ACTION RESEARCH IN DIGITAL ACTIVISM COLLABORATION FOR EFFECTIVE CAMPAIGNS TO ADVOCATE FOR THE RATIFICATION OF THE SEXUAL VIOLENCE CRIME LAW

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the lessons learnt from collaborating on digital activism for an effective campaign to promote the ratification of the Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence (UU TPKS) using the Action Research (AR) model. The Action Research approach in digital activism collaboration for effective campaigns consists of two phases: the information creation phase and the determination of collective actions, culminating in the enactment of the TPKS Law. Both stages are executed via collaborative campaigns that are systematically carried out annually, enhancing asset mapping and survivor testimonies methods to generate critical information. This critical information has evolved into significant knowledge that indirectly reinforces the advocacy for the enactment of the TPKS Law. Through a collaborative process, digital activism generates campaign messages and diverse content for advocacy initiatives, including posters, videos, online discussions, and online petitions, which are distributed across digital platforms within a network of civil society organizations united in their campaigns for the law's ratification.

Keywords: *action research, collaboration, collective movement, digital activism, TPKS law.*

ABSTRAK

Studi ini mengeksplorasi pembelajaran dari kolaborasi aktivisme digital untuk kampanye efektif pengesahan Undang-Undang Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual (UU TPKS) dengan menggunakan model Action Research (AR). Pendekatan Action Research dalam kolaborasi aktivisme digital untuk kampanye efektif terdiri dari dua tahap yakni tahap penciptaan informasi penting dan penentuan aksi kolektif, yang berpuncak pada pengesahan UU TPKS. Kedua tahap tersebut dilaksanakan melalui kampanye kolaboratif yang dilakukan secara sistematis setiap tahun, dengan meningkatkan pemetaan aset dan metode kesaksian penyintas untuk menghasilkan informasi penting. Informasi penting ini kemudian dikembangkan menjadi pengetahuan penting yang secara tidak langsung memperkuat upaya advokasi pengesahan UU TPKS. Melalui proses kolaboratif, aktivisme digital menghasilkan pesan kampanye dan beragam konten untuk inisiatif advokasi, termasuk poster, video, diskusi daring, dan petisi daring, yang didistribusikan melalui platform digital dalam jaringan organisasi masyarakat sipil yang bersatu dalam kampanye mereka untuk pengesahan undang-undang tersebut.

Kata Kunci: *penelitian aksi, kolaborasi, gerak bersama, aktivisme digital, UU TPKS.*

INTRODUCTION

Catatan Tahunan (CATAHU) Komnas Perempuan[1] related to data on violence against women throughout 2022 shows an 83% increase in cases of sexual violence categorized as Cyber Gender-Based Violence (GBV) from 940 cases in 2020 to 1,721 cases in 2021. The largest recipients of KBGS reports were in NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) and WCC (Women Crisis Center), namely 170 cases, followed by DP3A (Office of Child Empowerment and Protection) and UPTD PPA (Integrated Service Center for Women and Children Empowerment) with 22 cases, and the District Court with 13 cases. The category of GBV in Komnas Perempuan complaints and service agency data is dominated by cases of online intimidation (cyber harassment), threats of spreading personal photos / videos (malicious distribution) and online sexual extortion (sextortion) (Komnas Perempuan, 2022)

Komnas Perempuan together with civil society work together to realize a series of policies that accommodate the rights of citizens, especially women victims of violence, especially in sexual violence, including by providing input, monitoring the discussion of draft legislation and encouraging the integration of the content of preventing cases of violence, as well as handling and restoring victims of violence against women. One of the draft bills that has been in the spotlight during the 2014-2019 and 2020-2024 terms of service of the House of Representatives is the Sexual Violence Crime of draft Bill (RUU TPKS).

Since 2014, the journey of the Sexual Violence Crime of draft Bill, has been guarded by the civil society movement together with Komnas Perempuan. Throughout its journey in 2021 to 2022, the legislative process of the TPKS draft Bill continued to experience dynamic developments which now require continuous joint escort. The TPKS draft Bill was passed in a plenary session of the House of Representatives together with the Government after the decision on Level II Discussion on April 12, 2022. On May 9, 2022, the President of the Republic of Indonesia signed Law Number 12 of 2022 concerning Criminal Acts of Sexual Violence (TPKS Law) and was promulgated in the State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia.

