

Me Too as Transnational Advocacy Networks: The Case of Anti-Sexual Violence Movement in Indonesia

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Abstract

The research discusses the anti-sexual movement in Indonesia as a part of the global movement of Me Too and transnational advocacy networks. It aims to answer how the transnational advocacy movement explains the movement against sexual violence in Indonesia. The argument of the research is offered in three parts. First, it argues that the anti-sexual violence movement in Indonesia is a part of transnational advocacy networks. The analysis is provided by explaining the process of boomerang patterns, political entrepreneurs, and international contacts. Second, as part of a transnational advocacy network, the anti-sexual violence movement in Indonesia uses four tactics: information politics, symbolic politics, leverage politics, and accountability politics. The research argues that the anti-sexual violence movement uses all four of the tactics to achieve its goals. Lastly, the third part of the argument discusses the five stages of transnational advocacy networks that the movement has achieved with regard to their goals, and the research argues that it has reached all the stages except for the last one, which is influenced by state behavior.

Keywords: Me Too, Indonesia, anti-sexual violence movement

Introduction

The phrase 'Me Too' is arguably one of the most important symbols in marking the turning point of the feminist wave in the 21st century. The phrase was initially conveyed in 2006 by Tarana Burke, the founder of the movement. Burke, an activist and a survivor of sexual harassment, chose that phrase to show empathy to fellow survivors, of whom the majority were women (North, 2019). In recent years, Me Too, which she intended to empower women through empathy, has become the face of the anti-sexual violence movement, not only

in the United States but also around the world (Olheiser, 2017). The phrase 'Me Too' transformed into a movement when it went viral in 2017 and was used against a Hollywood producer, Harvey Weinstein, with numerous survivors who came forward and spoke in public about his sexual misconduct (Grady, 2020).

As the movement spread across the U.S., Canada, and parts of Europe, millions of survivors and supporters of the movement have shared and described their experiences of groping, rape, unwanted kissing, abuse, and threats using the hashtag #MeToo. Some European countries have developed their version of the hashtag, such as France with #BalancetonPorc (Grass Up Your Pig) or Spain with #YoTambien which is a direct translation of Me Too (D'Europe & Vigo, 2018). Other countries, such as South Korea, Japan, China, and Thailand, are among a few examples of the movement taking over Asia (Haynes & Chen, 2018). Indonesia is no exception to the effect of the Me Too movement. The late 2018 was arguably when the movement gained momentum in Indonesia. The issue of sexual assault and sexual violence became widely discussed under the hashtag #KitaAgni (we are Agni) after a male student in one of the best universities in Indonesia sexually assaulted his female peer during their residency of community service in a remote area in Eastern Indonesia. This case went viral and sparked heated and controversial discussion online after the university student's newspaper leaked the details of her assault on their website (Balairung Press, 2018).

Following this momentum and what follows the movement after that, the research discusses the women's movement in Indonesia as a part of global advocacy networks. It analyzes how transnational advocacy networks as an approach explains the anti-sexual violence movement, what tactics are used in achieving the goal of the movement, how far the movement has succeeded, and what challenges and opportunities are for the movement in the present and future. A global network of survivors of sexual violence actually has existed before the Me Too movement momentum in 2017, such as the Global Network of Victims and Survivors to End Wartime Sexual Violence (SEMA Network), which aims to represent survivors of conflict-related sexual violence (Ford, 2014; SEMA Network, n.d.). The research contributes to enriching and adding a global perspective regarding local movements and changes in laws and regulations in Indonesia. It explains how the link between global movements like Me Too helps to push such movements and changes within a country.

Literature Review

Me Too and Anti-Sexual Violence Movement in Indonesia

Scholars believe that Me Too has created an impactful change in the global movement of anti-sexual violence. For instance, Rodino-Colocino (2018) analyzed Me Too as a movement to counter cruelty using empathy. The research discovered that empathy might be the starting point for structural change, and generating empathy could bear even more fruit with more and deeper structural changes to the political-economic system. Meanwhile, Boyle (2019) argued that the extensive media coverage of #MeToo had concrete implications for many

victims/survivors. There were reports of an increase in calls reporting rape and in the crisis online, showing that the Me Too coverage enabled people to recognize their experiences and seek support and allow the public to see victimization and survival as moving points on a continuum rather than binary and all-consuming identities.

Seeing how Me Too can change the course of the global women's movement, it is also important to highlight the issue in Indonesia. However, the feminist movement in Indonesia is not a new phenomenon. In the 1990s, an organization called Suara Ibu Peduli (the Voice of Concerned Mothers) lobbied the post-new order regime to investigate the rape and sexual assault of Chinese Indonesian women during the May 1998 riots. Two decades later, in 2018, the second-ever Women's March in the capital city of Jakarta attracted 4,000 people, a significant increase compared to its inaugural march the year before. This march was led by the Jakarta Feminist Discussion Group, activism started as an online forum created in 2014 and attempted to make a more impactful action offline (Boyle, 2019).

