

Participation and Agency: Indonesian Young Women in Advocating Sexual Violence Crime Law

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Abstract

Since a decade ago, the women's movement in Indonesia has consolidated its power to advocate for policies aimed at eliminating sexual violence through legislative advocacy and public campaigns. These efforts were a response to the increasing cases of sexual violence and the absence of a legal framework to address the issue. In the process of policy advocacy, young women have played a crucial role by participating in formal and informal political processes, although their participation has often been overlooked and unrecognized. This research examines the dynamics of young women's activism in various forms at the national level in the advocacy process for Sexual Violence Criminal Law (*UU Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual/UUTPKS*). This research aims to demonstrate the role and forms of activism among young women in advocating policies related to sexual violence. The study utilizes a qualitative methodology through in-depth interviews with eight young women activists involved in the advocacy, lobbying, and campaigning to pass the bill. The research finds that young women face various barriers and challenges, but simultaneously demonstrate their agency in the policy advocacy process.

Keywords: young women, participation, agency, TPKS Law

Introduction¹

After the 1998 reform, Indonesia experienced a new phase in which the struggle of the women's movement focused on the state policy agenda. In this phase, the women's movement has more space to seek justice through policy (Arivia & Subono 2017; Institut Kapal Perempuan 2019). Policy products that were born included the Law on the Elimination of Domestic Violence (PKDRT Law) in 2004, the Law on Crime of Trafficking in Persons (TPPO Law) in 2007, the 30 per cent quota for women in the Elections Law in 2003, the amendment to the Marriage Law to limit the minimum age of marriage for women in 2019, and most recently the Law on Crime of Sexual Violence (TPKS Law) in 2022.

The women's movement, in particular, has long been concerned with the issue of sexual violence - given Indonesia's history of sexual violence. In particular, sexual violence during the Japanese colonial period, when Indonesian women and girls were held as sexual slaves between 1942 and 1945 (McGregor 2016). Later, sexual violence was experienced by *Gerwani* in 1965 and ethnic Chinese women in 1998 (Hikmawati 2022).

Sexual violence cannot be separated from the history of Indonesia and how women's bodies have become the site and symbol of oppression (Pratiwi & Talib 2019). Sexual violence is a political issue that has long been ignored by the state (Irawaty 2016).

Data from Komnas Perempuan's Annual Report (CATAHU) shows that cases of sexual violence continue to increase every year, namely 4,660 cases or 28.8 per cent of the total cases reported to Komnas Perempuan and service institutions in 2021 (Komnas Perempuan 2022). This figure increased compared to 2020, namely 1,938 cases of sexual violence in the personal sphere and 962 cases in the community/public sphere (Komnas Perempuan 2021). Sexual violence increased by 7 percent in 2021, partly due to an 83 per cent increase in cases of gender-based cyber violence (*Kekerasan Siber Berbasis Gender, KSBG*). Previous KSBG cases in 2020 were 940 cases, becoming 1,721 cases in 2021.

Victims of gender-based violence are mostly in the 25-40 age group, followed by the 14-17 and 18-24 age groups. In the case of gender-based violence in the private sphere, the 25-40 age group dominates, while in the

public sphere the age group is 14-17 years. Furthermore, based on the characteristics of victim status, 3,869 victims (35 per cent) were students (Komnas Perempuan 2022). This means that young people are vulnerable to gender-based violence, including sexual violence, in both the personal and community/public spheres.

The concept of sexual violence itself has only been recognised for at least the last 12 years, when Komnas Perempuan conducted case documentation. They found that there was a wide range of sexual violence experienced by women. At least before the passage of Law No. 12 of 2022 on Crime of Sexual Violence (TPKS Law), Indonesia did not have a comprehensive legal umbrella to protect victims of sexual violence and provide them with access to justice (Pratiwi & Talib 2019). The legal vacuum regarding sexual violence in Indonesia can also be seen in the minimal and narrow regulation of sexual violence in the Criminal Code (Niko 2021; Mukarramah 2016).

Looking back at the advocacy process of the TPKS Law, it can be said that this Law took a long way to be passed (CWI 2022; Sinombor 2022). Along the way, the Law faced various challenges, ranging from opposition from conservative groups to the political process in the House of Representatives (DPR) (Pratiwi & Talib 2019; Jones & Walden 2019). Despite the long road and obstacles, the discourse on sexual violence also continues to be constructed and voiced by youth groups through hashtag activism, click activism and various other forms of digital activism (Ramadhani & Arianto 2022; Pratiwi 2021; Candraningrum 2013). However, young people's participation in formal and informal politics often goes unrecognised and undervalued due to their age (Saud 2020; Irdiana et al. 2021).

This paper aims to explore young women's experiences in advocating for the TPKS Law. This research examines: a) motivation; b) forms of participation; c) barriers and challenges; and d) young women's agency in various domains. The research aims to show that young women's participation contributes significantly to the success of the TPKS Law advocacy and demonstrates agency in the face of various barriers and challenges.

Research Methodology

This study uses feminist research methodology with data collection methods based on in-depth interviews.

Feminist methodology is a research approach developed by feminist academics in response to the limitations of traditional methodologies in capturing the experiences of women and other marginalised groups in academic research (Naples 2007). Feminist methodology is an approach that prioritises respect for the experiences of research subjects, especially women, in order to understand the lives of women who have long been omitted and excluded from social research (Letherby 2003, p. 5). In feminist research, it is important to consider the various factors that intersect and cause gender injustice, namely class, race, sexuality, age, ability, geographical location, and other identities (Crenshaw 1989; Collins 2000; Davis 2011).

