explain what SVAW is and the urgency of the TPKS bill. In addition, the contents created are informative, highly eye-catching visual, which ends with a call to action to join the movement and support the ratification of the TPKS bill. Indeed, before GP's campaign team crafted the social media campaign content, they carefully planned it and did prior research, from the narration of campaign material, caption, the age of the most likely aimed Instagram user, and prime time

⁵ Carousel posts in Instagram is a feed posts containing more than one to 10 content photos or videos.

to upload. Furthermore, they even did a crossed team quality control; all teams must approve the content before the campaign team uploads it.

“We put a lot of consideration before created the campaign materials, we even did small research beforehand for the time to upload and the range of age of Instagram user. Before the contents been uploaded, we also double check the narration as SVAW is a sensitive issue in this country, one thing that is a must is the cross-team quality control as we are feminist movement that uphold common consensus in the decision-making” (Campaign Team 3, 2022).

In Indonesia's Twitter, hashtag #MulaiBicara or #StarttoSpeak, which has a call to action for netizens to speak out about sexual violence they experience, has the highest use and has already been a trending topic in 2020. These hashtags became popular, used by several public figures such as actresses, singers, and media influencers, and rapidly spread to other social media platforms, including Facebook. Yet, campaigning the SVAW issues on Facebook made GP has to be twice careful as its users dominated by the old generation, who tend to be more conservative. Hence, to avoid misunderstanding and backlash, GP made Facebook's campaign content narration-heavy with substantive arguments but still engaging based on the user's age range. As social media have different audiences, and indeed the way how it delivers and focuses on information is different depending on the audience (Schroder, 2015).

“Since Facebook's users are mostly old generation, we adjusted the campaign material to be meatier with substantial matter” (Campaign Team 2, 2022).

GP's campaign strategies in social media have had major implications for the movement. When the hashtag went viral, the supporters of the online petition GP initiated in 2018 increased by 100.000 signers. In addition, on the day the TPKS bill was ratified, it had already been signed by 349.707 supporters (Change.org, 2022). Moreover, one of the interviewees from the campaign team said that GP's sympathizers increased as the participants in online protests conducted every Tuesday through Zoom called “*Aksi Selasa*” also increased every week. Furthermore, she also said that in the online protest conducted due to COVID-19, the new sympathizers were not only passive participants but also actively voiced their voices through oration, poetry recitation, and singing a song.

“In the very beginning, we genuinely only focused on the engagement from netizens on social media in raising awareness about SVAW and keeping the issue to be frequently discussed, not the number of our sympathizers. But over time, it eventually increased the number of GP's sympathizers, and for it, we are very grateful” (Campaign Team 2, 2022).

Not all of GP's online campaign went smoothly without any naysayers. Since GP began its foremost online campaign by creating an online petition on the platform called Change.org, the opponent followed GP's strategy by also creating a petition to reject the bill (Ibrahim, 2019). Indeed, the digital realm is a battleground of narratives since the bill got strongly rejected and GP as a feminist movement often got backlash from the conservative Muslim group on social media. However, not bothered by the backlash, GP kept focusing on creating and publishing contra-narrative content to clarify the opponent's incorrect allegation and hoax about the bill.

“As the matter of fact, we kept on focusing on our target and goal. We don't even bother with the backlash and continue to focus on creating informative content about the bill to gain more supporters and expand the reach of the raising awareness” (Campaign Team 1, 2022).

Given Indonesia's geographical landscape as an archipelago country with 17.508 islands (Acts on Indonesian Waters, 1996), the social media campaign used by GP is an effective strategy to raise awareness of SVAW and thereby gain more supporters of the TPKS bill, which implicated the ratification of the TPKS bill into law in April 2022. It was effective since social media can disguise and shorten socio-political and geographical boundaries in

Indonesia (Flew, 2017), which is also supported by data from Statistics Indonesia or Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) Indonesia that the total of internet users is 73,7% and social media users in Indonesia are over 68.9% of the total population (Statistics Indonesia, 2022). Therefore, it is beneficial to leverage social media as a campaign tool to expand their influence as a feminist movement.

It also cannot be denied that the International #metoo movement influenced GP's campaign strategies by establishing hashtags. In addition, hashtags are a confrontational performance (Clark-Parsons, 2021) in which feminist activists actualize their "personal is political" (Hanisch, 1969) and connect the individual to the collective identity (Meluci, 1995) in order to speak out against sexual violence and demonstrate the systemic character of social injustice. In this matter, hashtags generated by GP to reveal SVAW and its impunity in Indonesia also form a feminist standpoint, as it departed from women's experiences of oppression (Stanley & Wise, 1993).

