

Men as Allies of the Feminist Movement: Men's Involvement as a Strategy for the Advocacy Movement Carried Out by Civil Society Networks in Encouraging the Ratification of the Sexual Violence Crime Law

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Abstract

This research discusses the advocacy strategy carried out by the Civil Society Network (JMS) by involving men to push for the ratification of the TPKS Law. By referring to the theory of the strategic capacity of gender equality policy advocates by Htun and Weldon, JMS has used organizational capacity through strategies of (1) framing demands; (2) building networks, and (3) lobbying policymakers. This study uses a qualitative method by conducting in-depth interviews to obtain primary data and collecting secondary data through a study of documents including regulations, news, and previously existing scientific papers. The findings from this study indicate that JMS involves men in advocacy strategies that are carried out by utilizing the privileges of men. For instance, the involvement of male religious leaders to counter the narrative of rejection of the TPKS Law which considers the TPKS Law to be inconsistent with the religious and moral values of the Indonesian people. Apart from that, JMS also involves male legislators who have a strategic position as Chairperson of the TPKS Law Working Committee to help lobby other members of the Indonesian Parliament.

Keywords: advocacy strategy, JMS, allies, sexual violence

Introduction

Sexual violence is one of the most common crimes against humanity in Indonesia. The number of sexual violence cases continues to increase over time. Based on *Komnas Perempuan* data in its Annual Report (CATAHU), there were 2,645 cases in 2010, 4,335 cases in 2011, 3,937 cases in 2012, 5,628 cases in 2013, 4,452 cases in 2014, 6,499 cases in 2015, 5,785 cases in 2016, 5,649 cases in 2017, 5,509 cases in 2018, 4,898 cases in 2019, and 3,714 cases of violence in 2020. The data of the Central Bureau of Statistics (*Badan Pusat Statistik, BPS*), based on the 2016 National Survey of Women's Life Experiences (*Survei Pengalaman Hidup Perempuan Nasional, SPHPN*), also shows that 1 in 3 women aged 15-64 in Indonesia have experienced physical and/or sexual violence by partners and others (BPS 2017). It should be understood that the report is a collection of recorded data and does not exclude the possibility that it does not holistically capture the issue of sexual violence.

Despite the high rate of violence, including sexual violence, legal protection for victims of sexual violence in Indonesia has not been fully addressed in existing legal instruments. In addition, the Criminal Code has not

been able to recognise the diversity of types of sexual violence and has not included efforts to fulfil the rights of victims, thus failing to address this problem from upstream to downstream, which includes the process of prevention, protection, treatment, and rehabilitation. Due to the limited definition and scope of the problem, the criminal offences in the Criminal Code related to sexual violence only include rape and sexual abuse. In light of this, the passage of the Law on Crime of Sexual Violence (UU TPKS) (which at that time was still called the PKS Bill), which has been proposed since 26 January 2016, has of course become very important for the Indonesian Government. It is hoped that the Law can suppress and control the number of sexual violence cases. The existence of the TPKS Law is expected to provide a legal umbrella for all issues of sexual violence, which are still common in Indonesia. It is also expected that this Law will truly side with the victims and provide changes to the legal system that will open up access to justice that can genuinely be realised (Media Indonesia 2022).

Before it was finally passed into law on 12 April 2022, the TPKS Law also underwent various changes

and rejections, especially on the substantive side, from various groups with different views. In August 2019, the Chairperson of the Indonesian Ulema Council (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia, MUI*), Ma'ruf Amin, sent a letter to President Joko Widodo asking him to postpone the discussion of the bill on the elimination of sexual violence (RUU PKS). Ma'ruf Amin said the bill needed to be discussed at length to consider the teachings of Islam and other recognised religions in Indonesia. In the same year, the Islamic Defenders Forum (*Forum Pembela Islam, FPI*) strongly rejected the bill because they believed it contained anti-religious Western feminism. They believed that Western feminism is very destructive because it positions the relationship between women and men as enemies ready to fight each other (Detik News 2019). In addition, the PKS faction in DPR-RI also rejected the passage of the TPKS Law in parliament.

The rejection by the community and the factions in DPR-RI influenced the slow passage of the TPKS Law, so that more and more people mobilised themselves into a movement to push for the passage of the TPKS law. Students, lecturers, activists, workers, and even victims and their families were also involved in supporting the passage of the TPKS Law. They participated in the weekly *Aksi Selasaan* in front of DPR, joined the Women's March, and continued to use the #MeToo hashtag on social media. The existence of online social movements, such as the #MeToo hashtag, provides a space for anyone to make public the sexual violence they have experienced. There is also the 16 Days of Activism Against Violence Against Women campaign, which takes place every year from 25 November to 10 December to promote efforts to end gender-based violence. Even The Body Shop, a cosmetics company, is involved in this campaign through its "Shoes in Silence" campaign. This campaign collects shoes of different types, ranging from children's shoes, high heels, to sports shoes, symbolising that anything and anyone who uses them has the potential of becoming a victim of sexual violence (Parhani 2020). Many activities, such as discussions held in different agencies and academic spaces, were aimed at spreading the understanding about the urgency of passing the TPKS Law. In addition, a number of feminist activists were involved in advocacy, for example, in the process of preparing the academic text of the TPKS Law. The participation of feminist women in activism was an attempt to influence the substance of the policy in order to make it better.

