

# Salasika

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# North Kalimantan Aisyiyah's Contribution to Empowering Women for the Fulfilment of Political Rights

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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to determine the ability of the Regional Leader of North Kalimantan Aisyiyah in contributing to the fulfillment of political rights through women's empowerment. The research employed a descriptive qualitative method with a narrative approach. This study focuses on the contribution of North Kalimantan Aisyiyah Regional Leaders in Empowering women to fulfill their political rights. Data analysis involved data collection, reduction, presentation, and conclusion. The results of the study indicated that the contribution of the Regional Leader of North Kalimantan Aisyiyah led to effective and responsive steps towards women's empowerment. Aisyiyah, a large organization, offers various programs of social activities including the involvement of women in politics, among them are political education activities. Although 'Aisyiyah is not a political party, it strongly supports its members who want to enter politics. The supporting factor is that government policies are not gender-biased. The women's empowerment programs to fulfill their political rights were good, but the public response to political awareness was low. It was a challenge to deal with.

KEYWORDS: CONTRIBUTION, WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT, POLITICAL RIGHTS.

## INTRODUCTION

Indonesian women contributed not only to the struggle for Indonesia's independence but also struggle for equality since the 19th century. The struggle includes improving women's positions and roles and developing Indonesian women. The struggle for equality was finally recognized by the state by regulating it in the 1945 Constitution Article 28 (Mulawarman et al., 2020).

As people are more aware of men's and women's equality, women's leadership becomes a controversial issue leading to polemics and debates. This form of awareness also occurs in other parts of the world (Suryaningsi & Muhazir, 2020).

Although Indonesia gained its independence on August 17, 1945, the struggle against the colonials continued after the independence declaration because they did not

recognize Indonesia's independence. Indonesian women including Aisyiyah contributed to the struggle both before and after the independence.

Since centuries ago, Indonesian women have had a strategic role in society. In the 14th century, there were three Islamic kingdoms led by women, namely Sultanah Khadijah, Sultanah Maryam, and Sultanah Fatimah. Unfortunately, they had to hand over their power to men because the Mecca Qadhi fatwa prohibited women's leadership. During the Majapahit era, Tribuana Tungga Dewi (1328) was also a woman leader who later gave birth to the Majapahit's king, Hayam Wuruk. Besides, Aceh was once led by a woman Sultanah, Seri Ratu Tajul Alam Safiatuddin Johan. She ruled from 1641 to 1699. In South Sulawesi, Siti Aisyah We Tenriolle was the queen of Tanette in 1856. In Kutai, there was also a queen, Ratu Aji Sitti (Gunawan, Wawan and Evie Shofia Inayati (ed), 2005). Women also contributed to the struggle for Independence. Some women heroes even led the Aceh wars. They were Raden Ayu Ageng Serang, Cut Nyak Dien, Tjut Meutia, and Admiral Malahayati. They were directly involved in various wars and set strategies and tactics (Mudzhar, HM Atho, et al, 2001; Mulawarman et al., 2022).

In 1912, a religious association initiated by Nyai Ahmad Dahlan called Sopa Trisno was established in Yogyakarta. The organization was the forerunner of the Muhammadiyah women's association known as Aisyiah (Darwati, 2022). According to Muhammad (2020), education is the main prerequisite for elevating

women's worth. He further stated that Islamic teachings that glorify women have been distorted, so women are often placed outside the core of Islamic teachings (Asikin, 2020; Mulawarman et al., 2020). Similar to Muhammadiyah, 4 female members of Nahdlatul Ulama, founded the Muslimat NU organization. Other organizations initiated by women are Wanodya Utomo and Mohammedaansche Vrouwen Vereeniging. In 1928, the association of women's organizations held the first Indonesian Women's congress in Yogyakarta (Aini et al., 2021). The purpose of the congress was to unite the ideas of advancing Indonesian women. The congress resulted in the formation of the Indonesian Women's Association (Perserikatan Perempuan Indonesia/PPI). PPI changed its name to PPII (Indonesian Wives Association) in 1929. The formation of the association drew criticism from several women's organizations. They considered PPII as merely a group of the nobility's wives because it only focused on domestic problems (Soetjipto AW, 2005).

Women's organizations initiate social movements, one of which is through empowerment. This analysis is in line with Kindervatter's opinion stating that empowerment is a process of giving power in the form of education aiming to increase citizens' awareness of, understanding of, and sensitivity to social, economic, and political developments. One of the goals of women's political empowerment is to increase women's participation in politics so that there are no more unequal policies that undermine women's needs.

The main problem with a women's organization that has been around for a long time is that it is as old as the organization it belongs to. Aisyiyah contributed a lot before Indonesia's independence. Aisyiyah, under Muhammadiyah, aims to advance women through the teachings of Islam. Since the establishment of Muhammadiyah, K. H. Ahmad Dahlan had nurtured women by forming a recitation group called "Sopo Tresno" under his guidance and his wife, Nyai Walidah. In addition, K. H. Ahmad Dahlan established courses, special recitation groups for women, and a women's school (Lastariyah, 2007).

Women's involvement in politics is regulated in law no. 12 of 2003 Article 65 paragraph one stating that every political party participating in the election may nominate candidates for members of DPR (House of Representative) and DPRD (Regional Legislative Council at province and municipality levels. In DPRD, each electoral district needs to have at least 30% women representatives. Women's inclusion in the political and election law is expected to gradually reduce the marginalization of women from the formal political process, dismantle "the ties of political men" or masculine political conspiracies, and increase women's political representation in parliament. According to the General Election Commission (KPU), in the 2019 general election in North Kalimantan, the number of voters changed. Previously there were 451,656 voters, with 237,085 male voters and 214,571 female voters. It became 450,108 voters with 236,229 male voters and 213,879 female voters spread over 2,184 polling

stations, 482 villages, 53 sub-districts, and 5 districts/cities.

Few women in North Kalimantan hold legislative positions due to their association with a particular party and personal experience. However, society views it merely as a matter of meeting the requirements. It was proven in DPRD votes. Of 35 candidates in North Kalimantan, only 4 women passed: Norhayati Andris (PDIP), Siti Laela (Golkar), Hj Asmah Gani (Golkar), and Tamara Moriska, SH (Hanura). It suggests that gender equality is a widely accepted principle but has not been fully implemented. The explanation above shows the lack of women's participation in politics.

Almost a century since its establishment, Aisyiyah certainly has had a fairly influential role in empowering women in the country. As an organization, Aisyiyah has 33 provincial leaders, 370 Aisyiyah subdistrict leaders, 2,332 Aisyiyah district managers, and 6,924 Aisyiyah city leaders. Muhammadiyah, where Aisyiyah belongs, is famous for its charity. Muhammadiyah schools and colleges are spread over almost all provinces in Indonesia. Like Muhammadiyah, charity is at the heart of Aisyiyah. Based on the data from the Aisyiyah headquarter website, its charity in education amounts to 4,560 schools consisting of Playgroups, PAUD (early childhood education), Kindergartens, Child Care Centers, Elementary Schools, Junior High Schools, etc. (Muhammad, 2020).

## METHODS

The study took place in January 2022. It is narrative research

employing the qualitative descriptive method. In this study, the researchers tried to describe the contribution of North Kalimantan Aisyiyah regional leaders in empowering women to fulfill political rights.

The research focused on assessing the contribution of the regional leadership of North Kalimantan Aisyiyah in empowering women to fulfill their political rights.

## RESULTS

### A. RESEARCH INDICATOR

#### 1. *Aisyiyah North Kalimantan and Politics*

The interview with Aisyiyah management suggested that there was a considerable number of members who participated in political institutions including members of the Indonesian Ulema Council of North Kalimantan, the head of the health service, and members of the Ministry of Religion, etc. Meanwhile, the regional leaders of Aisyiyah who were involved in North Kalimantan politics were around 5-10%.

#### 2. *Women's Empowerment*

The interview also indicated that women's political empowerment activities organized by Aisyiyah's central board in the reformation era included seminars, workshops, research, book publications, and campaigns as forms of women's political movements. In addition, Aisyiyah continued to run leadership training and education for *sakinah* (happy) families. Run by Aisyiyah central leadership, the training aimed to equip women with skills

and knowledge about women's roles in society.

#### 3. *Contribution of North Kalimantan Aisyiyah Regional Leaders*

The North Kalimantan KPU issued a policy brief on women and attended a discussion with two pairs of North Kalimantan governor candidates. The discussion led to a commitment to actively and passively represent women in politics.

The contribution of North Kalimantan Aisyiyah regional leaders to women's empowerment can be seen in Figure 1.

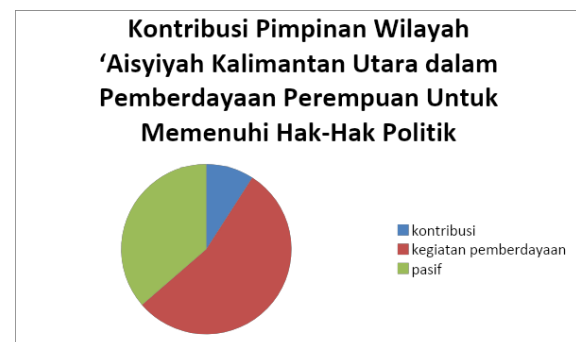


Figure 1. Contribution of Aisyiyah regional leaders to women's empowerment.

The contributions of Aisyiyah North Kalimantan to fulfill women's political rights can be seen in Figure 2.

The result of political rights fulfillment of women empowered by the North Kalimantan Aisyiyah regional leaders can be seen in Figure 3.

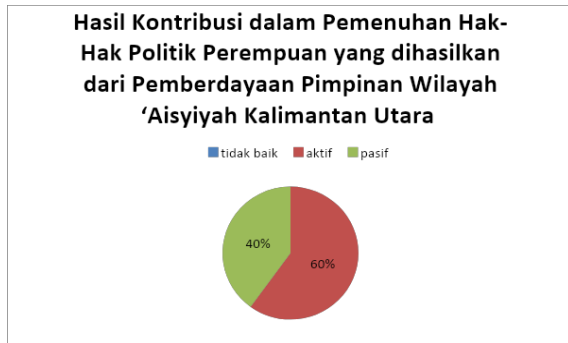


Figure 2. Contributions to fulfill women's political rights



Figure 3. Result of political rights fulfillment of women empowered by the North Kalimantan Aisyiyah regional leaders

## DISCUSSION

### a. 'Aisyiyah North Kalimantan and Politics

Aisyiyah, approaching a century, has had many experiences in serving the community. Aisyiyah has gone through various eras in Indonesia's history from Dutch and Japanese colonization, New Order, to the reformation era. The birth of Aisyiyah cannot be separated from women's hopes and goals to take part in the public sphere without undermining the domestic area (household). Aisyiyah programs cover religion, society, education, economy, and health. Aisyiyah also participates in developing women's political awareness to respond to issues and changes. Since the first

general election in 1955, Aisyiyah has been actively involved in women's political empowerment activities. Aisyiyah disseminates information about general elections to the public through Qur'an recitation groups, meetings organized by Aisyiyah, or personal communication.

*Suara Aisyiyah* magazine published articles on the general election and its implementation in April 1954. The magazine included articles on general elections and their implementation and the meaning of the Constituent Assembly and the House of Representatives. The magazine explained that both institutions were temporary and the general election aimed to form a Constituent Body and House of Representatives to replace the temporary parliament. The stages and schedule of the general election were also provided in the magazine. Concerning politics, Aisyiyah provides political education to the wider community, enabling people, especially women, to be more critical and open to politics. Therefore, Aisyiyah does not aim at practical politics because it was founded as a non-political women's organization, just like Muhammadiyah.

Women's presence in public spaces is still criticized by some people. Women's territory, the kitchen (read: domestic sphere), still occupies the mindset of the patriarchal society. Current practices are still not in favor of women voicing themselves in the decision-making process both at the micro and macro levels. Meanwhile, women have contributed greatly to government revenue, for example, in markets and health centers. Most of the workers in the health sector

are women. Regarding this, Mardianah said, "Just look at the markets and Puskesmas (public health center). Women are dominant. Therefore, women have contributed greatly to government revenues." Aisyiyah's view on the political role of women can be seen from the decisions made by Muhammadiyah through its institutions, *Majlis Tarjih* and *Tajdid*.

In 1976, when the patriarchal view in Indonesia was still very strong and gender discourse had not emerged, Muhammadiyah through *Majlis Tarjih* (2010) and *Tajdid* issued a decision on the position of women, especially Muslim women, in politics compiled in *Adabul Mar'ah fil Islam*. Regarding the hadith narrated by Al-Bukhari stating that women should not be leaders, Din Syamsudin stated that this view was influenced by Arabic culture, which was dominated by men. The view then influenced Muslim countries to reject women in politics. According to him, the above hadith, which seems to prevent women from becoming leaders, must be understood clearly and more deeply by considering the background (*Asbabul Wurud*). The hadith is the response of the prophet Muhammad to the Persian King who would appoint his daughter as a successor to his father's leadership. The Prophet's statement was based on his knowledge of the Princess' inability to handle complex and difficult state affairs.

The decision of *Majlis Tarjih* (2010) compiled in *Adabul Mar'ah fil Islam* affirms that women may become leaders. Women may become judges, school directors, company directors, sub-district heads, ministers, mayors, etc. Can women

be heads of state? According to Syamsul Anwar (2007), although there is no clear statement regarding the matter, the decision does not prohibit women from becoming heads of state.

Syamsul Anwar (2007) explained that *Adabul Mar'ah fil Islam* divides the political role of women into two parts: 1. direct involvement in practical politics in formal political institutions, starting from the legislative level such as DPR, and 2. indirect contribution such as actively involved in activities that empower and develop the community. Aisyah, the Chair of the Cadre Division for Aisyiyah's Central Leadership, stated that Aisyiyah views politics not in a narrow sense of power in governmental or political institutions. A similar opinion was expressed by Hastuti Nur Rochima, the Chair of the Research and Development Institute. According to her, Aisyiyah allows women to enter politics. However, it does not have to be in formal political institutions (read: DPR). In a wider scope, women can play an active role in society, for example, involvement in meetings related to decision-making for life sustainability.

Uji (nickname), an Aisyiyah Regional Leader in Kendal, for example, is involved in *Musrenbangdes* (village development planning deliberation). Most Indonesian women need empowerment. There are millions of illiterate or semi-illiterate women, and some female workers earn a low income. Their physical and mental readiness and skills are far from the standard. Few women are policymakers. The above explanations describe the current condition of women. The sad reality

of women encourages discourses and movements to increase women's participation in politics.

Aisyiyah agrees that women's involvement in politics opens their way to policy making. Women who become regional heads (read: mayors, regents, governors) should not be questioned. They hold the position because of their competence, not because of their husbands.

Aisyiyah administrators who participate in political institutions are not few, some of them are council members in various agencies. Some of them are members of the Indonesian Ulema Council of North Kalimantan Province, the head of the health service, members of the Ministry of Religion, etc. In addition, around 5-10% of Aisyiyah regional leaders were involved in North Kalimantan politics. The data collected in the research suggested that the political rights fulfillment of cadre or women, in general, was good. Some women even actively voice their opinions in a discussion or decision-making process.

According to Max Weber (2012), social action theories are directed at other people or groups. On the other hand, individual actions directed at inanimate objects are not social actions. This is in line with Berger and Luckmann's theory of social construction describing social processes through actions and their interactions where an individual creates a subjectively divided reality. According to Berger and Luckmann in Muta'afi (2015), social construction is the interaction between each individual and the environment and aspects outside oneself or the

subjective meaning of the objective reality of people who go about their daily activities. Luckmann and Berger's theory aims to redefine the notion of reality and knowledge in a social context.