On the one hand, as the hashtag #StarttoSpeak went viral, it triggered many women victims and survivors of SVAW to speak up about the sexual violence they experienced, consequently influencing and shaping public opinion about the urgency of the TPKS bill ratification. On the other hand, women who spoke up took a big risk by spilling their experiences on social media. As patriarchal culture is deeply ingrained in Indonesian society, social media are not considered safe. In addition, when the hashtag was established, there was no law to protect the victims of SVAW yet. Hence, in Indonesia, women victims and survivors of SVAW can be blatantly attacked on social media, bullied as a liar and prostitutes and got victim-blaming behavior from netizens. Moreover, it could backfire them as one of the victims of SVAW who told their experiences in social media got criminalized by defamation article in Electronic Transactions Law (UU ITE) (Ardianingtyas, 2019).

Furthermore, data and facts about SVAW and its impunity provided by GP in the form of campaign material strengthened the nuance of the bill's urgency to the public. In this regard, the effect of GP's online campaign on public opinion is closely related to the never-ending discourse at the policy formulation stage. Noelle-Neumann (1974) contended that the expansion of an issue in internet platforms has an impact on public opinion formation. Also justified by Andrews and Caren (2010), social media can shape public agendas and influence the public and elite's opinion by drawing interest in the movement's issues, supporters, and claims. In addition, in their research, Grzywiska and Borden (2012) identified that in this digital era, social media and the content generated by the users might well displace mass media as the primary information source and agenda setter for netizens.

Considering how GP responded to the backlash it got on social media, where it did not put too much energy into countering it and kept focusing on its target to raise Indonesia's society's awareness about SVAW and its impunity. For me, it is the right decision to take, as the backlash it got marked its success in putting issues it fought for public attention. Feminist scholars also justify that the backlash against the feminist movement is a reaction to the feminist movement's success, which the opponents see as threatening the structure, values, status, identity, and power of patriarchy (Cupać and Ebetürk, 2020; Walby, 2011).

4.2.2 Tactical Repertoires: Beyond the Digital Sphere

Alongside the online campaign, the offline approach was used before the COVID-19 outbreak hit Indonesia in 2020. GP's mobilized people from their local organization members to organize nationwide protests simultaneously in their cities. It happened in 2019 when the debate on the TPKS bill heated up, and the bill's rejection reached its peak. Before the simultaneous protest conducted in 24 cities in Indonesia, GP organized online

consolidation with its local representative member to discuss the demand, rules, and other preparation for the biggest event GP conducted.

“It was the biggest event we ever conducted [...] the participants in Jakarta itself was massive and we gained a lot of media coverage, hence from here I think people began to recognize GP’s existence” (Campaign Team 2, 2022).

The simultaneous protest was conducted in front DPR RI office in Jakarta and Provincial Legislative Council in other cities to express dissatisfaction and anger towards the GOI's inability to end the impunity of SVAW in Indonesia as the discussion of the TPKS bill was stalled. In the protest, a resistance song about the impunity of SVAW was played, and the participants sang together. The resistance song titled "Agni" was composed by the "Tashoora Band," also a GP member. The song was inspired by one of the SVAW cases in Indonesia, where the victim did not get justice. In addition, in the protest, GP also held a poetry recital, and agitation speeches delivered by survivors to express their outrage and as an embodiment of body politics. For me, the simultaneous protest conducted by GP was a manifestation of body politics (Harcourt, 2009). As stated by Harcourt (2009) that "through body politics, the bodily experience of the women body has become an entry point for political engagement" (Harcourt, 2009, p. 14). Moreover, the protest also served as a platform for women's political mobilization and reclaiming their agency, with links to other sites of resistance.

Figure 4.3 Protests Conducted by GERAK Perempuan



Source: Compiled by the author from the Internet and personal documentation, 2022.

Aside from the simultaneous protest, GP also conducted a weekly protest every Tuesday called the *Aksi Selasa*, or Tuesday's Protest. The *Aksi Selasa* was not as big as the simultaneous one; it was only conducted in three big cities in Indonesia: Jakarta, Bandung, and Samarinda. Moreover, to obtain more protest participants and TPKS bill supporters, one week before the protest call to action poster about the protest was widely spread by GP members on their social media accounts. Even though the participants were not massive, *Aksi Selasa* was consistently and persistently conducted every week. It attracted journalists and got media coverage from several of Indonesia's leading mass media.

