



## The Rise of Indonesian Feminist Activism on Social Media

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### Abstract

Some studies have discussed digital activism and politics in Indonesia. However, studies investigating the phenomenon of Indonesian feminist activism on social media have yet to be conducted. On the other hand, Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, and also other online platforms have become a fertile site for the public to aspire their views and mobilize people for some causes, including social media accounts voicing feminist perspectives in Indonesian online sphere. This study uncovers the actors behind and goals of feminism activists who create accounts on social media such as Facebook, Instagram and YouTube. The method of the study is snow-ball interviews, content analyses of Instagram posts, and close observation on public activities of the important figures within the movement on their social media account, as well as their writings. This study found that Indonesian digital feminism activists have started with the agencies of the young women of Indonesia in the circle of senior feminists in Jakarta, as well as feminist emerging from the Islamist network. Basic literacy and digital literacy have facilitated the activists with capability to articulate and share their ideas. Eventually, the activists initiate the movement on social media which functions as a means of creating digital safe place, sharing personal stories, providing online discussion forum, promoting marches and offline discussion events, responding to criticisms and oppositional standpoints, as well as conducting and publishing research.

**Keyword:** Feminist movement, Digital citizenship, Click-activism, Social networking sites, Indonesia Post-Soeharto,

### Abstrak

Sejumlah kajian telah mendiskusikan tentang aktivisme digital dan politik di Indonesia. Akan tetapi, kajian yang mencermati fenomena aktivisme feminis Indonesia pada situs jejaring sosial masih terbatas. Padahal, Facebook, YouTube dan Instagram, juga platform online lainnya telah menjadi ladang subur bagi tumbuhnya pandangan dan upaya mobilisasi warga untuk sejumlah sebab, termasuk sejumlah akun media sosial yang menyuarakan perspektif feminis pada ranah online Indonesia. Kajian ini mengungkap jejaring aktor dan tujuan bersama para aktivis feminis yang menciptakan akun-akun pada situs jejaring sosial seperti Facebook, Instagram dan YouTube. Metode studi ini adalah wawancara snow-ball, analisis isi unggahan-unggahan di Instagram, dan pengamatan lekat aktivitas publik yang dilakukan oleh figur-figur penting pada media sosial mereka, berikut karya-karya tulisan mereka. Kajian ini menemukan bahwa aktivisme feminis digital Indonesia bermula dari agensi para wanita muda Indonesia dalam lingkungan feminis senior di Jakarta, maupun tumbuh dari jejaring gerakan Islam. Literasi dasar dan literasi digital memfasilitasi para aktivis tersebut dengan kemampuan untuk mengartikulasikan dan berbagi ide-ide mereka. Pada akhirnya, para aktivis menginisiasi gerakan pada sosial media yang berfungsi untuk menjadi ruang

aman digital, berbagi kisah-kisah pribadi, menyediakan forum diskusi online, mengajak turun ke jalan dan acara-acara diskusi offline, merespon pandangan kritis dan oposisional terhadap gerakan mereka, menyelenggarakan dan mempublikasikan riset.

**Kata kunci:** Gerakan feminis, Kewargaan digital, Klik-aktivisme, Situs jejaring sosial, Indonesia pasca-Soeharto

## Introduction

Some scholars have put important academic foundations in Indonesian feminist movement studies such as works by Niehof (1998), Porter (2003), Locher-Scholten (2003), Blackburn (2004, 2007), Martyn (2005), Suryakusuma (2011), Wieringa (1950, 1988, 1999), Robinson (1998), Rinaldo (2002, 2008, 2014), and Muttaqin (2015). The existing scholarships on the topic itself still have academic gaps. Susan Blackburn (2004:4-5) mentions that not much academic literature has discussed the relationship of Indonesian women's movements and issues in the nation-state formation as well as state ideology and intervention on gender relations. Existing literatures on the topic, however, have analyzed that Indonesian women's movements are inseparable from the influence of Islamic organizations development, thus the movements are categorized into two big streams which are secular and religious movements, though both are influential to each other and not neatly divided. In addition, most of the scholars place the movement under the context of pre-colonial and twentieth century Indonesia, with the New Order becoming the time signal isolating the movement's socio-political and cultural contexts after the 1990s. The scholarships, hence, do not classify Indonesian women's movement into the first, second, third, (Martyn, 2005), and of course, the fourth wave which is characterized by the use of digital media as what happen in the Western contexts.

Meanwhile, the digital feminist movement of Post-Soeharto Indonesia is on the rise. The Indonesian Instagram sphere has been colored by the emergence of accounts promoting feminism, including @indonesiafeminis (feminist Indonesia), @lawanpatriarki (fight patriarchy), @perempuanberkisah (women tell stories), @muslimahfeminis (feminist Muslimah), @Indonesiatanpapoligami (Indonesia without polygamy) and @bulerasis (racist Whites). Reflecting global feminist activities on social media, Indonesian DFA employs international hashtags namely #metoo and #wtfmedia. At the same time, they coin their local hashtags, to name a few

#kitaagni (we are Agni), #adilisitok (put Sitok to trial), and #saveibunuril (save Mrs. Nuril)—all intended to promote advocacy for rape survivors who reported their cases—and #sahkanruupks—intended to advocate for the ratification of the Draft Law on the Elimination of Violence Against Women.