Meanwhile, the participation of men in the social movement to pass the TPKS Law (Dirgantara 2020) was

minimal. This was due to the social perception that sexual violence is a women's issue. It is assumed that only women are the most disadvantaged victim group. Although many studies show that the majority of perpetrators of sexual violence are men, men themselves are also vulnerable to being subjected to sexual violence. Data shows that 1 in 10 men have experienced harassment in public spaces (IJRS 2021).

The lack of male participation in movements against sexual violence is unfortunate. If only women are involved in the anti-sexual violence movement, men, who are also potential victims of sexual violence, will not gain more insight into the issue. As a result, men will not be able to change their attitudes and behaviours to help reshape existing gender norms. Several studies have shown the urgency of involving men in advocacy movements against sexual violence. Having a significant proportion of men in an anti-sexual violence movement can lead to a greater and more effective change (Flood 2001).

Basically, the involvement of men in the movement to eliminate sexual violence in society is very important. This cannot be separated from the fact that the current social construction is very patriarchal, which ultimately gives many advantages to men. For example, the social status of men is higher than that of women, both at home and in the public sphere. The number of strategic positions held by men can be used to help the advocacy movement achieve its goals, including the movement to promote the passage of the TPKS Law. Thus, the urgency of engaging men as allies in social movements on "women's issues" such as the TPKS Law is quite high. Efforts are needed to engage men more strategically in advocacy for the elimination of sexual violence.

The strategy of engaging men as allies has also been adopted by the Indonesian feminist movement. One of the Indonesian feminist movements that has consistently defended the passage of the TPKS Law is the Civil Society Network for the TPKS Law Advocacy (*Jaringan Masyarakat Sipil untuk Advokasi UU TPKS*). This Civil Society Network (*Jaringan Masyarakat Sipil, JMS*) is a network of different feminist organizations and movements that were also pushing for the immediate passage of the TPKS Law. The actors who are members of this JMS come from different backgrounds such as human rights activists, gender activists, students, lecturers, lawyers, and artists. Although JMS is a feminist movement led by women, many men are also involved and are allies of JMS. The men involved in JMS movement were men who have expertise, strategic positions, and the ability to influence people's views

and lobby in parliament for the passage of the TPKS Law. JMS also allied with legislators and male clerics to help build a counter narrative that the TPKS Bill could legalise adultery. This was expected to support the community movement in pushing for the passage of the TPKS Bill.

To analyse the above issues, the authors use Htun and Weldon's theory of the strategic capacity of Gender Equality Policy (GEP) advocates. Htun and Weldon in Goetz & Jenkins (2016) mention that the most important factor that can influence the success of GEP efforts is the power of the feminist movement (Goetz & Jenkins 2016). They find that the best driver for a country to seriously adopt GEP, such as policies against violence against women, is the power and autonomy of the feminist movement itself. In addition, transnational struggles for the realisation of women's rights are also among the factors that influence the state's decision to conform, such as the push for the ratification of CEDAW and progressive policies at the regional level. But again, the state's decision to implement such norms will only be implemented if there is a strong and autonomous feminist movement. Therefore, the existence, decisions, and actions of the feminist movement will be very important. It is what can ultimately influence how the issues they are fighting for are perceived and ultimately increase their chances of being resolved by advancing women's interests.

To support the feminist movement in bringing about change, political skills are one of the important things that they need to achieve their goals. Htun and Weldon mention that there are three strategies that can be used by GEP activists (Goetz & Jenkins 2016). By using these three strategies well, activists can create a more effective movement in overcoming structural and other barriers to the success of their demands. The first strategy is framing and claiming. This strategy is a process of placing the goal of advocacy in a cultural context to gain support. In addition, a key question to be answered is the extent to which feminist policy advocates are able and willing to exploit the ambiguities that exist in the dominant group's ideology in order to achieve incremental change. It is therefore important to be able to frame feminist issues in terms of their contribution to the social interests of society, political and economic interests, and even the state in general.

The second strategy is forming and managing alliances. The feminist movement must be able to assess the strengths of its allies and develop structures to manage relationships with its partners. This strategy is necessary to use alliances to support feminist policy

demands. In choosing allies, the movement in support of the GEP must also gain the support from the community and socio-political leaders so that women can act and move. In recent decades, feminist movements have taken the initiative to build coalitions with lawyers, activists, doctors, educators, and other civil society actors to work with elected legislators and state officials to develop policy platforms and strategies to pass the GEP. This strategy of forming and maintaining networks allows activists to take advantage of resources such as funding, skills, and access that activists in the coalition have. The third strategy is engaging with the state. The strategy of engaging with state actors aims to have a significant impact on the defence and success of feminist policy initiatives. In order to embed feminist priorities in the work of state institutions, more women need to be able to occupy strategic positions as members of both the legislature and the executive. This research will further explore how JMS, as a feminist movement, independently situates the role of male allies in the three strategies above.