“Small but impactful, that was my description of Aksi Selasa [...] For me, GP’s protest does not always have to be big and conducted once in certain momentum; more or less than 20 people always

attend it, yet it is weekly and indeed shows our persistence as a feminist movement to fight for women's rights" (Campaign Team 4, 2022).

It is highly possible that two kinds of protest as campaign strategies carried out by GP are one of the factors that led it to victory. Both gained mass media attention which indicated that GP had won public acceptance. Hence, besides as confrontational tactics to pressure the GOI to pass the bill immediately, it's also indeed to raise consciousness and shows the public that the impunity of SVAW exists in Indonesia. Moreover, the protests GP initiated is the political activism which is a manifestation of the feminist standpoint (Harding, 2004), as it departs from the experiences of women victims of sexual violence who challenge the authority to demand social change. In addition, aside from a platform to develop political consciousness, protests can also be the sites to construct a collective identity between GP's old members, new members, and sympathizers who participated in the protests.

"As a survivor of SVAW myself and the victim of women's discriminative law in Indonesia, I felt alive whenever I participated in GP's protest [...] I am usually traumatized to go in a crowd, yet in GP's protest, it is quite the opposite, as I embrace our energy, the energy of women who resist!" (Campaign Team 3, 2022).

Reflecting on GP's online and offline campaign approaches to gain and expand support for the TPKS bill, it can be argued that GP, as a feminist movement, successfully mobilized moral resources (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004). Its online and offline campaign strategies gained wide external public support and mass media attention. In addition, in evidence of moral resource mobilization, GP also gained solidarity support from the Indonesian band, which dedicated their song to GP's protest anthem. Moreover, cultural resources (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004) also had been mobilized GP as it succeeded in enacting big simultaneous protests in 24 cities in Indonesia and consistently protesting every Tuesday for two years in front of the DPR RI office in three big cities in Indonesia until TPKS bill being ratified. Furthermore, social-organizational (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004) also successfully mobilized in the form of spreading online petitions, which gained 349.707 signers.

4.3 Bargaining Power: Gaining Parliamentarians Support through Direct Lobbying

The practice of Islam as a religion strongly influences Indonesia's political climate (Indra, 2018). Most Indonesians identify as Muslim, and at least 210 million Muslims are in the country as of 2010 (Bouma et al., 2010). Indeed, it impacts the country's political climate; for instance, politicians and political parties based on Islamic ideology, such as the PKS party, which strongly opposed the bill, are popular (Hamayotsu, 2011). Hence, before they began their advocacy at the parliamentary level in 2018, the initial step done by GP's lobby team was actor mapping. They grouped 9 factions⁶ in the DPR RI into three groups: the proponent, neutral, and opponent.

"For the actor mapping we did small research to investigate the dynamics in the DPR RI towards the bill. We look into mass and social media, use our network in the movement, workplace and even neighbourhood to map the actors" (Lobby Team member 2, 2022).

The strategy GP used in 2018 was approaching the factions in the DPR RI that seemed neutral and or not blatantly reject the bill. To convince the neutral factions that DPR RI must ratify RUU TPKS immediately, the lobby team persistently visited and scheduled meetings

⁶ Factions are DPR RI members grouped based on the arrangement of the political parties that won seats in the elections.

with these factions and presented facts and data about SVAW and its impunity. The negotiation between GP and the neutral factions went well as they promised to pass the bill before their tenure ended in 2019. Yet, until the end of 2019, the bill was still not passed, and the discussion on it stalls (Niko et al., 2020). Regarding this, GP's lobby team missed anticipating that there would be the first simultaneous general election in 2019. In addition, they were lulled by the promise of neutral factions and drowned in euphoria until they missed to consider that ahead of the election, indeed factions in DPR RI promised to support the bill to gain votes.

"We got a bitter lesson learned from DPR RI 2014-2019 period, as their political promise to us was merely empty promised, but it's still a valuable experience in the process of this movement" (Lobby Team 1, 2022).

Moreover, in the period of DPR RI 2014-2019, only 79 women obtained seats from a total of 560 seats, or only 14% (General Elections Commissions, 2019). Even though Indonesia already had a policy that stipulates at least a 30% quota for women in the parliament, historically speaking, women's representation in the DPR RI never reached the minimum quota. Thus, the underrepresented of women in the DPR RI has resulted in the low gender-responsive legal product passed (Woetzel et al., 2018), as the women representatives lack power and insufficient votes to win the voting in internal decision-making.