This research is interested in investigating the social network of actors of digital feminists in Indonesian context. It asks about how the digital feminist activists relate one activist to another offline and online, and the collective goals of the movement as prescribed through their offline activities and posts on Instagram. In order to attain the fuller picture of the collective agenda and the social actors behind the Indonesian feminist-movement on social networking sites, this research applies mix-method. The mix-method combines in-depth interviews with digital feminist actors, and content observation of their social media posts and comments. Olsson (2008) suggests that observation to the provider and producer of digital content for citizenship is able to explain the ideology and interests among them, what things motivate and inspire the production of civic content, and how content production is organized and structured within the technology.

## Theoretical Framework

Youth have engaged on social networking sites (SNS) or social media because of its advantages (Harris, 2008: 488; Stornaiuolo & Thomas, 2017: 343). In the emergence of SNS, young women activism in feminism, in the context of Western countries are changing (Keller, 2012; Harris, 2010). The study conducted by Swank & Fahs (2017: 2-3) identified factors that might contribute in engaging women in politics, or more specifically in transforming women from feminist sympathizers to feminism activists. Ito *et.al.* (2015: 15) offered an intersectional relation of three domains of young people's activity to explain connected civics as a specific form of participatory politics which are: "young people's agency within peer cultures and public spheres; their deeply felt identities, interests and affinities; and civic engagement and opportunity."

Drawing from Swank & Fahs (2017) and Ito, *et.al.* (2015), digital activism is understood as three intersectional relations of collective agenda, civic network and digital infrastructure. Collective agenda or purposes whether well planned and focused or merely includes what Keller (2012: 444) has explicated that activism is not necessarily outcome-oriented, but even producing a public self or community is the first step in showing oneself or a community as citizens. The agenda can be 'simply' about feminist knowledge sharing as found by Jackson (2018:40). Fotopoulou (2016: 990) has argued that some form of digital engagement has to compete with established structures of institutional power where agenda issues are already defined and they have to compete with other social actor's campaign to gain recognition and publicity in online spaces.

Studies on digital feminist activism (DFA) mostly connect the activism with girl or young women communities, social groups that are often excluded in citizenship and mainstream politics discourses. The Internet seems naturally widely adopted by young women and girls to voice their opinions and aspirations easily as the medium is unregulated in nature and out of adult intervention compared to other media (Keller, 2012: 435). Some factors contribute in engaging women in politics, or more specifically in transforming women from feminist sympathizers to feminism activists. Those are educational and higher income, feminist consciousness, collective orientations and identities, perceptions of gender justice, power discontent, and social networks and mobilizing structures (Swank & Fahs, 2017:2-3).

Civic network angle provides further understanding on the social nature of the movement birth and development. Social network comprises not only network that precedes the creation of the digital activism but also network that is created through the activism afterwards. Studies on DFA often highlight the disconnection of young women feminism activists with their older generations, as well as the alienation of DFA from previous feminism waves (Keller, 2012; Jackson, 2018). DFA may be informed with the experiences of the content makers (*administrators*), and be taking agential and creative approach that is different from mainstream feminism which is adult-centric, allowing the activists of the space to carve out their feminist perspectives that aligned with their identities and social network, and thus, making themselves responsible with the agenda (Keller, 2012).

The agenda itself includes what Keller (2012: 444) has explicated that activism is not necessarily outcome-oriented, but even producing a public self or community is the first step in showing oneself or a community as citizens. Through the digital technology they use, young women who create digital feminist content are "reframing what it means to a feminist activist and in doing so, are becoming role models for other girls", become subaltern counter public to acknowledge the power inequalities and social structures that reshape the lives of girls and women (*ibid.*). The agenda can be 'simply' about feminist knowledge sharing as found by Jackson (2018:40). Research by Jackson (2018:43) also suggests that online content entails misogyny and sexism that invites digital feminist activists to act and challenge them at least online, although the activists she interviewed undervalue the online fighting back and hoped to able to "doing something out of the internet."

## Material and Methodology

This research applies mix-method to understand comprehensively the social network, consciousness and agenda of DFA in Indonesia by combining in-depth interviews with digital feminist actors, and content observation of their social media posts and comments. Olsson (2008) suggests that observation to the provider and producer of digital content for citizenship is able to explain the ideology and interests among them, what things motivate and inspire the production of civic content, and how content production is organized and structured within the technology, and how the actors see the Internet itself. Aligned with Olsson (2008), Keller (2012) prefers netnographic approach to studying girls' online practices as this has ability to "uncover the complexity of blogging practices and place girls' feminist blogging as part of broader changes in technology, social activism, and feminism itself."