Based on the data above, the increasing situation of sexual violence in the digital realm is a manifestation of the importance of advocacy in the form of an effective campaign for the

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[1]The National Commission on Violence Against Women's Annual Report (CATAHU) is the only periodic formal report on gender-based violence (GBV) in Indonesia.CATAHU is compiled from reports to the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan) - Indonesia, on cases of GBV. It is also sourced from reports to various service institutions for BGV victims and other law enforcement institutions including the Police Department or Religious Court. CATAHU was started by Komnas Perempuan in 2001. CATAHU is not just a reference on the rise and fall of violence against women, but also the only available valid formal document about data and trends on GBV (Pelindungan & Pemulihan, n.d.).

immediate emergency ratification of the TPKS Bill. The campaign for the ratification of the TPKS Law cannot be separated from the long work of advocacy for the PKS Bill to become the Law on the Crime of Sexual Violence. Advocacy is built on the motivation to overcome social problems, namely the increasing number of cases of sexual violence every year. In organizations or groups, advocacy can involve and fight for policies for the community and requires a leadership role that is more than just being a volunteer but actively working to help a goal or provide support for a goal (London, 2010).

On the other hand, the ratification of the TPKS draft Bill into the TPKS Law is a long struggle for 12 years (Hutasoit, 2022) so that Komnas Perempuan together with civil society networks, especially in public campaign work, see the need to collaborate on joint digital activism because they see from the process of joint reflection that the campaigns carried out are not effective, individually, few are doing so that there is no pressure from the community so that the DPR RI immediately discusses.

Collaboration through digital activities, especially on social media, is important because it is increasingly widespread in line with the development of advanced technology (Dumitrica & Felt, 2020). In 2017, we saw the #MeToo movement against sexual harassment, which was quite popular in the US and trended on Twitter to become an international concern. Digital activism also continues to be used especially when Covid 19 hit the world, including Indonesia. Not a few people carry out social media digital activism in advocating for the cases of violence they face. One of them is the case of sexual violence which is widely discussed because there has never been legal protection for victims. This research will discuss how digital activism collaboration works to create an effective campaign to encourage the ratification of the Sexual Violence Law in the Action Research (AR) model.

METHODS

Action Research (AR) as a Model

In the context of this paper, the author together with the civil society network for the ratification of the TPKS Law, which consists of women's organizations, religious organizations, human rights organizations, youth communities and individuals, sees that the campaign to raise cases of sexual violence, which is increasing every year and various forms of violence, is not effective. So that it is not widely seen by policy makers, the media or the wider community that the TPKS Bill is not an emergency. Even though cases of sexual violence continue to occur, there is no protection for victims of violence in Indonesian national law. The stages in implementing

the AR model in the digital activism collaboration to encourage the passing of the Sexual Violence Crime Law are divided into 2 stages, namely the stage of generating knowledge and the stage of determining joint actions until the TPKS Law can be passed.

This paper wants to explore the Action Research (AR) model in seeing the work of the digital activism collaboration to encourage the passing of the Sexual Violence Crime Law. Action Research (AR) is a method used to gain knowledge while taking action to create change in society. Action Research for change, according to Cresswell (2010), is based on an advocacy/participatory view that assumes that research must be connected to politics and political agendas so that holistic change can occur in society (Darwis, 2017). Action research involves a self-reflective, systematic and critical approach to enquiry by participants who are at the same time members of the research community. The aim is to identify problematic situations or issues considered by the participants to be worthy of investigation in order to bring about critically informed changes in practice. (Burns, cited in Cornwell 1999, p. 5) (Paltridge & Phakiti, 2016)

Basically, AR is a research that actively involves all relevant parties in reviewing ongoing actions (where their own experience is a problem) in order to make changes and improvements for the better. For that, they must critically reflect on the historical, political, cultural, economic, geographical, and other related contexts. What underlies AR is our need to get the desired change (Agus Afandi, 2014).