This situation shows that online campaigns have been used by Indonesian gender equality activists even before the Me Too movement. In 2016, a support group for survivors of sexual violence in the country named Lentera Sintas Indonesia and a feminist media, Magdalene, launched an education campaign about sexual violence on multiple platforms. In the wake of the #MeToo movement, Magdalene noted that they received more submissions in its hashtag dealing with sexual violence, which was #MulaiBicara (start talking) (Winarnita et al., 2020). Late 2018 was probably the moment when the Me Too movement gained significant attention in Indonesia. As mentioned before, a case blew up in social media using the hashtag #KitaAgni, which translated into We are Agni, and it soon became a symbol of struggle related to sexual violence, particularly in formal education institutions. Unfortunately, the case ended with Agni, the perpetrator, and the university signing a non-litigation agreement in 2019 saying that they agreed that this case was settled, even though Agni's demand for the university to expel the perpetrator did not come to fruition (Putsanra et al., 2019).

When Agni's case ended, many gender studies scholars and feminist activists realized that the Me Too movement had faced quite an uphill battle on its way to making changes in the country regarding sexual violence significantly. In 2019, Kartika (2019) stated that it was because Indonesia was a combination of deep-rooted patriarchal culture, conservative religious values, and gender-insensitive law enforcement practices. A 2014 study even showed that when violence happened against a woman, most people would think that it was because the woman deserved it. Law enforcement was also considered weak and had yet to prioritize women's protection and often committed victim blaming (Kartika, 2019).

Although conservatism rooted in religious values is one of the challenges of the #MeToo movement in Indonesia, what is unique is the existence of support coming from religious groups when it comes to gender equality. There is an emergence of female clergy or *ulama* that challenges the patriarchal interpretation of religious texts and becomes a breath of fresh air in the landscape of the effort to eliminate sexual violence. In 2017, the Indonesian Women Ulama Congress or Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia (KUPI) was conducted. They discussed

strategic issues in Islamic studies, women's movements, economic empowerment, and national politics (Syukur, 2018). This religious group can even be considered as one of the non-state actors in international relations who uphold gender equality values within Islam as a strategy to advocate women's rights. The role of these female clergy is also analyzed through the transnational advocacy networks perspective. It is argued that information, symbolic, leverage, and accountability politics are used to pursue their goal (Mochtar, 2019).

Despite the challenges, the women's movement in Indonesia can still be argued to achieve some progress. The anti-sexual violence movement, particularly in terms of law and regulation, has made quite significant progress after a decade of effort. In 2012, the Bill of Elimination of Sexual Violence (Rancangan Undang-Undang Penghapusan Kekerasan Seksual, abbreviated to RUU PKS) was introduced to the House of Representatives (DPR) by the National Commission on Violence against Women (Komnas Perempuan). In 2022, the bill was finally ratified as the Law on Sexual Violence Crime (UU TPKS) (CNN Indonesia, 2020; Longdong, 2022). Many scholars agree that, specifically, laws to protect women from violence are important because various forms of violence against women continue to develop in people's lives. It can range from offline violence that requires physical contact to online violence through virtual media. The Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence is essential to suppress the rampant violence against women and enforce women's rights (Subarkah & Tobroni, 2020). It can also create a new paradigm that ensures the community is free from sexual violence and the conversation it brings on social media (Virra et al., 2019).

Analytical Framework

Transnational Advocacy Network

The concept of transnational advocacy networks is written by Keck and Sikkink, and it argues how advocacy networks are significant transnationally, regionally, and domestically. They can be key contributors to a convergence of social and cultural norms to support processes of regional and international integration. It can also build new links among actors in civil societies, states, and international organizations, multiply the opportunities for dialogue and exchange, and make international resources available to new actors in domestic political and social struggles in cases like human rights and environment (Keck & Sikkink, 1999).

Major actors in advocacy networks may include international and domestic NGOs, research and advocacy organizations, local social movements, foundations, media, religious institutions, trade unions, consumer organizations, intellectuals, parts of regional and international intergovernmental organizations, parts of the executive, and parliamentary branches of governments. Transnational advocacy networks are most likely to appear around the issues with these three situations. First, when channels between domestic groups and their governments seem to be blocked or severed, it becomes ineffective to resolve a conflict. This situation is called a 'boomerang' pattern of influence characteristics of these networks. Second,

it is a situation where activists or 'political entrepreneurs' believe networking will further spread their missions and campaigns and actively promote them. Third, it is a situation in international conferences and other forms of international contacts where it can create arenas for forming and strengthening networks (Keck & Sikkink, 1999).

Keck and Sikkink have characterized typologies of tactics used by transnational advocacy networks, such as the #MeToo movement, as well as Indonesia's localized version, like #KitaAgni, to explain how transnational advocacy networks work. The networks basically seek influence in the same ways as other political groups or social movements. However, the needs of these networks use the power of their information, ideas, and strategies to alter the information and value context within which states make policies. The typology of the kinds of tactics that networks use includes information politics, symbolic politics, leverage politics, and accountability politics (Keck & Sikkink, 1999).

In assessing the influence of advocacy networks, Keck and Sikkink also address goal achievement on several different levels. There are five stages identified of network influence. First, issue creation and attention/agenda setting. Second, influence on discursive positions of states and regional and international organizations. Third, influence on institutional procedures. Fourth, influence on policy change in 'target actors', which may be states, international or regional organizations, or private actors like multinational corporations. Lastly, it is the influence of state behavior (Keck & Sikkink, 1999).