In the research, the selection to study the network of @Indonesiafeminis and @muslimfeminis whom I start for snowballing method for in-depth interview and netnographic study, is based on diversity of identities (secular and religious), the number of followers of their Instagram accounts, and as a result of the researcher having followed the accounts. As a consequence, the results of this study is unable to be generalized and applied into other sociocultural settings and types of activist participation as such contextual circumstances heavily influence the result of this research. However, the research results will correspond with

similar settings, or contribute with a unique perspective on discussions of young women participating in feminist activism in network societies.

As ethnography works well in combination with a more traditional ethnographic method, especially since the online and offline world mutually influence each other (van Dijk, 2006; Baym, 2010), I conduct in-depth interviews with Dea Safira, Olin Monteiro, Merlyn Sopjan, Ruth Indiah Rahayu, Khanza Vina, and Kalis Mardiasih.

## Result and Discussion

This research argues that *first*, DFA has developed in and under contemporary socio-political and cultural circumstances of Indonesia, as well as the long history of women's movement in the country itself, and the opportunities and restrictions afforded by the technology. In the context of Indonesia, the naming of the activism and the choosing of "*ibu*" over "*perempuan*" (women) and "*wanita*" (lady) is political (Porter, 2003: 19). Before the proliferation of digital technology, Indonesian women's movements have been always distinctive from the Western ones which delineate women's movements into two waves (Martyn, 2005: 7), and now into four waves. Since ICT provides feminism movement to be more globalized, the consciousness and agenda of digital DFA in Indonesia might have gone beyond nation-state setting.

*Second*, as the users of social media are mostly Indonesian urban youth whose experience of civic education is far from feminist perspective, especially Indonesian women's citizenship are subordinated under the masks of familial, communal and religious virtues, DFA in Indonesia can be seen as the exercises of digital citizenship with full awareness of gender difference and recognition in online sphere, as well as efforts to be recognized as equal members in Indonesian polity.

*Third*, as its members are millennials who might have been previously disconnected from older generations of the movements, doing DFA provides connections or re-disconnection to older generations of feminists, but certainly create connections to their peers, then expose them with feminist-civic education in informal ways.

The discussion consists of three parts of discussion. The first part discusses the history of the development of Indonesia's digital feminist movement. The second part enhances the digital infrastructure (social media, websites, blogs, online

petition, crowdfunding, crowdsourcing) that afford DFA in Indonesia and the social network created by each infrastructure. The third part is about the collective goals of the activism as found in the interviews and their digital content.

### 1. Activism Started with the Agencies of Indonesian youths

The agencies of Indonesian youths especially women and transgender communities play a significant role in shaping Indonesian DFA. Ruth Indiah Rahayu says that some millennial women took feminism and gender class and writing clinic she facilitated years ago. The initial aim of the class conducted at Yayasan Obor Indonesia is to enable millennial youths to sharpen their writing skills and knowledge on gender and human rights issues. "As they are millennials saturated with digital technology capability, they do not only end up with writing columns, but also setting up feminist content on social media like Instagram," says Ruth (interview on 29 May, 2018).

Some of the initial activism on social media was Jakarta Feminist Discussion Group (JFDG) on Facebook. According to our interview with Olin Monteiro, the group was initiated by Kate Walton, an Australian woman who has been working in Indonesia as a community development officer for an NGO for several years (interview with Olin Monteiro, 31 July 2019). She invites other Indonesian women to become the administrator of the group, including Olin Monteiro. The group actively talks about the basic issue of feminism and recent problems, with the members mostly are youth, school and university students, young adults, until early 30's. Most of them are workers.

The interest of the founders of JFDG in social media as a means of disseminating feminist perspectives was related to some facts. First, the lack of mainstream media in reporting gender and feminist issues. The founders of JFDG had realized that some online media have been relatively sufficient in reporting human rights issues and gender. However, the number of news reports and young journalists equipped with gender perspective within industrial press must be intensified and expanded (interview with Olin Monteiro, on 31 July 2019).

Secondly, the founders believe that freedom of expression is existing in Indonesia, though paradoxically fundamentalist views and movements are also growing. "We are aware that digital media are used by other members of Indonesian society.

Therefore, the new members of JFDG usually need more motivation and guidance to become digital feminism activists,” Olin adds. The claim of Olin is in line with the statement of Kate Walton in a video published by Center for Digital Society (CfDS) Gadjah Mada University on YouTube on July 4, 2018. On the video, Kate stated that digital feminist movement can reach wider participants especially Indonesian youths living in remote Indonesia, however as the movement become publicly open, it may face counter attack from other members of Indonesian society.

Feminism is not a new perspective in Indonesia. However, JFDG seems to represent a new generation of feminism activists who overtly state themselves as feminists, instead of merely gender equality supporters. Olin Monteiro realized that feminist discussion amongst Indonesian women had been started since the 1980s, initiated by Kalyanamitra Foundation. “However, at the time, not all the women wanted to be called feminists, even among the activists, feminism triggered pro and contra. There was stigma and stereotype for women who presented themselves as feminists, for example, feminists are liberal, hate men, want to talk over leaderships, loud voice, are full of anger, and many more,” says Olin. Through the JFDG, Kate and Olin intend to provide a safe space to talk and express about opinions related to feminism, sexuality, democracy, diversity and other issues with the perspective of gender justice. “We intend to make JFD set up activities that are friendly, fun, inclusive and to colour Indonesian activism with light feminism, laid back, but meaningful and remains critical,” Olin adds.