One way of capturing women's experiences in feminist research is through interviews. Collecting data through interviews allows researchers and readers to understand first-person experiences, thoughts, and memories. This is important in feminist research because for too long women's voices in research have been represented by male voices. When conducting interviews, it is important to use what is known as 'feminist listening' or listening with care and attention. This allows the research subject to share experiences, construct meaning, and use words that match what the research subject wants to say (Reinharz 1992, pp. 19-24).

The research subjects were 8 young women aged 20-35. The selection of the interviewees was done through purposive sampling, which means that the author already knew and assessed their involvement in the advocacy of the TPKS Law. In this research, the names of the research subjects are identified by pseudonyms. The subjects of this research are those who have been involved in the advocacy of the TPKS Law for more than 2 years and have consistently carried out activism individually, organizationally, or through the institutions where they work. The TPKS Law advocacy in this research is also not rigid and top-down (or coordinated by one organization), but sporadic and organic. However, the author has also used the advocacy model developed by Komnas Perempuan and the women's movement in the TPKS Law advocacy process, namely the division of teams: a) substantive; b) lobbying; c) and campaigning.

Table 1. Characteristics of the Research Subjects

Age Group	Total	Background
17-25 years old	2 people	- Female Indonesian Islamic Student Movement Corps (KOPRI)
26-35 years old	6 people	- Komunitas Iteung Menggugat
		- National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan)
		- Hollaback Jakarta
		- Women March Jakarta
		- Jakarta Feminist
		- Book authors and feminist activists
		- Jurnal Perempuan

Source: Processed by the author based on the author’s own interview data

The author’s position in this research is as a young woman who has been involved in the advocacy process of the Law on Crime of Sexual Violence since 2016, through the medium of campaigning. Then, from 2021 to 2022, the author worked at the Law and Policy Reform Division of Komnas Perempuan and was involved in the process of providing substantive input and lobbying at the national level to the government and DPR. From this process, the author reflects that the passage of the TPKS Law cannot be separated from the activism of young women in various domains. This is also in line with one of the definitions of feminist research methods mentioned by Reinharz (1992), namely as a method used by people who identify themselves as feminists or part of the feminist movement (Reinharz 1992, p. 6).

Furthermore, my background above shows that I am an ‘insider’ in this research because she also has an identity as a young woman involved in the advocacy of the TPKS Law. Some of the advantages of being an ‘insider’ in feminist research are at least twofold: 1) the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee is non-hierarchical and 2) avoiding power relations in research (Oakley 1981, p. 2) can capture more in-depth information by using an understanding of the context of the issue being researched (Smith 1987; Mullings 1999; Acker 2000).

The data obtained from the interviews was then analysed using the “Flower of Participation” concept offered by CHOICE (2017), and feminist theories on women’s agency. The concept of the Flower of Participation was used to analyse how women are involved in the advocacy movement for the TPKS Law. Meanwhile, feminist theories of agency are used to analyse young women’s experiences, obstacles,

challenges, and autonomy in advocating for the TPKS Law.

Narrative Finding 1: Why We Mobilise?

The issue of sexual violence is very close to the hearts of the young women advocating for the TPKS Law. The young women interviewed said that their exposure to the issue of sexual violence began when they became aware of issues of gender injustice around them. The research subjects saw, heard, and felt the existence of issues of gender injustice in their environment, namely their home, school, campus, community, and organization.

Santi, who has been studying in a *pesantren* since junior high school, said that the gender division of labour in her *pesantren* is quite equal. Both women and men do domestic work. Men sweep, do the laundry, and cook, while women can do the work of cleaning the gutters, changing the roof tiles, and sweeping the yard. In contrast to Nina’s *pesantren*, the gender division of labour between male and female students is not equal. Female students are responsible for cooking, while men clean the mosque. Nina also felt that, as a woman, she was taught to be passive and obedient in the *pesantren*.

Nina also saw her mother at home always burdened with domestic responsibilities. Nina also saw her friends on campus become victims of sexual violence in dating. Nina then joined an organization to improve her knowledge. Meanwhile, Santi, who was active in the Indonesian Islamic Student Movement (PMII) organization at university, was involved in gender justice workshops and trainings, so they began to realise that there were issues of gender injustice and sexual violence. Here are Nina and Santi’s experiences:

I often heard that A, a friend from college, had been beaten up by her boyfriend. Then I often talked to friends who had also seen it. Not only me, but many other friends. That was when I joined *Jakatarub* [an organization that talks about tolerance that intersects with gender equality]. I wanted my other friends to be more aware of their bodies (Nina 2022, interview 19 June).

I joined *KOPRI*. There, I learned about gender equality, the science of altruism. During the 7th and 8th semesters, I was recommended to join the We Lead training, together with Fahmina, *Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia* (KUPI), and other institutions. I learned about the Mubadallah system [equality between men and women from an Islamic perspective] (Santi 2022, interview 17 June).

Hani and Avi also see the issues of gender injustice and sexual violence through personal experience. Hani said that her mother was a victim of domestic violence. Meanwhile, Avi said that as women, we must have experienced at least one form of sexual violence in public spaces. Hani and Avi's experiences were then reinforced by the knowledge they had gained at university and in the workplace.

I have been familiar with gender issues since my undergraduate studies. I learned about gender equality, women's politics, and domestic violence since my course on Women and Politics. After that, I volunteered at the NGO *Kapal Perempuan*. I have also volunteered at UPR Komnas Perempuan. Also, my mother is a victim of domestic violence (Hani 2022, interview 12 June).