The approach by Keck and Sikkink is also used by Carpenter (2007), who adds issue emergence and non-emergence in transnational advocacy networks. It highlights arguments on why certain issues galvanize the attention of global advocacy groups while others do not. It also adds how using the Internet is important as a rich source of information in finding out what issue is discussed by what actors. Organizational websites are a vital source of content about the issues that define organizations. For instance, how an NGO as an actor frame activities and shape an issue to be conceptualized and understood (Carpenter, 2007). It is particularly relevant with regards to the issue of Me Too and how it relates to the movement in Indonesia as this issue moves largely through the Internet like the Me Too issues globally, as well as the case studies of sexual violence in Indonesia.

The use of transnational advocacy networks to analyze the case in the research has also been implemented to analyze other cases. For example, Lerche (2008) discussed and compared the new movement of Dalit in India by making use of transnational advocacy networks strategy to the more classical Dalit political party. However, it was difficult for the new movement to use the transnational advocacy networks to benefit from international discourse and political pressure if it did not develop strategic policy proposals compatible with existing mainstream neoliberal discourses. Transnational advocacy networks can still be effective, but their initiatives can also be depoliticized and lose their strategic values. Therefore, it needs to be understood within this ambivalent territory.

The 'boomerang' pattern mentioned by Keck and Sikkink is also used by Bloodgood and Clough (2017), who examine the importance of networks for NGOs. The boomerang effect may have interesting systemic effects on NGOs and produce spectacularly successful results.

However, competition may occur both within and between TANs and provide a high cost of organizational collapse of some NGOs due to this competition. It can create a high number of deaths in NGOs and become an unavoidable risk for interested organizations in achieving political change (Bloodgood & Clough, 2017). As for the case of the anti-sexual violence movement in Indonesia, the boomerang pattern is not fully implemented as there are no specific international NGOs pushing an agenda of regulation and policy changes in the country, other than the fact that Indonesia's network is influenced and taking benefits from the momentum of the global Me Too movement.

The research analyzes the process and progress of the anti-sexual movement in Indonesia, the actors and the situations when the networks occur, as well as the typology of the kinds of tactics used by the movement. The stages of the goal achievement to identify the level of influence of the movement as a part of the network are also examined. Lastly, the research also argued that the approach by Keck and Sikkink does not need to have the direct involvement of any international actors, such as states or NGOs, to achieve an impactful change in policymaking.

Research Method

The sources used for the research are derived from secondary sources, such as literature, reports, and printed and online mass media. The data provided are retrieved from journal articles, books, and trustworthy news outlets both in Indonesia and internationally. The research uses the qualitative method by choosing cases of women's movement and struggles in Indonesia, particularly the anti-sexual violence. The scope of the research is from the beginning of the 2010s, when the Me Too movement started, until the beginning of 2022.

Several types of case studies are shown to explore research more deeply. These include using cases for description, theory to explore cases, cases to develop theory, cases to explore and refine theory, and cases as tests of theory. For the research, the objective is to use the theory to explore cases. Therefore, the research focuses on the case and uses some theoretical foundation to examine or interpret the case (Kaarbo & Beasley, 1999).

The research explores the cases of the women's movement, particularly the anti-sexual movement in Indonesia, and the progress made so far. The case study is analyzed using the transnational advocacy networks approach by explaining the actors, the issues, typology of tactics, and stages of goal achievement in the approach. It is to prove whether the transnational advocacy networks as an approach effectively examine or interpret the case (Kaarbo & Beasley, 1999).

Findings and Discussion

Anti-Sexual Violence Movement in Indonesia as Transnational Advocacy Networks

According to Keck and Sikkink (1999), transnational advocacy networks are non-state actors who interact with each other, states, and international organizations. These interactions are structured in networks. Advocacy networks can be key contributors to a convergence of social and cultural norms to support processes of regional and international integration. Building new links among actors in civil societies, states, and international organizations multiplies the opportunities for dialogues and exchange. The issues will cover areas such as the environment and human rights. Advocacy networks also make international resources available to new actors in domestic political and social struggles.

As a movement in the United States, Me Too has brought the issue to the global level and influenced similar movements to emerge and make changes in many other countries. By 2019, the viral hashtag #MeToo was in regular rotation in more than 85 nations, with comparable local campaigns existing in dozens (Stone & Vogelstein, 2019). For the Me Too movement, new links, opportunities for dialogues and exchange, and available resources to new actors are provided through social media. In 2018, one year after it went viral on Twitter, Pew Research Center reported that the #MeToo hashtag was used more than 19 million times. 71% of the Tweets were in English, while the other 29% were written in another language (Anderson & Toor, 2018).

In its early occurrence in 2017, BBC Indonesia reported that Indonesian Twitter users participated in sharing their stories using the hashtag. The most important thing to highlight, arguably, was the fact that the hashtag was used by several social media accounts of organizations working in the field of gender and dealing with sexual violence, such as Komnas Perempuan, Yayasan Pulih, Lentera Sintas Indonesia, and Gerakan Laki-Laki Baru. They used the hashtag to push for the ratification of the elimination of sexual violence bill, also known as RUU PKS, which was only discussed in the House of Representatives (DPR) together with the executive government at the end of September that year. The bill was incorporated into the national legislation program in February 2017 (BBC, 2017). Indonesia's feminist magazine, Magdalene, also stated that in the wake of the global movement, the magazine received more submissions dealing with sexual violence (Winarnita et al., 2020).