Furthermore, the authors will also use the concept of the Privileged Allies to support the use of the previous theory. Messner et al. (2015), in their article entitled "Some Men Feminist Allies and the Movement to End Violence Against Women", provide an explanation of the role of men as privileged allies for the feminist movement. Messner et al. (2015) mention that feminism exists because of injustices that are very harmful to women. In the early decades, the feminist movement was very exclusive to women's groups. They even included victims of rape, domestic violence, stalking, and even murder. The vulnerable position of women as victims and as the driving force of the feminist movement can be seen as a result of men's privileges. Men are so dominant in both domestic and public life that they do not feel obliged to do the work that women do, such as housework and childcare, and even men feel entitled to sexual access to women's bodies.

As it developed, men began to take action and try to change the subordinate position of women. They even began to empathise with women's experiences. This was possible because men interacted and received a feminist education, as well as men's specific experiences when they saw inequalities experienced by women (Casey & Smith 2010). As such, men must also come to terms with the privileges they have been given for free, simply because they are "men". Engaging men as allies in the feminist movement is expected to accelerate the feminist movement's achievement of its goals. After all,

one way to end violence against women is for men to decide to take responsibility and end it (Messner et al. 2015). In fact, men can be part of the rebuilding of social constructions that have been detrimental to women by being understanding to children. In this way, a feminist movement that is inclusive of both men and women can be seen and created. The portrayal of men as “allies” with privileges is meant to emphasise two things. Firstly, no matter how much commitment and effort men put in, it is undeniable that the movement to end gender-based violence will not be achieved without women’s awareness of their experience as a problem to be solved. Secondly, men’s activism is at odds with their own privileges.

Methodology

This study uses a qualitative methodology. Primary data was collected through in-depth interviews with respondents and secondary data through a literature review in the form of scientific articles, media news, and regulatory documents. The authors used a purposive technique to identify the interviewees. This technique allows the authors to determine who can become an interviewee according to the required criteria and who can certainly provide answers to the phenomena raised. Two criteria were used to select interviewees: those who are actively involved in organising and representing the position of JMS, and those who contribute directly and indirectly as allies of the JMS from different positions and backgrounds. For the second criterion in particular, the authors took into account the recommendations of respondents from JMS. The number of respondents was also chosen with a deliberate gender balance. The categories of respondents included JMS activists, religious leaders, community members, academics, and various elements of civil society. In writing up the findings of the interviews, the authors did not record the names of the respondents so as not to diminish the advocacy work of the TPKS Law, which was essentially carried out by many actors and individuals. As mentioned above, there were various actors formed by community from different backgrounds to support the ratification of the TPKS Law. However, the authors will limit this research to a discussion related to the strategy of the Civil Society Network (*Jaringan Masyarakat Sipil, JMS*) in advocating for the TPKS Law. However, the author will limit this research to the strategy of the civil society network (JMS) in advocating for the TPKS Law. Meanwhile, the movements are certainly more diverse and numerous, and have significant contributions that are most likely not represented in this research. In addition, JMS and

various movements are still monitoring the regulations derived from the TPKS Law (*Perpres and PP*), which are full of dynamics in terms of advocacy and lobbying that are not captured in the research because the process is still ongoing. Also, advocacy within JMS itself is carried out by many individuals and is not limited to the respondents. Furthermore, this research adds to feminist research on men’s involvement in policy advocacy at an empirical level. More specifically, this research uses the perspective of the feminist movement as a key actor in pushing for gender equality policy reform by using the privileges that men possess from the patriarchal structure that is still rooted in society.

Civil Society Network

Civil Society Network (*Jaringan Masyarakat Sipil, JMS*) was one of the advocacy movements for the passage of the TPKS Bill that was introduced in 2016. This network is a network that initiated and advocated for the TPKS Bill until it was passed in 2022 (YAPHI 2022). JMS was established with the aim of bringing together groups and individuals who support the passage of the TPKS Law. Bringing together supporters of the TPKS Law into one movement will strengthen and facilitate coordination between one group and another. JMS also sought to include individuals and groups who had not previously been part of an alliance, but who were advocating for gender justice or other minority rights. The network was also formed to ensure that advocacy on the TPKS Bill was not exclusively women’s and Jakarta-centric (YAPHI 2022). By 2020, JMS consisted of 110 institutions and 32 individuals, both nationally and regionally (AJI 2020). The institutions that are members of JMS are not only women’s organisations, but also come from different elements of society, namely women’s organisations, human rights organisations, victim support organisations, campus organisations, disability organisations, interfaith groups, traditional groups, and many others (Koalisi Perempuan 2022).