In 2015, I formed a community of people who had experienced sexual violence in public spaces. When we shared our stories with each other, we found that we had similar experiences of victim blaming and not getting help from people who witnessed the violence we experienced... We as women have experienced at least one type of sexual violence (Avi 2022, interview 10 June).

Cyan, Nira, and Ira all recognised the issues of gender-based violence since their activism at university. Cyan said that when she was on campus, she formed a discussion group on women and democracy. It was through this discussion group that she learned about gender equality issues. Through her organization, Cyan developed discussions and educational materials on sexual harassment. At that time, however, she did not know the concept of sexual violence. Nira said that her encounter with the issue of sexual violence was through campus organizations. It was then that she met young feminists who were critically questioning the gender injustice around them.

I learned about gender issues when I was studying in Yogyakarta. In my third semester, I started a discussion

group on women and democracy. From there, I began to see issues of gender equality and feminism. I also joined *Perempuan Mahardhika* Yogyakarta. I distinctly remember making an A-Z book on how to recognise sexual harassment with my friends from the community (Cyan 2022, interview 15 June).

I learned about sexual violence around 2010 when I joined the debate community. It was the first time I met feminist friends and discussed issues of gender-based violence (GBV) and sexual violence. I saw that there were mostly men in the debating community, and I had to make an extra effort to show that I, as a woman, was capable too. After graduating, I joined a legal aid organization as a volunteer and became more serious about GBV, human rights, and the intersectionality of issues, especially the criminal justice system (Nira 2022, interview 15 June).

Ira was also introduced to the issue of gender-based violence on campus. She was a philosophy student who was introduced to feminism "through the university classroom". At that time, she said that her introduction to the issue was not easy. There was an upheaval within her, especially in relation to the natural things she had been taught at home and in educational institutions. Studying in the Department of Philosophy challenged her to see from a new perspective, the perspective of the marginalised groups. However, Ira notes that not all of her friends in the Department of Philosophy necessarily support the elimination of gender-based violence. She hopes that by fighting for gender justice and the elimination of sexual violence, other women will not be harmed in the future.

In the early days, there was a kind of rejection of feminism, as if there were things that questioned the nature of women. Then there was a dialogue with a lecturer and then an understanding of sexual violence. Then I thought, when I was in primary school, the teacher would encourage male students to be the head of the class. Women are never counted for their capacity as human beings (Ira 2022, interview 20 June).

Young women who were exposed to issues of gender equality and sexual violence also realised that these issues intersected with issues of race, class, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and other identities. Ira and Nira said that the issue of sexual violence is one that can be deeply intertwined with other humanitarian issues. For example, Ira said that in the context of work, women domestic workers and labourers are vulnerable to sexual violence. Meanwhile, Nira's work in a legal aid organization made her realise that her advocacy for the rights of marginalised groups, women in prison, and sexual minorities could not be separated from the common thread of gender-based and sexual violence.

There are other issues related to the issue of sexual violence, namely the rights of domestic workers, women workers, and environmental issues. All these issues are closely related to gender-based violence and the struggle against injustice. They are also victims. There are also class issues that need to be looked at (Ira 2022, interview 20 June).

In 2016, in my legal aid organization, I started working on cases with intersections of gender, LGBTIQ and women and drugs. I felt that I could not look at the issue of the criminal justice system in a normative way, because there are also gender issues... I felt that we could fight for minority issues by participating in the fight for the TPKS Law (Nira 2022, interview 15 June).

We [myself and my community friends] felt a sense of urgency towards the presence of this TPKS Law. There was frustration here and there because it seemed that there was no way out to be free from sexual violence; there was a feeling of being stuck and tired (Avi 2022, interview 10 June).

The data above shows that young women see gender-based violence and sexual violence all around them. This motivates them to stress the importance of a comprehensive legal umbrella to protect everyone from sexual violence. Young women feel that there is an urgent need for a law on sexual violence.

Narrative Finding 2: Young Women's Activism in the Advocacy of TPKS Law

The young women in this study undertook different types of activism to promote the passage of Crime of Sexual Violence Bill. The activism undertaken is categorised by the author into 3 groups, namely: 1) formulating the substance of laws and policies; 2) lobbying and dialogue with the government; 3) conducting public education and campaigns - both on social media and at the grassroots level. These three categories of activism are not rigid. In some cases, young women may engage in more than one type of activism based on these groups.

Formulating the Substance of Laws and Policies

The TPKS law is a policy that was initiated by and comes from the women's movement. Therefore, it is very important to ensure the legal substance of each article. The women's movement, which consisted of various institutions, organisations, and government institutions (*Komnas Perempuan*, which is a national human rights institution born out of the women's movement), continued to monitor the substance of the TPKS Law throughout its journey. Monitoring the substance of the Law was part of the activism, because there were several right-wing conservative groups that were trying to

include gender-biased and discriminatory content in this TPKS Law. In addition, civil society also had an interest in ensuring that the substance of the Law is pro-victim and can be implemented based on victims' experiences. Therefore, intervention in the realm of legal substance is important.

Nira, who was a public lawyer at a legal aid organization in 2017, was involved in formulating the substance of the law proposed by civil society. Nira was part of the substance team, which she said was dominated by senior activists who were older than their younger counterparts. Nira also joined Jakarta Feminist in calling for the urgent passage of the Bill during the Women's March Jakarta (WMJ). The WMJ was initiated by *Lintas Feminis Jakarta*, and was held for the first time in 2017 to highlight various policies (Jakartafeminist.com 2022). Nira also had the opportunity to participate in various policy-making forums, including with President Jokowi and the Presidential Staff Office.