The capability of the Internet technology to promote feminism in Indonesia was realized by its founder, Kate Walton. In the video published CfDS, she knew that the platform would assist her in supporting feminist and gender issues, as well as expanding its movement. Even though JFDG was started online, its activities are not restricted in the virtual world. While sharing information and conducting discussion online remain important, JFDG conducts public events as well in order to attract more members. The public events include community gathering, hang out, reading feminist book club, film screening for important issues, holds biennale Feminist Festival and manage Women’s March Jakarta and Indonesia since 2017. The volunteers of Women’s March Indonesia/Jakarta in 2019 surged to 700 applicants, from 100 applicants in 2018. The surge, according to Olin, might have

been related with the visibility of Women’s March Jakarta/Indonesia on Instagram. “Our followers are mostly youth. They learn about feminism instantly through Instagram, instead of reading feminist books exhaustively. And they become instant activists.”

Global connections are clearly emerged amongst the activists. “Women’s March Jakarta and Indonesia were inspired with the emergence of Women’s March in other countries. We coordinated with them in early 2017 and report our activities. It also becomes our expression of solidarity with other feminists globally,” Olin adds.

JFDG is an example of how a community of like-minded people is able to develop into a steady organization and influence a large number of people through the assistance of digital technology, not to mention there is a growing need of younger generation to study feminism. Olin admits that currently there are plenty of youth who want to study feminism. As a relatively new community, JFDG intends to build the capacity building for youth and young adult in relations with the importance of feminist perspective. Some of the outcomes of the activities of JFDG as claimed by Olin are the emergence of Indonesian feminist account in Indonesian online sphere as well as feminist discussion group or Women’s March developed outside Jakarta, and the regeneration of feminists as many young members are invited to become sources. The organic formation of Indonesian young feminists is then followed with more organized structure and activities. More contemporary agenda of JFDG is improving its management and recently the community has been officially declared as social organization by the Ministry of Law and Human Rights (*Kementerian Hukum dan HAM*).

@Indonesiafeminis is one of the most viral and popular account on Facebook and Instagram, together with @lawanpatriarki, @dearcattcallers and @hollaback\_jkt. It is stated on the profile of @Indonesiafeminis –when this report is being written is currently followed by 57,9000 accounts and posts almost 4000 memes--- that they are “pro-with sexual and gender diversity, prioritize class enlightenment. According to our interview with Dea Safira, a dentist who creates @indonesiafeminis, a person behind @mbokfemi, a feminist columnist and recently published a book “*Membunuh Hantu-hantu Patriarki*”, says that @indonesiafeminis was set up as a page on Facebook in late 2015 or early 2016 (June 24, 2019). She picked the name because it sounds like a slogan for campaigning feminism in Indonesia. At the time, she felt that Indonesia needs

more feminist content as she has seen misogynist content is everywhere and Indonesian women may have to tackle the challenge. She realized that the mainstream media would be reluctant to publish articles or thoughts that promote criticisms towards capitalism, patriarchy and misogynist views because the industry is dominated by male perspective.

At first, on the Facebook account @Indonesiafeminist Dea created, she posted news related to women’s issues. However, it was timely because within following months, news covering the case of rape and murder of Yuyun in Bengkulu was breaking and attracting wide audience in Indonesia, and so was the page of @Indonesiafeminis which then shared and discussed about the case. At the same time, Dea was managing @Indonesiafeminis account on Instagram but is not really intense. Until late 2016, she found the IG had had thousands of followers, thus she decided to manage the platform better. On the IG platform, Dea created feminist memes which eventually invited other feminists to create similar content on IG with different functions. For example, @lawanpatriarki and @dearcattcaller.id focus on stories of the survivors. After all, she had moved on from posting the stories of the survivors of sexual abuse and sharing the thoughts behind sexual freedom.

Despite the momentum and the facilitation of technology, the development of feminist personalities as well as communities on Instagram-sphere of Indonesia is also supported by the literacies of the activists and their social-educational background. Writing skills, digital literacy and adaptability in the technological saturation era have earned the feminist personalities online. In addition, social and educational background have provided

them with network to enhance their campaigns. Kalis Mardiasih, for example, was a long-time activist in Gusdurian National Networks of Indonesia Yogyakarta before she becomes a well-known writer of *Mojok.co* and published some books on Islam and gender equality such as *Berislam seperti Kanak-kanak (2019)*, *Muslimah yang Diperdebatkan (2019)* and *Hijrah Jangan Jauh-jauh, Nanti Nyasar! (2019)*. With her Instagram account, @kalis.mardiasih, she is often referred by @muslimahfeminis. Through her Instagram, she strives to promote Islamic thinkers of Indonesia who support gender equality. She read Buya KH Husein Muhammad, Dr Lies Marcoes, Dr. Nur Rofiah, and Dr Kh Faqihuddin Abdul Kodir. Her writings, both online and print, show that she perceives Islam and Western values are not in the opposite. “The main issue is not on looking the truth between Islam and Western values, but how to re-interpret Islam unbiasedly and fairly,” she adds (interview on 13 August, 2019).