The stages in implementing the AR model in the digital activism collaboration to encourage the passing of the Sexual Violence Crime Law are divided into 2 stages, namely the stage of generating knowledge and the stage of determining joint actions until the TPKS Law can be passed. The first stage, namely the stage of generating knowledge information, is carried out in the preparation of messages and digital campaign content. This first stage is done by:

i.   Initial mapping

ii.   Asset mapping

iii.   Gathering stories from women who have survived sexual voilence through their own words and testimony

iv.   Compilation of campaign messages

The second stage is an advanced stage to produce action for change in the collaborative work of digital activism in encouraging the ratification of the TPKS Law, including:

i.   Participatory mapping

ii.   Developing digital campaign actions and forms

iii.   Collective action

iv.   Joint reflection

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Digital Activism and Collaboration for the TPKS Law Campaign

Digital activism is a form of activity that uses the internet and digital media as the main basis for mass mobilization and political action. In practice, digital activism refers to the use of digital technology by individuals, groups or organizations to effect political change (Anduiza, 2013). In addition, digital activism -- political action enabled by Information Systems (IS) -- not only provides citizens with enhanced opportunities for organization and communication, but also allows opportunities to take direct political action and create greater impact with fewer resources (George & Leidner, 2018). In Indonesia, digital activism has successfully supported social and political change in recent years (suwana, 2020). However, digital activism has its own difficulties in society, therefore digital activism needs to be carried out collaboratively (Dumitrica & Felt, 2020).

The author sees digital activism to raise the issue of sexual violence starting from Facebook social media responding to the 16 days campaign against violence against women (K16HAKtP). From there, it continues to develop and focus on the influence of social media on expanding support for the TPKS Bill, creating digital social movements and actions to encourage the ratification of the TPKS Bill (Selander, 2015). In this momentum, the author who joined Komnas Perempuan together with civil society networks consolidated to formulate campaign themes and collaborations.

The campaign theme for 2010-2014 was "Sexual Violence: Recognize & Handle". Various types of campaign activities were carried out simultaneously from November 25 to December 10. In 2014, there were 137 organizations that organized K16HAKtP in 73 districts/cities in 28 provinces. In 2015, Komnas Perempuan together with civil society conducted a joint evaluation of K16HAKtP conducted in 2010-2014. Armed with this evaluation, in 2016, Komnas Perempuan held a workshop to develop campaign guidelines and strengthen digital campaigns to consolidate ideas, thoughts and innovation ideas in order to strengthen campaign collaboration for 2016-2019. The workshop resulted in campaign guidelines and the key message "Listen and Support Victims, Move Together for the Elimination of Sexual Violence Bill". No less than 160 campaign activities were carried out simultaneously in various cities in Indonesia, with the same key message.

In the process, the author found problems in the movement or challenges faced by activists. The problems are (1) from the state (legislature) which postponed the ratification of the bill due to rejection from certain political parties and (2) rejection from conservative groups in Indonesia who considered that (the bill could promote liberal views).

Until early 2018, the Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence had not been discussed and passed by the House of Representatives (BBC, News Indonesia, 2022). Advocacy for the TPKS Bill (Rancangan Undang-Undang Tindak Pidana Seksual Violence) faces a number of significant challenges from both state officials and segments of civil society, especially conservative groups. That resulted in digital black propaganda attacks to reject the Elimination of Sexual Violence Bill. Further it led to the minimum support for sexual violence victims. Hence, there is minimal pressure to encourage the DPR RI to pass bill on the protection of victims of sexual violence and content material that is still not understood by the wider public (Lailisna, 2020).

Many conservative organizations and figures oppose the bill. Their concerns are based on moral panic: Fear that the TPKS bill will "promote liberalism or Western values", especially regarding sexual autonomy and gender equality. Misunderstanding of content: Some conservatives claim the TPKS bill may legitimize adultery, LGBTQ+ rights, or go against religious norms (Rodriguez, 2022). This situation affected the political positions of members of the House of Representatives. Political fears of backlash from religious constituents have led to hesitation among moderate and secular politicians. Opponents have spread misinformation, including false claims that the bill would "criminalize parents who discipline children" or "promote free sex." Social media campaigns have spread these misconceptions, adding to public confusion (Permana, 2022).