In 2017, together with Jakarta Feminist, we organised the Women's March Jakarta, which was also done to strengthen the spirit of young feminists involved in policy advocacy. In 2017, substance, lobbying, and campaigning teams were formed with the support of *Komnas Perempuan*. I joined the substance team together with senior activists. In 2018, we held another WMJ and met with President Jokowi and the Presidential Staff Office to convey our demands on women's rights, including the urgency of passing the Elimination of Sexual Violence Bill (Nira 2022, interview 15 June).

Nira's involvement in the substance team continued until 2019. According to Nira, the involvement of young women in the work of the substance team during 2017-2019, together with older activists, was quite participatory. According to her, there was meaningful participation and good communication in this team. Nira's work in formulating legal substance is manifested in the form of: draft bills, academic papers, problem inventory lists, policy papers, lobby papers, studies, and research.

From 2017 to 2019, together with *Komnas Perempuan*, I prepared the academic paper of the civil society version of the TPKS Bill. In 2017, I felt that there was meaningful participation when I was in the substantive team. I participated in analysing the policies and laws related to the issue of sexual violence in several countries. Then, we divided the things that were important in this Law into six key elements. Usually, we focused on what our current needs were, for example, the need to strengthen the arguments for forms of sexual violence. I prepared a policy paper and a lobby paper. At that time, it did not feel symbolic (Hani 2022, interview 12 June).

Another young woman involved in the substance team was Hani, who worked for *Komnas Perempuan*. Hani said that she was involved in the formulation of the legal substance of the TPKS Law since 2015. At that time, she was involved in the process of finalising the Bill and the academic paper. Until the enactment of the TPKS Law, Hani was involved in many substantive processes, such as the preparation of the Problem Inventory List (*Daftar Inventarisasi Masalah, DIM*), policy papers, lobby papers, studies, and research, and other substantive documents related to her role as an employee of *Komnas Perempuan*.

I have been involved since about 6.5 years ago, when *Komnas Perempuan* was already leading the process of finalising the Bill and the academic paper. When I joined *Komnas Perempuan*, the academic paper and the draft Bill had already been completed. We were discussing the finalisation with several *FPL* partners, building a network in DPR, and building an outreach from *Komnas Perempuan* to several DPR members (Hani 2022, interview 12 June).

The involvement of Nira and Hani in the process of formulating the legal substance of the TPKS Law shows that young people are involved. In addition to Nira and Hani, other young groups involved included young women from legal and policy studies institutions, legal aid organizations, and young women with legal backgrounds.

Lobbying and Dialogue with the Government

A strong political push from civil society and the women's movement was needed for the passage of the TPKS Law. This was because the TPKS Law was not considered urgent - in a populist government. Therefore, *Komnas Perempuan* and civil society, in addition to working on the substance of the law, also carried out lobbying work. This was done with the aim of 1) informing the legislators and the government that cases of sexual violence are common and difficult to prosecute; 2) informing the legislators and the government that the issue of sexual violence needs to be legally regulated; and 3) gaining support from the legislators and the government for the passage of this law. To achieve these objectives, lobbying and dialogue were conducted with legislators and key parties at the executive level. Lobbying and dialogue were based on substantive material prepared or produced by the substance team.

Hani shared that her involvement was not only in terms of substance, but also in relation to dialogue with key actors in DPR and the government. Her involvement in lobbying was closely linked to her status as a staff of *Komnas Perempuan*. In carrying out her lobbying

work, Hani said that she was given space to learn and to contribute in order to make the lobbying process successful.

Her involvement was in line with her role in the Legal and Policy Reform Division; she was responsible for organising all the processes, liaising with technical experts (TAs) and liaising with networks at the national level (Hani 2022, interview 12 June).

Furthermore, Hani said that the effort to lobby members of parliaments (MPs) to provide support and votes for the passage of the TPKS Bill was not easy. What needed to be considered was how to build a common understanding between MPs from different parties to provide mutual support. For this reason, the lobby team developed a special lobbying strategy. The strategy involved building political communication based on trust in *Komnas Perempuan*, NGOs, civil society, and the MPs. According to Hani, this was the reason why the lobby team was dominated by more senior activists, because it was assumed that they have more resources and access to these political institutions.

Lobbying forums with the MPs were helpful to make it easier to convey the substance. The challenge with the MPs was that Party A was not necessarily close to Party B, so we needed to build the chemistry. Bringing women MPs closer together needed to be done in a subtle way, not by criticising or demanding. The lobby team developed political communication based on trust between *Komnas Perempuan*, NGOs and the MPs. Access to knowledge and networks was more owned by the senior activists (Hani 2022, interview 12 June).

Campaigning

Campaigning was dominated by young feminists. The young women in this study shared that each of them carried out campaigning activism in different media - both online and offline. The forms of campaigning network activism were also very diverse: 1) being involved in the campaign team network facilitated by *Komnas Perempuan*; 2) campaigning collectively through organisational or community social media platforms; 3) campaigning individually on their own social media platforms; 4) campaigning offline through discussion forums.

Cyan, a young woman who worked at *Komnas Perempuan* and was involved in the process of integrating the campaign team with a network of youth organizations, said that during the period 2015-2019, a massive movement was formed to encourage the passage of the TPKS Bill. During this period, many youth organizations and communities were involved, including

the Women's March Jakarta (WMJ), *GERAK Perempuan*, the Civil Society Coalition Against Sexual Violence (*Koalisi Masyarakat Sipil Anti Kekerasan Seksual, KOMPAKS*), and *Perempuan Mahardhika*.