In monitoring the TPKS Law, JMS has undertaken a series of advocacy activities, ranging from research, case documentation, case collection, and dialogue with the government and members of the Indonesian parliament, and even political party leaders. JMS also conducted campaigns and public education to support the process of passing the TPKS Law in favour of the victims. To support its advocacy activities, JMS had three working teams, namely substance team, lobbying team, and campaigning team (Adpenalia 2022). First, the substance team consisted of legal

experts and several activists with experience in the field of law and monitoring sexual violence cases. The substance team focused on formulating the TPKS Bill, making proposals derived from the aspirations of the community, and analysing the substance of the TPKS Bill. The second is the lobbying team, which focused on lobbying and holding hearings with stakeholders for the immediate passage of the TPKS Bill. They also tried to get the TPKS Bill debated and passed. They tried to influence stakeholders such as Commission VIII, *Baleg, Panja, KemenPPPA*, the President, and *Kemenkumham* to discuss and pass the TPKS Bill. Third, the campaigning team worked to promote what the substance team had formulated to the public. They also informed the public about the progress of the discussions in *Baleg, Panja*, and Commission VIII. Finally, they gathered public support by influencing public opinion in favour of the TPKS Law.

JMS' Strategy in Framing the Policy Demands of the TPKS Law: Narratives and Counter Narratives

One of the obstacles to defending the TPKS Law was that there were still many different interpretations of the Law. Conservative groups said that the TPKS Law contradicted Indonesia's Eastern and religious values. In response to these accusations, JMS developed a strategy to massively promote the TPKS Law as an urgent policy because it can provide protection and recovery for victims of sexual violence. This effort was carried out through various activities to show the public the urgency of passing the TPKS Law. JMS, together with all members of its network spread from national to regional level, carried out various activities ranging from campaigns, publications, webinars, to demonstrations to fight against the rejection of the TPKS Law. Public awareness activities included discussions on the definition, types, and impacts of sexual violence itself.

In its strategy of formulating political demands, JMS did not only pay attention to what narratives were being disseminated in the public about the TPKS Bill. JMS also paid attention to who was communicating, what was being communicated, and what perspective was being used to oppose the TPKS Bill. By identifying these three points, JMS could then adjust its strategy to counter opposition to the TPKS. If the opposition came from groups in the name of religion, JMS would also use religious narratives, but still based on a gender perspective. For example, opposition from the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) and male clerics such as Ustaz Tengku Zulkarnain. In his speech, Ustaz Tengku Zul,

who was also the Deputy Secretary-General of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), rejected the passage of the TPKS Law. Ustaz Tengku Zul said that by passing the TPKS Law, the government would be legalising adultery and making contraceptives available to young people. Although he admitted that the lecture notes on the TPKS Law were a mistake because there was no article on providing contraceptives to young people who want to have sex, it did influence other scholars. In Banyuwangi, Ustaz Supriyanto gave a lecture using Ustaz Tengku Zul's material on the TPKS Law. In addition, Ustaz Tengku Zul also considered marital rape in the form of forcing one's wife to have intercourse to be normal (Ariefana & Bhayangkara 2019).

In response to the many narratives of opposition to the TPKS Law coming from male religious leaders, JMS felt that it was necessary to counter these narratives. For this reason, JMS invited male clerics with a gender perspective to participate in campaigns in favour of the TPKS Law. The involvement of men was also done because there was still a patriarchal culture in society, which made it difficult for JMS to reach out to men. For this reason, JMS allied itself with male scholars such as the feminist Ustaz from Fahmina who have long tried to ground gender issues in an Islamic perspective.

In the past, one of our strategies was to ask religious leaders to speak out. So those who spoke about the adultery story were not JMS, but they had to be figures who were heard and respected by the community. Like Ustaz, Kyai. We also had a mainstay Kyai, yes. Kyai, but a feminist. So, we were looking for strategies like that. Because if we are urban, modern people, and it is not clear whether we are religious or not, then it will be difficult to be heard by the community. So, there was a strategy of asking respected religious figures to help us counter narratives around morality and religion. At that time, there were also many meetings, campaigns, and actions involving religious and traditional leaders who were willing to work together. They were also the ones who explained that the TPKS Law protects victims. Because if it came from our mouths, these people would not listen because they were still labelled as Western feminists. The TPKS Law is always associated with feminism because it is seen as containing Western values (Female JMS activist from the campaigning team 2023, interview 8 May).

The feminist scholar from Fahmina argued that the many objections raised by religious conservative groups were not actually caused by the TPKS Law, which contradicts religious and moral values. This was due to the misinterpretation of those who had not even read the substance of the TPKS Law itself. In fact, the legal substance of eliminating sexual violence is in line with the interests of victims and legal protection (Baharudin

et al. 2021). This feminist lecturer from Fahmina said that the substance of the TPKS Law is in line with Islamic teachings of respect for all creatures, including women and men. Therefore, all forms of harassment, humiliation, and even violence in any form against women and men are acts that are very contrary to Islam (Misbahudin 2022).