According to Keck and Sikkink (1999), major actors in advocacy networks may include international and domestic NGOs, research and advocacy organizations, local social movements, foundations, media, religious institutions, trade unions, consumer organizations, intellectuals, parts of regional and international intergovernmental organizations, and/or parts of the executive and/or parliamentary branches of governments. The research argues that most of these actors can be found in the women's movement against sexual violence in Indonesia.

First, Komnas Perempuan is one of the organizations using the hashtag to push the ratification of the bill. The organization is arguably the most important actor, although not the

only one, in advocating the bill as they are the ones who initiate the bill. The discussion within the organization began in 2010 about the dynamics in identifying the embryonic substance of the bill (Komnas Perempuan, n.d.). Komnas Perempuan proposed RUU PKS to the DPR in 2012. In 2016, the organization submitted an academic paper on the bill to the legislative body, which was accepted by a number of members of the DPR and included in the National Legislation Program (Prolegnas) (Widianto, 2016; Amnesty International Indonesia, 2020b). In this case, Komnas Perempuan represents domestic NGOs or research and advocacy organizations according to the explanation by Keck and Sikkink (1999) on the actors of transnational advocacy networks. They advocate for RUU PKS, propose the academic manuscript on the bill, and use the hashtag #MeToo to bring attention to urge the public and the government to prioritize the ratification of RUU PKS.

Meanwhile, the next actors in this case include local social movements and foundations, which are represented by a number of groups, such as Yayasan Pulih, Lentera Indonesia, and Gerakan Laki-Laki Baru, as discussed before (Keck & Sikkink, 1999). However, it is important to note that there may be other local social movements or foundations with concerns on the issue. Their exclusion from the research does not mean that they are not a part of the local social movements or foundations, as asserted by Keck and Sikkink (1999).

In 2018, as previously mentioned, hashtag #KitaAgni went viral on Twitter as a local version of the Me Too movement in Indonesia. Although Agni's story did not exactly end as the public expected, the perpetrator was basically free without any consequences. The struggle of the movement in support of Agni did not go to waste entirely. Concerns about sexual violence against women in Indonesia, in higher education especially, inspired several media, such as Jakarta Post, Tirto, and VICE, to launch a nationwide investigation in universities all over Indonesia with a campaign hashtag #NamaBaikKampus. It translated to campus reputation, a phrase regularly used by universities' authorities as an excuse not to pursue justice for sexual violence victims. In 2019, Tirto.id, one of the investigating media, reported a survey based on 174 survivors' testimonials from 79 higher education institutions in 29 cities in Indonesia. It claimed that this was just the tip of the iceberg, as many survivors would probably choose to be quiet or maybe even forcefully silenced (Zuhra & Adam, 2019). According to Keck and Sikkink (1999), mass media is included as actors in this discussion, which in this case are represented by Tirto.id, Jakarta Post, and Vice. Although countless other mass media, whether online or in print, highlight the issue of sexual violence and the fight against it, these three media portals stand out, mostly because of their campaign, as mentioned earlier.

Agni's case and the media campaign have raised awareness of the issue of sexual violence on campus. Responding to this, the government of Indonesia, specifically the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology, issued a Ministerial Decree against sexual violence in higher education institutions in 2021, also known as Permendikbudristek No. 30. Minister Nadiem Makarim claimed that sexual violence on Indonesian campuses was a critical emergency. The minister argued that the decree was urgent to protect students from becoming victims of sexual violence on campuses, often ignored or suppressed after their traumatic experiences (Chandra, 2021). Although some groups opposed the decree based on

the argument that it contravened religious norms in Indonesia and could lead to extramarital sex, Makarim defended the decree and emphasized that legalizing adultery was completely beyond the purview of the regulation. Students and lecturers lauded the regulation and considered it a 'big step' as it would serve as a guideline for universities in preventing and handling cases of sexual violence (Suhenda, 2021; Swaragita, 2021).

Following the decree by the Ministry of Education, 2022 was arguably the year that a monumental change happened in the history of the fight against sexual violence in Indonesia. RUU PKS, which was later named RUU TPKS (bill on criminal acts of sexual violence), was ratified by the House of Representatives of Indonesia (DPR) (Bhwana, 2022). Before this ratification, in 2017, the executive government represented by the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak Republik Indonesia (KemenPPPA)) met with DPR to discuss the bill. It confirmed that the government agreed with the proposal of the bill, although there were differences of opinion in several articles (Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak Republik Indonesia, 2017). Similar with the Ministerial Decree, this bill also received rejection from some conservative groups because it would legalize sex outside of marriage which was considered against the religious values in Indonesia, especially Islam (Nugraha, 2019). Nevertheless, in 2022, the bill was finally legalized.

Based on the explanation by Keck and Sikkink (1999), the executive and/or parliamentary branches of government will be the next actors of advocacy networks in this case. The executive branch of the government that supports the movement and advocates for the ratification of RUU PKS is the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KemenPPPA). At the same time, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology (Kemendikbudristek) makes a tangible policy with regard to sexual violence in higher education institutions. Meanwhile, the parliamentary branches of government are represented by DPR, which agrees to ratify the bill and make it law.