The discussion of the challenges faced by the movement is part of the knowledge production stage in the action research method. Because of this fundamental challenge (the result of reflection in the action research stage) the action (collaborative digital activism) was initiated and carried out. Campaign collaboration continues to be pursued by Komnas Perempuan and civil society through the active participation of each organizational team involved in the network of civil society movements for the Elimination of Sexual Violence Bill (GEMAS-RUU P-KS) from the network there is a core team that oversees the collaboration of digital activism campaigns called the Civil Society Coalition Against Sexual Violence (KOMPAKS). Some of the tasks of the core team are counteracting black propaganda from groups that reject the P-KS Bill on social media, simplifying the substance of the material about the P-KS Bill into content

narratives that are easily understood by the public on social media and creating other digital activities to expand public support. Towards the end of 2018, consolidation and coordination are increasingly massive for mobilizing joint actions towards the black umbrella march to push for the legal umbrella of the P-KS Bill. The joint movement of digital activities in online campaigns pursued by the KOMPAKS team and other civil society organizations voiced at the black umbrella march is important to see as a good collaborative unity in supporting victims of sexual violence to advocate for public policy. At least 2000 people participated in the black umbrella march to eliminate sexual violence (BBC, 2018).

The stage of generating knowledge information: Action Research (AR) in Developing Digital Campaign Messages and Content

Efforts to encourage the legal umbrella of the P-KS Bill, which in the advocacy process changed its name to the TPKS Bill, continue to roll. Until December 17, 2019, the plenary meeting of the House of Representatives decided that the TPKS Bill was re-registered as the Medium-Term Prolegnas (2020-2024) and the 2020 Priority Prolegnas. The advocacy journey for the TPKS Bill continued by re-strategizing future campaigns. Komnas Perempuan again together with civil society developed a campaign message for 2020-2024 with the theme "Prioritize Victims, Pass the TPKS Bill". With its derivative message is to ensure that the 6 Key Elements are fulfilled in the TPKS Bill.

This effort is also in line with public participation to take part in campaign activities, especially civil society networks that are actively involved in the campaign team to produce shared knowledge. Since 2010, 12 years of efforts to push for a legal umbrella for victims of sexual violence have yielded results with public participation through the Action Research (AR) method. The Action Research (AR) method is a research approach that involves participants in the research process to address social problems. This approach emphasizes collaboration between researchers and participants, as well as action and reflection to achieve positive social change. Participatory action research is considered to be systematic and data analysis-oriented research whose answers require the collection and analysis of data and the generation of interpretations directly tested in the field of action. This research involves the actions of researchers and members of a community or organization seeking to improve their situation (MacDonald, 2012)

The AR model can be seen from starting to identify through 15 forms of sexual violence with victim assistance service institutions (Bentuk Kekerasan Seksual, n.d.) , creating campaign messages and guidelines, creating campaign forms including online campaigns through various

digital activities and evaluating them together and the ultimate goal is to invite joint movements with the community to encourage the passing of the TPKS Bill by the DPR RI. In the Action Research (AR) model, the author in the experience of processing with civil society networks sees the AR model carried out with several steps in the stage of trying to divide this collaborative participation method into several stages of generating knowledge information, including:

i.   Initial Mapping

In this process, the author and the civil society network consisting of Komnas Perempuan partners from women's organizations, human rights organizations, representatives of religious organizations, and youth organizations consolidated to conduct initial mapping related to the situation of sexual violence cases with various forms and across perpetrators and victims. This initial mapping space is also used as a discussion space for analysis to determine the next steps of advocacy for the TPKS Law.

(1)   (2)