Berger and Luckmann (2013) believe that reality is socially constructed in the sense that individuals have built a society so that individual experiences cannot be separated from society. In relation to the above theory, social interaction is a reciprocal interaction between the government and the community to solve problems.

## **b. Women's Empowerment**

Aisyiyah does not prohibit women to involve in the public sphere including politics. This view is based on the decision of the *Majlis Tarjih* (2010) and *Tajdid* Muhammadiyah, under which Aisyiyah was established. Aisyah stated that culturally there was no prohibition against women becoming leaders; many women were even kingdom leaders. Aisyah further explained that religious factors prevented them from becoming leaders.

Aisyiyah believes that women's political contribution is not just in a form of power. In a broader scope, it can also be women local leaders who are involved in community decision-making. This opinion is in line with Prof. Miriam Budiarjo's (2008) statement explaining that politics is an activity related to the state, power, decision-making, policy, distribution, or allocation of values in society. Regarding women's roles in politics, K. H. Ahmad Dahlan remarked that kitchen affairs should not prevent women to take part in public spaces.

According to Aisyiyah, Islamic teachings do not prohibit women from being leaders. Household affairs should be a shared responsibility between husband and wife. Women's involvement in the public sphere will not reduce the love of a mother for her child or a wife for her husband. According to Ais, a mother's love for her child or a wife's love for her husband should not be interpreted as a physical presence. Women who take part in public spaces, for example, regional heads and council members, indirectly set good examples for the family, including their children (Antonio, 2021; Antonio & Suryaningsi, 2022; Carmela, 2021; Ramayanti, 2021).

Maftuchah Yusuf (2005) also emphasized that women's involvement in the public sphere should aim to elevate the family's dignity and welfare. Many Aisyiyah administrators are members of political institutions. Some of them are council members in various regions and political parties or legislature members. Around 5-10% of Aisyiyah Central Executive members were involved in politics. Muhammadiyah Central Executive instruction No. 03/INS/I.O/A/2008 allows its cadre, including Aisyiyah's, to involve in a political campaign or as candidates of legislative members, but they will be deactivated from their structural position in Muhammadiyah until the election finishes.

Accordingly, Aisyiyah administrators who are involved in politics will be deactivated from their position in Aisyiyah management. Confirming this, Latifah Iskandar, Aisyiyah Central Executive member and former member of the 2004-2009

House of Representative (DPR), explained that when she was elected as a legislative member, she was no longer active in Aisyiyah and became an ordinary member.

One achievement of women's involvement in politics is the passing of the law requiring a quota of 30 percent of women in parliament. In addition, women's involvement in politics contributes to solving problems in society. The law on trafficking and domestic violence are indicators of women's influence in policy making. Women's contribution to society is also manifested in Posyandu (integrated healthcare center), women's social work in the healthcare sector. Women's involvement in decision-making is expected to develop gender-sensitive policies. Men and women are not opponents but partners in managing life, like a husband and wife in the household.

The North Kalimantan Aisyiyah empowerment programs were carried out well. It was indicated by the cadre or community's active participation in the public sphere. However, some people were reluctant to respond to the empowerment program due to deep-rooted beliefs and pragmatism culture.

Miran suggests two characteristics of women's empowerment. The first is *kodariyah*, participating collectively in the development. The second is enlightenment and awareness to participate.

The emancipatory spirit promoted by Aisyiyah changes individual and collective perspectives. In this regard, women will understand if there is a responsibility or social construction of society.

### c. Regional Leader of North Kalimantan Aisyiyah,

Based on the interview results and data obtained from informants, the researchers can conclude that the head of Aisyiyah used a strategy of synergistic socialization with the East Kalimantan KPU, delivered a policy brief about women, and held discussions with East Kalimantan governor candidates. As a result, there was a commitment to actively and passively represent women in politics.

This is in line with the social process theory according to Lamon de Chart (2014) stating that "all accumulations are strategically aimed at maximizing effective communication to achieve understanding in a conscious state and manifesting it in action". Regarding this theory, the result of

community interaction is the result of a process in the form of numbers as the final identification.

## CONCLUSION

The women's empowerment programs conducted by the Regional Leader of North Kalimantan Aisyiyah were quite good because of the responsiveness of 60% of women who participated in the socialization process, webinars, and external activities. Although some people's political rights were not fulfilled, they voted in elections, using their prerogative rights. Public space involvement, around 70%, was also good. The strategy implemented by the Regional Leader of North Kalimantan Aisyiyah helped the community to understand, take an initiative, and participate in political activities.

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# Understanding Child Sexual Abuse in the Religious Contexts in Indonesia through a Lived Experience

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## ABSTRACT

Child sexual abuse in Indonesia occurs in various settings, including home, school, or work (in places where child labor is common). The National Commission for Child Protection (Komnas Perlindungan Anak) stated that 52% of cases of violence against children from 2020 to mid-2021 were sexual violence (Suminar, 2021).

The increasing number of child abuse cases encourages parents to send their children to religion-based schools that, they think, offer safer environments. Based on the data collected by KOMNAS Perempuan, 19% of sexual violence occurred in Islamic boarding schools or Islamic-based education and 3% in Christian-based education. KPAI also noted that 88% of perpetrators of sexual violence in schools were teachers, mostly religion teachers (13.3%) and physical education teachers (40%), the rest being computer, arts, social studies, Indonesian, or other teachers, while 22% were principals.

The objective of the study is to unravel the experience in a religious setting. The finding narrated that the effects of child sexual abuse could include depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, anxiety, complex post-traumatic stress disorder, and physical injury to the child, among other problems. In addition, there was no support from the school community for the victim of child abuse.

**KEYWORDS:** *child sexual abuse, religion, religious conversion, support system*

## INTRODUCTION

Recently, Indonesia has been shocked by the increasing number of sexual violence cases. Based on Komnas Perempuan's (The National Commission on Violence Against Women) 2020 CATAHU data, sexual violence cases reached 4,898 cases, including 2,807 interpersonal cases and 2,091 community cases. This number does not include those who did not report to the authorities. In terms of number, there was a decrease compared to the reports in

previous years. However, what might happen is that victims have difficulty accessing services due to government regulations during the pandemic, especially if the perpetrator and victim live in the same place, urging people to stay indoors as much as possible. The space for victims will be more limited, and they will inevitably accept the violence they experience. Not everyone is also proficient in accessing the internet and the media usually used for online help access.

In general, sexual violence is any act of sexual nuance, both physical and verbal, which is carried out against a person without his or her consent or by coercion and manipulation to obtain that consent (NSVRC, 2010). According to WHO (World Health Organization), these actions are carried out to obtain sexual retaliation, personal gain such as trafficking for materials, or acts that attack someone's sexuality, regardless of the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim and where the violence occurred. There are no stereotypes about people who can sexually assault someone. Perpetrators can come from a variety of backgrounds and may be someone the victim knows, such as friends, family members, intimate partners, acquaintances, and strangers. The impact of sexual violence is very significant on the lives of victims and can affect their physical (including sexual and reproductive health) and psychological functions. The consequences that seriously damage the victims' well-being are proof that sexual violence is one of the most insidious forms of crime against humans.

Sexual violence can happen to anyone. There is almost no age limit on who can become a victim of sexual violence. Therefore, child sexual abuse is one form of sexual violence that is rife in Indonesia. According to Arist from the National Commission for Child Protection (Komnas Perlindungan Anak), 52% of cases of violence against children from 2020 to mid-2021 were sexual violence (Suminar, 2021). During the pandemic, Komnas Perempuan's CATAHU (2020) also noted that sexual violence against girls was in

third place, with 954 cases (14%). So, what constitutes child sexual abuse? Forcing a child to engage in sexual activity, showing genitals, showing pornographic content, knowingly seeing or having physical contact with a child's genitals without any specific non-sexual purpose, using a child for personal gain such as making child pornography, trafficking children for sex (Martin et al., 1993), and other activities that make children the object of satisfying sexual needs.

The increasing number of cases of child sexual abuse in Indonesia makes people, especially those who have children or relationships with children, feel worried and wonder what kind of situation is safe for children to carry out their activities. In education, one option that is well-known as an environment that is considered safe for school-age children is religion-based schools. The main reason is that parents want to instill religious knowledge as provisions and foundations so that their children will not misbehave (Askar, Rohmad & Sukarno, 2016). That hope also extends to the school community. Parents believe that the school environment, including teachers and school staff, encourages the formation of children's faith. This, of course, is followed by the expectation that the school will maintain security and will not do or facilitate anything that violates religious ethics (Saputra, 2015).

Lately, the number of sexual violence cases surfaced in religious schools, especially Islamic boarding schools and Islamic schools, has been increasingly troubling not only parents but society as a whole. Based on the data collected by KOMNAS Perempuan, 19% of sexual violence

occurred in Islamic boarding schools or Islamic-based education and 3% in Christian-based education. KPAI also noted that 88% of perpetrators of sexual violence in schools were teachers, mostly religion teachers (13.3%) and physical education teachers (40%), the rest being computer, arts, social studies, Indonesian, or other teachers, while 22% were principals.

One of the most discussed cases is the rape of female students aged 13-17 by the owner of the Madani Boarding School, Bandung, referred to as HW. This incident took place from 2015 to 2021 until it was finally investigated and exposed to the public. Not only rape, but the perpetrator committed a number of other crimes beyond common sense. Rape victims were students at his school, some of whom were underage. HW promised to marry, help take care of the baby, and pay for college fees to become a policewoman. So far, HW has attended six trials for the death penalty and chemical castration. But there has been no verdict.

Another case in a religion-based school occurred in Medan in Galilea Hosana School (GHS) Christian school with alleged harassment by the school principal and pastor, BS. The victims were groped and forced to perform oral sex in his office, house, and hotel. At the urging of a group of parents who held a demonstration outside the school building, the school finally clarified that the perpetrator had been deactivated and would soon be legally processed. The latest update stated that the perpetrator was taken for questioning at the police station.

The cases above are just a few of the many cases of sexual violence both in general and against children that have surfaced recently. Most cases are viral by social media users until they finally get the attention of the wider public and the authorities. Day by day, seeing the news about sexual violence that continues, concerns have grown and doubts about the presence of a truly safe place for children and society as a whole have arisen.

Then, how was the experience of one survivor of child sexual abuse, Genevieve, in her journey to understand what she was going through and towards recovery? Is Genevieve's process substantially the same as in other cases of violence against children in the religious sphere? How did the aspects of Genevieve's "world" help with or hinder her from dealing with the traumatic event?

## METHODS

The research employed qualitative methods to go beyond the answers to the causality of the topics used. This research focuses on exploring a phenomenon in detail – looking at the data not broadly, but on what can strengthen the research to increase user involvement. In the process of analysis, qualitative researchers tend to pay attention to meanings that may not have been explicitly revealed. That is, they are interested in how informants understand the world and how they experience these events. The goal is to understand what a person looks like in certain conditions and how people manage themselves in certain situations (Willig, 2013).

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Family & Religious Background

Genevieve's family consists of herself, her mother, older sister, and older brother. Genevieve, who is still in college, is the last child. The father is not a person who is close, emotionally and physically distanced, to her because he rarely spends time with Genevieve and his mother who is often called 'her mother'. When Genevieve was 16 years old, her parents decided to divorce.

Genevieve's parents have different religions. Her mother is a Catholic while her father is a Muslim. Genevieve's sister and herself were Muslim. When Genevieve was in junior high school, her older brother decided to convert to Catholicism, followed by her older sister in 2017. It is undeniable that Genevieve felt "left behind" because at that time she had not been allowed to make crucial choices for her life. After waiting for her turn, Genevieve made up her mind to convert as well and at the age of 20, she was finally baptized as an official member of Catholicism— a community where she feels more accepted and comfortable being herself. To this day, Genevieve's father does not know if she converted to Catholicism.

Since childhood, Genevieve and her two older brothers have had a bad perception of Islam. Many of their religious activities were carried out only out of obligation or compulsion. This makes them uncomfortable with their former religion. Apart from being forced to do so, Genevieve found that there are many "disrupted persons" from Islamic religious social institutions

who do not share the same thoughts with her and the values of religion in general.

Her sister thinks that Islam has many rigid, extreme, and unrealistic values, especially in an era that is very advanced and open. Genevieve has the same thoughts as her older sister. At first, she thought of changing religion because she attended a series of his sister's wedding ceremonies. At that time, Genevieve often visited the church and at that time she felt something she had never felt before when she visited the mosque, where she used to worship when she was still a Muslim. She felt like she was getting a "calling". The calling and all the mixed feelings of being in her previous religion finally convinced her to take the first steps to convert.

Another reason, which is no less important, is the experience she had when she was still in elementary school in a Muslim environment. While attending primary school in a predominantly Muslim environment, Genevieve became a victim of sexual violence and rape by her own teacher.

### Monumental Bad Events

From her own judgment, Genevieve felt she was a diligent student. In addition to always arriving early, she was also close to the teacher and was the class president during elementary school. When she was in the third grade, her physical education teacher changed several times. Genevieve became quite close to a new physical education teacher (Jajang) and they often exchanged stories. The teacher treated her differently from other students. She was often called and given extra marks. Genevieve

thought it was because they had gotten pretty close and the treatment also made her happy and a little proud. That afternoon, when Genevieve's teacher had been teaching at the school for about two weeks, was the first time the teacher showed bad intentions.

During recess, Genevieve was tasked with submitting assignments to the teacher's room because she was the class president. She met the physical education teacher in the teacher's room, sitting at the computer. Genevieve was alone with the physical education teacher. The teacher called her name, grabbed her hand, and pulled her forcibly closer. Fortunately, one of the teachers or ustad came. It was only then that he released his grip on Genevieve's hand.

A few days after that, Jajang again asked Genevieve to meet him in the teacher's room. Suddenly, he came closer to Genevieve's face and kissed her cheek. Genevieve felt the teacher did that because she was his favorite student and as a form of affection. A few days after that, Genevieve was asked to come again. The teacher began to touch Genevieve's body from the top of her head to her shoulders. It was done every morning until the teacher was brave enough to kiss her cheeks, forehead, and lips, take off Genevieve's veil and shirt to put his hands in, and open her skirt. The perpetrator asked if Genevieve was comfortable with his treatment but she could not answer and just froze. This silence was considered a form of consent by the perpetrator. The longer the time, the more daring the perpetrator became. He stimulated and stuck his finger into Genevieve's intimate part. The perpetrator also forced

Genevieve to do handjobs and blowjobs. Genevieve really did not know what she was doing.

Genevieve's abuse escalated into a rape in the school laboratory in the morning. The perpetrator penetrated her when Genevieve did not even really understand what had happened to her. The perpetrator did not ask if Genevieve felt pain during the first penetration and continued to do so until she had an orgasm. Genevieve clearly remembered that she had difficulty walking because of the pain. In addition, the perpetrators forced her to perform oral sex. Worse, it happened every day, like a routine that could not be avoided.

Genevieve realized she could walk away. Even though she had tried not to obey his teacher's wishes to meet, the perpetrator must have found many ways to cross paths with Genevieve. He kept forcing his way with her. The perpetrator was also the first to know about Genevieve's first period. Despite feeling pain, physically and mentally, Genevieve never complained to anyone. He also threatened to give her bad scores but promised to defend her, care for her, and treat her well in front of her friends if she did what the perpetrator wanted. The treatment made Genevieve feel that she had to obey the perpetrator's wishes even though she experienced walking difficulty and pain when urinating.