After experiencing a bitter lesson learned in the DPR RI period of 2014-2019, GP is advancing its strategy for the newly elected DPR RI 2019-2024 period. Indeed, GP's lobby team had to start all over again and restructured their political mapping and found that there were 4 factions still in the grey area or neutral, 4 factions supporting the bill, and only one faction publicly opposed the bill. Moreover, GP's lobby team continued their door-to-door factions' presentation to the neutral factions. Yet, direct lobbying was the different and interesting strategy they employed in the DPR RI new period, which led them to success. Direct lobbying here means that each person on the lobby team was assigned to personally approach a member of DPR RI from the neutral factions, which can be a potential supporter. In addition, they had a responsibility to follow up and do a close consultation with the key person assigned to them. This new strategy was chosen not only to avoid the "tragedy" in the previous period repeated but also to monitor the new update of the discussion of the bill in DPR RI's internal meeting.

"This direct lobby also aimed to hold accountable the politicians upon their promises [...] several of us were introduced to the DPR RI member from the "grey" parties and closely approach them, and others already in close contact to their champion in the DPR RI as they were also activist before then" (Lobby Team 4, 2022).

Another factor that brought success in GP's lobby team struggle and GP as a feminist movement is that in the DPR RI new period, women's representatives were increasing, and the chairwoman of the DPR RI is a woman. Based on the results of the 2019 election, women's representation in the DPR-RI is 20.8% or 120 female legislative members out of 575 members (General Elections Commissions, 2019). This fact was also beneficial for GP's efforts in their lobbying and GP as a feminist movement, which was also justified by one of the interviewees. In addition, GP's lobby team also established a mutual relationship with members of the Indonesian Women's Parliamentary Caucus or *Kaucus Perempuan Parlemen Indonesia* by giving them a "political stage" in the TPKS bill public discussion conducted by GP in the several women member of DPR RI's constituency area.

"From my point of view, I would say that strategy direct lobbying did by GP is very effective as I am one of their key persons [...] GP as a feminist movement also benefit from the increase of total women

representative in this period, including Ibu Puan Maharani (Chairwoman of DPR RI)” (DPR RI 1, 2022).

“Personally, I was very happy with GP’s lobby approach, I am not a hypocrite and not denial that they benefit me as a politician [...] there is no free lunch in this political world” (DPR RI 2, 2022).

One month before the bill was passed in March, GP gained 8 factions' support from DPR RI from a total of 9 factions. However, GP failed to lobby the conservative Muslim party, namely the PKS party, until the last minute. Although GP did not reach a unanimous vote from all factions in the DPR RI, the TPKS bill was still successfully passed as the bill won the faction's majority votes in the parliament's last plenary session.

“On the day TPKS bill passed in the plenary session, we were very happy as our hard work paid. That was great even though PKS party still consistently rejected the bill until the end, we won anyway!” (Lobby Team 1, 2022).

4.4 Euphemism: Unavoidable Compromise in the Process of the TPKS Bill Ratification

According to the data provided by Komnas Perempuan that women make up the vast majority of sexual violence victims in Indonesia (Komnas Perempuan, 2019). Nevertheless, women face a disproportionate amount of legal discrimination. Hence, the draft bill on the abolition of sexual violence employs a feminist paradigm and approaches feminist legal theory and jurisprudence. Furthermore, using feminist approaches can provide policymakers with guidance based on real-life experiences of women as legal subjects and those with experience in preventing, handling, and recovering cases of sexual violence, including law enforcement officials. As a result, the sexual violence elimination bill ensured a comprehensive set of rights for victims, families, and witnesses and a recontextualized, broader definition of sexual violence.

“Since the beginning we drafted the bill, we persisted in using feminist legal theory as the paradigm as this bill departs from the SVAW survivor’s experience dealing with law and gives legal protection to SVAW victims [...] So far, Indonesian law always uses men’s perspectives even the law subject is women, now it has to be different” (Substance Team 2, 2022).

The TPKS bill addresses nine types of sexual violence and protects victims' and their families' rights (Purwanti and Prabowo, 2018; Komnas Perempuan and FPL, 2017). In Article 1, paragraph (1) TPKS bill, sexual violence is defined as follows:

*“Sexual violence is any act of degrading, insulting, attacking, [...], by force, against someone’s will, which causes that person to be unable to give **consent** in a free state, due to inequality of power relations and/or **gender** relations, which results in or can result in physical [...].” (TPKS bill, 2020).*

Yet, in 2019, the term feminist, consent, and gender in the TPKS bill had been firmly opposed by the conservative Muslim group in Indonesia, including the PKS party in the DPR RI. Firstly, they assumed that using the term consent in the TPKS bill would lead to free sex and extramarital sex, as the bill will only punish a person who forces others to have sexual intercourse without consent, whereas, in Islam, extramarital sex is considered a big sin. In addition, they opposed feminist and gender terms because it strongly associated with Western perspectives and is against Islamic values.