Figure 1 and 2. Pleno of Civil Society for initial mapping in 2016 and 2018

ii.   Asset Mapping

This stage is a follow-up process to the initial mapping by coordinating with a smaller team for asset mapping. This asset mapping is done to find out the resource assets owned and the networking assets that can be involved, as well as the DPR RI champions who can be involved. The process also discussed the substance team, lobby team and campaign team to advocate for the TPKS Law.
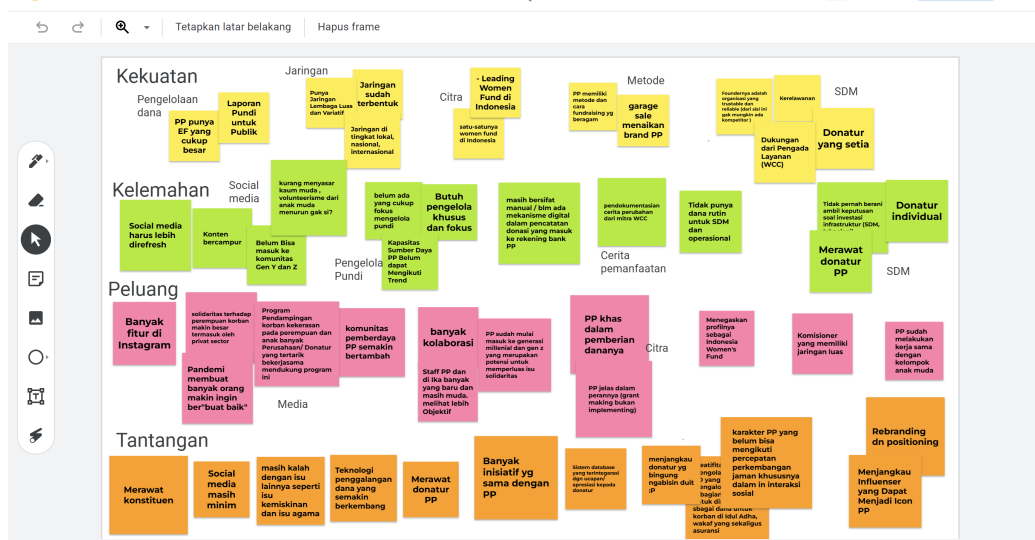
Figure 3. Asset mapping

iii.   Gathering stories from women who have survived sexual voilence through their own words and testimony

This stage is carried out to raise the stories of victims through the stories of survivors. This process was carried out with the principles of maintaining the confidentiality of victims by asking for prior consent and providing initial names in curating survivor stories. These stories are then adapted into social media content to foster public empathy.

Walaupun ketika kejadian itu saya berumur 5 tahun, saya sangat ingat dengan jelas proses yang terjadi waktu itu. Setelah 12 tahun kejadian itu, saya masih merasakan kejadian ini sangat berpengaruh dalam kehidupan saya.

KD dari Sumatera Barat

iv.   Participation in Creating Campaign Messages in the Consolidation of Civil Society Networks

In this activity, formulating campaign messages together with identifying forms of sexual violence, looking at mapping the identification of forms of problems and mapping resources first. Usually, participants are asked to write down the forms of violence recognized in each experience of assisting cases of victims of violence, problem identification and resource support in group discussions. After that, they propose messages that are relevant to the situation from the results of the group analysis. Each period of discussion and consultation resulted in the following shared messages:

Table 1. Formulation of Campaign Messages Per Period

No	Period	Theme	Hastag
1	2010-2014	Kekerasan Seksual: Kenali dan Tangani	#KekerasanSeksual #KenalidanKangani #15BentukKekerasan Seksual
2	2015-2019	Dengar dan Dukung Korban, Gerak Bersama untuk RUU Penghapusan Kekerasan Seksual	#GerakBersama #DukungKorban #SahkanRUUPKS #RUUPenghapusanKS #MulaiBicara
3	2020-2024	Prioritaskan Korban, Sahkan RUU TPKS	#PrioritaskanKorban #GerakBersama #SahkanRUUPKS #DukungKorban #6ElemenKunci

Action Research (AR) in the Digital Activism Collaboration Campaign to Encourage the Ratification of the TPKS Law

The PAR model in digital activism collaboration results in joint actions and forms of campaigns by going through stages including:

i. Participatory Mapping

This participatory mapping is carried out in order to involve elements of the target audience. The mapping discussed several target audiences that could have a direct or indirect impact with various approaches including cultural and religious approaches. Among them are Members of Parliament, local or regional communities, mothers and parents, religious groups, workers including art workers, disability groups, groups of women heads of households, academics.

ii. Developing actions and forms of digital campaigns

Digital Activism in collaboration to encourage the ratification of the TPKS Law discussed and agreed on forms of joint digital activism to expand support for the TPKS Bill. Among them, such as online discussions through various social media platforms, creating online petitions, and social media video poster content. All of these forms of digital activity are freed up in creating

branding packaging that is tailored to their respective audiences. Some of them include the creation of an online petition through change.org Lentera Indonesia which is incorporated in KOMPAKS, successfully involving 349,484 supporters signing the petition Sahkan UU Penghapusan kekerasan Seksual. #MulaiBicara #GerakBersama