The incident continued for three years. Genevieve did not say or do anything to the perpetrator or anyone else. It turned out that her mother had realized that there was something different about Genevieve. Her suspicions were

confirmed when her mother saw sexting from the perpetrator addressed to Genevieve while her mother was holding her cellphone. Finally, the case was reported to the principal, and the perpetrator was investigated. The perpetrator admitted his actions with a penalty of being dismissed from Genevieve school without going to court. Therefore, the perpetrator was not punished for his actions. The school also did not provide any support to Genevieve.

### **Deconstruction of the Definition of "Damaged Goods"**

As a 9-year-old child who attended an Islamic school when Indonesia was still discussing "taboo" things "under the blanket", Genevieve was still veiled by whatever was considered "bad" in her religion. One of the controversial topics to be discussed openly is sexuality. Genevieve knew nothing about it let alone sex. Unfortunately, she experienced an incident that she herself did not understand, sexual abuse by her teacher. He groomed her and finally raped her in her own school. In the context of sexual violence, grooming is a method used by perpetrators to build trust with children as victims and adults around children to get the opportunity to spend time alone with children. In addition to building trust, grooming is also used to desensitize children to inappropriate behavior by the perpetrator. One example of grooming behavior that the perpetrator did to Genevieve was showing excessive interest in her, creating opportunities to be alone with her, and giving her special privileges.

Based on Genevieve's story, she stated that she did not know that his mother would report. When she found out, she was in a panic, shocked, but relieved. She panicked and was shocked because the perpetrators could have hurt her even more. It was a relief because she was sure that if her mother's report was properly responded to by the school, what happened to her would not happen again in the future. This fear stems from the unequal power relations of the teacher. According to Straus (2008), those who are more dominant and hold power will increase violent behavior to maintain their dominant position and continue to get what they want. Therefore, like it or not, Genevieve had to obey. Genevieve was scared, trapped, not free, and insecure.

After Genevieve's mother reported to the principal, the perpetrator was fired without being sentenced to any criminal punishment. She only found out recently, in 2020, that her teacher told her mother directly that Genevieve was raped, so she was "broken" and would not be successful.

According to Yusof et al. (2010), religion provides a framework that acts as a strong influencing factor in shaping people's attitudes towards sexuality. The honor of a woman is directly linked to her purity. As a result, to remain a good woman in Islam, a woman should not put herself in a situation where her purity is questioned. Whether intentionally or unintentionally, in any circumstances, it is not the responsibility that damages the honor or the perpetrator, but the problem of women as victims

(Moore, 2011). Chastity is used as an indicator of success because it is related to honor and self-esteem not only for victims but also for their families, institutions, and the surrounding environment (Khalaf et al., 2018). A rape victim, especially one who is previously known to have never had sexual intercourse, may be viewed by society as "damaged". This phenomenon is known as re-traumatization (Rennison, 2001). Re-traumatization is defined as attitudes, behaviors, and victim-blaming practices by the community, which result in additional trauma for survivors of sexual violence (Campbell & Raja, 2005).

Several years after the incident, after Genevieve became more educated about sexual violence, she still sometimes feels judged by the religious narratives that pass through her social media. Many uploads from Islamic accounts disturb her because there are still many who blame and consider the victim 'bad', damaged goods because they have experienced sexual violence. Genevieve often feels triggered when she hears and sees these narratives. She even hopes that people who say them or make those statements feel what the victims have experienced so that they can understand and not arbitrarily conclude what they feel is true according to the teachings of their religions.

### **Zero Support**

The school, where the incident occurred, did not support Genevieve at all, even with a simple 'are you okay'. She was angry when people from her school gossiped about her

in front of her mom in a group chat. She was more upset when her mother, a mother of a victim of child sexual abuse, had to bear so much burden because of her.

At that time, Genevieve was actually afraid to tell her mother. If her mother did not know about it herself, Genevieve would not tell her. Genevieve had the urge to tell her mother when she felt the pain. However, afraid of being scolded or that her mother scolded the perpetrator, which could backfire on her, she tried to cover up the consequences of the rape she experienced such as walking difficulty and pain in her genitals when urinating. Child victims of sexual violence face complex situations that are difficult for them to fully understand. After her mother had confirmed what had happened to her child, Genevieve had to feel the pain again. She was yelled at and blamed for not telling her mother quickly and for being silent. Subconsciously, based on a sense of panic, her mother did victim blaming. There is a desire to be more understood, feel loved, not blamed, and get official assistance. Even though the school was unable to provide assistance to Genevieve and punish the perpetrators due to inadequate resources, Genevieve preferred that they remained silent and did not sow salt on the wounds she had had by speaking ill of Genevieve and her mother.

Although she was confused because her mother responding in a less embracing way, as she grew up, she understood more why his mother was angry with her. Genevieve knew that the use of a high tone when she was confused and did not know anything was not

the right choice, but she understood that at that time her mother must be in a panic. Compared to herself, she believes her mother was angrier with the perpetrator for abusing her child. However, if it happened now, Genevieve stated that she would not act like she used to. She will not hesitate to report.

### **Religion as a source of pain and comfort**

The sexual violence that Genevieve experienced occurred at an Islamic school, within the school environment, by the teacher who worked there. In addition, no one in the school, from the teachers to the parents, gave Genevieve any support. Not only that, they even added to the wound by judging Genevieve and her mother who did not know anything. It is ironic because many parents today send their children to Islamic schools in the hope that their children's safety is guaranteed and they are protected from immoral acts. Approximately 80% of respondents from parents of students in an Islamic school in Indonesia said that the two needs were expected and fulfilled (Saputra, 2015). According to MORA statistics, in 2017, students in Islamic schools account for about one-fifth of students in public schools. Consequently, it is undeniable that

parents' interest in Islamic schools is still high. In Genevieve case, after the incident, her mother regretted her decision to send Genevieve to an Islamic school.

Now, she manages to find solace in her current religion. During her life as a Catholic, Genevieve has felt comfort. Things that can help Genevieve when she feels emotional are more related to religious activities, such as praying, reading books, and listening to spiritual songs to remind her that God is with her and loves her. These consolations also help her whenever she is triggered by sexual violence-related thoughts.

### **CONCLUSION**

As it turns out, there is no truly safe place to not experience sexual violence, even in a sphere that uses strong moral values. It shows that each individual must be equipped with knowledge about sexual violence and be vigilant, regardless of who they are and how old they are. The people involved are also not necessarily able to understand and empathize with the victim as a support system that helps recovery. Experience as part of one's journey is very likely to be one factor that shapes one's thoughts on religion. It will determine whether a person remains in that religion or not.

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# SPPQT Program Evaluation for Food Access and Food Choice for the Elderly in the SPPQT Empowerment Areas

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## ABSTRACT

The increasing number of the elderly population also causes an increase in various diseases, including malnutrition. To overcome this, the food choice for the elderly in their environment must be considered. Moreover, the elderly tend to experience decreased access to nutrition and healthy food because of their physical limitations. In 1999, Serikat Paguyuban Petani Qaryah Thayyibah (SPPQT) was formed for farmer groups to connect its members and distribute food through its empowerment program. This study aims to evaluate the role of SPPQT's empowerment for the elderly to increase the food supply, which impacts access and food choice for the elderly. This study involved five participants. The result is that SPPQT has no responsibility for meeting food needs, including food selection and access for all farmers, including the elderly. The SPPQT program is only limited to farmer empowerment involving elderly farmers. However, access to food for all farmers, including the elderly farmers, is good. Yet, the selection of food for elderly farmers is not yet varied. Therefore, it is recommended that SPPQT should develop an empowerment program for the provision of food for older farmers and an increase in knowledge capacity related to food supply through access and selection of food for SPPQT's elderly assisted groups.

KEYWORDS: *food supply, elderly people, SPPQT program*

## INTRODUCTION

According to the World Health Organization (WHO), Indonesia will experience an increase in the population above 60 years old—the elderly age standard—by 28.7 million or 11.34% in 2020 and will be the highest in the world in 2025, reaching 41.4%. Data from the

Central Statistics Agency in 2015 showed that the number of elderly people in Indonesia reached 20,24 million (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2015). The primary health problem experienced by the older is malnutrition. One of the causes of malnutrition is the food choice in the environment (Yuniarti et al.,

2013). The environment where the elderly live is good for food availability and can help the elderly fulfill healthy and nutritious food (Byker Shanks et al., 2017). The selection of food that is not appropriate and does not vary will affect the food intake obtained by the elderly. The choice that is not selective will make it difficult for the elderly to digest food as the digestive absorption is weakened (Ningtyias et al., 2010). The elderly also tend to experience decreased access to healthy and nutritious food due to their physical limitations (Andress, 2017). In addition, access to food is also influenced by income level, food supply system, and purchasing power. On the other hand, the rapidly aging population growth along with changes in the food supply system can cause food insecurity in an area (Ishiguro, 2014). Therefore, increasing the availability and affordability of food in all regions should be one of the focuses of the government, including the Indonesian government.

Based on the accountability report (LKPjIP) of the mayor of Salatiga at the end of the 2014 fiscal year, Salatiga residents have a farmer livelihood of 1.41%, with 10.99% of its area being rice fields (Laporan Kinerja Intansi Pemerintah Kota Salatiga, 2014). Salatiga has sufficient availability of rice fields. Such an availability lets 55.18% of its rural elderly people work as farmers in Salatiga, although in general, only 1.41% of its people become farmers, with 10.99% of its area being rice fields (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2017). Even though the extent of rice fields in the city can also guarantee the provision of food in Salatiga, the unused land is indirectly related to

increased food vulnerability and the risk of malnutrition of the elderly who are still working in the agricultural area.

In 1999, *Serikat Paguyuban Petani Qaryah Thayyibah* (SPPQT) was formed. It is a union for farmer's associations in Salatiga. Led by Ahmad Bahrudin, SPPQT was formed by the local community to meet people's needs for food in Salatiga through economic fulfillment. The name 'Qaryah Thayyibah' itself means 'powerful village.' SPPQT aims to realize the empowerment of rural communities independently based on local potential so that they become empowered villages. The activities carried out target the political, economic, and cultural aspects. One of the activities carried out is *Pendidikan Kecakapan Wirausaha Unggulan* (PKWU), developed with an Integrated Farming System (IFS) which fully manages agrarian resources and integrates the livestock sector for the availability of organic fertilizers and forestry for conservation (waterland agro silvo pastoral) (KBQT, 2020).

The existence of farmer groups involving elderly farmers and the emergence of SPPQT as a liaison between the community and food raise a question of to what extent the programs carried out by SPPQT for the elderly community in their empowerment areas have an impact on the fulfillment of elderly nutrition. This study therefore aims to explore SPPQT innovative programs related to empowering elderly farmers to increase food needs which impact food selection and access for the elderly. This research is expected to be used as a recommendation for SPPQT to

develop the programs and to increase the knowledge capacity for SPPQT's elderly assisted group.

## METHODS

The research was carried out in Salatiga, which is included in SPPQT's empowerment area, from September to December, 2020. This research is qualitative employing an in-depth interview and participatory observations. The in-depth interview was used to determine the extent to which SPPQT's innovative program had an impact on the elderly who were included in their empowerment area. Meanwhile, participatory observation was used to directly observe the empowerment activities that the SPPQT elderly people followed.

The research focused on SPPQT administrators as participants. The criteria of the participants are having experience running SPPQT empowerment programs, playing an active role in empowering SPPQT members, and being willing to become research participants. Based on these criteria, five participants were involved, including female staff members, the head of the farmer representative supervisory board, the deputy chair of organization and politics, the chair of the women's division, and the founder of SPPQT now serving as chairman of the organization's advisory board.

In the data collection, researchers used voice recorders and writing instruments. Furthermore, the data obtained through interviews were still raw data and processed into interview transcripts, subsequently coded and given a theme. Then, the data was written in a narrative form

according to the theme and drawn to conclusions.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Results

From the result of the study, three themes can explain the evaluation of the SPPQT program on access and food choices for older farmers in the SPPQT empowerment area. The three themes are an overview of the SPPQT program, how SPPQT empowers elderly farmer members, and the impact of SPPQT empowerment on food choices and access for the elderly.

#### *Overview of the SPPQT Program*

Until 2012, SPPQT already has nine main organizational programs. The first is farmer education and organizing; this is intended for farmers' families, which include farmers who do not own their land. Second, the agrarian reform program intended for youth in the empowerment area is expected to be the future successor and mover in the agricultural sector. Third, an agricultural development program called Integrated Farming puts forward environmentally friendly principles to encourage farmers to produce their seeds and fertilizers and not use factory-produced fertilizers. The fourth program is the economic development program for farmers' families through cooperatives. Through cooperatives, farmers can get standard prices for selling products in the market. Fifth, the farmer community development program empowers members to improve agricultural knowledge and achieve maximum results from an economic perspective. There is also

a women's organization, and SPPQT wants to promote that women's work is equal to men's and that they can deal with the increasing problem of patriarchy. Other programs are intended for youth organizations and work advocacy. This work advocacy is useful for assisting SPPQT members or farming communities in its empowerment areas when dealing with cases or land disputes. This was reported by one of the administrators:

*"There is one program at SPPQT that is an organizing program. The second is an access program for children, so this is an agrarian reform program. Then the third is the agricultural development program we call Integrated Farming. This is an agricultural development concept that puts forward from the input side. It encourages farmers to use environmentally friendly inputs, fertilizers, and seeds made by themselves so the principle is friendly to the environment and also sovereign means self-produced not depending on input from manufacturers. Then the next one is the economic development of farmers' families with the development of cooperatives. Then, the next one is a program for women' organization. Then there is the youth organization itself. Then, there are community development programs, learning communities, and worker advocacy. So, there are nine."* (In-depth interview with Participant 2, November 2020)

#### *How SPPQT Empowers Elderly Farmer Members*

Empowerment is the main program to empower all SPPQT farmer groups. Most SPPQT farmers are already old, around 60 to 70 years old. SPPQT calls them the old-generation farmers. However, the management makes the same empowerment program for all farmer members. This can be seen from the young and elderly farmers' involvement in forming farmer groups in each SPPQT empowerment area.

*"As far as I know, there has been no special program for the elderly people. But they are not discriminated because they are 60 years old."* (In-depth interview with Participant 2, November 2020)

*"So, if the question is whether there are any elderly SPPQT members, the answer is yes."* (In-depth interview with Participant 5, November 2020)

In addition, based on the management monitoring program, elderly members are still active in attending regular meetings held by SPPQT management. One example is the Candakulak group in Kalibening which has elderly members. Many elderly members in that group have been there since the group was established SPPQT was officially formed, so many elderly farmers still survive. In addition, the Candakulak group still has a tradition of continuing to pass on the farmer groups to their children or grandchildren so that they can survive. One of the administrators stated,

*“This group in Kalibening is funny and interesting because its members can be passed on to children or grandchildren. For example, if the parents are elderly members, the membership can be given to their children. However, some survive until they are 60 to 70 years old”. (In-depth interview, Participant 4, November 2020)*

In carrying out its work, SPPQT empowers elderly farmer members through several approaches. Although not directly for elderly farmers, these programs also contribute to them. SPPQT approach is carried out through education, organizing, and advocacy programs. The education program maintain a series of training, workshops, and direct assistance sessions from coaches or SPPQT administrators. The coach or administrators teach the members how to cultivate the lands and plant superior seeds. Through this program, SPPQT administrators want farmer groups to gain knowledge about good soil, good seeds, and good planting methods for their farms. Furthermore, the form of the organization carried out by the management assists members in organizing programs that will be carried out by members of the farmer group. SPPQT forms the groups, e.g. the Bada Merbabu group. The group was formed to accommodate farmer groups who have different farming methods from the ones in Salatiga due to environmental conditions and cooler weather. Furthermore, assistance through an advocacy process helps farmers who have land problems.