“Indeed, in the first discussion of TPKS bill after I just got elected was very intense as the PKS party were disagreed with several terms used in the bill and they asked it to be reformulated” (DPR RI 2, 2022).

It can be stated that the backlash towards the TPKS bill is not solely because of the conservative Muslim group's fear that the term can be misleading for the bill's implementation in the future. Yet, it is also deeply connected to their misinterpretation of feminism, as feminism is always associated with women's freedom, and being feminist means being a rebel and westernized woman, which is contrary to Islamic teaching (Qibtiyah, 2010). It is also in line with Blackburn's statement that Islam's heavy influence plays a significant role in contributing to the negative connotations associated with feminism. In addition, conservative Muslim adherents have a negative view of western teachings and reject feminism because it is considered subversive. Hence, the concept of feminism can be accepted in Indonesia as long as it is explained in a manner of understanding and values commonly respected in Indonesia.

In response to the conservative Muslim adherer negative reaction, GP's key person in DPR RI suggested GP's substance team discuss it among other teams in the movement, as they said that the clash of interests could lead to harmful implications for the bill's ratification timeline. Thus, after several long discussions and negotiations, GP came up with the idea of using Euphemisms⁷ in the new TPKS bill draft as one of the strategies to succeed. GP's substance team replaced terms assumed as provocative such as feminist and gender, into terms highly potentially accepted by the conservative Muslim group; feminist perspectives changed to be women's perspectives. Moreover, GP also even compromised to erase the comprehensive definition of sexual violence in article 1 paragraph (1) from the new draft and changed it to "Sexual Violence Crimes are all acts that meet the elements of a criminal act as regulated in this Law" (TPKS Law, 2022). Furthermore, in 2021, GP has to compromise again to change the bill's nomenclature from The Elimination of Sexual Violence Bill (PKS Bill) to the Sexual Violence Crime Bill (TPKS Bill).

"We realized that the TPKS bill, in the end, is a legal product that is highly political, so we have to compromise a lot in order to pass our interest and to minimize the public's debate [...] GP will compromise with one condition that cannot be bothered, which is this law has to prioritize and accommodative to the justice of the victims of SVAW" (Substance Team 3, 2022).

"Many unexpected things happened in the process of the TPKS bill ratification, and that was indeed unavoidable, such as the nomenclature changed, but parliamentarians and GP substance team managed well without neglecting the main goal; provide legal protection for the victims of SVAW" (DPR RI 2, 2022).

In conclusion, members of GP as a feminist movement have successfully applied the feminist principle in their struggle since they derived their strategies from the experiences of women survivors of sexual violence in Indonesia. From its campaign strategies, by dividing it into the online and offline approaches, GP gained wide solidarity and mobilized support for the TPKS bill, which means it successfully raised public awareness about SVAW in Indonesia and the need for a specific law to close the impunity of it. Furthermore, from its lobby strategies, GP managed to lobby and convince 8 out of 9 factions to pass the TPKS bill into Law No. 12 of 2022 about Sexual Violence Crime. Finally, GP also managed to quell the debate on the TPKS bill in public and internally of DPR RI by compromising several terms rejected by the opponents through euphemism as the sub-stance team strategy without affecting the substantive portion of the bill.

⁷ Words or phrases to replace taboo words or as an effort to avoid unpleasant things.

Chapter 5 Challenges in GERAK Perempuan's Struggle

This chapter aims to explain GP's main internal and external challenges in its struggle to combat the impunity of SVAW in Indonesia by urging the GOI to pass the TPKS bill. The finding unravels that limited financial resources and intergenerational conflict are the main internal stumbling block in GP's struggle. From the two internal challenges in the movement, only limited financial resources can be resolved by getting outsourced funding from its organization members. Yet, for the intergenerational conflict, GP intentionally did not resolve it as it was essential in the member's collective identity construction process. Moreover, there are external challenges faced by GP, which are backlash from Muslim conservative groups and GP's member's security got intimidated by TPKS bill's opponents. Reflecting on the GP's success in meeting its goal, the main challenges and approaches GP used as a feminist movement to overcome and mitigate it need to be discussed further.