JMS often encouraged men to increase support from other men for the TPKS Law. For this reason, JMS involved men from the Rifka Annisa Jogja Foundation and Pulih Foundation who were also part of the New Men Alliance (*Aliansi Laki-Laki Baru, ALB*). ALB itself is a movement that promotes harmonisation and synergy between men and women in order to build gender justice and equality. JMS often involved men from ALB in seminars or webinars to explore toxic masculinity, which also harms men to become perpetrators of sexual violence, such as webinars organised by JMS partners. While not directly using the title or theme of the Law, these webinars were used to correct public misconceptions about feminism and that men can be allies to women in fighting all gender discrimination and injustice.



Image 1. Webinar Publication
Source: Instagram Kalyanamitra

As noted by Htun and Weldon in Goetz & Jenkins (2016), this framing is done to exploit ambiguities in the dominant group's ideology. For this reason, JMS included men in order to correct the religious group's mistake in understanding the purpose of the TPKS Law itself. This was also done to take advantage of the privilege that male voices or views are more likely to be accepted by society, especially by other groups of men. In this strategy, JMS

allied with feminist Ustaz from Fahmina as male clerics and also with men from the ALB to encourage men to support the passage of the TPKS Law. Both were often involved in the socialisation of the TPKS Law, in seminars and even in the mass media.

JMS' Strategy in Building and Managing Networks: Inclusive and Open

Since the inception of JMS, it was recognised that advocacy for the TPKS Bill could not be done in isolation. Consolidation was needed to bring together individuals and institutions supporting the TPKS Bill into a greater force. When individuals and institutions joined a network, they were more likely to influence the policy-making process. In addition to demonstrating power to policy makers, this consolidation was also done to gain a variety of perspectives and experiences from the members of the network. It was also possible to share information and resources within the network. This ability was referred to by Htun and Weldon as a strategy for forming and managing networks to leverage alliances in support of gender equality policies (Goetz & Jenkins 2016). It is this awareness that led JMS, which included service providers, women's organisations, legal institutions, public policy, religious, environmental and indigenous communities, to push for the passage of the TPKS Bill. The diversity of these institutions contributed to an enrichment of information and resources, including lobbying skills, networking, knowledge of criminal law, constitutional law, human rights, and more.

bell hooks mentioned that it is important to build a feminist movement that is mass based, involves grassroots groups, and shares with everyone the positive meaning of the feminist movement (1984). This can help the feminist movement to be seen as relevant not only to the women who join the movement, but to everyone. This is why JMS is made up of organizations not only at national level but also at regional level. JMS recognises that the voices of local institutions are still not strong and are often overlooked in the TPKS Law advocacy process. Institutions in these regions need to be involved to hear stories of advocacy on sexual violence cases on the ground, so that all members who have joined JMS actively promote JMS and invite institutions in the regions to become part of JMS. The trick is that institutions that have joined JMS will invite institutions that have the same background. For example, service provider institutions will invite regional service provider institutions, and community organizations will invite community organizations. The involvement and strengthening of

institutions in the regions was also carried out to identify the target members of DPR RI that could be lobbied. If JMS has members in the region, they will look at the members of DPR RI who are in the constituency and then encourage them to support the TPKS Bill.

With members from different regions, JMS held regular forums to discuss advocacy developments in their respective regions, what activities were relevant to undertake together to support advocacy for the TPKS Law, and what gaps still needed to be filled, for example in relation to data needs. JMS also maintained the collectivity of all the movements carried out by its members. The activities of JMS were supported by all JMS members and the activities of JMS members were also supported by JMS as a network. For example, when there was a case of sexual violence in Maluku, JMS also supported the petition of the movement in Ambon. Thus, JMS did not only focus on advocating the content of the TPKS Law at the national level, but also supported the work of members in the regions, which was still relevant to the advocacy of the TPKS Law itself (Female JMS activist from the substance team and lobbying team 2023, interview 9 May).

In addition to institutions, JMS also included individuals who did not carry the identity of an institution, such as academics who have a long history of advocacy for the TPKS Law and even for women's issues. The members of the JMS were also not limited to binary or non-binary gender identities or to religious identities. JMS also involved men, LGBT groups, and even atheists in its advocacy. Support for the TPKS Bill and no history of violence, including sexual violence, were required for membership of JMS.

The importance of consolidating the power of all parties in favour of the TPKS Law, and the persistence of resistance to feminism in Indonesia, meant that JMS ultimately did not use the identity of the feminist movement as its own identity. One of the reasons often cited for the persistence of problems was that feminist ideas or thoughts, and the movements that followed them, were seen as having no cultural and social roots in Indonesian society or, conversely, as being Western in origin or having Western connotations (Arivia & Subono 2017).