*“There are three series of approach programs: education, organizing, and advocacy” (In-depth interview with Participant 2, November 2020)*

Another program that emerged from SPPQT that became the flagship was the production congregation. The production congregation program, which is an empowerment program, is run by all members of the farmer group, including the elderly. The program builds the entrepreneurial spirit of farmers by utilizing local potential. In the production congregation program, SPPQT takes an organizational approach to assist farmers in forming a production congregation program group; then, farmer groups involving elderly farmers will also be given the education to process local potential into a product that can be sold and consumed by themselves. Each empowerment area produces different products, depending on the local potential of the agricultural area of each group.

*“The production congregation itself turned out to be the aim of the group to raise the potential of the community, about what can be produced and what can be sold.” (In-depth interview with Participant 4, November 2020)*

*“There are coffee farmers in Temanggung. Then, in Kopeng farmers make Dutch eggplant syrup because the eggplant is their local potential.” (In-depth interview with Participant 3, November 2020)*

Furthermore, SPPQT has an empowerment program for food processing. The program involves elderly farmers as well. The approach taken is organizing and educating like the previous production congregation programs. SPPQT helps farmer groups to solve problems related to the high consumption of instant food or fast food among the farmers' children. In solving this problem, SPPQT provides socialization to farmer groups on how to make food products from their agricultural ingredients. Elderly farmers who are members of the group play a significant role in this food processing program, even though the program does not affect the fulfillment of food for the elderly in particular. One of the administrators said,

*"Yes, there is training. It is adjusted for them. For example, what to take to cultivate cassava, so that they can present various variants of food and it makes them interested if it is consumed. Our children and other family members become interested if the products are sold, so the added value is interesting for consumption. It's a food processing program".* (In-depth Interview with Participant 2, November 2020)

Finally, SPPQT has a program to encourage food diversity. The program is carried out by providing various forms of educational approaches and is formed by organizing by the SPPQT management. In the food diversity program, all members of farmers, including elderly farmers, are taught

about meeting the needs of carbohydrates or staple foods that can be obtained from food besides rice. For example, farmer members including the elderly can plant tubers that can be consumed as a substitute for rice. The SPPQT management explained,

*"There is a program to encourage food diversity, so that the understanding of carbohydrates is not limited to rice. The processing program is a challenge because we are currently dealing with instant food that only needs to be apart in 2 minutes, and it is already cooked..."* (In-depth Interview with Participant 2, November 2020)

#### **Empowerment of SPPQT on Food Access and Choice of Elderly Food**

The potential in agriculture is related to farmers' access and food choices. The elderly people who become farmers or farm laborers supposedly have good access to food because they have easily accessible agricultural land. Unfortunately, access to available food does not support the choice of diverse foods for farmer groups, especially the elderly members. One of the SPPQT administrators stated,

*"Yes, it must be related if the access is due to agriculture, I think, either they are called farm laborers or they have their own land. In a village, I think access to food is easy. They can access existing availability. It's just that sometimes the choice is about healthy food, what kind of food it is that needs to be conveyed."* (In-depth Interview with Participant 1, November 2020)

Most of the elderly farmers in SPPQT are rice farmers and vegetable/fruit farmers. The types of vegetables and fruits grown are of the high premium group, such as beets and Dutch eggplant. Unfortunately, these plants do not become daily consumption. Older farmers prefer selling to consuming them. This choice also occurs in the organic rice they grow. For them, organic rice has a higher selling value so it will be more profitable. However, if there are fruits or vegetables and rice that are not sold, they will choose to consume them themselves rather than selling them at low prices. The SPPQT stated,

*"The elderly, they have a habit in terms of maintaining food security by saving the harvest for a new season. They sell the rest. That's the calculation."* (In-depth Interview with Participant 2, November 2020)

*"[We] encourage them to plant different types of high premium, like the beet and Dutch eggplant. The approach chosen is the same as the goal for the rice farmers to get added value, even though they don't consume that type of vegetable because it's the type of vegetable that urban people consume."* (In-depth Interview with Participant 2, November 2020)

This habit continues to be carried out by elderly members of SPPQT. As a result, the SPPQT program only strives for the empowerment process and does not regulate access and food choices for elderly farmers. All farmers have their own choice to meet the needs of access and food

choices independently. The recommendation given by SPPQT is limited to separating different lands so that plants can be planted that can be consumed daily. SPPQT's encouragement also hopes that farmers can maintain local food through a variety of crops. An SPPQT administrator reported,

*"SPPQT emphasizes more on farmers to produce themselves, for example maintaining local food. Local food in this area, for example, is corn, but now it has switched to rice. But then there is local food that actually deserves to be preserved but sometimes it's been that long or sometimes it's not that much. What's left? Because it's more of a by-new production, for example, taro, sweet potatoes, and then cassava, which don't need special care, as long as you plant them and later on you harvest them. The emphasis is on maintaining local food"* (In-depth Interview Participant 3, November 2020)

## Discussion

Indonesia has entered a state with an aging population structure in 2020 (Jamalludin, 2020), with 10.06% of its population being 60 years and over. United Nations' projected that the percentage will reach 21% in 2050 (UN Population Division, 2019). To meet their daily needs, 49.39% of the Indonesian elderly people in 2019 were still actively working even though they had retired (Jamalludin, 2020). However, physical, mental, and social setbacks due to the aging process were an obstacle for the elderly to do their jobs (Intani, 2013).

On the other hand, in facing their old age, the elderly in Indonesia must still be encouraged to their potential so that they can live healthily, actively, and independently (Hendrawanto, 2016). The emergence of problems faced by the elderly requires real action to improve the quality of their lives. This requires the concern of various parties, including the government, private institutions, the community, and the families. One form of caring can be realized by empowering the elderly (Suyanto, 2017). The empowerment program can be a brain stimulation activity and encourage the elderly to play an active and productive role so that they can improve the quality of life of the elderly and those around them (Hendrawanto, 2016). This is what SPPQT did through its program in the agricultural sector involving elderly farmers.

Empowerment carried out by SPPQT is important because based on data from the Indonesian Ministry of Health, almost 80% of the elderly living in rural areas work in the agricultural sector. The large number of elderly people who are still working is caused by the relatively large economic needs, and physically and mentally the elderly are still able to carry out daily activities. The demands of the elderly to meet various kinds of daily needs are increasing more than ever (Afrizal, 2018) encouraging elderly farmers to still actively work as their strategy to survive (Intani, 2013). This motivates SPPQT to handle the problems experienced by its members. Through empowerment, all farmers becoming members of SPPQT, including elderly farmers, get

knowledge about good soil, seeds, and planting methods for their farms. In addition, the empowerment of SPPQT can also increase the economic income of farmers through the SPPQT program which has the concept of farmer entrepreneurship by utilizing local potential.

The involvement of elderly farmers in the SPPQT empowerment program can help improve the quality of the elderly farmers' life. The quality of life for the elderly is a functional condition of the elderly in optimal conditions to let them enjoy their old age meaningfully, happily, and usefully (Nawi et al., 2010). Unfortunately, the empowerment carried out by SPPQT has not yet been fully centered on elderly farmers. This condition might be influenced by the general view in society regarding the elderly who tend to be considered as a group that is no longer productive and a burden for the productive age. Their physical condition has generally decreased, making them vulnerable to various diseases. This assumption is known as ageism. The strength of this assumption restricts the elderly in the community, which can indirectly harm the health and welfare of the elderly (Irawanto, 2013). This study also shows that SPPQT still carries out the empowerment program for the elderly, but the involvement of other groups is still carried out with the assumption that the elderly have limitations in running the program.

Furthermore, in its empowerment, SPPQT has no responsibility in encouraging efforts to fulfill farmers' food needs related to food selection and access. SPPQT is only limited to providing

recommendations regarding the use of agricultural land to plant various types of plants so that farmers can consume them. However, all SPPQT farmers independently have their own choices of access and food selection. Considering the environment where the elderly live, the availability of access to food generally affects the choice of more nutritious food for the elderly (Byker Shanks et al., 2017). Based on the results of the study, access to food owned by SPPQT farmers including elderly farmers is quite good, due to the availability of agricultural land for planting food crops. Unfortunately, the food choices of all SPPQT farmers are less varied. The elderly is particularly recommended to have more varied food choices, so that the nutritional fulfillment for the elderly is met properly (Tamba & Gultom, 2014). The elderly need healthy food with a choice of various types of food consisting of staple foods, side dishes, and fruits that contain calories, protein, carbohydrates and dietary fiber, vitamins and minerals, water, and low fat (Qurniawati, 2018). Food choices that are not appropriate and do not vary will affect the elderly's food intake. The non-selective choice of food will make it difficult for the elderly to digest the food because of their weakened digestive absorption. The less varied food choice is because most of the elderly farmers in SPPQT prefer to sell organic rice or high-premium vegetables/fruits rather than consume them.

However, sometimes elderly farmers still consume the remaining harvests that are still available if they are not sold. Harvests from organic farming produce high-quality and

nutritious food that can support the farmers' health and welfare. The principle of organic farming shows that the health of each individual and community cannot be separated from the health of the ecosystem which can support the health of the living creatures around it (IFOAM, 2005). Currently, the concept of the SPPQT empowerment program related to organic farming systems has been well carried out by their farmer groups including the elderly farmers because the results can increase farmers' economic income. It is just that the agricultural system has not had an impact on the provision of food for farmers regarding the selection of food for elderly farmers.

## CONCLUSION

Based on the finding of this study, SPPQT has a responsibility in encouraging farmer groups including elderly farmers to make efforts to fulfill their food needs regarding food selection and access. Besides, SPPQT has tried to empower farmers, including elderly people in their empowerment areas. One of the impacts of empowering farmers is the availability of good agricultural land for planting food crops to encourage good food access for all farmers, including elderly farmers. Unfortunately, the choice of food variations for all farmers is not yet varied, and efforts are still needed to increase the farmers' knowledge capacity. Therefore, SPPQT should develop a program for the farmer's groups that also involves elderly farmers to increase their knowledge of variations in food sources through agricultural products

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# Indigenisation of Global Norms: Norm Localization Analysis on LGBTQ+ Acceptance in Surabaya, Indonesia

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## ABSTRACT

In the era of globalization, norms can easily travel and transfer worldwide; they can also be adapted into certain local norms. Indonesian public acceptance of global norms is heavily affected by religious norms, which are deeply conservative. The acceptance of the LGBTQ+ community by the Indonesian public has been a hard case for that reason. However, in Surabaya, one of the biggest cities in Indonesia, religious norms have been utilized by GayA Nusantara (GN), a local NGO advocating for the acceptance of the LGBTQ+, as an effective tool to reconstruct public perception towards the LGBTQ+ community. This research explains how the GN approach helped the Surabayan accept the LGBTQ+ community. This research highlights the importance of the history of local culture and local wisdom that proves that Indonesian society – to certain degrees – has long been relatively accepting of gender diversity as part of their day-to-day life. However, when it comes to accepting LGBTQ+ as part of global norms, Indonesian still seems reluctant to be open to it. Within this unique context, this research aims to explain the localization process of the global norms on LGBTQ+ as part of the advocacy strategy conducted by GN. Applying the interpretative research method allows the researcher to interpret the result based on the data without letting the theory and/or indicators shape the research outcome.

KEYWORDS: *norms indigenization, LGBTQ+, Indonesia, gender*

## INTRODUCTION

Globalisation is a phenomenon that creates an environment for transnational borders to be blurred and transactions to be fastened and widened. There are two kinds of globalisation, i.e., hard and soft globalisation. Hard globalisation is the openness for goods, capitals,

people, and services to be transferred across transnational borders (Sander 2015), while soft globalisation is a phenomenon where norms, values, and cultures are vastly transferred all over the globe (Sander 2015).

As it cannot be avoided, norms are vastly transferred, exchanged, and

internalised by societies worldwide. The localisation of norms happens to adapt the global norms into the local ones. Sundrijo (2021) argued that global norms are not always aligned and applicable in a local setting. When there is a lack of applicability of a global norm that creates resistance towards that norm, a norm localisation is needed. Thus, norm localisation is defined a means taken by the norm localisation actors to ensure the applicability of a global norm (Sundrijo, 2021). In the end, the localisation of norms creates hybrid norms that can be accepted by local society (Merry, 2013). There are several concepts of norms localisation; one of them is norms vernacularisation. The norms vernacularisation explains how an actor translate global norms to a certain local norm that has been identified (Merry, 2013). It explains how the translation process, defined as indigenisation, will increase the degree of acceptance of the global norms.

In general, acceptance is defined as a public decision to include an external entity into their social interaction (Leary, 2010). On the other hand, rejection is defined as the public decision to exclude an external entity from their social interaction (Leary, 2010). The concept of acceptance and rejection are not absolute. Each of them is a concept that comes with a degree. The degree of acceptance and rejection can be translated from the people's behaviour (Dewall et al., 2011). In the case of norms localisation, the degree of acceptance and rejection may vary. It can be identified by the reaction locals give towards the external norms introduced to them.

As one of the most religious countries in the world, Indonesian lean heavily toward religious norms for their day-to-day life. Indonesia's religiosity is shown by the survey conducted by Pew Research that suggests 96% of Indonesian believe that to be moral and have good values is to believe in God (Tamir et al., 2020). With that in mind, Indonesian tend to decide what is good or bad based on their religious norms, including Indonesian attitudes towards the LGBTQ+ community. LGBTQ+ acceptance has been institutionalised as global norms by United Nations as part of their human rights campaign. UN has several resolutions regarding the issue of LGBTQ+ acceptance. However, the acceptance of LGBTQ+ in Indonesia has been going on in such a dynamic depending on the strength of religious norms influence within the society. The conversation surrounding LGBTQ+ acceptance has been facilitated by some local actors' active and significant roles. Among them is GayA Nusantara (GN), whose movements are unique as they used a religious approach to localising LGBTQ+ acceptance as global norms in Indonesian society, especially Surabayan. GN aims for the LGBTQ+ community to be accepted as part of society and protected from any form of discrimination by the law (S. Sigit, personal interview, 17 June 2021). GN understand that religion is essential to the locals and that they use religious norms to advocate the rights of the LGBTQ+ community. This article aims to answer a research question *"How could LGBTQ+ acceptance as part of global norms be accepted in Surabaya, Indonesia?"* Throughout this article,

the term "community" will refer to the local group of LGBTQ+ and "society" to Indonesian at large.

## METHODS

The article is the written output of a research process conducted following the principles of the qualitative research method. The nature of the method is inductive, where the researcher is forming a new concept or theory based on the findings they have encountered during the research process (Bryman, 2012). The authors ought to interpret, analyse, and connect the dots between the collected information and data using various data collection methods.

First, the authors collected data using the literature review method by collecting data from books, journals, and several grey literatures like reports and news articles that surrounds the issue of LGBTQ+ acceptance in the world and Indonesia. Then, the data collected is analysed by using qualitative history analysis to understand the history of how LGBTQ+ acceptance became a very important conversation globally, hence becoming a major part of global norms on human rights. The authors were focusing on the era of the rise of Christianity and how same-sex relations were perceived in the modern-day LGBTQ+ advocacy in the world. Furthermore, the focus on Indonesia's acceptance of the LGBTQ+ community since the beginning of Indonesia's independence to the status quo of LGBTQ+ acceptance in the archipelago. The method helps authors understand the dynamic of LGBTQ+ acceptance in the world

and in Indonesia and what shaped the status quo. The qualitative history analysis allows the authors to interpret certain historical events such as the past law, movements, and coverage of the LGBTQ+ community to the acceptance rate of the LGBTQ+ community (Thies, 2002).