Figure 4. Online Petition of Change.org for support RUU TPKS

In addition, there are also other digital activities carried out by KOMPAKS through the program name Jubaedah. This program is an event that aims to increase public knowledge about various issues of sexual violence that occur in society and encourage the discussion and ratification of the Draft Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence.
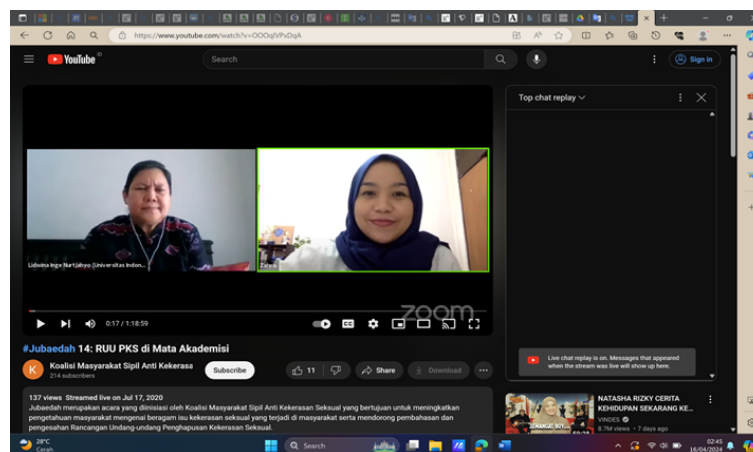

Figure 5. Online Discussion through Platform YouTube and Zoom
Program Jubaedah

Furthermore, the forms of social media content produced together in countering the rejection narrative of the TPKS Bill can be seen as follows:

iii.   Joint movement action to see public involvement and expansion of support

The entire collaboration of digital activism is voiced in a joint call to action to encourage the TPKS Law. Among them are joint movements to sign the change.org petition, mobilizing joint movements to attend the black umbrella march to encourage the passing of the TPKS Bill at the momentum of the commemoration of the 16-day campaign against violence against women in 2018 and the Women's political platform on the commemoration of World Women's Day in 2019.

In addition, Komnas Perempuan together with civil society also managed to expand support to the private sector and other organizations, both media and related ministries / institutions, such as Grab, KBR 68 H, Goggle Indonesia, HelloMotion, Tempo Magazine, the Central Indonesian Broadcasting Commission, the Indonesian Ministry of Communication and Information Technology (Kominfo), Ministry of Education, @America, and many others.
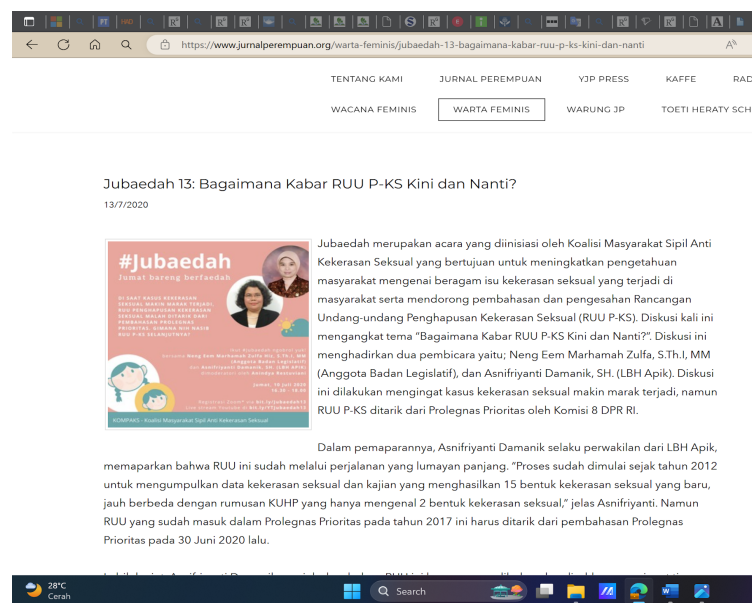