## 2. Digital Infrastructure and the Civic Network

Indonesian IDFA employs a wide range of social media such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and YouTube. Some of them are @Indonesiafeminis, @lawanpatriarki (fight patriarchy), @womensmarchindo, @muslimahfeminis (feminist moslema), and many more, including those owned by individuals or institutions, for instance @raisawidiastari, @thedeasafira, @olinmonteiro, @anindyavivi, @nadabicara, yet some organisations focusing on gender mainstreaming issues in Indonesia, for example, @swararahima (Rahima), @rifkaannisa\_wcc (Rifka Annisa Women’s Crisis Center) (Table 1).

Table 1. The Civic Network of Indonesian Feminist Digital Activism

No.	Generation	Personalities	Communities/ Campaigns
1	Younger generation (people under 40 y.o) or organizations developed during the Post-Soeharto)	@anindyavivi @thedeasafira @kalismardiasih @raisawidiastari @nrofiah @mbokfemi; @nadabicara @fellfel @olinmonteiro	@Indonesiafeminis @lawanpatriarki @hollaback_jkt; @pundak.cerita, @dearcattallers.id @bulerasis; @mubaadalah; @muslimahfeminis @fellfel, @womensmarchind @womensmarchjkt @purplecode_id @purpleribbon.@jaringanmuda, @onwomen.id @femfest.id @lawanseksisme @masalahkitasemua; @ihap_indonesia, @samasetara.id @hello.puan @doktertanpastigma @perempuanpeduli
2	Older generation (people above 40 y.o.) or organizations	@musdahmulia @dewicandraningrum @debrayatim	@perkumpulansamsara, @jurnalperempuan, @damarperempuan, @suararahima @y kalyanamitra

	developed during the Post-Soeharto		@rifkaanisa_wcc
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Some of observed social media accounts are connected to specialized websites such as Magdalene, mubaadalahnews.com, and Mahardhika.org, and fempowermovement.com, or to general publishing websites such as Voxpop.id and Mebat.id, or to the petition forum such as Change.org, and crowdfunding site Kitabisa.com. This means that there are cross connections between social media content and opinion websites. Moreover, the personalities of IDFA, for example, Dea Safira and Kalis Mardiasih are online columnists and book writers, thus literacy skills of the personalities of IDFA are quite high. Ruth Indiah Rahayu, a senior feminist and human rights activist, had feminism and gender discussion and writing class years ago, attended by young millennials (interview on May 29, 2018).

The connections between social media accounts, both ‘locals’ and ‘globals’, are afforded using hashtags. Global hashtags are #metoo and #wtftmedia, #freedom, #independence, #humanity, #feminism, #patriarchy, #colonization, #misogyny, #asianfetish, #equality, #decolonization. Some of the local ones are #kitaagni (we Agni), #adilisitok, #saveibunuril, #SahkanRUUPKS, #RUUPKSProkorban, #GerakBersama, #KamiBersamaKorban, #reformasidikorupsi, #allmalepanel, #panellelakisemua, and #beranibersuara. Based on their hashtags, they have some collective goals under the umbrella of feminism and intersectional issues which include anti-racism, ecofeminism, labor, minority rights, equality, freedom, human rights, politics of difference or diversity, and justice.

Indonesian DFA is connected to global activism as seen clearly through the local mimics of global accounts. @dearcattallers.id has achieved 66,000 followers with more than 800 posts and thousands of likes on each post. It resembles @dearcattaller and says “Catcalling is a harassment, not a compliment! A room to voice fights against sexual abuse” on its profile description. @dearcattallers.id mimic the content of @dearcattaller. Similarly, @hollaback\_jkt is connected to @hollaback, a famous anti-street harassment which has been developed in New York since 2010 and spread its aims in some cities in the

world. @hollaback\_jkt which is followed with 8.118 appears on website as well which is Jakarta.ihollaback.org/. @hollaback who is run by @anindyavivi –who states herself as a bold-hardline feminist— positions itself as “a safe place to share your story.” The Hollaback website welcomes the visitors with tagline “You Have the Power to End Harassment, a movement to end harassment in public spaces powered by local activists.” Not only publishing the stories of survivors of sexual harassment, the website even provides information on intervention procedure for bystander of sexual harassment and directories of organizations and foundations that are relevant to the needs of survivors, for example, *Yayasan Pulih, Komnas Anti Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan, LBH Apik Jakarta, and Rumah Aman.*

Feminist accounts on IG are currently managed by a group of administrators that are connected and coordinate their activism through Whatsapp Group that she called “the Community of Feminists”. They share information which are relevant to their movements and more often than not they knew important issues prior it breaks on online-sphere. However, not all the information is posted on their social media accounts amid the resistance towards the groups might be heightened. Dea claims that the existence of the feminist’s groups has been acknowledged by many institutions, including the government ones, as they often receive invitations to participate in public hearings and actions. Nevertheless, they must choose activities that are in line with their views. “Many content that we chose not to be uploaded on our IG accounts as we do not want to be sharply conflicted with other members of society, but if our member wants to share their facts and opinions under their names, they must be responsible on their own,” she adds (24 June, 2019).