The authors also used qualitative interviews as a data collecting method. The authors conducted a thorough qualitative interview with the GN elite to get as many explanations as possible about how GN has been advocating for LGBTQ+ community acceptance. Based on the information collected, the authors constructed a norms localisation model that explains how global norms are framed and localised within the context of challenges from pre-existing religious norms in Surabaya. In addition to the interview, data and information were also collected through texts and documents of various academic literature, such as books and journal articles.

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

To explain the norms localisation strategies used by GN, the authors refer to the concept of norms vernacularisation mentioned in Merry's 2013 article. Vernacularisation was first introduced in 1983 by Benedict Anderson to explain how European countries formed their national languages by combining their medieval Latin roots and their very own differentiation (Merry, 2013). In short, vernacularisation is the localisation or adaptation of external entities to the local ones. Norms vernacularisation is defined as a

process in which global norms are localised by adapting them into certain local norms, or, according to Merry, 'indigenisation' (Merry, 2013). Indigenisation is when new ideas, or norms, are framed and presented in terms of existing norms (Merry 2013). This concept acknowledges the significant role of local actors as the "translator" of global norms as they are the ones who will connect the dots between the global norms and the pre-existing local norms within a society. Translators also play a big role as they are deemed to understand norms, they are trying to merge (Merry, 2013). The translator is usually an NGO advocating for certain norms to be more acceptable in society. As the nature of NGOs is somewhat prone to partiality, depending on who is behind them, it is also important to understand that what is being advocated might also be affected by an external cause (Merry, 2013). The outcome of their advocacy is not always successful.

The new indigenised norms might be ignored, rejected, or it will create a hybrid discourse and form an acceptable norm.

The concept differs from other norms localisation concepts as it focuses on local norms identification. That is because the norm vernacularisation highlights the importance of identifying a local norm that will be used by the translator. This step of the norm vernacularisation is critical because the translator needs to understand which local norm is impactful enough to frame the global norm (Merry, 2006). It is important to choose the correct local norm to frame the global norm as the success of the norm vernacularisation process depends on the process or local norm identification. The translator will then mould a new hybrid norm that will serve global agenda and the local norms on their terms.

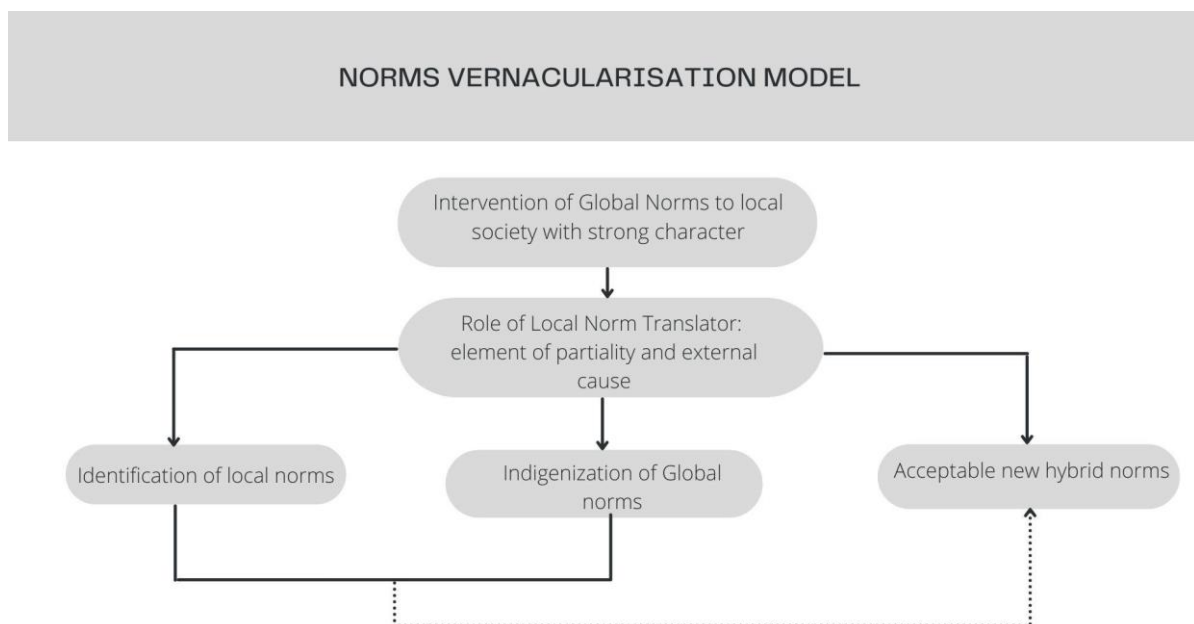


Figure 1. Norms Vernacularisation Model Source: Transnational Human Rights and Local Activism: Mapping the Middle, 2013

The norm vernacularisation is a concept chosen by the authors to be the ground concept of this research for its focus on both the translator and local norm identifying process. The case of the LGBTQ+ acceptance in Surabaya is also highlighting the role of GN as a translator and how they identify religion as the local norm to frame the acceptance of the LGBTQ+ community. Although the case of Surabaya shows some different points than norm vernacularisation (further discussed in the next part of the article), the concept is the closest to the norm localisation process happened in Surabaya.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### LGBTQ+ Acceptance as Global Norms

LGBTQ+ movement started from a wave of rejection towards same-sex practice all over Europe upon the rise of Christianity. The rejection and criminalisation first happened in the 16th century. In Britain, homosexual behaviour was labelled a crime (Schwartz, 2014). The rejection did not stay only in Britain. In 1870 German penal code also included same-sex male relations as one of the punishable crimes (Schwartz, 2014). The rejection in the form of criminalisation was widespread outside Europe with the wave of colonisation that also brought the influence of Christianity.

LGBTQ+ movements started with the gay rights movement. Before the proper movements were ever formed, poets and writers produced several pieces of literature explaining same-sex relations to give the community a little voice

(Schwartz, 2014). the first proper movement, called Scientific-Humanitarian Committee, only appeared in 1897 in Berlin. The committee was founded by Magnus Hirschfeld, an important figure in understanding sexuality and the possibility of many sexual orientations and interactions between genders (Djajic-Horváth, 2010). Magnus's findings become an important part of educating the public on why same-sex relations should not be criminalised as it is deemed natural. He also founded his first sexology institute, Institute for Sexual Science, which was meant to educate Germans about sexuality and same-sex relations. Nazi demonstrators destroyed the institute in 1933 as part of the ethnic cleansing (Djajic-Horváth, 2010).

As the Nazis gained power in Germany, their mission to purify Germany to become a strong nation led by pure German blood began. Other than attacking Jews, they also targeted LGBTQ+ individuals; most were gay men (Mullen, 2019). LGBTQ+ individuals were arrested and sent to the concentration camp with the pink triangle patched onto their striped pyjamas. That symbol dehumanised them. In camps, they were put in the lowest caste of prisoners where they needed to survive both the guards and the other inmates (Mullen, 2019). 65% of them died, and even after World War II, they did not get to breathe easy as Germany outlawed gay relations until the '70s (Mullen, 2019). The history of using the pink triangle by Nazi is very important to tell as it is now the symbol of gay community empowerment.

The LGBTQ+ movement did not gain more power and voice until the

'60s. Stonewall riots in New York, USA, started the movement of the LGBTQ+ community demanding equality. At that point, they were removed from professional sectors in the light of looking for the influence of colonialism post-world war (Notaro, 2017). They were also discriminated against in social settings by being arrested from beaches, parks, and public spaces. The discrimination came to the point where gay people were not allowed to drink and have their own space in bars, even gay bars (Notaro, 2017). These forms of discrimination then triggered the riots.

The police raid at Stonewall Inn happened on 28 June 1969. The police arrested several workers and charged the club with illegally selling alcohol (Notaro, 2017). The riots began when patrons outside the bar decided to fight back as they got tired of constant discrimination by being a target of raids and arrests. Hundreds of patrons and neighbours refused to leave the spot and later came in physical contact with the police for six nights (Notaro, 2017). After those nights, the gay community has stopped shying away from demanding respect and their rights; many of them have come out as they decided to be seen. Since then also, the public of the USA and the world have become more open to the idea of accepting gays into their community (Notaro, 2017).

The riots have a domino effect in the US, resulting in several bills being passed to ensure that LGBTQ+ rights are not ignored. In Britain, a charity named Stonewall Inn, Stonewall Equity Limited, was founded in 1989. One of the turning points was in 1970 when gay pride parades were first celebrated in the

US, and today LGBTQ+ community worldwide celebrate it annually (Notaro, 2017). The conversation surrounding LGBTQ+ rights did not stop within the US, and it also created a global conversation about LGBTQ+ rights and acceptance.

The fights protesting and advocating for equality and justice performed by the LGBTQ+ movements have placed LGBTQ+ acceptance as a strategic human rights issue recognised under several UN resolutions. United Nations has ten resolutions regarding the protection of LGBTQ+ rights. Three of them are under the Human Rights Council, and the rest are under the General Assembly. Those resolutions cover several key issues surrounding LGBTQ+ rights and have the LGBTQ+ community protected from any form of discrimination.

### **LGBTQ+ in Indonesia**

The acceptance of LGBTQ+ as part of global norms in Indonesia is one of the most strategic politicised issues in Indonesia. Since the fall of Suharto reign in 1989, Indonesia has met its new and current atmosphere of democracy where everyone could form an organisation (Wijaya, 2020). These organisations could be based on anything, including religions. Several religious communities decided to form an organisation to gain more impact and power. As those religious-based organisations own their stage within Indonesia's society, Indonesia's politics and social norms become very centred towards religious norms (Wijaya, 2020). For example, back in October 2021, the Islamic party in Indonesia called PPP or United Development

Party urged to boycott DC comics after it was revealed that Superman is bisexual (Swaragita, 2021). The narration of the LGBTQ+ community as a threat to Indonesia's morality is also shown by raids that are usually involving both police and Islamic group. In 2020, a gay party was raided by the police, and several members were arrested (McDonald, 2020).

Although the status quo shows that Indonesia's public degree of acceptance towards the LGBTQ+ community is relatively slow, Indonesia was once open to gender diversity and same-sex practice (Polymenopoulou, 2018). The Bugis tribe, which resides and corresponds to 45% of Indonesia's Southern Sulawesi, is known as one of the indigenous communities open to the idea and practice of gender diversity. Apart from male and female, they recognise at least three other genders, i.e. *calalai* (female-bodied individuals who prefer to live as men); *calabai* (male-bodied individuals who prefer to live as women); and *bissu* ('gender transcendent') (Polymenopoulou, 2018). The fact that *bissu* represented either woman or man (Khanis, 2013) makes them perfect and pure (Boellstorff, 2005b), which allows them some spiritual attributes or priests in the Bugis society *Bissu* was very important to the indigenous people of Bugis and was part of several sacred ceremonies like blessing ceremonies within the community. Nevertheless, since religious teaching and colonialism hit Indonesia, the practice of *bissu* has been banned (Boellstorff, 2005b).

Besides the gender diversity in Bugis culture, same-sex practice in

Javanese culture is also widely known. It is part of Ponorogo culture in East Java, *reog*. *Reog* is a folk dance whose two main characters, *warok* and *gemblak*, are male. *Warok* are the master of *gemblak*. *Warok* is also framed as a spiritually connected character with the mystical ability (*sakti*). To maintain their ability, *warok* is prohibited from having sex with women (Boellstorff, 2005b). With that, *warok* had sexual relations with *gemblak*, but the practice was denied by *warok* (Boellstorff, 2005b). However, during the Dutch colonisation, the practice of *bissu* and *reog* as they were seen to be immoral (Boellstorff, 2005b).

The banning of cultural activities that shows gender diversity and same-sex relations continued throughout the stay of the Dutch and the influence of religious teaching in Indonesia. After getting their independence, Suharto's reign, which came second to the presidency in 1968, played a bigger role in deciding the dynamic of the LGBTQ+ community existence in Indonesia. During his presidency, Suharto framed a group of politically active women in same-sex relations as part of the murder of military generals that triggered the coup of 1965 (Wijaya, 2020). However, during his reign, there seemed to be certain degrees of acceptance with the establishment of HIWAD or *Himpunan Wadam Djakarta*. HIWAD, representing 'wadam' or *wanita adam* (transvestite or feminine male homosexual), was founded in 1969. What makes the founding of this association important to the LGBTQ+ history in Indonesia is that it was facilitated by Ali Sadikin, the Governor of DKI Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia

(Muthmainnah, 2016). The involvement of a high-profile politician surely showed that the nation was open to the idea of transvestite or feminine male homosexual. The establishment of HIWAD is certainly important to mark the awakening of LGBTQ+ advocacy in Indonesia, as it aims to change the stigma close to the trans community in Indonesia (Udasmoro, 2017).

Although in Indonesia today LGBTQ+ community seems to have little to no place in Indonesia's society, there is, in fact, a constant acceptance and public knowledge for the trans community.<sup>1</sup> The acceptance is especially open towards *warias* and *bancis* or effeminate transsetive men. They are both visible in urban and rural settings in Indonesia (Polymenopoulou, 2018). Some of them are very open and accepted to be part of the society to build a life as a binary people would. For example, Udasmoro (2017) explained how people in Yogyakarta are open to the fact that a transman runs a big business. People widely accept that they also serve a role in public entertainment (Polymenopoulou, 2018) and public celebration (Udasmoro 2017).

Based on what has been explained above, we understand a certain dynamic in accepting the LGBTQ+ community in Indonesia. First, many parts of Indonesia are culturally open to gender diversity. Second, the LGBTQ+ issue has been

politicised as part of the religious norms and morality of the nation. Third, there is a different reaction towards LGBTQ+ as the community and trans community known as *warias* and *bancis*.

### GayA Nusantara and LGBTQ+ Advocacy in Surabaya

As discussed before, HIWAD is the first publicly announced organisation that advocates for non-binary people. After HIWAD, several organisations stand up for LGBTQ+ rights, i.e., Lamda Indonesia (Muthmainnah, 2016), and IWAYO or *Ikatan Waria Yogyakarta* was found in 1982. KKLGN or *Kelompok Kerja Lesbian dan Gay Nusantara* was founded in 1986. The latter was then changed their name to GayA Nusantara (GN) (Muthmainnah, 2016). GN is an organisation that advocates for the acceptance and the rights of the LGBTQ+ community.

Although most of the purposes of those LGBTQ+ organisations are similar to one another, GN is especially unique. They are the first to advocate for the openness of LGBTQ+ identity without being threatened by any background, including their religious views (Muthmainnah, 2016). Their programs are supported by networking with local and international LGBTQ+ organisations and allies. GN works with Arus Pelangi, progressive local religious leaders like Imam Nakhai and Stephen Sulaiman, UNSAID, The Global Alliance for LGBT Education, and Human Rights Watch (S. Sigit, personal interview, 17 June 2021). Networking is particularly important for GN movements for two reasons (S. Sigit, personal interview, 17 June

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<sup>1</sup> Trans community is part of LGBTQ+ community. However, as the public of Indonesia perceived them as *waria* and *banci* who have been socially involved in Indonesia, people are more accepted towards them than LGBTQ+ as a whole

2021). *First*, as an organisation, GN can learn from other organisations about issues and strategies to advocate for LGBTQ+ acceptance. However, when it comes to applying what they learn from other organisations, GN does not take it as it is. For example, when they learn about how advocacy is being conducted in other countries, they would adapt it into what they think fits into the nature of Indonesia's society (S. Sigit, personal interview, 17 June 2021). Sigit also explained that GN does not necessarily follow the trend of advocacy through GN's networking. He explained that when most LGBTQ+ movements advocate for the legalisation of same-sex marriage, GN does not just follow along. GN remain with their goal to make the LGBTQ+ community accepted by society despite their religious background or gender (S. Sigit, personal interview, 17 June 2021).