In principle, JMS is a feminist movement, although it has never declared itself a feminist movement. This was done as one of the strategies to gain more support from other individuals, organisations, or institutions who wanted to join JMS, as there were still many members who did not want to be called feminists. This awareness

was inseparable from the advocacy of the TPKS Law, which also required the perspective and support of other members who did not want to be called feminists. This strategy of not identifying as a feminist movement was also intended to make JMS acceptable to outsiders who were not directly part of the movement. There were still many Indonesians who did not fully understand feminism. Even in DPR, JMS was often rejected when it used the term "feminism". When a feminist identity was attached and feminist terms were used, the rejection was even greater and had the potential to hinder the advocacy process of the TPKS Bill.

De jure, yes, we are a feminist movement. But why have we not claimed publicly that this is a feminist movement? Because we have to strategise; one, Feminism is being made into a problem in... being made into... a substance that is more of a problem when we process it. So, we cannot force it either. But that is it, the way of thinking, the basis, the purpose, the way of looking at the problem, analysing it, using the indicators, that is how we absolutely use a gender perspective in JMS (Female JMS activist from the 2023 substance team and lobbying team, interview 9 May).

JMS itself is a form of inclusive feminism that includes men, LGBT people, atheists, other vulnerable groups, and individuals and institutions at the local level whose interests are often overlooked. JMS includes men as allies in its movement, further demonstrating that the feminist movement is not anti-male or against men, but against gender inequality. This is in line with contemporary feminism, with the idea introduced by bell hooks (2000), who describes feminism as a movement that seeks to address sexism as the root of gender oppression. Men also need feminism to free themselves from the shackles of patriarchy because men are also vulnerable to sexual violence. The involvement of men in the feminist movement is also to remove the image of exclusivity of the women's movement and that the movement that has been built is to confront men (Hasyim 2009). It is this image that ultimately gives rise to resistance from male groups, who use the cloak of religion or culture to reject the transformation carried out by women.

Based on the Gender Equality Barometer Quantitative Study Report launched by Indonesia Judicial Research Society (IJRS) and INFID in 2020, 33 per cent of men had experienced sexual violence, especially in the form of sexual harassment. A survey by the Coalition for Safe Public Spaces (*Koalisi Ruang Publik Aman, KRPA*) of 62,224 respondents finds that 1 in 10 men had experienced sexual harassment in public spaces. The absence of men and boys as victims of sexual violence does not mean that men cannot be victims. The stereotypes and patriarchal

demands that see them as the dominant and masculine group contribute to the neglect of their experiences of sexual violence. This can also make men reluctant to report their cases (IJRS 2021).

The existence of pro-women men is a reaction to the existence of the women's movement itself. There are two types of reaction from men: opposition because they think the women's movement has weakened men, or support for the women's movement to create equality and gender (Hasyim 2009). The emergence of support and even the pro-women's movement itself cannot be separated from its proximity to the women's movement. However, it cannot be denied that there are men who have concerns about issues of women's injustice that stem from their individual experiences or intersections with women's issues around them. We need to start believing that not all men commit acts of sexism, violence, or the like. As Romeo B. Lee, a psychologist from the Philippines, stated in Subono (2010): "Men are not a homogeneous group. There are men who are willing to change, and that society should give willing men the opportunity to change".

Women can also become privileged when they gain economic power within the existing social structure. When this happens, they stop thinking about a revolutionary feminist vision. It is ironic when women manage to gain power and maximise their freedom within the existing system, but sexism never ends (hooks 2000). For this reason, hooks offers the idea of an inclusive feminism to improve the lives of all people, not just women. Furthermore, feminism can be seen as a collective movement to overcome oppressive structures that lead to dehumanisation and an unjust environment.

JMS' Strategy for Advocacy with Policy Makers: Male Allies with Strategic Political Positions

As mentioned by Htun and Weldon in Goetz & Jenkins (2016), the feminist movement is key to policy reform, especially gender equality policies. Therefore, the feminist movement must be able to read the political situation and use it to advance their interests. In its advocacy work, JMS was well aware of the importance of the existence of the TPKS Bill in the National Legislation Programme (*Prolegnas*) so that this Bill could be discussed and then passed by the Indonesian Parliament. Each year, JMS lobbied members of DPR-RI to ensure that the TPKS Bill was included as a priority bill of DPR-RI and that the debate could be concluded.

In 2019, JMS reflected on the advocacy work that was done to promote the passage of the TPKS Law. One of the issues that JMS saw as a factor hindering the passage of the TPKS Law was the significant difference in the gender composition of DPR-RI members. So far, the TPKS Bill has been discussed by many female members of DPR-RI. Meanwhile, the number of male and female members of DPR-RI is not balanced. So far, women represent only 20 per cent of DPR-RI members and have not yet reached the critical 30 per cent, which could lead to women's issues and policies being marginalised in political decision-making. Although women's representation in DPR-RI will reach the critical 30 per cent mark, this does not necessarily make gender issues a priority agenda. As Hooks (2000) argues, both women and men have been socialised into the actions and thoughts of patriarchy (another way of saying institutionalised sexism). Women can be just as sexist as men, which ultimately has the potential to push gender issues further away from the priorities of policy makers. Therefore, it is important to encourage more women who have a good understanding of gender issues to become part of state actors - especially legislators - so that they can have a significant impact on the maintenance and success of feminist policy initiatives such as the TPKS Law.