5.1 Internal Challenges

5.1.1 Limited Financial Resources

From the first time GP was formed, financial resources became the main stumbling block to carrying out its advocacy. As GP did not have an independent source of income in the name of the movement and its member are still few, on the other hand, the protest had to be conducted immediately to respond to the bill's stalled discussion. Hence, to carry out their first protest in 2018, the members had to collect money from their pockets to fund the protest, campaign materials, transportation costs from the meeting point to the DPR RI office, and the rented sound system.

"We are very poor back then as a movement, even now [...] I recall our first protest we have to collect money from the member to create a poster and paid for other necessity" (Campaign Team 4, 2022).

Yet, as GP grew as a movement and its members are expanded from individual to organization, the limited financial resource issue can be solved. GP's serial public discussions, protests, and other advocacy matter got funded by its member organization. Yet it's not direct funding and more like outsourced funding. For instance, national women's rights organization member of GP got direct funding from certain donors and generated a certain project such as raising public awareness about women's rights, and then, in collaboration with GP, they conducted a public discussion about the impunity of SVAW in Indonesia. In addition, the GP substance and campaign team was in charge of the discussion material and the grand design of the events. At the same time, the women's rights organization member will provide the fund and take care of the administrative report to the donor. Reflecting on how GP overcame its financial issue is evidence of its success in mobilizing material resources (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004) to sustain the movement's continuation.

"All of GP's member hold very important role in this movement, I can say this because without them this movement will never exist and even continued [...] GP member organizations funded almost all of GP activities in TPKS bill advocacy and individual members help in a different way such as became a resource person in a discussion, creating campaign material [...] we indeed work really hard to meet our goal" (Substance Team 1, 2022).

5.1.2 Intergenerational Conflict

In the advocacy process of the TPKS bill, several conflicts and tension happened the internal of the movement. Yet, intergenerational conflict is one of the most challenging of all. Since GP members' age range is between 20-70 years old, thus this age gap led to conflicts such as the different approaches of advocacy and seniority. In addition, intergenerational conflict happens across teams and within the team itself.

"I would say it is more like a drama than conflict, as it can get really dramatic at some point [...] It is ironic for me but funny at the same time, as the old generation sometimes can be very childish and sarcastic towards the young generation upon slight misunderstanding in the meeting" (Campaign Team 3, 2022).

In the process of struggle, the old generation of women who mostly occupied substance and lobby teams had a high sense of ownership towards the TPKS Bill. Since they were involved in the advocacy from the beginning, they were also involved in drafting the initial draft of the TPKS bill. Hence, in redrafting the TPKS bill in 2020, the old generation was neglecting the opinion and suggestions of the young generation. However, from the side of the young generation they were trying to stick to the initial draft and disagreed with the euphemism proposed by the substance team. Since they think that the use of euphemisms and being too compromising can reduce the bill's essential and central aims to protect the victims of SVAW.

"In the advocacy sometimes, we have to compromise and adjusting the political climate, if we want the bill to be passed immediately [...] all of this also for the victim's interest, but I understand that particular decision cannot satisfied all GP's members" (Substance Team 3, 2022).

"Frankly speaking, I abhorred the compromise attitude and mentality of the old generation, but indeed and other young members have to understand and put in mind that GP's ultimate goal is to protect all Indonesian women from SVAW by the ratification of the bill" (Campaign Team 2, 2022).

Another conflict led by the age gap is that the old generation thinks the young generation is too rebellious and confrontative regarding their campaign approach. The campaign team's approach, mostly consisting of the young generation, was viewed by the old generation as too provocative and hindered their effort to lobby the DPR RI to support the TPKS bill. However, the young generation thinks their approach is essential to pressure and push the DPR RI to pass the bill immediately.

"We were all disappointed towards DPR RI attitude that seems reluctant to pass the TPKS bill, meanwhile SVAW cases keep on raising [...] If we want transformative change, indeed we have to be assertive and confrontational approach needed in our struggle [...] I think that we are (old and young generation) complement and balancing each other in this struggle; they were using soft approach and compromising, while we were using the confrontational one" (Campaign Team 2, 2022).

"Because the young generation approach lobby team were reprimanded and criticised by the DPR RI, they said that our approach could harm them as politicians [...] one of them even threaten us by saying that they would drop their vote for the TPKS bill, but thankfully we managed to resolve it" (Substance Team 3, 2022).