*Second*, as a member of LGBTQ+, there is a sense of togetherness and belonging, which are important for self-acceptance within the community. Self-acceptance is very important as it will make members of LGBTQ+ understand that they should not hide away. GN also opens their door for those outside the community who are eager to learn and get involved in LGBTQ+ advocacy through the internship program they offer (S. Sigit, personal interview, 17 June 2021).

GN regularly holds workshops involving religious leaders, academics, and LGBTQ+ allies as part of its advocacy strategy. One of those was on Developing Progressive Interpretations of Religious Texts in 2018. The workshop's outcome is a book called "Christian-Islam

Progressive Interpretations of Gender Diversity and Sexuality: A Guideline to Understand the Human Body and God" (GayA Nusantara, 2020). The workshop and book were meant to educate both the public and the LGBTQ+ community about the religious ways of accepting LGBTQ+. Sigit claims that through their workshops and the book, in the name of human rights, the general public's acceptance in Surabaya towards the LGBTQ+ as part of their society is getting better (S. Sigit, personal interview, 17 June 2021). Society is more open to the idea of letting the LGBTQ+ community live their life without any discrimination in a social setting. Sigit highlighted that many LGBTQ+ individuals become apart from their religious beliefs because society refuses to accept them as part of them. Labels as sinners and unnatural creatures pushed the LGBTQ+ individuals away from their religious beliefs. This is why the book is important to understand the inclusivity of religions (S. Sigit, personal interview, 17 June 2021).

The demonisation of the LGBTQ+ community has been widely done and acknowledged by the Indonesian public based on religious teachings and manuscripts (Boellstorff, 2005a). It is usually connected to the tale of Sodom people that are told to be condemned for their sexual behaviour identified as gay (Boellstorff, 2005a). The Tale of Sodom is told in Qur'an and Bible. It is about a town that was cursed and banished by God (Boellstorff, 2005a) because of the sin of its people. It is said that the people of Sodom are gays, lesbians, and transvestite. One day, God sent an angel to come to

Sodom as a handsome man. Males of Sodom then tried to force themselves into the angel showing their homosexuality, causing the town of being destroyed (Boellstorff, 2005a).

To stop the demonisation of the LGBTQ+ community, GN tried to reinterpret the tale of Sodom. It is important as they reframed it so that it tells that gay is not the problem and the cause of the curse to Sodom, but rather it was because of the rape or non-consent sexual intercourse done by the Sodom people to the male angel (GayA Nusantara, 2020). Such interpretation becomes very important to educate both the general public and the members of the LGBTQ+ community that there is no need for demonisation towards the LGBTQ+ community (S. Sigit, personal interview, 8 December 2021). Apart from the reinterpretation of the tale of Sodom that changed the "sinner" label, the book also talks about many more basic contestations such as the creation of more than two genders, gender expression, and purification, that is related to the religious manuscript, especially in Christianity and Islam.

There is also a chapter in the book that touches on God's creation that is not all binary. It explains how God has created several other genders that are non-binary and that all God's creations are loved and perfect (GayA Nusantara, 2020). The book quoted a verse from the Quran in Surah Al-Hajj:5 saying that God created people who are defined as *mukhallaqah* form (common/fair) and *ghoiru mukhallaqah* (not normal/uncommon) (GayA Nusantara,

2020).<sup>2</sup> The verse was reinterpreted to show that God created people who fit into the normality of binary ideas and the uncommon ones that do not fit into the binary standard.<sup>3</sup> The book also quoted several verses on Christianity teaching, including Isaiah 56:7 (ASV), saying that churches are the "house of prayer for all people". The verse becomes very important to explain that Christianity does not discriminate and is open to anyone and everyone, including the LGBTQ+ community (GayA Nusantara, 2020). Based on the verses quoted in the book, it is clear that the book is not only trying to educate the general public about the progressive interpretations of religious manuscripts. The book can also be interpreted as GN creating a safe space for the LGBTQ+ community to seek God and that God accepts them that they were once believed to be merciful.

GN also work closely with progressive religious leaders to educate the public about the acceptance of the LGBTQ+ community (S. Sigit, personal interview, 17 June 2021). They are also working with one of the

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<sup>2</sup> There are many versions of interpretation of *mukhallaqah* form and *ghoiru mukhallaqah*. The version used in this article is GN version of interpretation

<sup>3</sup> Interpretation of normality in gender diversity explained in Christian-Islam Progressive Interpretations Of Gender Diversity And Sexuality: A Guideline to Understand The Human Body and God, "In Islamic context, the Qur'an mentions in surah Al-Hajj: 5 that mankind is created in *mukhallaqah* form (common/fair) and *ghoiru mukhallaqah* (not normal/uncommon). These two terms undoubtedly provide a broader picture of how God is very likely to create things that are not common among the very common creations" (GayA Nusantara, 2020).

*pesantren* or Islamic schools in Yogyakarta that is safe for LGBTQ+, especially the *warias* (transwoman). GN and the *pesantren* work together is written in a book titled "*Santri Waria: Kisah Kehidupan Pondok Pesantren Waria Al-Fatah Yogyakarta*". The book is very important to highlight the life of *warias* and their belief system that was torn before they found their place in Islam. The book aims to educate the general public about the struggle of *warias* to claim their religious identity as it was taken away by conservative religions. It has always been an 'either-or': to be part of either the LGBTQ+ community or their religious belief and closet in terms of their truest identity (S. Sigit, personal interview, 17 June 2021). In Islam, men and women pray with each gender group and there are certain differences when performing the prayer. The practices make it hard for *warias* to choose whether to pray as men or women. This book suggests that *warias* and other genders are welcome to praise God for their beliefs and how they perceive themselves (Sa'dan, 2020).

The impact of those two books can be seen in both the public and the community. The two books help the public understand that religious teachings are not exclusive to those in binary standards but also those outsides. The book also educates the public that it is the right of every human to perform their religious beliefs. This further impacts the public understanding from being enclosed to the idea of the LGBTQ+ community performing their religious beliefs to being more open towards that idea (S. Sigit, personal interview, 17 June 2021). The books also understand the LGBTQ+

community that they need to accept themselves and see themselves as worthy of peace and beliefs (S. Sigit, personal interview, 8 December 2021). This further helps to minimise the mental pressure experienced by the LGBTQ+ community that sometimes leads to the case of denying their truth or even suicide (S. Sigit, personal interview, 8 December 2021). The members of the LGBTQ+ community need to accept themselves as it will make them understand their place in society. By claiming their place in society, they will be more open to talking about their story, which is important to keep the conversation developing (S. Sigit, personal interview, 17 June 2021). Overall, empowering the community triggers a higher degree of acceptance of society.

Other than those two books, GN has managed to write several other books surrounding the issues of LGBTQ+ acceptance within the religious community, LGBTQ+ rights, and equality. Besides books, GN also published around 28 magazines from 1987 to 2014. The magazine targeted Indonesian society as their main readers and was distributed through their website and locally sold in Surabaya. Reviewing the magazine contents shows how the conversation has evolved for more than two decades. In the early prints of magazines, GN talked more about acceptance and religious teachings that are inclusive for the LGBTQ+ community. In 2014, the magazine highlighted personal stories about same-sex love and even created a profile story of LGBTQ+ members of the year. The change is reflected in the magazines' table of contents.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| <b>buletin</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |    |
| <b>gaya nusantara</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |    |
| Tahun 1, Nomor 2, Januari-Februari 1988                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |    |
| <b>DAFTAR ISI</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |    |
| Sekapur Sirih: Antara Dosa, Penyakit dan Keanekaragaman                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 2  |
| Gayung Bersambut                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 5  |
| Berita dan Ulasan                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 11 |
| Cerpen: Ketika Embun Berguguran, oleh Alfian                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 13 |
| Kover Kita: Srikandhi                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 22 |
| Keluhan Kita                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 24 |
| Di Mana Ngeber                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 31 |
| Perkawanan                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 33 |
| Puisi: Surat Cinta I oleh Leonie                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 35 |
| Puisi: Yang Telah Berlalu oleh Giovedi Mad                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 36 |
| Kabar Baik untuk Pembaca Lesbian                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 37 |
| Perpustakaan Gaya Nusantara                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 38 |
| Diterbitkan tiap 2 bulan, 40 hlm., oleh Kelompok Kerja Lesbian dan Gay Nusantara (KKLGN), untuk kalangan sendiri. Penanggung jawab: Ketua KKLGN. Redaksi Naskah: Dr Dede Oetomo. Disain dan Artistik: Ruddy Mustapha. Koresponden: Giovedi Mad (Denpasar). Humas: Franz T. (Malang), Si Jangkung (Surabaya). Alamat Redaksi: Tromol Pos 9, Pasuruan 67402, Jawa Timur. Ganti ongkos cetak Rp750,-. |    |
| Redaksi mengharapkan sumbangan tulisan (fiksi [prosa maupun puisi] dan nonfiksi), foto, ilustrasi (gambar, sketsa, lukisan, karikatur, kartun) yg bertema Gay. Untuk sementara belum tersedia honorarium. Penyumbang mendapat 2 eksemplar edisi yg memuat sumbangannya.                                                                                                                            |    |
| gn, thn 1, no. 2, jan. -feb. 1988                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |    |

|                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                          |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Daftar Isi</b>                                                                                                                         |                                                                                                                                                          |
| <b>Penanggung Jawab</b><br>Dr. Dede Oetomo                                                                                                | <b>Salam Cinta</b><br>Transgender : Waria dan Priawan<br>Cinta dan Bahasanya<br>Same Sex Marriage<br>Tips dan Cara Mengatasi Rasa Bosan<br>Pada Pasangan |
| <b>Tim Redaksi</b><br>Sardono Sigit, Theresia Putiwi<br>E.S. Christian Alexander,<br>Poedjati Tan                                         | 2<br>3<br>7<br>12<br>16                                                                                                                                  |
| <b>Kontributor</b><br>Tiwi, Andrews, Vera, Yudha,                                                                                         | <b>Wajah</b><br>Kevin                                                                                                                                    |
| <b>Lay out</b><br>Poedjati Tan                                                                                                            | 19                                                                                                                                                       |
| <b>Alamat Redaksi dan Sirkulasi</b><br>Jl. Mojo Kidul I No. 11 A<br>Surabaya 60285<br>Telp/Fax. 031-5914668                               | <b>Puisi</b><br>Menanti Takdir                                                                                                                           |
| <b>Email</b><br>redaksi@gayanusantara.co.id                                                                                               | 21                                                                                                                                                       |
| <b>Website</b><br>www.gayanusantara.or.id                                                                                                 | <b>Health Corner</b><br>Terapi Hormon                                                                                                                    |
| <b>Nomor Rekening</b><br>0040219611<br>Bank BNI Cabang UNAIR<br>Surabaya<br>a.n. Yayasan Gaya Nusantara                                   | 22                                                                                                                                                       |
| <b>Sampul :</b><br>Kevin Stevans Senjaya Halim<br>salah satu transgender muda<br>yang menjadi UNV LGBT Hu-<br>man Rights Officer di UNDP. | <b>Curhatan Hati Kawan</b><br>Redaksi Menjawab<br>Resensi<br>Romcos<br>Agen                                                                              |
|                                                                                                                                           | 24<br>25<br>26                                                                                                                                           |
|                                                                                                                                           | Majalah Bulanan No.01 Tahun 09 1                                                                                                                         |

Picture 1. Difference of GN Magazine's Table of Contents; Source: GN Magazines, 1998 and 2014

GN makes sure that all of its printed publications are accessible for people from the general public and the LGBTQ+ community. It is made possible by the free access to download both the books and the magazines on their website (<https://gayanusantara.or.id/>). As previously discussed, the magazine's latest edition highlighted more personal stories about the trans community. Other than that, the magazine is an important source of information about sexuality and health information. The magazine aims to explain the sexuality of the trans community that can be various things. It can be heterosexual, bisexual, or queer (GayA Nusantara, 2014). In their Health Corner section, the magazine also talks about the side effect of hormone therapy (GayA Nusantara, 2014). The information aims to educate the

trans community on hormone therapy and what can be expected from the therapy. The magazine is especially important as a melting pot between telling the story of the community and a source of information for the community.

Besides the publications, GN is also active in voicing their cause on Twitter (@gayanusantara) and Instagram (@yayasangayanusantara). In total, both accounts got the attention of more than nine thousand followers. Both accounts are updated daily to continue the conversation surrounding LGBTQ+ community acceptance, especially in a religious setting.

## Norms Localisation of LGBTQ+ Acceptance in Surabaya

There are several ways that GN has advocated for LGBTQ+ acceptance within society. We can highlight that GN emphasised creating an inclusive religious environment for the LGBTQ+ community in almost all advocacy efforts. GN reframed the labels and status given by society to the LGBTQ+ community from sinners to groups who should not be taken away from their beliefs system and alienated. The reframing is made possible by reinterpreting religious norms as part of the local norms in Surabaya's society. Society then is more open to the idea of accepting the LGBTQ+ community, and the members of the community itself have been provided with self-acceptance and understanding about their rights as a human.

Based on the strategy of advocacy by GN to localise LGBTQ+ acceptance as part of global norms, it is important to highlight that the norms vernacularisation concept can explain the norms localisation in the case of GN. There is a process of norms translations done by GN as a translator. However, the difference lies in which norms are adjusted and reframed for global norms to be indigenised. Based on the explanation of the norms vernacularisation model, the translator identifies certain local norms as basic to adjust the global norms. However, in the GN model, we can identify that beyond identifying local norms, GN has been adjusting the local norms in a way to localise the global norms. The output is the formation of a new hybrid norms that are more acceptable to the public.

Other than that, there is a limitation in the concept of norms

vernacularisation in explaining the norms localisation process conducted by GN. Norms vernacularisation does not clarify whom the global norms were meant to be localised and whom it affects. In an article about vernacularisation of the global discourses of social and economic rights in Africa, Seekings (2021) has identified this issue. Seekings highlighted how the definition of those who need to be the object of social and economic rights are constructed based on the West's point of view and cannot be applied to the case of Africa. In the case of vernacularisation of LGBTQ+ norms in Surabaya, we argue that to be accepted, the norms need to be reframed and reinterpreted not only for the community itself but, most importantly, also for the public and society at large – in which the community is part of.

Based on the global history of the LGBTQ+ movement, we can analyse that LGBTQ+ acceptance as a norm needs to be localised to have those outside the community accepting the norms. We can draw this conclusion based on the movement done by the LGBTQ+ community owning their voice and empowered to have others see them as equal. However, in the case of norms localisation in Surabaya, we can analyse that the object of norms localisation is not only the general public. The object of norms localisation of LGBTQ+ acceptance in Surabaya is also for the community of LGBTQ+ to accept themselves.

In the case of GN advocacy for LGBTQ+ acceptance, we can see that they are not affected by external factors like the global advocacy trend. Even though GN has quite a

networking with local and international organisations, GN always adapt the trend in the world into what they need and is applicable for their movements, very much according to the character of the community and the society. For example, in the light of same-sex marriage advocacy, GN decided to advocate for acceptance within the

society and the health rights. Sigit also explained that GN chose to fight for the right to live and believe because that is more important for the LGBTQ+ community in Indonesia (S. Sigit, personal interview, 17 June 2021).