Until the 2014-2015 DPR-RI period, there were three female DPR-RI members who actively promoted the discussion of the TPKS Law and networked with women's networks, namely Diah Pitaloka (PDIP), Gusti Putri Agung (PDIP), and Rahayu Saraswati (Gerindra). These three members of DPR-RI have a deeper understanding of women's rights and how to push for the TPKS Law. In 2019-2024 period, old names such as Diah Pitaloka from PDIP were re-elected, as well as Luluk Hamidah from Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB), who pushed for the passage of the TPKS Law (Erwianti & Aprimayanti 2022).

Recognising that the TPKS Bill had been championed by female members of DPR-RI, while the composition of DPR-RI itself was predominantly male, JMS had to devise a new strategy. There were striking differences in what was done to push for the passage of the TPKS law during this period. Moreover, Rahayu Saraswati, who was a critical actor in the passage of the TPKS Law, was not elected as a member of the DPR RI during this period. JMS then developed a strategy to lobby male members of DPR-RI. In this context, JMS lobbied male members of DPR-RI who later emerged as critical actors pushing for the passage of the TPKS Law. Moreover, both of these figures are from *Partai NasDem*, which was the main proponent of the TPKS Law.

In addition, these male members of DPR-RI held the strategic positions of Deputy Chairperson of the Legislative Body of DPR-RI and Chairperson of the Working Committee on the TPKS Bill. In addition to lobbying, JMS also strengthened the capacity of these male DPR-RI members. For example, what answers should be given when discussing the TPKS Law so as not to be attacked again by the public or other DPR-RI members. So, JMS sees the involvement of men as a solution to the long discussion of the TPKS Law in DPR-RI.

I... how to prevent this Law from being thwarted, we considered not including sexual consent. Because for them it was a ghost. They saw sexual consent as a form of access to free sex and LGBT. "That was it", I said. That was why we studied it. That was why we changed the name. So, it was not sexual violence, so it could be replaced. There was a need for tactics or ways to keep the goal, but the substance was not lost (Male Legislator & Chairperson of the Working Committee on the TPKS Law 2023, interview 26 May).

In addition to taking into account the views of DPR-RI members, the positions of male DPR-RI members also helped the TPKS Law advocacy movement to ensure that the substance of the TPKS Law was maintained. Moreover, these male members of DPR-RI came from an activist group, so they already have good relations with activists who support the TPKS Law, so that the needs of the movement could be easily accommodated in the TPKS Law. As a result of the dialogue between the male DPR-RI members and the activists, the TPKS Law will protect not only women but also groups with disabilities. It was these groups' rights that the TPKS Law was fighting to accommodate. This closeness was also evident from the involvement of male DPR-RI members in movements to promote the TPKS Law, thus reducing the distance between movement actors and DPR-RI members as policy makers. This closeness to those involved in the movement was also used by male members of the DPR-RI to revive the fighting spirit needed to pass the TPKS Law.

The last one was about disability; Dini Rosa was an old friend. So, it was not just about women, it was also about persons with disabilities. A friend who was truly a comrade from the past. I told them to go straight to "the kitchen". Whatever they wanted, they arranged it themselves. So, there was almost no gap (Male Legislator & Chairperson of the TPKS Law 2023 Working Committee, interview 26 May).

From this discussion, it can be seen that female DPR-RI members, although disproportionately represented, have long and actively tried to lobby and mobilise champions from different factions in support of the TPKS Law. These female DPR-RI members are

important milestones that cannot be separated from the process of passing the TPKS Law. Not only women DPR-RI members, women activists and communities also have an important role to play in engaging male DPR-RI members in advocating for the TPKS Law. This is in line with Htun and Weldon's strategy of engaging with the state. The feminist movement needs to have political skills, including being part of, or getting closer to, state actors in order to embed gender equality policy priorities in the priorities of state institutions.

Men as Allies of JMS

In an article titled "Men as Allies of the Women's Movement", Nur Hasyim (2017) mentions that the involvement of men in the feminist movement cannot be easy. Their privilege and position as the dominant group raises concerns that if men join the feminist movement, they will once again dominate the spaces that women have just tried to build. For this reason, Nur Hasyim creates a roadmap for the men's movement as an ally of the women's movement in order to maintain the direction and values of the movement. First, the stage of opening the veil of male privilege and power. Second, transforming the concept of patriarchal masculinity. Third, implementing new ways of being a man that reflect equality and justice. Fourth, becoming an ally of women to achieve justice and the elimination of violence against women.

The support and involvement of men as allies in the feminist movement certainly does not come out of nowhere. There is a process of sensitisation or awareness of the oppression experienced by women and other vulnerable groups that feminists have been fighting for. Casey and Smith (2010), in their article entitled Men's Pathways to Involvement in Anti-Violence Works, mention that the awareness-raising process is the earliest process for men to become involved in the feminist movement. Firstly, men have experiences that ultimately sensitise them to perceive issues of violence in a more "real" way. This can happen when men directly witness violence against their mothers, siblings, or relatives. This sensitivity can even be created by witnessing violence during childhood.