Figure 6. Jubaedah Programme on Website Jurnal Perempuan
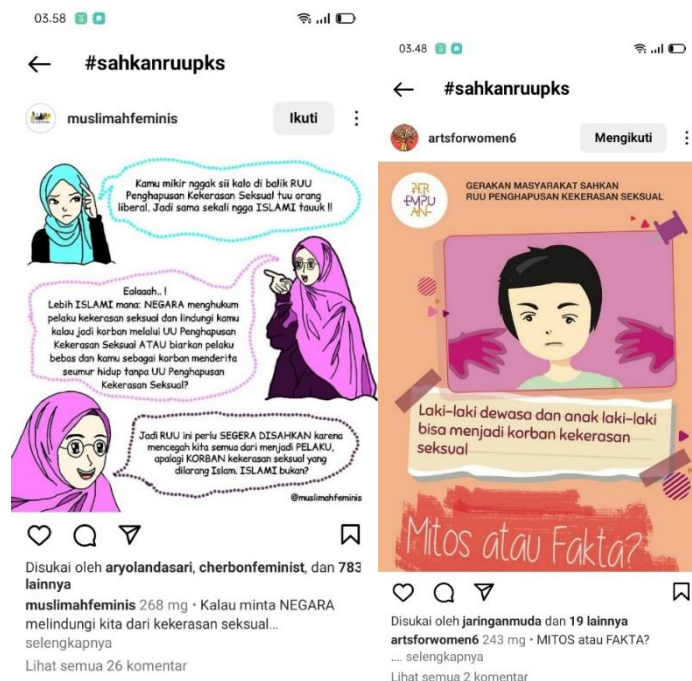
Figure 7. *Counter* content contra RUU P-KS on social media

Figure 8. Education content of RUU P-KS on social media
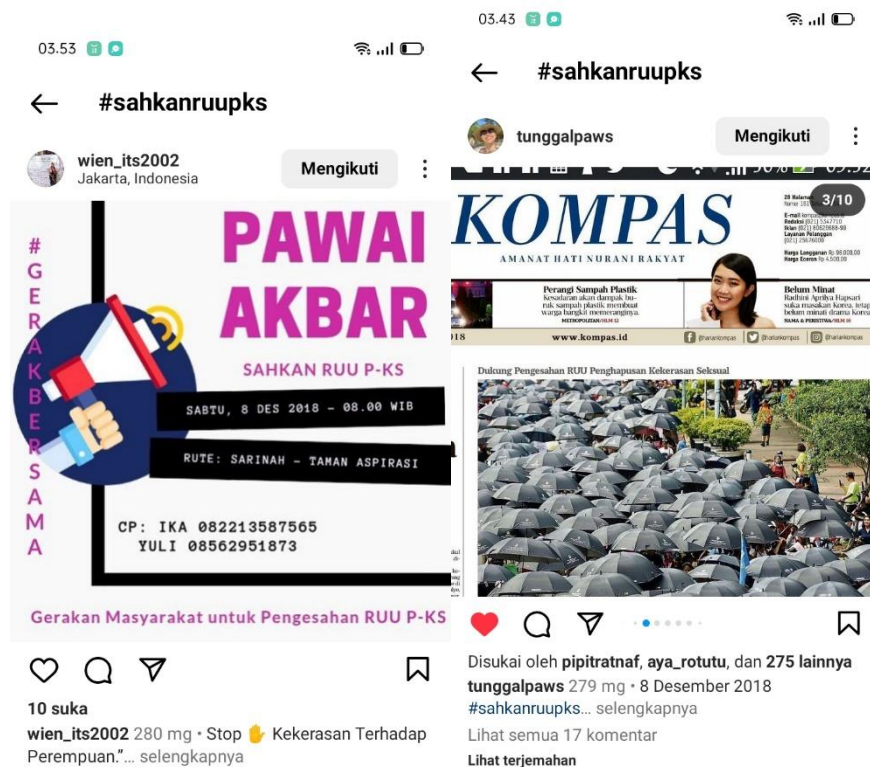
Figure 9. Participation in Call To Action of Pawai Payung Hitam

iv.   Campaign Evaluation

This activity was carried out jointly through document review, collection of campaign tools involving partner organizations, communities and stakeholders both at national and regional levels using plenary methods, group discussions and direct interviews.

The results of the evaluation resulted in several findings, including that there were several campaign objectives that had not been achieved with strategies and methods that had been carried out for five years that were less effective so that there was not widespread public support for the TPKS Bill. In addition, in the campaign reflection, it emerged to link the issue of sexual violence with other issues of women's vulnerability, such as the issue of positive women, women with disabilities, reproductive health, child marriage because many cases of sexual violence occur on these issues. Another finding was the challenge of reaching a wider audience and strengthening the campaign as a solid social movement.