Lastly, a group of female Muslim clergy in Indonesia under the name Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia (KUPI) has shown their support to the movement and especially to RUU PKS. In 2021, along with Jaringan Masyarakat Peduli Darurat Kekerasan Seksual (JMPDKS) or Sexual Violence Emergency Community Network, KUPI released a statement pushing the ratification of the bill and emphasized that sexual violence in various forms was forbidden by Islam and that all sexual behavior that causes harm is *haram*, both inside and outside of marriage (Abdi, 2021; Sucahyo, 2021).

According to Keck and Sikkink (1999), other actors in advocacy networks are churches. In this case, the research adapts to the context of Indonesia and translates the church as a religious institution or religious group. In supporting the anti-sexual violence movement, a religious group is also an actor, represented by KUPI as a group of Muslim female clergy that has pushed the ratification of the anti-sexual violence bill.

According to Keck and Sikkink (1999), transnational advocacy networks appear most likely to emerge around issues. First, channels between domestic groups and their governments are hampered or severed, where such channels are ineffective for resolving a

conflict and settling into motion the 'boomerang' pattern of influence characteristic of these networks. Second, activists or 'political entrepreneurs' believe that networking will further their missions and campaigns and actively promote them. Third, international conferences and other forms of international contacts create arenas for forming and strengthening networks.

First, this research discusses the boomerang pattern of the anti-sexual violence movement in Indonesia. In this case, before the #MeToo hashtag goes viral on social media and raises awareness of sexual violence against women at the global level, RUU PKS is considered stalled in DPR, and the progress is considered quite slow. The bill was even removed from the priorities of the National Legislation Program in 2020 (Widiyanto, 2016; Sani, 2019; Amnesty International Indonesia, 2020b; Collins, 2020). However, the discussion of the Me Too movement online creates an awareness of the public about the severity of sexual violence against women, and the momentum is used to promote the importance of RUU PKS. The urgency to ratify the bill is also shown by an increase in reported sexual violence and a better understanding of its nature and consequences (BBC, 2017; Gerlach, 2020).

According to Keck and Sikkink (1999), many transnational advocacy networks link activists in developed countries with others in or from less developed countries. These kinds of linkages are most intended to affect the behavior of states. When the links between state and domestic actors are severed, domestic NGOs may directly seek international allies to try to bring pressure on their states from outside, and it is what is considered the 'boomerang' pattern. Although the advocating domestic organization, such as Komnas Perempuan, does not necessarily have a severed link with the state and does not directly seek international allies, the global impact of the movement encourages changes and raises awareness of the issue globally. Thus, it changes the state's behavior. The changes in Indonesia include Permendikbudristek No. 30 in 2021 and the ratification of the bill on sexual violence crimes (UU TPKS) in 2022 (Keck & Sikkink, 1999; Swaragita, 2021; Sinombor, 2022).

The fact that actors in Indonesia do not necessarily need to have a direct link to any international actors shows that the 'boomerang pattern' does not need to be fully implemented to create a policy change. This local movement in Indonesia is successful because of the use of online communities and movements to push such changes. The research argues that change can be achieved because the local movement successfully gains momentum from the global movement of Me Too, which is in line with the argument of Carpenter (2007) that the use of the Internet is important as a rich source of information in finding out what issue is discussed. Another reason why this movement still works despite not having a direct push from international actors is because the link between the government and domestic organizations, such as Komnas Perempuan, is not fully severed.

Next, the activists or 'political entrepreneurs' believe that networking will further their missions and campaigns and actively promote them. In the case of the anti-sexual violence movement in Indonesia, the political entrepreneurs are Komnas Perempuan as the one who proposes the RUU PKS, along with Jaringan Masyarakat Sipil (Civil Society Network). Other than that, civil society groups, religious groups, and media as political entrepreneurs actively

promote anti-sexual violence movement and regulation as their missions and campaigns (Keck & Sikkink, 1999; BBC, 2017; Zuhra & Adam, 2019; Winarnita et al., 2020; Abdi, 2021; Komnas Perempuan, 2022a).

Lastly, international conferences and other forms of international contacts create arenas for forming and strengthening networks. In this case, there are no international conferences or direct international contacts that connect the Me Too movement specifically to the ratification of UU TPKS or the implementation of Permendikbudristek No. 30. However, the fact that it becomes viral and creates a global impact should be credited in raising awareness and starting conversations in so many countries, including Indonesia. Other than that, several international organizations also show their support and promote the urgency of the ratification of RUU PKS (Keck & Sikkink, 1999). Amnesty International, for example, states that it is urgent to ratify RUU PKS because of the increased cases of sexual violence and the need for protection for the victims (Amnesty International Indonesia, 2020a). Moreover, Plan International emphasizes the importance of the regulation that RUU PKS should provide, especially in protecting children from sexual violence (Plan International, 2022). Thus, despite not having an official international forum, the wave of the #MeToo hashtag ignites discussion on sexual violence in many countries, helping the actors to promote their campaign and issue (Keck & Sikkink, 1999).

Typology of Tactics of Transnational Advocacy Networks Used by The Anti-Sexual Violence Movement in Indonesia

Me Too and other versions of it, such as the ones that have occurred in Indonesia, have become part of this globalized advocacy as it prompts the sharing of personal experiences of sexual violence into calls for action across a range of institutions and communities (Suk et al., 2021). It does not exclude Indonesia and the discussion of sexual violence in the country. After establishing the actors and the emergence of transnational advocacy networks in the case of the anti-sexual violence movement in Indonesia, the next important issue to address is how the networks promote their issues and achieve their goals. According to Keck and Sikkink (1999), transnational advocacy networks include information, symbolic, leverage, and accountability politics.