One public issue that did not appear on their IG’s post was the scandalous invitation of DKI Jakarta Government through *Dinas Pemberdayaan, Perlindungan Anak dan Pengendalian Penduduk* (the Office of Empowerment, Child Protection and Population Control/*Dinas PPAPP*). The *Dinas* invited the Moslema of *Hizbut Tahrir* Indonesia, an Islamist organization that was already banned by the Indonesian government on July 2017, to discuss the

content of anti-violence poster with other 11 non-governmental organizations on June 2019. The screenshots of the invitation and its guests list were widely shared on Facebook, firstly posted by a personal Facebook account, then covered by Indonesian media (Turnbackhoax.id, 2019). Later it was found out that the DKI Jakarta admitted that they accidentally invited the Moslema of HTI and the Head of Dinas PPAPP had given the invitation writer a time break. On this matter, Dea says, “I cannot comment further on this matter. But yes, many things we knew before the public know.”

Inequalities may shape the practice of feminist online, therefore voices come to represent contemporary feminisms may come from certain groups in the society who have the time, knowledge, and skills to access the technology (Keller, 2012). Although social media served as a useful tool for the young women’s political activities, the online activism unintentionally excludes those who do not engage in online communities, and it can be the older generations of feminists (Schuster, 2013:13). Mendes, Ringrose & Keller (2012:237) posits that though it may be technologically easy for many groups to engage in DFA, there remain emotional, mental or practical barriers which create different experiences, and legitimate some feminist voices, perspectives and experiences over others. Skills, age,

resources and media information literacy are the significant factors in expanding or shrinking the empowerment, circulation, visibility and connectivity of DFA (Fotopoulou, 2016: 1002).

Khanza Vina, human rights and LGBT activist who also participates in the activities of @purplecode.id says that her transgender peers are mostly not connected on social media (Interview on June 23, 2019). “Many of transgender people are not connected to social media. They are invisible and they should be included in the movement,” says Khanza. She and her mates strive to promote inclusion by their own way and more often than not by conducting real actions and rarely employing social media. In the community of @purplecode.id which has its own mini office and library in Jakarta built by the donations of its member, Khanza and her transgender mates, as well as other feminists participate in technological capacity building as they deem important for women to master current digital technology.

### 3. The Collective Goals and Practices of the Digital Feminist Activists

The spectrum of goals and practices of the digital feminist activists of Indonesia are observed through the online activities of 17 Instagram accounts (Table 2).

Table 2. The IG Accounts Promoting Feminism in Indonesia

No	IG Account (Followers)	Goals & Some Organic Hashtags
1	Lawanpatriarki (108,000)	We fight patriarchy, not each other! #lawanpatriarki; #tolakrkuhp #semuabisakena; #sahkanruupks #tolakrkuhpngawur; #kalimantandaruratasap; #stophaze #kebakaranhutan; #gerakbersama #kamibersamakorban; #kitabersamakorban #ruupksprokorban; #gejayanmemanggil #hijrah
2	Indonesiafeminis (58,100)	Being pro-with diversity of sexuality and gender, prioritizing class awareness #sahkanruupks; #ruupksprokorban; #kitabersamakorban; #kamibersamakorban #cumaruupks; #gerakbersama; #hijrah #stopkejahatanterhadap perempuan; #lindungiperempuanindonesia #selamatkannegeri; #sepenuhnyaindonesia
3	Dearcatcaller.id (66,100)	Catcalling is a harassment, not a compliment! A place to voice fight against sexual abuse
4	Onwomen.id (11,200) with <a href="http://change.org/semuabisakena">change.org/semuabisakena</a>	A study forum and gender education. The voice of women’s reality, female narrative and justice, not a crisis center #Overheardwomen
5	Tabu.id (57,500) with <a href="http://linktr.ee/tabu.id">linktr.ee/tabu.id</a>	Learning about sexual and reproductive health for Indonesian youths