Based on this, the author proposed the new revised model of norm vernacularisation, as below:

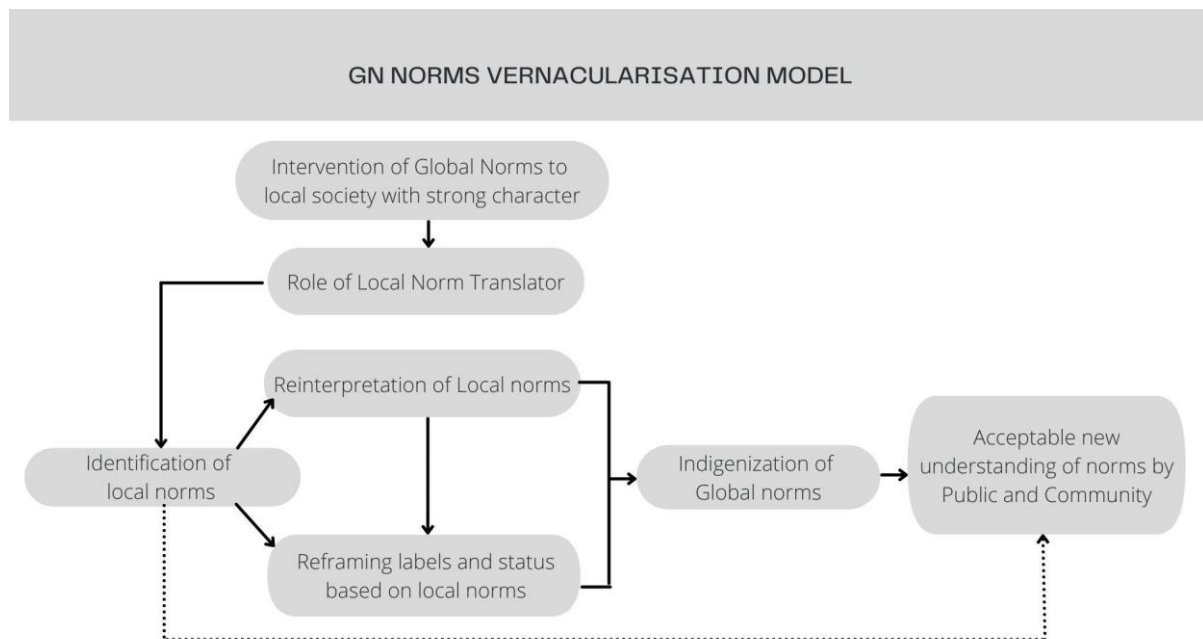


Figure 2. GN Norms Vernacularisation Model; Source: Author's Document. 2021

## CONCLUSION

The acceptance of the LGBTQ+ community has been fought for since it has been labelled as unlawful and sinful as the rise of Christianity. The fight for acceptance was first triggered by the Stonewall riots that had its domino effect in creating LGBTQ+ advocacy organisations worldwide and the several UN resolutions to mark LGBTQ+ acceptance as part of global norms. In Indonesia, advocating for LGBTQ+ acceptance would mean going against the religious norms

that the people dearly hold onto. Interestingly, instead of fighting it, GayA Nusantara – one of the LGBTQ+ advocacy NGOs in Indonesia, strategically use the religious norms as a tool for advocating their cause.

Using Interpretative Research Method focusing on qualitative history analysis, this article analysed the applicability of Merry's 2013 concept of norms vernacularisation in explaining the process of GN advocacy. While doing so, this article identified some limitations of the

concept that disenabled it to explain the advocacy processes properly and thoroughly. In agreement with Merry, the significant role of norms translator – in this case GN – in localising global norms – in this case, the LGBTQ+ acceptance – to be accepted by the local society – in this case the people of Surabaya – is at the centre of the story. It is shown how for the global norms to be accepted (or, in terms of Merry, indigenised), one of the key strategies would be adjusting the local norms (in this case, the local religious norms) to be more open towards the global norms. Indigenisation can be done by reframing certain labels that – from the perspective of GN, rather inaccurately attached to the global norms, that the community have long submissively believed. To reframe those labels is to reinterpret the religious norms or the essence of the local norms to be more compatible to the global norms.

This article also highlighted the limitation of norm vernacularisation in defining their object of norms localisation. To compliment Merry's norms vernacularisation analysis, this article shows that in the case of LGBTQ+ acceptance advocacy by GN, there are two localisation objects. Those are the Surabayan society, and the LGBTQ+ community. Lastly, this article

revealed that the external factor, the global advocacy trend, does not have any significant impact to the translator's process. That is because the translator would rather filter and adjust any external influence into their advocacy needs, in accordance to the character of their subject of advocacy, and the context of the advocacy movement..

With all the findings discussed above, the authors understand that further research will be necessary in at least two areas. First, it will be interesting, and indeed important, to know the reason behind norms translator's decision in choosing which local norms to be reframed and reinterpreted. Is the reason more about personal or organizational preferences, or more influenced by consideration related to the character of the community and/or the society, or any other reasons?

Second, the authors consider it as necessary to replicate our research model in other parts of Indonesia, be it at the big cities like Surabaya, or smaller towns or villages where local norms play stronger roles in people's day-to-day life. This way, the authors wish to contribute more significantly in the development of concept/theory on localisation of global norms in the study of International Relations.

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# Media Campaign Advocacy Supporting Indonesian Ianfu Survivors: A Postfeminist Perspective

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## ABSTRACT

Ianfu was a system of sexual slavery during the Japanese occupation in Indonesia on 1942-1945. This study aims to analyse ianfu from a Postfeminism point of view. Ianfu is one of the unresolved historical facts in Indonesia. It is hoped then that more people will know about ianfu. The method used in this study is Literature Study, where data collection is directed at searching for data and information through reading both printed and electronic documents. The results of this study indicate that even though the Japanese government have been found guilty in the International Court of Justice in The Hague of the Netherlands for war crimes, they still haven't officially apologized to the ianfu survivors in Indonesia.

KEYWORDS: *Ianfu, media, postfeminism*

## INTRODUCTION

*Ianfu* was a system of sexual slavery during the Japanese occupation of Indonesia in 1942-1945. In Indonesia, about 22.000 girls were forced to be ianfu, while the total number of ianfu in Asia Pacific was around 200.000. They were victims of war and Japanese sexual slavery who currently seems to be covered up by Japan and its colonial countries, including Indonesia.

This paper was composed because Ianfu is one of the Indonesian unresolved historical events. Moreover, the Indonesian government does not seem to support the Ianfu movement, which demanded an apology from Japan to the victims (Bastam, 2017). Besides

that, this paper aims to tell more people about the history of Ianfu. This paper will discuss the theoretical framework, namely postfeminism, case explanation, analysis, and conclusion.

## METHOD

This study uses a case study method through a literature review. A literature review is an in-depth study of a specific event, environment, and situation that allows revealing or understanding of a thing. The literature study is a data collection method that is directed to the search of data and information through documents, including written documents, photos, images

and electronic documents that can support the writing process.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

Post-feminism, also known as post-modern feminism, is an ideology or movement that depicts contradictions in feminism, especially the second and third wave of feminism. Postfeminism is also widely referred to as the third wave of feminism movement in which discourse plays an important part of the movement's strategy.

The term postfeminism appeared in an article in 1920. It was used to describe a pro-woman but not anti-male stance that celebrated the success of the first wave of feminism in gaining suffrage. The next definition of postfeminism refers to the celebration of the death of feminism which was marked by the achievement of the goals of the second wave feminism in the 1970s so that these goals were no longer relevant in the 1980s. Postfeminism itself shows a movement in the context of freedom from the ideological shackles of the previous feminist movement. To sum up, postfeminism has actually deconstructed the whole understanding of feminism that had existed before.

The post-feminist movement itself seeks to destabilize and deconstruct patriarchal ideology and the life of a phallocentric world society, replacing it with a new, more fluid order in which women can express and actualize themselves without any shackled structural barriers. It is this awareness of differences that eventually gave birth to a new feminist movement, namely third wave feminism or

postmodern feminism. Helene Cixous, a French Postmodern feminist figure, stated that so far there has been an established way of thinking and writing for men based on binary opposition (Gamble, 2010). According to Cixous, what happens is that women exist in a world that has been defined by men in the rules that have been set by men. Men then become self and women become other. Thus, the purpose of the postfeminist movement is very different from the previous feminist movement.

Postfeminism no longer aims to pursue equality because, in this sense, the existence of men is still taken into account. On the contrary, postfeminism aims to make women meaningful because they should have meaning. Postmodernism or poststructuralist thoughts in the postfeminist movement no longer focus on the classic issues of how women become equal to men; instead, it focuses on the issue of how justice can be achieved by "difference" itself, and questions why women should be the same as men although they are different. The branch of postfeminism thinking focuses on discourse about the body. Postfeminism itself looks more at women who are free to take action, not determined by men or larger societies. In general, the main focus of postfeminism is to say that the struggle carried out by feminism is obsolete.

In general, the main argument in postfeminism is that the organizational structure of the movement that uses the label of feminism has proven to be ineffective. Problems regarding women did not find a significant solution in the development of

feminist protests. Departing from claims to the failure of feminism, postfeminism appears to offer a different argument from feminism. Women do not have to be outside the patriarchal structure to fight, but they move up in an oppressive system. Postfeminism ideologically sees that the women's movement should not be destructive in using political movements, but by exploiting the nature of femininity which is imagined as the gentle qualities possessed by women.

The term postfeminism is used to describe a reaction to contradictions and absences in feminism, especially second-wave feminism and third-wave feminism. The ideology of postfeminism is recognized by its contrast with existing or previous feminism. Some forms of postfeminism strive for the next stage in gender-related progress, and as such are often understood as supporting societies that are no longer defined by rigid gender roles and expressions. A postfeminist is a person who believes in promoting or embodying one of the various ideologies that emerged from feminism in the 1970s, either for or against the classical feminism.

Post-feminism approach is offered by Ann Brooks (1997) in a book entitled "Post-feminism: Feminism, Cultural Theory and Cultural Forms". According to her, if a feminist approach is developed from postmodern thought, it will tend to question the ideological process that places men and women separately, opposite, categorized, and possibly, at the same time trying to undermine thinking about the subject of autonomy (gendered or not) as a whole, thus making the development of the whole range of

encompassing metatheories impossible. From this explanation, it can be seen that the impact of the emergence of postfeminism is that the feminist movement is not only a women's movement in solidarity with women but also a men's movement in solidarity with women.

Besides postfeminism in general, there is Angela McRobbie's theory of Postfeminism. Born in 1951 in England, she is a British cultural theorist. Angela completed her postgraduate degree at the University of Birmingham. After graduation she taught in London and eventually taught at Loughborough University. She is currently working as a Communications Professor at Goldsmiths University London. Her Media Theory is very well known and will be further discussed. Angela McRobbie's media theory encompasses media, namely media circulation and virality, fighting movement disconnection, human rights campaigns via click-activism, and click-activism via petition (Manoraj, 2012). However, this article will focus on online media (media circulation and virality), human rights campaign via click-activism, and click-activism via petition.

### **Online Media (Media Circulation and Virality)**

Online media is a general term for forms of telecommunications and multimedia-based media. In general, online media can be interpreted as a means of communication that is presented online on the internet, including websites and applications. The examples of online media are WhatsApp and Telegram. In a

general sense, online media can also be interpreted as any type or media format that can only be accessed via an internet connection, containing text, photos, video, and audio. Meanwhile, according to Asep Syamsul M. Romli (2012), online media can specifically be interpreted in the context of mass communication media, namely cyber media or news sites.

The online media has six characteristics. *First*, Multimedia, which means being able to load or present news or information in the form of text, audio, video, graphics and images simultaneously. *Second*, Actuality, which contains actual information because of the ease and speed of presentation. *Third*, Speed, which means that when the news is uploaded, it can be directly accessed by everyone. *Fourth*, Update, meaning that updating information can be done faster, both in terms of content and editing, such as typos or spelling errors. *Fifth*, Broad capacity, meaning that web pages can accommodate very long manuscripts. *Sixth*, Flexibility, meaning that the loading and editing of manuscripts can be done anytime and anywhere; besides, the publication schedule can be anytime and any time.

Meanwhile, media circulation or the physically printed media that actually reaches the reader's hands, either through sales or free shipping, is the true market size of a print media title. Virality can be defined as a term commonly known as "going viral" which refers to new videos, tools, apps, content, products, software programs, games, or the online-based items that generate up to thousands or millions of views

from people who use the product or service (Gie, 2021).

Angela McRobbie did most of her research on the magazine industry and its content. She focuses on how gender is represented in various media. According to her, the media ultimately influences how we as humans must act on what can be done and what cannot (Sivantharajah, 2012). Indirectly, the media finally "socializes" society into their respective gender roles. In the end, it shows that humans behave as the media tells them how to behave properly and what to do with their lives. Angela McRobbie (2004) has argued that men and women are described differently by the media. For example, men are definitely portrayed as masculine, aggressive, strong, etc. On the other hand, women must be described as someone who is gentle, must always submit to men, and work as housewives (taking care of children, cleaning the house, etc.).

### Human Rights Campaign via Click-Activism

Human rights campaigns can be carried out through click-activism. Etymologically, the word *campaign* comes from the Latin word *campus* or *campania*, which means field. Besides being interpreted as field, it is also related to the terms *champion* and *champagne* (London Evening Standard Online, 2011). Related to its origin, a campaign can be interpreted as a complete and planned series of actions carried out to achieve certain goals, both in public relations, income generation, quality improvement, safety standards, etc (Prawiro, 2020). In addition, in general, a campaign can

be interpreted as a series of planned communication efforts and actions to get support from a large number of audiences, carried out by individuals or groups of people in an organized manner through a decision-making process and within a certain period of time.

Meanwhile, according to Law article 1 paragraph 26 no 10 of 2008 campaign can be interpreted as an activity carried out by election participants to convince voters by offering a vision, mission, and programs offered by candidates for election participants. According to Antar Venus (2004), there are three functions of the campaign, namely as a *means of information* that can change people's mindsets, as a *campaign organizer* to achieve goals by raising public awareness and opinion on certain issues, as *business development* by persuading audiences to buy marketed products, and to build a positive image of campaign participants.

Based on the Indonesian dictionary, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (2021), human rights are rights that are protected internationally (the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights). For example, there are the right to life, right to freedom, right of ownership, and right to express opinions. Meanwhile, according to the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 39 of 1999, human rights are a set of rights inherent in the nature and existence of humans as creatures of God Almighty and are His gift that must be respected, upheld, and protected by the State, Law, Government, and everyone for the honor and protection of human dignity. In addition, Soetandyo Wignjosebroto (as cited in Zulfikar, 2021) also

interpreted that human rights are inherent in every born human.

Click-Activism is one type of slacktivism which means the practice of supporting political or social goals by using social media or online petitions, marked by involving an effort or commitment (Gert Cornelissen, 2013). Slacktivism is divided into five types, namely Clicktivism, Charity, Purchase of goods as a form of charity, Politics, and Sympathy.