In 2015-2019, the campaign movement was already visible. At that time, we did a black umbrella action. We were able to work with friends from WMJ, *Gerak Perempuan*, KOMPAKS. In WMJ, the issues were diverse, but they also had a common thread on the issue of sexual violence. I saw that it was quite good (Cyan 2022, interview 15 June).

Cyan explained that in the 2015-2019 period, *Komnas Perempuan*, through the Community Participation Division, consolidated feminist accounts on social media to conduct joint campaigns. Cyan admitted that the process of consolidating the social media movement was mostly done on holidays or weekends. In the process of consolidating the online campaign movement, several key points were formulated, including: 1) determining the campaign strategy; 2) mitigating risks in the event of an attack; and 3) determining the #hashtag narrative. The consolidation of this online campaign movement eventually escalated into a larger movement and became a black umbrella action movement in 2019 in a series of celebrations of the 16 Days of Anti-Violence against Women (16HAKTP).

Still about the online campaign, Avi explained that she was also involved in the network of the campaign team, which was facilitated by *Komnas Perempuan*. In the campaign team, Avi jointly translated the materials compiled by the substance team into campaign materials. Aside from her work with the campaign team, Avi has a long history of activism against sexual violence with Jakarta Feminist, Hollaback Jakarta, and KOMPAKS. Avi was also one of the young women who organised the Women's March Jakarta action and series of activities.

Avi explained that for the online campaign, there were several strategies that Jakarta Feminist and KOMPAKS used to advocate for the passage of the TPKS Bill, ranging from making releases, social media content, online discussions, Instagram live (remote interactive discussions on Instagram), to conducting research - which was used to create content on social media. Jakarta Feminist Movement, KOMPAKS, and Women's March Jakarta have been consistent in their advocacy for the passage of the TPKS Bill.

As part of the KOMPAKS' strategy, we conducted research with the Safe Public Space Coalition (*Koalisi Ruang Publik Aman, KRPA*) and Jakarta Feminist on sexual violence in public spaces in 2018 and 2022. We used the results of this research as campaign materials. There was also the

Jubaedah programme (online discussion every Tuesday), which was a good strategy (Avi 2022, interview 10 June).

Nira also has a different experience of online campaigning. Previously involved in an interfaith organization, Nira was encouraged to revive *Iteung Menggugat* digital platform to campaign on human rights issues. Nira said she learned about the Bill after attending a training on CEDAW. Nira and five of her friends then used *Iteung Menggugat* Instagram to campaign for the elimination of sexual violence.

I learned about the TPKS Bill when I was working with the SAPA Institute to produce a policy brief on strategies to eliminate sexual violence. At first, I did not like politics. But the more I got here, the more I realised that our only power is in the law, that we depend on the passage of this Bill (Nira 2022, interview 15 June).

The activism that Nira and her colleagues did was to create various contents related to the 16 Days Against Violence Against Women (16HAKTP). In addition, through *Iteung Menggugat*, Nira also encouraged young women on social media to take a chance through the #PerempuanBersuara #BebasBercerita programmes. *Iteung Menggugat* asked its followers to share their experiences as victims of sexual violence. According to NI, *Iteung Menggugat's* campaign activism aimed to bring an understanding of sexual violence to young friends who were unfamiliar with the cultural approach.

Iteung Menggugat targeted ordinary people. Young people should not be afraid of gender issues. Then we slowly talked about sexual violence. We used cultural approaches such as singing, chanting, and reading poetry about local female figures (Nira 2022, interview 15 June).

In addition, young women are also engaging in activism through their personal social media platforms. Kamila, a popular feminist book author and social media influencer, recognises the importance of speaking out about sexual violence. She recognises that her social media platforms, Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter, are important spaces that can be shaped by the women's movement. Kamila's social media content creation is often a departure from her personal interests. Conceptually, however, Kamila does not hesitate to ask other young women and older activists who have different knowledge from her.

I have always been impulsive about creating content, I was a writer before I became an activist. Whenever I read news about sexual violence, there was a need for me to make the news understandable to the reader. I felt it was important to make the readers of my writing understand. I produce

my own knowledge. I transform the language of activism into the language of writing with my style (Kamila 2022, interview 25 June).

Kamila said she wanted her social media followers to understand what she was trying to say. In addition, because of her social media activism, Kamila was then involved by civil society networks in a joint social media campaign for the passage of the TPKS Bill. In 2020, she was invited to consolidate with friends in Jakarta. At that time, she was involved in the social media advocacy team together with KOMPAKS.

Meanwhile, the campaign for the passage of the TPKS Bill was also conducted offline. The young woman, Santi, spoke about sexual violence in discussion forums in Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) and student communities. According to Santi, the issue of sexual violence was rarely discussed in *pesantren*, religious schools, and public schools, so she educated young friends in *pesantren*, *madrasah*, and high schools. The material presented was about reproductive health and women's bodily autonomy.

I adopted a strategy, when TPKS Bill was still being discussed, I educated my friends on campus, made educational materials for schools and MTs. I also opened a discussion room in *pesantren* where I teach. The material was about reproductive health, which parts of the body are allowed to be held and which are not. The children in *pesantren* did not have mobile phones, so they were not aware of the latest issues (Santi 2022, interview 17 June).

In addition to offline campaign activism, during the pandemic, Santi and his friends at *KOPRI* carried out what they called "thumb jihad". "Thumb jihad" activism was "click activism". This means that at the same time all individuals are consolidated to share, like, and comment in support of a particular topic. Santi said this "thumb jihad" was carried out to encourage the passage of the TPKS Bill - because during the pandemic young people could not take action on the streets/demonstrations.