		#TidakLagiTabu; #breakingthetaboo #breakingthestigma; #tabu_relationship #tabu_pendidikanseks; #tabu_familysexed
6	Perempuanbergerak (15,800)	Equality and justice, partner learning with community #StopHukumanMati #RIPTuty
7	Jakartafeminist (10,2000) and <a href="http://www.jakartafeminis.com">www.jakartafeminis.com</a>	Official account of Assembly of Jakarta's Feminist Inter-Group Promoting feminist and related events #20tahunreformasi
8	Magdaleneid (25,400) with <a href="http://Magdalene.co.id">Magdalene.co.id</a>	Aim to engage, not to alienate #magdaleneid #feminist #feminism
9	Pikiranlelaki (8,833) With <a href="http://www.change.org/p/presiden-jokowi-jangan-setujui-rkuhp-di-sidang-paripurna-dpr-">www.change.org/p/presiden-jokowi-jangan-setujui-rkuhp-di-sidang-paripurna-dpr-</a>	#reformasidikorupsi #semuabisakena
10	Indonesiatanpapoligami (8,380) with	Present to fight against polygamy propaganda #Indonesiatanpapoligami
11	Hollaback_jkt (8,110)	A safe place to share your stories #lawanpelecehan <a href="#">#SahkanRUUPenghapusanKekerasanSeksual</a> <a href="#">#StopKekerasanSeksual</a> <a href="#">#SahkanRUUPKS</a> <a href="#">#RUUPKSProKorban</a> <a href="#">#KitaBersamaKorban</a> <a href="#">#KamiBersamaKorban</a> <a href="#">#CumaRUUPKS</a> <a href="#">#GerakBersama</a> <a href="#">#Hijrah</a> <a href="#">#StopKejahatanTerhadapPerempuan</a> <a href="#">#LindungiPerempuanIndonesia</a> <a href="#">#SelamatkanNegeri</a> <a href="#">#SepenuhnyaIndonesia</a> <a href="#">#rkuhpmasihngawur</a>
12	Mubaadalah (8,258) with  FB: Mubaadalah   Twitter: <a href="#">@MubaadalahNews</a>   YouTube: mubaadalah   website: <a href="http://mubaadalahnews.com">mubaadalahnews.com</a> <a href="http://www.mubaadalahnews.com">www.mubaadalahnews.com</a>	Portal Islam dan Relasi yang membahagiakan <a href="#">#mubaadalah</a> <a href="#">#couplegoals</a> <a href="#">#poligami</a> <a href="#">#alibinjufri</a> <a href="#">#habib</a> <a href="#">#mubadalah</a> <a href="#">#perempuan#stopkekerasanpadaperempuan</a> <a href="#">#kafir</a> <a href="#">#nonmuslim</a> <a href="#">#mubadalah#kesalingan</a> <a href="#">#muslimahindonesia#perempuanmuslimah</a> #pemimpinperempuan #salingers
13	Muslimahfeminis (7,535)	We are Muslim women that strongly believe in the justice of Islam while being alert to the injustice to women that occurs in the name of Islam <a href="#">#SahkanRUUPKS</a> <a href="#">#RUUPKSProKorban</a> <a href="#">#KitaBersamaKorban</a> <a href="#">#KamiBersamaKorban</a> <a href="#">#CumaRUUPKS</a> <a href="#">#GerakBersama</a> <a href="#">#Hijrah</a> <a href="#">#StopKejahatanTerhadapPerempuan</a> <a href="#">#LindungiPerempuanIndonesia</a> <a href="#">#SelamatkanNegeri</a> <a href="#">#SepenuhnyaIndonesia</a> <a href="#">#SelamatkanNKRI</a>
14	Indonesiaperlufeminis (4,733) with <a href="https://www.provoke-online.com/index.php/special/22815-5-hal-yang-terjadi-kalau-indonesia-hidup-tanpa-feminis">https://www.provoke-online.com/index.php/special/22815-5-hal-yang-terjadi-kalau-indonesia-hidup-tanpa-feminis</a>	My body is my authority! Let us love and take a control over our own body! Don't treat others take a control over ours! <a href="#">#maritalrape</a> <a href="#">#marital</a> <a href="#">#rape</a> <a href="#">#feminis#feminist</a> <a href="#">#feminis</a> <a href="#">#feminist</a> <a href="#">#gender</a> <a href="#">#sex#genderroles</a> <a href="#">#kodrat</a> <a href="#">#74</a> <a href="#">#SahkanRUUPKS</a> <a href="#">#CumaRUUPKS#Hijrah</a>
15	Femfest (2.244) with <a href="http://jakartafeminist.org/femfest">jakartafeminist.org/femfest</a>	Wait for us on November 2019! Biennial festival on feminism and equality, conducted by @jakartafeminist

16	Pundak.cerita (1,926) with bit.ly/CURHAT	Working on three programs: sharing, publishing, and community building #kenapapundakcerita
17	Lawanseksisme (484) with tiwtter.com/Panellaki	Documenting information on sexism #allmalepanel #panellakisemua in Indonesia. #allmalepanel #panelleakisemua

As basically the main activities of the digital feminists are to educate the public about sexuality, gender equality and feminism and to build solidarity amongst the people, the analysis looks more specific aims of the activism. The observation found that there are at least three main goals that are interrelated amongst the activism accounts and the division amongst the groups is not clear cut.

*First*, to fight sexual harassment and rape, whether in real world or even on online, and other injustices experienced by women. This goals are represented well by @lawanpatriarki, @dearcatcaller.id, @tabu.id, @onwomen.id, @pundak.cerita, @indonesiaperlufeminis, @lawanseksisme, and @hollaback\_jkt. Hashtags related to the Draft Bill on the Elimination of Violence against Women (RUU PKS) have been employed by those activists.