Figure 10. Campaign evalution and refletion by online

An important lesson learned in the evaluation process is that there are differences in the results of campaign achievements caused by differences in the capacity of each partner organization, especially in managing campaign work. The formulation of key messages and the choice of media are also still a challenge, because they are not fully able to be remembered by communities and audiences, especially in areas with minimal internet access. Thus, there is a gap in the information received. For example, in the 2015-2019 period, there were still many communities or networks that still understood and recognized forms of sexual violence, but some of them were already working on the advocacy of the TPKS Bill in the DPR RI on the campaign message to pass the TPKS Bill. This situation can be seen in the statement of a civil society network partner from Rumah Perempuan Kupang.

"We in the regions need to be socialized again the contents of the Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence, because here there are still many forms of sexual violence that we need to learn more about," said Kak Theresia.

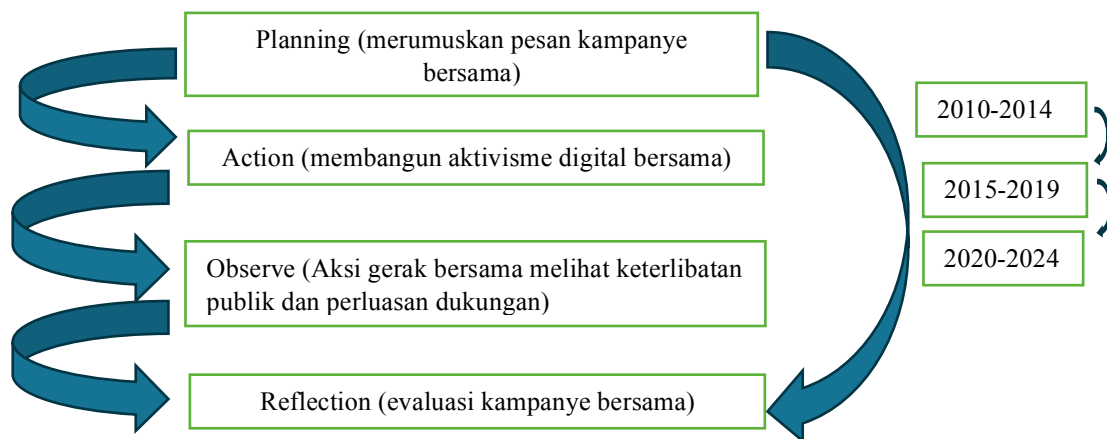The stages can be depicted in the following chart (figure. 11):

Figure 11. AR in Digital Activism Collaboration

CONSLUSION

The 12-year advocacy journey—from ineffective campaign management to developing an effective and collaborative campaign—marks a long but meaningful path of transformation. Throughout the process, activists worked together to find solutions, create impactful campaign messages involving survivor testimonies, and produce shared knowledge products, while reaching consensus on a shared campaign format.

The digital campaign collaboration played a critical role in ending the 12-year-long debate around the TPKS Bill, culminating in the final hammering that officially passed it into law. Public participation was crucial in this process. Mobilizing collective efforts through digital activism not only amplifies voices but also translates them into concrete actions for social change.

Each stage of public engagement, both individual and collective, was carried out consciously—ensuring that citizens were continuously involved in reflecting on and refining the campaign strategy. This contribution was crucial in shaping the message to put pressure on Commission III of the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI). In 2022, the collaborative spirit of digital activism reached its peak, contributing significantly to the successful passage of the TPKS Bill.

Reflection on the challenges after the enactment of the law will be beyond the scope of this study. However, we understand the importance of this element in the policy implementation. The enactment of the UU PKS is not the end goal but it is only the beginning of the continued struggle for justice and protection for the victims of GBV. Further research on how the implementation of the UU PKS will provide critical feedback for this struggle. A reflection on the challenges that Indonesia faces after the enactment of the UU TPKS. That the enactment is

not the end, but the start of a continued struggle for justice and protection for the victims of GBV. So that the law for victims of sexual violence in accessing guaranteed rights to justice, truth and recovery is realized.

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