For information politics, it is the ability to move politically usable information quickly and credibly to where it will have the most impact. In advocacy networks, information flows not only provide facts but also testimonies and stories told by people whose lives have been affected. Activist groups frame issues to persuade people, stimulate them to take action, and motivate people to change policies (Keck & Sikkink, 1999). UN Women's research discovered over 24 million impressions using the Me Too hashtag on Twitter between October 2017 and December 2019. The hashtag was also used to represent half of the millions of stories and testimonies about sexual assaults shared on social media by women all over the world (Leskin, 2017; Sen, 2020). Meanwhile, in Indonesia, the #MeToo hashtag was used by activists to raise awareness about sexual violence in the country and promote the campaign on the ratification

of RUU PKS (BBC, 2017). Hashtag #KitaAgni also became the Indonesian version of Me Too that went viral and later was used to urge UGM, Agni's university, to make changes in policies so that students would be protected from sexual violence (Kusuma, 2018; Syambudi, 2020).

Information also flows in the form of data on victims of violence released by Komnas Perempuan and KemenPPPA. Komnas Perempuan releases a report named Catatan Tahunan (Annual Record) on violence against women, showing that the number of women who become victims of violence increases. For instance, there was a 50% increase in gender-based violence, from 226.062 cases in 2020 to 338.496 cases in 2021. There was also a high spike of 83% increase, particularly in gender-based violence online in 2021 compared to 2020. KemenPPPA also keeps an online information system regarding violence against women and children and shows that there has been an increase in violence cases in the past three years (Floretta, 2022; Komnas Perempuan, 2022b; Ramadhan, 2022; Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak Republik Indonesia, n.d.). This situation is in line with what is stated by Keck and Sikkink (1999) regarding the use of testimony as well as technical and statistical information to make the need for action more real for ordinary citizens and motivate people to change policies. The use of hashtags allows people to share their personal stories and testimonies. At the same time, the statistical data on the increase in violence against women are categorized as technical and statistical information.

The second tactic is symbolic politics, which is the ability to call upon symbols, actions, or stories that make sense of a situation or claim for an audience that is frequently far away. Often, not one event but the juxtaposition of disparate events makes people change their minds and take action (Keck and Sikkink, 1999). In the case of the anti-sexual violence movement, the hashtag #MeToo became the ultimate symbol of the global movement, which is also adopted in various languages. In Indonesia, several hashtags have also been used to spread the movement and encourage victims to share their stories to seek justice. The hashtags include #KitaAgni, #KamiBersamaPenyintas, #LawanKekerasanSeksual, and #SahkanRUUPKS. The last one is especially important because it specifically calls for the ratification of the bill to eliminate sexual violence (Pratiwi, 2021). When #KitaAgni goes viral, students, faculties, and public in general arrange a protest in support of Agni to push for justice from the campus leadership. During the protest held at UGM, protesters also bring *kentongan*¹ and whistles to try to make loud sounds as a symbol of the danger of sexual violence on their campus (AW and Wicaksono, 2018; Tenola, 2018).

When Permendikbudristek No. 30 was released in 2021, some Indonesian public figures showed their support for the decree through social media by posing for pictures with "*Anti KS di Kampus*" (Anti-Sexual Violence on Campus) on their palms (Asmara, 2021; Suhenda, 2021; Swaragita, 2021). Meanwhile, in supporting RUU PKS, one of the symbolic events to promote the bill took place in 2020. Magdalene magazine, Pulih Foundation, and The Body Shop Indonesia put down 500 shoes on the first 500 steps in front of the office of DPR in Jakarta as a symbol of support to encourage DPR to ratify the bill immediately (Firmansyah, 2020).

¹ *Kentungan* or *kentongan* is a traditional slit drum instrument made from bamboo or wood used to communicate or to sound an alarm by hitting the bamboo/wood (Ajie, 2019).

These cases align with Keck and Sikkink (1999) as symbolic politics. The ability to call upon symbols, actions, or stories using #MeToo and its local version and other various hashtags on the global level makes sense of a situation or claim for an audience. Symbolic politics is also when the juxtaposition of disparate events makes people change their minds and take action. The protests using *kentongan* and whistles, 500 pairs of shoes, and writing on palms can be argued as framing the issue in disparate events so that it can change people's minds and urge them to take action.

The third tactic is leveraging politics, which is defined as the ability to call upon powerful actors to bring about policy change. The networks persuade and pressure these powerful actors and seek leverage to gain influence. There are two kinds of leverage: material and moral. Material leverage takes the form of issue-linkage, normally involving money, goods, or votes. Meanwhile, moral leverage involves 'mobilization of shame', where the behavior of target actors is held up to the bright light of international scrutiny (Keck & Sikkink, 1999). The research argues that both leverage is used as tactics by the movement of anti-sexual violence in Indonesia.