From the experiences of young women above, campaign activism was dominated by young people. Meanwhile, for activism work in the realm of substance and lobbying, young women were still very little involved. In terms of substance, the involvement of young women was felt to be participatory. Meanwhile, in terms of lobbying, the spaces for involvement were relatively exclusive to the senior generation and the campaigning was filled by young groups. In the realm of campaigning, the forms of activism were diverse and cross-space (online and offline).

Narrative Finding 3: Challenges and Threats Faced by Young Women Activists

In carrying out their activism, both in the process of drafting legal substance, lobbying, and campaigning, young women experience various challenges and threats that come from outside. The challenges and threats experienced are: a) labelling; b) lack of participation; c) online gender-based violence; d) concerns/feelings of insecurity due to the Electronic Information and Transactions Law (UU ITE).

Labelling and Lack of Engagement

Research data shows that in the process of advocating for the TPKS Law, young women were often subject to different types of labelling and their participation was lacking due to age discrimination. Young people were often labelled as "tech-savvy" and adaptable. However, research has shown that the digital skills of young people in Indonesia vary widely (Lee & Hidayat 2019). In addition, young activists are also often labelled as social justice warriors (SJWs) - which has now become negative and a form of attack on individuals (Mead 2018). In addition to labelling, the interviews also revealed ageism, where adults dominated decision-making spaces and young people were seen as lacking the capacity to participate (Schusler et al. 2019; Earl et al. 2016).

This study found that the "tech-savvy" label tended to exclude young people in other advocacy spaces. This was illustrated by how young people were involved in the TPKS Bill advocacy. Young people were seen as more suited to campaigning on social media, while their involvement in substance formulation and lobbying was minimal.

Young people mostly joined demonstrations and actions. It was very logical; it was easier to mobilise the aforementioned young groups because they were exclusive, they lived in Jakarta. They were active social media users (Hani 2022, interview 12 June).

Young women were more involved in campaigning, in the context of advocacy... The problem was that they could not participate in the formulation of the academic paper as the draft Law was only accessible to stakeholders and certain parties (Hani 2022, interview 2 June).

Meanwhile, according to Avi, she felt that the division of labour between the substance, lobbying, and campaign teams was not participatory. Young women were automatically placed in the campaign team and advocacy on social media. Avi said that there were situational conditions that inevitably put young people

in the campaign team. Meanwhile, Nira said that the involvement of young women in the substance team should have been cross-disciplinary, not just those with a legal background.

During the meeting, they were immediately put in charge of the campaign. Yes, we were asked, but it was only a formality to ask us which team we wanted to join. Indirectly, a situation was created that made young people felt uncomfortable. For example, there were words from older activists: I have been working on this issue for 20 years, blah blah blah (Avi 2022, interview 10 June).

There was no process of knowledge transfer between teams. The campaign was very backward, there was no trust. Friends were told to campaign, but they did not know what to campaign for. Young people were excluded from those working on the campaign (Avi 2022, interview 10 June).

Those involved in the substance team were friends with a legal background. This was also a weakness because it only involved young people who have academic or legal backgrounds, whereas we needed other perspectives (Nira 2022, interview 15 June).

Furthermore, Avi and Nira added that the division of the teams, namely substance, lobbying, and campaigning teams needs to be strengthened by an equal knowledge transfer process between teams. Young women said that with this division of teams, young women in the campaigning team were not able to contribute to the process of formulating legal substance. This was a challenge faced by young women in the advocacy process.

Other friends wanted to speak out but were afraid of being labelled "SJW", "very feminist". Those who were very vocal were called "the very feminist" or "the most social justice warrior" (Nina 2022, interview 8 June).

In addition, "tech savvy" label and the lack of involvement of young people were a challenge. Nina said that she also often got labels from her friends and environment. According to her, when campaigning on social justice issues such as the elimination of sexual violence on her personal social media, she was often labelled as the most feminist or the most activist. These labels made Nina and her friends feel worried about continuing their activism.

Online Gender-Based Violence and Concerns about the ITE Law

Young women campaigning on social media both collectively and individually experience vulnerabilities such as online gender-based violence. Avi said that

she experienced attacks on her personal social media accounts, such as rape threats and death threats. She received these attacks through the comments section and direct messages on her Instagram account. Similar to Avi, the young woman Kamila also experienced attacks in the digital space. Kamila said that she experienced doxing, trolling, online gender-based violence, and then her content was edited, and a new narrative was created, leading to hate speech.

Iteung Menggugat Instagram account also experienced attacks. Nina, who is the administrator of the account, said that she experienced attacks in the form of negative comments and negative messages when she posted campaign contents about the TPKS Bill. According to Nina, after the rain of negative comments, she experienced stalking on her personal social media accounts. This means that the perpetrator of online gender-based violence tracked Nina's identity as the administrator of *Iteung Menggugat* account. According to Nina, the stalking has been very disruptive to Nina's personal life.

Then, there are the concerns of young women who are advocating for the TPKS Law in the digital space against the ITE law. In the Indonesian context, digital space as a new civic space is under threat. Digital space, which was originally a space of empowerment for other groups, has been hijacked by patriarchal values (Pratiwi 2021). One of the most obvious forms is the use of the ITE Law, which not only silences the voices of victims of sexual violence, but also threatens women human rights defenders (*Perempuan Pembela HAM, PPHAM*).

The presence of rubber articles in the ITE Law poses a threat to victims, survivors, and feminist activists seeking justice through digital media. The ITE Law can be used as a tool of intimidation by those who disagree with to silence and even stop investigations into cases. This is what Avi and her friends at Jakarta Feminist are worried about. According to Avi, one of Jakarta Feminist's main concerns in carrying out its activism is the fear of being caught under the ITE Law.