*Second*, to persuade the public that feminism and Islamism could get along together. @indonesiatanpapoligami, @muslimahfeminis and @mubaadalah represent those goals. @nrrofia, @kalismardiasih, and @musdahmulia have become relatively famous personalities promoting feminist-Islam on the Instagram-sphere. Mubaadalah or reciprocity between men and women in Islam is promoted by Kalis Mardiasih who is affiliated with Gusdurian movement.

*Third*, to raise intersectional-feminist issues amongst the public. This could be observed through the posts of @jakartafeminist, @indonesiafeminis, @lawanpatriarki, @hollaback\_jkt, @bulerasis, @resisterindonesia and @perempuanbergerak. Under this goal, the feminists strive for protection of minority rights including labour and migrant rights, raise awareness on eco-feminism, and campaign for social acceptance towards LGBT community and other types of diversity of identity. Especially @Indonesiafeminis that support #GejayanBergerak, #semuabisakena, and #ReformasiDikorupsi, the intersectional issues include the dissatisfaction of the feminist groups towards the weak enforcement of government on human rights and the Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence (RUU PKS).

Merlyn Sopjan, former winner of Transgender Princess of Indonesia 2006 and the

advocate for human rights says that transgender rights cannot be disintegrated from human rights movement in general (interview on June 18, 2019). “As a transgender activist for human rights, I could say that most of transgender community do not strive for the official acknowledgment of transgender as one option of gender in the identity card of our citizenships, nor urging to let us do same sex marriage. Our intentions is actually to improve the well-being of transgender community by providing us with opportunities to be included in decent occupations, instead of being stuck in the streets working as street musicians or even sex traders,” adds Merlyn (interview on June 18, 2019).

To achieve those goals, they usually employ several digital practices as performed on their accounts, such as sharing the experiences of sexual harassment while ensuring the digital sphere is safe for the administrators, bystanders, victims and survivors to participate; exposing misogynist people, institutions, events or thoughts; uploading memes or comics covering feminist issues in order to invite the public to share their thoughts; and even challenging the followers to stand up for their thoughts and safety, as well as involving the public to contribute more in online and offline causes for example attending street protests, donating money through crowdfunding *Kitabisa* platform, signing online petition through *Change.org* and filling in research conducted independently or by third party.

She had known that @Indonesiafeminis followers were middle-class women who are quite privileged and able to be independent. She was intrigued that Indonesian middle-class women have not come yet into questioning ‘why are some other Indonesian women unable to be independent like them’. “Indonesian women who feel quite independent by hiring home assistant instead of sharing house chores with the husbands are able to avoid the double because they have the privilege, and may not be feminists enough,” says Dea.

Through the platforms, she intended to relate feminism with intersectional issues such as class, racism, human rights abuse, colonialism, climate change and other oppression and subordination issues that could go beyond feminism itself.

“Feminism is more than talking and achieving sexual freedom. We couldn’t be a feminist without realizing that some women in many areas in the world have been exploited to produce the fashion we wear, or we support sexual freedom but deny the rights of LGBT people,” she adds (June 24, 2019). Therefore, she directs the focus of @Indonesiafeminis on educating the public about class repression and striving for enlightenment. Even she is welcome the issues of parents-children relationships which are often found to be abusive and oppressive.

In addition, @lawanpatriarki has 108,000 followers with more than 1700 posts and puts slogan “We fight patriarchy, not each other!” on its profile. @lawanpatriarki is able to attain thousands of likes on each post. They post memes criticizing myths and stereotypes related to rape and sexual harassment, fighting misogynist views, sharing personal stories, as well as endorsing sexual freedom, pro-choice views, body positivity, sex education and positive solidarity among women.

They support some causes such as to ratify RUU PKS (Draft Bill on Elimination of Violence Against Women) with #sahkanruupks hashtag and to free Baiq Nuril with #saveibunuril and #tolakekseksibunuril hashtags.

Baiq Nuril is a sexual harassment survivor who is prosecuted because her conversation record with the perpetrator was distributed by somebody else into online world. Recently she got amnesty from Joko Widodo, the President of Indonesia, but she remains allegedly guilty with the case. Other feminist account which uploads sexual harassment stories is @pundak.cerita. Though it has only less than 2000 followers, the memes of each post are consistent and creatively prepared.

## Conclusion

Indonesian youth and young adults have become the participants of the digital feminist activism. Though the digital activism is started by the urban youth of Jakarta, the activism is multiplied into activism in other areas of Indonesia. The emergence of Indonesian feminist digital activism is afforded by not only the technology itself, but by the agencies of some young women activists in Jakarta, Yogyakarta, and other cities responding to contemporary gender relations’ situation of Indonesia that face more obstacles due to the rising number of gender-based violence and the heightened presence of religious conservatism.

The agencies of the young women include their basic literacy skills, and expansive knowledge

on feminism and Islamic sources. Young feminist activists of Jakarta with the older generation, Gusdurian activist, and other global feminist movement are connected online and through offline activities.

The specific aims of the activism are various but their main goals remain about to educate the public about sexuality, gender equality and feminism, as well as to build solidarity. The digital practices of the activists are multimedia, hyperlinked, and interactive. They utilize plenty of approaches to perform their ideas and mobilize people.

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