For material leverage, the weaker members of a network pressure powerful actors in terms of pressuring the members of the DPR to vote in favor of the ratification of the sexual violence action crimes law. These pressures include the campaign in the form of 500 pairs of shoes in front of the DPR building or the use of viral hashtags such as #SahkanRUUPKS (Legalize RUU PKS) or #KamiBersamaPenyintas (We Are with the Survivor), among others (Firmansyah, 2020; Pratiwi, 2021; Winarnita et al., 2020). Up until 2020, there were only five out of total nine party factions in the DPR that agreed to move up the bill as a priority in the National Legislation Program (Prolegnas). These parties that disagreed include the National Mandate Party (PAN), the Democrat Party, the United Development Party (PPP), and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) (BBC, 2022). However, in 2022, eight of these nine party factions approved and passed the bill into law (Muthiariny, 2022).

Meanwhile, moral leverage is proven by the issuing of Permendikbudristek No. 30. The decree is only issued after viral campaigns with various hashtags following the story of Agni and the media campaign on #NamaBaikKampus (Campus's Good Name) to raise awareness of the emergency of sexual violence in higher education institution (Zuhra & Adam, 2019; Chandra, 2021). In the case of Agni specifically, students and public protest and start a petition to call for action using the hashtag #UGMDaruratKekerasanSeksual (Emergency of Sexual Violence at UGM) to demand better regulation to protect students in UGM and higher education institutions in general. It is because numerous sexual assaults on campuses are not discovered and treated with justice. Therefore, the protests, campaigns, and hashtags can be seen as moral leverage in the form of "mobilization of shame". It results in powerful actors like the Ministry of Culture, Education, Research, and Technology being scrutinized and urged to create changes through policies such as Permendikbudristek No. 30. Minister Nadiem Makarim has even released a statement emphasizing that sexual violence on campuses in Indonesia as a critical emergency, and the decree is important to be imposed (Chandra, 2021; Keck & Sikkink, 1999).

Lastly, accountability politics is the effort to oblige more powerful actors to act on vaguer policies or principles they formally endorse. Once a government has publicly committed itself to a principle, networks can use this position and their command of information to expose the distance between discourse and practice and utilize the opportunity for accountability politics (Keck & Sikkink, 1999). In Indonesia, protests to demand the ratification of RUU PKS or RUU TPKS are continuously directed to the DPR. The commitment to adopt a specific law about sexual violence has been brought since 2012, and the networks, such as organizations, civil societies, activists, and media, keep pushing for the bill to be ratified to demand accountability from DPR for their commitment (CNN Indonesia, 2021).

The difficulty in getting the bill to be passed into law continued until 2020 when the discussion about the bill was not included as a priority in the Prolegnas. DPR at that time released a statement as an excuse saying that there was a time limitation in the DPR's agenda, and RUU PKS was a complicated discussion. This situation triggered protests from the public and created a controversy, arguably showing DPR's ignorance despite the number of sexual violence cases that kept increasing (Amindoni, 2020). Nevertheless, although one faction in the DPR, Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, was against the bill, the legislative body of the DPR had agreed to advance the discussion into ratification as a part of its accountability to the people. By April 2022, DPR finally agreed to approve and pass the sexual violence crimes bill into law. This example is consistent with Keck and Sikkink (1999) about accountability politics. The weaker members in the networks succeed in demanding DPR as the powerful actors to act on vaguer policies or principles they formally endorse, which is passing RUU TPKS into law.

Stages of Influence of Anti-Sexual Violence Movement as A Network

There is an assessment that can be considered to look at goal achievement at several different levels in explaining the influence of advocacy networks. The stages include issue creation and attention/agenda setting; influence on discursive positions of states and regional and international organizations; influence on institutional procedures; influence on policy change in target actors, which may be states, international or regional organizations, or private actors like a corporation; and influence on state behavior (Keck & Sikkink, 1999). In the case of the anti-sexual movement in Indonesia, the research argues that the achievement has reached all the stages except for the fifth one.

First, regarding issue creation and attention/agenda setting, networks generate attention to new issues and help to set agendas when they provoke media attention, debates, hearings, and meetings on issues that previously have not been a matter of public debate (Keck & Sikkink, 1999). The campaigns and protests, as well as discussion in social media using hashtags, such as #SahkanRUUPKS, #KitaAgni, and #KamiBersamaPenyintas, among others, have shown that the issue creation and attention/agenda setting have been achieved. It succeeds in provoking media attention and discussion about the issue that previously is not a part of the interest of the public.

Second, networks influence discursive positions when they help to persuade states and international organizations to support international declarations or change stated domestic policy positions (Keck & Sikkink, 1999). It can be argued that there are no official international declarations as Me Too is not initiated by any government or international governmental organizations but rather by civil movements. Nonetheless, it can still be considered as something that happens globally and is utilized to change domestic policy. Therefore, the research argues that this second stage has also already been achieved since it creates changes regarding RUU PKS, which at first is not supported by nine factions in the DPR but ends up being ratified with eight out of nine factions supporting the bill to be passed into law.

Third, it is the influence on institutional procedures. Keck and Sikkink (1999) did not provide an explicit or specific explanation regarding this third stage. However, it can be argued that institutional procedures relate to changes in policies in certain institutions. In the case of the anti-sexual violence movement in Indonesia, the research believes that the movement succeeded in influencing institutional procedures. It is evidenced by the Ministerial Decree or *Permendikbudristek* No. 30, which does not exist prior to the protests and campaigns regarding Agni and other victims of sexual violence on campuses. The decree is issued to create a regulation to guarantee protection for students and faculties in higher education institutions against sexual violence and create a pro-victim procedure in case such violence happens (Chandra, 2021; Keck & Sikkink, 1999).