Analysis 1: Young Women and Participation

The experiences of young women in the fight for the TPKS Law above illustrate the diverse forms and challenges faced by young women in policy advocacy. In this section, the experiences of young women will be analysed using a concept that uses the metaphor of flower petals called the "Flower of Participation" developed by CHOICE (2017). This concept will then be used to see how

young women's participation in the struggle for the TPKS Law relates to seniors in the women's movement.

The "Flower of Participation" framework is a development of Robert Hart's 1992 concept of the ladder of participation to see the extent of youth participation in development (Hart 1992; Febrianto et al. 2022). The "Flower of Participation" concept explains meaningful Youth Participation (YP) through the metaphor of a flower. In explaining this concept, it is important to understand 3 main categories: 1) environment: air, soil, water, sun; 2) roots: the main core; 3) forms of participation: insects, leaves, and petals (CHOICE 2017).

First, the environment. For a flower to bloom fully it needs the elements of air, soil, water, and sun. Air symbolises inclusivity, which needs to be understood early in the youth-adult partnership process. Inclusivity means recognising the diversity of young women's identities. In this research, the young women involved in advocacy for the TPKS Law come from different backgrounds (social, economic, geographical, political views, religion, etc.). Therefore, it is important to consider these differences in the partnership process between adult and young women in promoting advocacy for the TPKS Law. In this study, it can be seen that young women from different backgrounds can be involved in the TPKS Law advocacy movement, so this inclusive space is available.

The earth element then illustrates the commitment of young people. This commitment means that young women must be committed to be involved in the advocacy process of the TPKS Law. In this research it can be seen that this commitment manifests itself in different forms and activism carried out by young women. This commitment can also be seen in the young women's motivations, including: personal motivations for experiencing and/or witnessing sexual violence, religious motivations, and professional motivations.

The water element refers to the capacity building provided to young people. This study finds that young women received various forms of training to increase their knowledge of sexual violence. These trainings are provided by organizations that focus on women's issues (We Lead) and organizations that are part of the Indonesian women's movement (KUPI). In addition, organizations and communities led by young women also contribute to increasing young women's knowledge.

Finally, the sun element refers to an environment that supports the growth of meaningful participation. The sun element has 6 indicators: a) adult commitment to Meaningful Youth Participation (MYP); b) financial

resources; c) youth-friendly climate; d) safe spaces; e) flexibility; and f) policies. Based on interviews with young women, safe spaces within the women's movement itself are not friendly to young women's aspirations. Young women are often labelled as "tech-savvy" and thus placed in the realm of online campaigns. Meanwhile, the electoral space is still small and does not meet young women's aspirations. Young women would like to see a more participatory division of labour between the substance, lobbying, and campaigning teams. In addition, young women are vulnerable to online gender-based violence (GBV) as a result of their participation in the advocacy for the TPKS Law. However, other indicators could not be explored in depth in this study.

Second, the core of meaningful youth participation through the metaphor of roots. Roots have key elements, namely: a) freedom of choice; b) information; c) decision-making power; d) voice; e) responsibility (CHOICE 2017). These five indicators relate to meaningful forms of participation for young people. In the concept of the "Flower of Participation", the five indicators are seen as either: not present at all, present but vaguely, more or less present, present and felt, or present and strongly felt.

Third, the form of participation consists of the metaphors of insects, leaves, and petals. Insects symbolise the meaningless participation of young people. There are two forms, manipulation and tokenism. Manipulation is when young people are only informed but not given freedom of choice, voice, responsibility, and decision-making power. Manipulation is when young people are used to support an issue and then programme initiators pretend that the chosen issues/campaign objectives came from young people. Tokenism is when young people are given freedom of choice and information, but their voices are not taken into account, and there is no sharing of responsibility and decision-making power. Tokenism is when young people are invited to participate, but only on a superficial level; in reality, young people have no voice, and their opinions are not listened to or respected (CHOICE 2017).

Next, the metaphors of leaves and petals. Both are different forms of MYP. The leaves show 2 forms of participation: 1) young people are appointed a role and informed; and 2) young people are consulted and informed (CHOICE 2017). In the first model, young people are informed, given a choice, and hold limited voice and responsibility. In the second model, young people are provided with information, freedom of choice and strong information, but hold limited responsibility and decision-making power.

The flower petals metaphor consists of 4 models. In the first petals model, adult-led, decisions are made together with young people. In this form, adults lead the programme or activity while young people are involved. Young people have full space to choose and be informed, and sufficient space to have a voice, take responsibility, and play a role in decision making. The second is youth-led, where decisions are made together with adults. In this model, young people have full freedom of choice, information, voice, and responsibility, but decisions

are made with adults. Third, youth-led, adults have no decision-making power. In this model, young people have full control of choice, information, voice, responsibility, and decision-making. Finally, youth-adult partnership. In this model, both young people and adults share responsibility and decision-making. This model provides a space for shared learning between young people and adults, as adults can help to build the capacity of young people and *vice versa*.