The sensitivity of the sister's experience was also one of the reasons why JMS allies became involved in JMS' advocacy of the TPKS Bill. A male member of DPR-RI, who chaired the Working Committee on the TPKS Bill, witnessed his cousin's sexual violence. Due to the lack of a legal framework for victims of sexual violence and the culture of Indonesian society that still

considers the experiences of victims of sexual violence to be taboo, this male member of DPR-RI witnessed his cousin not receiving justice for the crime of sexual violence she had experienced. The sexual violence his cousin experienced was committed by a neighbour who was the closest person to the victim. However, the crime of sexual violence committed by the cousin of the male member of DPR-RI was not validated and was instead considered a disgrace by the family. The family preferred to cover up the case and instead put the victim in a boarding school. Not only did the male DPR-RI member witness his cousin's sexual violence, but he and his friends also experienced sexual violence in the school dormitory. This sexual violence has become a culture to show seniority so that it is not seen as a crime against humanity (Interview 2023, Male Legislator, 26 May).

Secondly, in addition to seeing the experiences of violence of their female relatives, this sensitisation process can also occur through their own experiences of marginalisation, exposure to issues of violence, awareness of social justice, learning opportunities, and feminist education from women around them. It was this experience and knowledge that ultimately increased men's support for the TPKS Bill, so that they also supported JMS as allies in advocating for the passage of the TPKS Bill. The male allies of JMS have a long history of working on issues related to marginalised groups, so the issue of sexual violence is not new to their struggle. This is similar to the male members of DPR-RI who have fought for issues of gender equality, minorities, and human rights, and who have even been involved in the formation of the Pelangi (LGBT) organisation (Male Legislator & Chairperson of the Working Committee on the TPKS Law 20023, interview 26 May).

As Casey and Smith (2010) argue, knowing that you are an oppressed group and being educated in feminism is one of the processes of raising awareness of the oppression of women so that men eventually decide to become JMS allies. Initially, the men from ALB, who are currently working for *Yayasan Pulih* and the National Coordinator of ALB understood the issues related to oppressed groups. At that time, however, ALB men were still part of a group that propagated that Islamic groups were currently being oppressed and needed to be fought for. When he wanted to recruit his female relatives to join the group, the men from ALB were given an understanding of new feminism and books that discussed gender issues, such as *Jurnal Perempuan* and *Rahima* magazine. The ALB men also participated in

discussions and seminars on gender injustices, such as domestic violence cases.

Through these readings, discussions, and seminars, the men of ALB came to understand that the real oppressed group is women. Women suffer as long as they live in a patriarchal social structure. Although women have gained some rights, such as access to education, they still face the obstacle of not being able to become leaders because this position is only held by men. ALB men also analysed and discussed intersectionality, or the experience of oppression of women with other identities. For example, the oppression experienced by Chinese women as a minority group, women with disabilities, and women without a home. It was this understanding of oppression and the knowledge of feminism gained from feminist friends that eventually led the men of ALB to join the struggles of feminists, including the JMS movement in support of the TPKS Bill.

Closing

The analysis of the strategies used by the civil society network (JMS) in advocating for the passage of the TPKS law shows that the feminist movement is no longer a movement that focuses only on women as the driving force and the group to be fought for. This also breaks the assumption that the feminist movement is an anti-male movement. More than that, the feminist movement has become an inclusive movement by not excluding the fact that men also have the potential to experience sexual violence and by including men as allies in the movement.

JMS as a feminist movement shows that they have the ability to strategise to increase their power to advance their interests, namely to push for the passage of the TPKS Law. JMS has made men allies of their movement by using the privileges that men still have, even though they have declared themselves allies of the feminist movement. JMS involved male allies in its strategy, starting with the formulation of demands, networking, and lobbying policy makers. As allies, men can act as peer educators to encourage more men to support the feminist movement. As allies, men can also contribute to the feminist movement with their knowledge, experience, and networks.

Men can use their position as leaders of institutions to increase public support. The construction of a patriarchal society and the establishment of gender norms that are biased against women's positions have made it easier for men's voices to be accepted in influencing people's

views on an issue. The position of men as policy makers, such as members of the Indonesian Parliament, can also be used as allies for the feminist movement in advocating for gender equality policies such as the TPKS Law. The support of male DPR-RI members and the passage of the TPKS law is also inextricably linked to the role of female DPR-RI members, who have long lobbied across all factions of DPR-RI. Therefore, it is important to ensure greater participation of women in politics, such as female DPR RI members, to ensure that voices and interests are not marginalised in political decisions. It is also important to encourage the presence of men who have a good understanding of gender equality as policy makers. This is important so that gender policies can be more inclusive and not just seen as a women's issue.

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