Fourth, there is an influence on policy change in 'target actors', which may be states, regional or international organizations, or private actors. It is considered a more concrete level in terms of network influence. The research shows that the fourth stage has also been achieved through the success of the ratification of RUU TPKS (then known as RUU PKS) in April 2022. The effort to create such a legally binding regulation that provides protection for vulnerable members of society against sexual violence has arguably been achieved. The target actors in this case are the Indonesian government, represented by DPR and related Ministries such as the Ministry of Culture, Education, Research and Technology (*Kemendikbudristek*) and the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (*KemenPPPA*).

Lastly, the research explains that the fifth stage, influence on state behavior, has yet to be confirmed. It is because, by the time the research is written, RUU TPKS is newly ratified, so there has not been enough data to confirm changes in the state behavior following the passing of the bill into law. According to Keck and Sikkink (1999), meaningful policy and behavioral change are more likely when the first three types or stages of impact have occurred. So, the research believes that progress toward a change in state behavior will happen. Seeing how the bill is finally ratified despite the long fight and struggle shows that hope for changes in the future is expected, although it is slow and has its challenges.

Conclusion

The research aims to explain many cases of women's attempts to seek justice against sexual violence as well as the progress of the women's movement in Indonesia as a part of

global advocacy networks, particularly the Me Too movement. It analyzes how transnational advocacy networks explain the movement and attempts to answer the research question: How do transnational advocacy networks explain the women's movement against sexual violence in Indonesia? The question is answered in three parts. The first part is about the actors and the emergence of transnational advocacy networks, covering boomerang patterns, political entrepreneurs, and international contacts. The second part of the research discusses the typology of tactics used by the transnational advocacy networks in achieving their goals. Meanwhile, the third part discusses the stages of transnational advocacy networks that have been achieved with regard to their goals.

The first part of the research has proven that the anti-sexual violence movement in Indonesia can be claimed as transnational advocacy networks. The discussion also covers actors in the movement and their emergence in the context of the advocacy networks. These actors include domestic NGOs, research and advocacy organizations, media, local social movements and foundations, religious institutions, or religious groups, and/or executive and/or parliamentary branches of government.

In explaining the emergence of transnational advocacy networks, the research argues that first, the boomerang pattern happens when the hashtag #MeToo goes viral on social media and raises awareness of the issue on a global level. Although the boomerang pattern is not fully implemented in this case, as the link between the government and the local actors is not fully severed, the networks are still influential because the local movement takes advantage of the expanded global movement and global discussion using the Internet and social media. Second, the networks through the Internet and social media link activists and 'political entrepreneurs' in different countries. Third, the issue emerges when international contacts create arenas for forming and strengthening networks, and international organizations show their support and promote the urgency of the ratification of RUU PKS.

The second part of the research explains the typology of transnational advocacy movement tactics, including information politics, symbolic politics, leverage politics, and accountability politics. Information politics is done when the #MeToo hashtag is used by activists in Indonesia to promote the campaign on the ratification of RUU PKS, as well as the spread of information on the data of increasing victims of violence by Komnas Perempuan and KemenPPA. Tactics of symbolic politics are used through the #MeToo hashtag as a symbol of the movement, the use of *kentongan*, whistles, red writing on palms "*Anti KS di Kampus*" (Anti-Sexual Violence on Campus), and 500 pairs of shoes. Leverage politics is accomplished by material and moral leverage. Material leverage is in the form of votes in the DPR, influenced and persuaded by organizations and activists to ratify RUU PKS. Meanwhile, moral leverage is in the form of 'shaming' higher education institutions and leads to the issue of Permendikbudristek No. 30 as a policy to combat sexual violence on campus. Lastly, the tactics of accountability politics are achieved by demanding that DPR acts on vaguer policies, which agrees to pass RUU TPKS into law.

As the second part explains what the transnational advocacy networks have done using the typology of tactics in achieving their goal, the research continues to the third part, stages

of network influence. There are five stages that can be considered to look at, and the research argues that the achievement has reached all the stages except for the fifth one. First, issue creation and attention/agenda setting are created using campaigns and viral hashtags. Second, influence on discursive positions of states and regional and international organizations is achieved through the #MeToo hashtag that is utilized to change domestic policy regarding RUU PKS. Third, influence on institutional procedures is evidenced by the Ministerial Decree or Permendikbudristek No. 30, which does not exist prior to the protests and campaigns. Fourth, influence on policy change in target actors, which may be states, international or regional organizations, or private actors like corporations, is achieved by DPR passing RUU TPKS into law in April 2022. Meanwhile, the research argues that the fifth stage, influence on state behavior, has yet to be achieved. It is because the fourth stage is considered recent, and whether the implementation of the law and the ministerial decree regarding sexual violence remains to be seen.

Some recommendations can be considered to make the research in this area more extensive. For instance, further analysis can be elaborated to explain the connection between global and local actors in terms of creating a network. When Keck and Sikkink theorize the connection, Internet use is not as extensive as today. Therefore, it is not considered the main factor in how a global movement can be followed by a local movement despite not having a direct network. Other than that, the case study of the women's movement can also be analyzed using a theoretical framework other than transnational advocacy networks, such as women's empowerment or feminism, to provide a more comprehensive explanation of this phenomenon in gender studies.

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