Table 1. Results of Analysis of Young Women’s Participation Model

Indicator/Model	Freedom of choice	Information	Voice	Responsibility	Decision-making power
Insects					
Manipulation	Not present at all	Present, but vaguely	Not present at all	Not present at all	Not present at all
Tokenism	More or less present	Present, but vaguely	Not present at all	Not present at all	Not present at all
Leaves					
Young people are appointed a role and informed	More or less present	Present and felt	Present, but vaguely	More or less present	Not present at all
Young people are consulted and informed	Present and strongly felt	Present and strongly felt	Present and strongly felt	More or less present	Present, but vaguely
Petals of the flower					
Adult-led, shared decisions with youth	Present and strongly felt	Present and strongly felt	Present and felt	Present and felt	Present and felt
Youth-led, shared decisions with adults	Present and strongly felt	Present and strongly felt	Present and strongly felt	Present and strongly felt	Present and felt
Youth-led, adults have no decision-making power	Present and strongly felt	Present and strongly felt	Present and strongly felt	Present and strongly felt	Present and strongly felt
Youth-adult partnership	Present and strongly felt	Present and strongly felt	Present and strongly felt	Present and felt	Present and felt

Source: Adapted from CHOICE (2017)

The interview results show that young women’s participation in the TPKS Law advocacy movement is still at the level of the leaves, where young people are appointed a role and informed. In terms of freedom of choice, it can be said that young women are given full freedom to carry out advocacy models (both individual and organisational). However, this freedom of choice is also limited by institutional main duties and functions (*Tugas Pokok dan Fungsi, TUPOKSI*) for young women who, because of their work background, carry out advocacy on the TPKS Law. Meanwhile, in terms of information, young women are also provided with information on

the movement of the progress of the TPKS Law advocacy process. On the other hand, young women also feel that they lack information on advocacy strategies from the substance and lobbying teams.

In terms of voice, young women are given space to participate in meetings and express their opinions. In addition, they can take initiatives within their communities on appropriate advocacy models. Young women also said that they were given the opportunity to speak, but only as a formality. For example, in team division, young women are conditioned - labelled as “tech-savvy” - to work in the campaigning team. Such

division, in the absence of knowledge transfer and shared decision-making between youth and adults, excludes them from forums for formulating the substance of the law and lobbying. Finally, access to traditional knowledge and power (such as political parties and the media) is reserved for adults. Finally, the responsibilities assigned to young women are still at a “more or less present” level. For example, young women are often excluded from lobbying forums with policy makers. Ultimately, decision-making is still dominated by adults.

Analysis 2: Young Women and Agency

This research shows that despite the lack of meaningful participation of young women, young women are demonstrating agency amidst the threats to which they are vulnerable. This is demonstrated by three key findings. First, young women are marginalised in decision-making within the women's movement itself because of their age. Second, young women face challenges to their activism, such as negative labelling, threats of sexual violence, and vulnerability to discriminatory policies. Third, young women demonstrate their agency and activism in advocating for the TPKS Law.

In feminist studies, agency is a person's ability to achieve self-autonomy in the context of their relationship with their environment (Davies 1991 & Meyers 2002). The word agency itself is used interchangeably with the words autonomy, freedom, and authority (Davies 1991). In the context of feminist collective action, agency is the ability to organise oneself, voice one's interests, and fight for change amidst challenges to the dominance of masculinity (Eduards 1994).

Diana Tietjens Meyers in her book *Gender in the Mirror: Cultural Imagery and Women's Agency* (2002) specifically examines the relationship between gender discourse, women's identity, and agency. She argues that women have been systematically placed at the lowest level in social structures, so that women's ability to choose and act freely must be compromised by their social environment (Meyers 2002). In this situation, women who are able to achieve self-autonomy are said to have agency.

Agency also refers to the ability of people to consciously direct their behaviour and interactions with others (Bandura 2006). People develop mental representations of desired outcomes or developmental goals to which they aspire, and which guide their actions and behaviour. Such goals may include aspirations to get good grades, go to college, or get a high-paying,

high-status job. These developmental goals are typically influenced by past experiences, current concerns, and anticipated future aspirations (Bandura 2006; Emirbayer & Mische 1998; Hitlin & Elder 2007). The goals that young women want to achieve cannot be separated from their backgrounds and life experiences. In the case of this research, it appears that efforts to promote legal protection are driven by young women's personal motivations. Some of them had been victims of sexual violence and/or had witnessed sexual violence around them.

In asking what motivates a person to do what they do, there is a role for beliefs, expectations and values. Individuals' choices, persistence, and performance can be explained by beliefs about their abilities and the importance of the task to them. Expectations refer to beliefs about 1) one's own abilities (e.g., self-concept, self-awareness, self-confidence) and 2) expectancies of success, i.e., the extent to which individuals believe they can successfully achieve certain goals (Eccles & Wigfield 2002; Heckhausen 2018). These goals, hopes, and choices to continue to move forward and campaign against sexual violence are reflected in the optimism and confidence of the young women. They continued to campaign despite the attacks and threats they received. Some of them felt that what they were doing was a political undertaking and a spiritual struggle. With this view, young women felt stronger and were not afraid of any group that tried to reject the TPKS Law. At the same time, they continued their activism in different forms.

Closing

Young women played an important role in the advocacy work of the TPKS Law amidst the lack of recognition, lack of meaningful participation, and challenges they faced. Young women strived to prove themselves as agents in order to continue to be involved in different forms of advocacy according to their respective capacities. Young women's agency itself was inextricably linked to the personal and intrapersonal relationships young women had with themselves and their environment - including their experiences in the past. This experience moved young women to advocate for the TPKS Law in the public sphere. This experience also made the values of feminism not only theoretical but also practical. This shows that young women are also actors in the women's movement, which in turn cannot be left out of the process of advocating for gender equality. The success of the women's movement cannot be separated from the various forms of young women

activists in different spheres (social media, organisations, workplaces, and communities). Reflecting on the future, the Indonesian women's movement must not exclude the voices and participation of young women. Finally, it is important to increase research on young women's participation in political advocacy in Indonesia.

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(Endnotes)

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