GP's members do not resolve the intergenerational conflict that happened. In fact, the intergenerational conflict experienced by GP members is pivotal in the process of collective identity. The feminist movement is very dynamic, considering it consists of many different standpoints as each member has their own unique experience of resistance, thus it will be the result of ongoing discussion and dialectical process (Dean, 1997). Hence, it suggested seeing conflict in the internal of the feminist movement as a process of reciprocal recognition

and productive process in the continuation of the movement instead of potential harm to fear and eliminate.

“We let them be and left the conflict happened, we love it, it is one of education curriculum in GP [...] conflict in the movement is normal, as long as the members still hold onto the movement’s principle and the common goal” (Substance Team 1, 2022).

It can be said that the intergenerational conflict that occurs in GP’s struggle can help its members conceive and develop a new understanding of political views and social and cultural life. Moreover, this conflict also can be a reflective process of the members of GP’s collective identity that also help them grow by acknowledging that GP’s member has multiple standpoints. Through this process, women’s experiences can be explicit and provide a lens to disclose how to exercise the conflicts and differences to produce a collective identity.

5.2 External Challenges

5.2.1 Backlash from Muslim Conservative Groups

Since the first time the TPKS bill was introduced to the public in 2016, its already gotten a strong backlash from conservative Muslim adherers. In the TPKS bill’s debate, the opposing group blames SVAW victims by disputing their clothing; their clothing is too sexy and provokes the perpetrator. Moreover, the backlash continued and was followed by the PKS party, which was also firmly vocal in opposing the bill in the internal DPR RI. Indeed, this group’s strong rejection became GP’s main external obstacle, as their interests conflicted. In addition, their rejection also became one of the factors the TPKS bill’s discussion was stalled back then.

“Conservative Muslim group made us overwhelmed since the beginning as they were spreading hoax about TPKS bill to their adherer [...] They were very active and militant to spread the hoax, I may say, they did not even let us to breath and rest” (Substance Team 2, 2022).

The TPKS bill can be considered a policy issue that falls under the doctrinal classification, which occurs when doctrines challenge Indonesia’s deeply embedded religious dogmas and patriarchal culture. Policies that fall into the doctrinal classification face a lot of opposition, particularly from religious resistance groups (Bentancur and Rocha-Carpiuc, 2020). Therefore, as the TPKS bill is known to use a feminist perspective in addressing issues of sexual violence, which triggered the bill’s backlash as feminism is considered a Western idea.

In accepting ideas that are incompatible with Indonesian values, Indonesians often use an Islamic perspective. As a result, labeling an idea as Western is the simplest way for it to become controversial and get rejected by Indonesians (Rinaldo, 2013). In addition, Indonesian conservative Muslim groups firmly reject liberalism as a component of Indonesian society. As a result, feminist thought, strongly associated with secularism and liberalism, has been marginalized and rejected in Indonesia, particularly by Muslims (Menchik, 2016).

The contra group’s ideology is indeed patriarchal and conservative Islamic ideology. As both ideologies are pervasive, most people accept them without question, making it easier to instill their ideologies and beliefs into the debate over the TPKS bill. Furthermore, patriarchal culture has permeated almost every aspect of society, resulting in hegemony. Therefore, to tackle backlash from the conservative Muslim group, GP created a campaign material based on Islamic values. In countering the wrong accusation towards the bill, GP collaborates with

moderate religious leaders and pious women figures who have a feminist perspective and fight for gender equality in Indonesia.

“We were not running out of idea, we counter the baseless accusation which claimed from Islamic teaching, with alternative peaceful Islamic perspective which value women same as men and teach gender equality” (Campaign Team 1, 2022).

5.2.2 GP Member's Security Threatened

When COVID-19 hit Indonesia, GP sifted its campaign activity fully online, which has dire implications for its member's security. As the conservative Muslim groups in Indonesia strongly associate the TPKS bill with feminism, thus the bill proponents are stigmatized and demonized as sinners. Hence, several members who are very vocal about supporting the TPKS bill on social media got cyberbullied by conservative Muslim adherer. In addition, GP members' social media accounts are also being hacked by this group. It's even worse when online harassment, such as doxing⁸, can be a physical attack, and GP's campaign team experiences it.

“One of the well-known conservative Muslim social media accounts was exposing my personal data and the next day someone on a motorcycle pulled my hijab and called me “pelacur” which means prostitute, and it happened near my house” (Campaign Team 1, 2022).