*First*, Clicktivism is any internet-based forms of slacktivism such as signing online petitions. The idea behind clicktivism is that social media allows a quick and easy way to show support for an organization (Cabrera, 2017). Clicktivism itself can also show the success of a campaign by seeing how many likes it receives. People's actions by liking photos on social media or clicking on petitions are themselves symbolic because they show that certain people are aware of the situation and show other people the opinions and thoughts they have about certain things. The phenomenon of click-activism is a new pattern in social media, where we can petition a person or a policy carried out by an agency (Prasetyo, n.d.). In Indonesia, an example is in 2014 when singer Glenn Fredly once started a petition with the hashtag #SaveAru. This petition asked for the cancellation of the Aru Islands from being used as a sugarcane plantation. Finally, the petition was approved and Zulfikli Hasan, the Minister of Forestry, confirmed that he would not approve the release of hundreds of thousands of hectares of protected forest.

*Second*, charitable slacktivism is an act of supporting a cause that requires effort on the part of the individual. The examples are posting social media statuses that support a cause, liking an organization's cause on social media, tweeting or retweeting a charitable organization's request for support on Twitter, signing an online petition, and uploading videos on Youtube for a cause.

*Third*, charity as a by-product of purchasing the product. This action is an action where buying a product that highlights support for a particular purpose. The proceeds of the purchase of the item will be used for that purpose. Usually the proceeds from the purchase of these goods will be donated to various foundations that help people in need (for example, those affected by natural disasters, covid-19, etc.).

*Fourth*, political Slactivism. Some forms of slactivism have political goals such as gaining support for a presidential campaign or signing internet petitions aimed at influencing government action.

*Fifth*, Sympathy Slactivism. This activity is carried out where community users like posts that support a cause or show support to people in need. An example of sympathetic slacktivism is the Swedish newspaper Aftonbladet's campaign "Vi Gillar Olika" which means "We Love Differences". This campaign was carried out to fight xenophobia and racism in Sweden in 2010.

From the above explanation it can be concluded that the Human Rights (HAM) campaign via click-activism is a series of planned communication efforts and actions

to protect the rights inherent in human through social media or signing an online petition to show support.

### **Click-Activism via Petition**

According to *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (2021), an online petition is an official application letter to the government. According to Lindner and Riehm (2009), a petition is a request to a public authority, usually written by a government institution or parliament. As explained above clicktivism is used to describe internet-based forms of slacktivism such as signing online petitions. The idea behind clicktivism is that social media allows a quick and easy way to show support for an organization (White, 2010). Clicktivism always uses social media to show its support. Apart from using social media, this phenomenon can also use online petitions.

### **Unsilencing the Ianfu Case: Case Explanation**

As explained above, the case that I will use is ianfu activism in Indonesia. Before discussing the case, we should first understand what activism is and what ianfu is. According to *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (2021), online activism can be interpreted into three things, namely the activities of activists, doctrines that emphasize the need for violent actions to achieve political goals, and the flow of expressionism which holds that drama must be able to find realistic solutions to social problems.

Ianfu is a system of sexual slavery during the Japanese occupation of Indonesia in 1942-1945. According to

data from merdeka.com, the number of women involved in Ianfu in Indonesia was around 22,000, while the total number in Asia Pacific was around 200,000. The ianfus here were girls who were still young, even much younger than students, and when compared to women nowadays, they were elementary to high school age children—girls ranged from 9 years to 19 years. The youngest ianfu during the Japanese colonial period was Mbah Sri Sukanti; she was forced to become an ianfu when she was 9 years old. Usually the girls were coerced and directly taken from their parents or tricked with the promise to become a showman, get school scholarships, or get high paying jobs. However, in reality, that was just a hoax. They were then made sexual slaves by Japanese soldiers during the colonial period. In addition to Indonesia, ianfu also occurred in Korea, Philippines, China, and other Japanese colonized countries.

The ianfu survivors later after being freed from Japanese colonial rule, usually will experience physical, psychological, and social suffering (Hallatu, 2015). The physical suffering experienced by the survivors was that they were forced to serve 10-20 Japanese soldiers every day. In addition, they would also experience physical violence while serving Japanese soldiers and civilians. As a result there were several survivors who suffered injuries on their bodies, especially in their reproduction organs. Moreover, these survivors experienced physical disabilities and were unable to have children because they were forced to have abortions. Next, the psychological

suffering was having to endure the shame of sexual violence they experienced in the past and never having the courage to tell others about what happened to them. Socially, people did not want to accept them back because they were considered to belong to the Japanese military female sexual gratification. Many people did not understand that they were victims, survivors of forced sexual slavery for years.

From the impacts experienced by the ianfu survivors above, their demands are to obtain an apology from Japan for the crimes committed during the colonial period in Indonesia (Bastam, 2017). This demand is important considering that Japan itself has never stated directly to apologize to its colonial countries for crimes against humanity that committed. In addition, ianfu survivors demand social assistance from the Indonesian government because they are currently living in extreme poverty and suffer as victims of slavery. Besides, Ianfu survivors are also campaigning to ensure that what happened to the survivors does not happen to other women around the world. These demands are currently being pursued by activists who support the survivors. Therefore, to represent the demands of the ianfu survivors, there is an international yellow butterfly symbol.

The yellow butterfly is more intended for the post-ianfu generation, namely, the current generation that do not know much about the suffering and cruelty of Japanese colonialism (Darmastuti, 2019). The symbol has two meanings. First, the butterfly itself never stops living. It undergoes a metamorphosis. Thus, it is hoped

that the spirit of ianfu to demand rights and encourage the protection of women, especially girls, will always exist and will not die. In addition, the butterfly symbolizes the struggle of the ianfu to get justice, which will never stop being fought for from generation to generation. Then, the yellow color means hope. The survivors will never stop hoping and always believe in changes for the better in the future. In addition, the symbol can be interpreted as a support for Ianfu survivors who never give up even though they are now very old, still struggling to demand justice. This symbol also represents the dream of ianfu survivors to escape and fly away from the violence they experienced.

The first ianfu who dared to speak in public about sex slavery during the Japanese colonial period was Mbah Tuminah. She testified in 1992 that the Japanese soldiers' crimes in Indonesia occurred in Java and happened to girls. After Mbah Tuminah dared to testify, many other ianfu survivors dared to expose the crimes. When Mbah Tuminah died, her fight was followed by Mbah Mardiyem or better known among the Japanese soldiers as *momoye* (Redaksi Jurnal Perempuan, 2016). Mbah Mardiyem was born in Yogyakarta around 1929. His father worked as a small servant of a Yogya nobleman, namely KRT (Kanjeng Ratu Tumenggung) Suryataruna. Although her father's income was small, her family was still classified as a wealthy family. Her mother died while giving birth to her at the age of only seven months of pregnancy, so therefore Mbah Mardiyem never felt a mother's love. She also never knew

when her brother had died. However, she still has three other brothers, namely Jainem, Kardiyem, and Ngatini. Even so, she still felt very happy because her father freed his children to play with male friends, even though at that time the patriarchal culture was very strong. Girls were not allowed to play with boys. His father also taught her to be steadfast and concerned in dealing with life.

Therefore, when her father died when she was only 10 years old, she was very sad. After his father died, she was cared for by her uncle, a Haji named Wak Dul. Her uncle held to the noble values and customs of Java, and she did not feel free and finally decided to live independently by becoming a courtier at Ngoro Mangun's house. The employer where she worked was very good because she gave her the freedom to practice singing after work. It was at this time that she got to know Soerip, a keroncong singer who invited her to practice singing at Notoprajan. When she was 13, Japan had begun to occupy Indonesia, but she still had the same dream, which was to become a stage singer. When she heard that Japan had job vacancies for women to be employed as restaurant waiters and show performers, she immediately applied. It turned out that the job vacancy was just a hoax. Instead of being a showman, she was instead made an ianfu.

Mbah Mardiyem was the one who traveled the world to fight for ianfu survivors to get justice and demanded the Japanese government to apologize officially and personally and provide compensation to female ianfu survivors. The result of her fight was the Decision of 4

December 2001 of the International Court of Justice in The Hague of the Netherlands against war crimes. The result of her ruling was that Japan's Emperor Hirohito and other senior Japanese officials were found guilty. They were guilty of the slavery that occurred to about 200,000 Asian women, from China to South Korea, including young women in Indonesia during the Japanese occupation during World War II, 1942-1925.

Even though the Japanese government has been found guilty, the Japanese government still has not done anything and in the end the ianfu survivors have to survive from the donations of sympathetic volunteers. In addition, they have to withstand the judgmental attitude of society. Besides, during the Japanese colonial period there was also the youngest Ianfu in Asia Pacific named Mbah Sri. Her full name is Elizabeth Sri Sukanti. She was born in Gundih village, Purwodadi, Central Java. She was the 11th child of 12 children from a *wedana* named Sudirman and Sutijah. Mbah Sri was kidnapped by two Japanese soldiers when she was 9 years old early in 1945. Then, she was taken by the Japanese army to the Papak Building which was not far from his village. She was forced to serve the lecherous lust of a Japanese officer named Ogawa. The Papak building itself was located in Geyer Village, Geyer District, Grobogan Regency, with an area of 338.5 square meters. Initially this building was built to be used as the headquarters of the Dutch army in 1919. However, during the Japanese occupation, this building was converted into a headquarters for the Japanese army and also a place for girls who were forced to serve

the desires of the Japanese soldiers. After the Japanese army left Indonesia in 1953, the Papak Building was then taken over by Perum Perhutani as the official residence of the KPH Gundih Administrator. Finally, since then the Papak Building has not been repaired.

### Case Analysis

The Ianfu problem in Indonesia began to be revealed when Mbah Tuminah testified about sex slavery during the Japanese occupation of Indonesia. Then in 1993, five Japanese lawyers who were members of the Neihibenren (Association of Japanese Lawyers Advocates) gave a message to the Indonesian Minister of Social Affairs, Inten Suweni, to search for all Ianfu survivors from Indonesia. Since then, non-governmental organizations and activists for women's rights in Indonesia have started to participate in fighting for the fate of Ianfu survivors in Indonesia. After the ianfu case began to spread among the public, legal aid institutions in Indonesia, which are members of the Indonesian Jugun Ianfu Advocacy Network (JAJI), which was founded on October 28, 1970, began working to register Ianfu survivors in Indonesia.

Defenders of women's rights in Indonesia such as Non-Governmental Organizations and Legal Aid Institutes (LBH) become more enthusiastic. The final result noted that there were 1156 Indonesian women who had been forced to join Ianfu and had reported their cases to the Yogyakarta Legal Aid Institute. In the end, the Japanese government

initially thought that the Ianfu problem was a dark history that had to be eliminated. Therefore, the Japanese government formed an organization called the Asian Women's Fund (AWF) in 1995 aiming to help the Ianfu victims including in South Korea, China, Taiwan, the Philippines, and Indonesia.

Although Indonesia has formed an advocacy network to seek justice related to ianfu cases, this struggle feels less frontal and less massive because it only comes from a handful of Indonesian people and lacks support from the government (Kristi, 2016). In Indonesia, the assistance provided by AWF was accepted openly but without any pressure to formally apologize or take international legal settlements (Radityo, 2015). The Indonesian government also seems to have closed the Ianfu case in Indonesia by staying silent after receiving the compensation funds. The struggle of the activists to support the survivors seems to be stopped by the Indonesian government only because it had received funds from Japan for the construction of nursing homes in several parts of Indonesia.

Therefore, it can be seen that those involved in fighting for justice for ianfu survivors are no longer distinguished between men and women. Even more, now the issue of feminism has become common and is no longer a specific issue for women. Therefore, according to Julia T. Wood, the characteristics of the postfeminist include *first*, its solidarity with the differences that occur in women. These differences include race, class, sexual orientation, physique, taste, etc.

*Second*, the willingness to build positive coalitions and close relationships with men's camps or other groups who are equally against restraint. However, the terms "coalition" and "close relationship" are not meant to be interpreted as a willingness to work for the sake of the men even if it is just to conform to that camp. *Third*, The desire to apply theory in daily practice. Postfeminists see that the law is no longer a question of race and gender. However, some women and minorities are still experiencing legal injustice somewhere. There is always a gap between theory and practice. *Fourth*, there is a belief that the greatest power is in a concrete local situation. *Fifth*, focus on the goal, namely the achievement of the demands of the survivors through various internet-based social media. An example is celebrating International Ianfu Day on August 14th. Usually this event is filled with painting exhibitions, joint discussions, dance performances, and others.

### **Introducing History of Ianfu for Indonesian Students**

The solution to this ianfu case can be seen from the perspective of class, gender, and sexuality. From a class perspective, the solution is that there is a need for solidarity between lower-class and upper-class women. Meanwhile, if viewed from a gender perspective, holding learning sessions about gender for men and women is necessary. In addition, this solution can also be seen from the perspective of sexuality, where there is learning about sexuality for both men and women. There is also protection for Ianfu survivors.

Then, the program I offer is *first*, the need to create a joint campaign through social media involving women's and men's groups in all classes to build awareness together to support ianfu survivors. The form of this promotion is through posters and short videos uploaded on social media. The goal is to build class solidarity on the issue of ianfu. *Second*, conduct lessons on gender for men and women, especially college student groups and students, to build awareness about the history of ianfu in the feminism and sexuality movement. The goal is to introduce the issue of ianfu and feminism to students and students. The form is a group discussion between college students and students.

## CONCLUSION

Ianfu was a system of sexual slavery during the Japanese occupation of Indonesia in 1942-1945. In Indonesia more than twenty-two thousand girls were forced to become ianfu, while the total ianfu in Asia Pacific was hundreds of thousands of girls forced into sexual slavery. These ianfu survivors began to speak up after Mbah Tuminah began to reveal to the Indonesian and Japanese public that she was an ianfu survivor. This recognition fosters solidarity between women across classes, genders, and sexualities. That solidarity prompted the emergence of a decision on December 4, 2001 from the International Court of Justice in The Hague, the Netherlands against Japanese war crimes, and that Japanese Emperor Hirohito and other senior Japanese officials were found guilty of sexual slavery during the Japanese occupation of Asia, from China to South Korea, including young women in Indonesia.

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## ABOUT

SALASIKA etymologically derived from Javanese language meaning 'brave woman'. SALASIKA JOURNAL (SJ) is founded in July 2019 as an international open access, scholarly, peer-reviewed, interdisciplinary journal publishing theoretically innovative and methodologically diverse research in the fields of gender studies, sexualities and feminism. Our conception of both theory and method is broad and encompassing, and we welcome contributions from scholars around the world.

SJ is inspired by the need to put into visibility the Indonesian and South East Asian women to ensure a dissemination of knowledge to a wider general audience.

SJ selects at least several outstanding articles by scholars in the early stages of a career in academic research for each issue, thereby providing support for new voices and emerging scholarship.

## AUDIENCE

SJ aims to provide academic literature which is accessible across disciplines, but also to a wider 'non-academic' audience interested and engaged with social justice, ecofeminism, human rights, policy/advocacy, gender, sexualities, concepts of equality, social change, migration and social mobilisation, inter-religious and international relations and development.

There are other journals which address those topics, but SJ approaches the broad areas of gender, sexuality and feminism in an integrated fashion. It further addresses the issue of international collaboration and inclusion as existing gaps in the area of academic publishing by (a) crossing language boundaries and creating a space for publishing and (b) providing an opportunity for innovative emerging scholars to engage in the academic dialogue with established researchers.

## STRUCTURE OF THE JOURNAL

All articles will be preceded by an abstract (150-200 words), keywords, main text introduction, materials and methods, results, discussion; acknowledgments; declaration of interest statement; references; appendices (as appropriate); table(s) with caption(s) (on individual pages); figures; figure captions (as a list); and a contributor biography (150 words). Word length is 4,000-10,000 words, including all previous elements.

## TIMELINE AND SCHEDULE

Twice a year: February and July.

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