“As a Lesbian, I have not come out to my parents yet [...] after I got doxing in social media by the TPKS bill's opponent, my parents told me that stranger came by to their house in the village and told them that their daughter is a Lesbian and a sinner” (Campaign Team 3, 2022).

On the one hand, social media can be very useful as a campaign platform for the feminist movement. Yet, on the other hand, social media can be hazardous as the attack can transform from the digital realm into the real world. Due to doxing, trolling, and other forms of online harassment, social media, and the internet have become vulnerable spaces for feminist activists (Hess, 2014). In addition, a study conducted by Amnesty International in 2019 found women continue to face widespread harassment on Twitter, and approximately a million tweets were abusive against women (Martin and O'Carroll, 2019). Hence, to prevent the tragedy from happening again in the future, GP conducted digital safety and security training for all its members. Furthermore, to mitigate the trauma caused by the harassment and attack, GP also arranged free counseling for its members.

“We created digital safety and security training for all members to prevent the cyberharassment to happened again as GP also has several members who have expertise on it [...] as the forms of responsibility from the movement, we also arranged free counseling for all members” (Campaign Team 2, 2022).

To conclude, the challenges encountered by GP in its struggle and the way it resolved it, in fact, have helped it grow and in its continuation as a feminist movement. GP overcame challenges regarding its financial resources had elevated it's to mobilize material resources (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004). Moreover, the challenges GP faced with intergenerational conflict have helped it in the process of the construction of its member's collective identity. Furthermore, GP has expanded its connections to moderate religious leaders and pious women figures to tackle conservative Muslim groups' backlash. Finally, in addressing the challenges to GP's member's security, GP has learned to be more aware of the cyberbullied and the member's mental health and well-being.

⁸ Online exposing and circulating of personal information of someone without the victim's consent.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

This research paper departs from the central question of why and how GP succeeds in urging the GOI to ratify the Sexual Violence Crime Bill as a law in 2022. This question prompts further analysis of GP's main strategies, how it mobilized resources to gain success, and the main internal and external challenges and how it tackles them. According to this research paper's findings, GP is a feminist movement as it generated its common goal from the interest of the SVAW survivors and attempted to bring the issues of women's oppression into the political realm. Furthermore, the findings also show that to gain triumph, GP established a labor division based on the member's passion and expertise into three teams, namely campaign, substance, and lobby, with nonhierarchical principles derived from feminist values.

Regarding the team's responsibility, the campaign team is responsible for raising public awareness of the impunity of SVAW and the need for a specific law to address it. In addition, the lobbying team in charge politically lobbied the DPR RI member to pass the TPKS bill immediately. Furthermore, the substance team oversees drafting and redrafting the bill in collaboration with other drafters and material to counter the TPKS bill's false accusations.

For campaign strategies, GP's success in changing SVAW from a private and taboo issue into an openly discussed topic in social media by maintaining the frequency of issues being discussed through hashtags, thus it slowly gained the public's acceptance and support for the TPKS bill. In addition, the tactical repertoires used by GP differed from the big simultaneous protest in 24 cities in Indonesia to the small yet consistent weekly protest every Tuesday, which both got massive mass media coverage. Hence, both online and offline campaign approaches generated by GP successfully mobilized moral, cultural, and social-organizational resources.

Another strategy that brought GP victory is its bargaining power to gain DPR RI's member support through direct lobbying. This strategy allowed GP to keep the close consultation and construct a mutual relationship with the key persons to pursue its collective goal as a feminist movement. Moreover, GP's strategies in the substance team by using Euphemisms had successfully minimalized the debate on the bill and helped the discussion in the DPR RI's internal meeting to finally passed the bill into law. Furthermore, the internal and external challenges GP faced and overcame helped it grow better and stronger since it is a reflective and dialectical process in the collective identity construction of a feminist movement, which expanded its networking, elevated resource mobilization, and made itself more aware of its member's well-being.

It is pivotal to note that GP's struggle solely did not lead to triumph automatically, as its strive began in 2018 and which finally met its goal in 2022. Indeed, GP's main strategies, its capability to construct and develop collective identity, and mobilize resources, are essential in their struggle to urge the GOI to pass the TPKS bill. Yet, external dimensions such as support from political actors and the public also played an essential role in bringing about social change. Hence, when GP finally succeeded in raising public awareness about the impunity of SVAW in Indonesia, which consequently gained comprehensive public support, lobbied the parliamentarians, and reduced the tensions and debate in internal DPR RI about several terms in the TPKS bill's content, that's where victory follows.

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