Indonesian Women's Activism in Instagram

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Abstract: Instagram is widely used to create accounts for women's activism. Some of those accounts are managed by Indonesian, such as @indonesiafeminis, @perempuanbergerak, @ womensmarchjkt, @perempuanberkisah.id, and @lawanpatriarki. They disseminate information and knowledge on feminism, women empowerment, and gender equality among Indonesian youth. The research aims to analyze how the movements occur through Instagram and portrayals of perspective on women empowerment. This research is conducted with the virtual ethnography method. This study finds that the movement of women's activism accounts in social media platforms is deconstructed towards the common view of women empowerment and gender equality.

Keywords: digital culture, social media, women's activism, women's movement

Abstrak: Instagram marak digunakan sebagai arena aktivisme perempuan. Beberapa akun aktivisme yang berasal dari Indonesia, antara lain: @indonesiafeminis, @perempuanbergerak, @womensmarchjkt, @perempuanberkisah.id, dan @lawanpatriarki. Akun tersebut menyebarkan informasi dan pengetahuan terkait isu feminisme, pemberdayaan perempuan, dan kesetaraan gender bagi para kaum muda Indonesia. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis pergerakan perempuan yang terjadi di Instagram serta perspektif terhadap isu pemberdayaan perempuan melalui konten yang diunggah. Penelitian ini dilakukan dengan metode etnografi virtual. Kajian ini menemukan bahwa gerakan akun aktivisme perempuan di kanal media sosial saat ini tengah dalam fase dekonstruksi terhadap pandangan umum di Indonesia terkait pemberdayaan perempuan dan kesetaraan gender.

Kata Kunci: aktivisme perempuan, budaya digital, gerakan perempuan, media sosial

Social media has been known to be a new tool for social and political movements conducted by the society. The online activities have shifted the street protest into online, conceived as cyberactivism (Sandoval-Almazan & Gil-Garcia, 2014, p. 365). Cyberactivism has become a significant political power in velocity (Price, 2000, p. 30). Furthermore, cyberactivism refers to using the internet as a medium for developing a political basis that is difficult to achieve through the offline medium (Sadasri, 2019, p. 93-95). Cyberactivism aims to intellectually dan emotionally create the digital artefact that persuasively brings up the issue of injustice, an alternative interpretation of history, and advocation (Khamis & Vaughn, 2011).

The social movement is also one aspect that is closely related to cyberactivism. Cyberactivism could create a social movement in cyberspace and offline

space (Sadasri, 2019, p. 93-95). In some cyberactivism cases, for example the Arab Spring, Occupy Movement, and Black Lives Matter, those online activists were just the kick-starter for more significant offline movements (De Choudhury, Jhaver, Sugar, & Weber, 2016; Tusa, 2013). It shows how social media activism has become instrumental in driving and supporting socio-political movements throughout the world. Based on those cases, it has been proven that social media effectively drives public opinion. Therefore, it has become a powerful tool for social movement in this era. This society has evolved a lot through the internet and social media, and when it comes to women's activism, social media has given new light to the social movement.

In the past years, social media started to impact the women's empowerment movement throughout the world. It has helped women grow and evolve and give them the courage to speak openly and to reveal sexual harassment, unfair treatment at work or in society, and sexist and misogynist work environment (Boler, Macdonald, Nitsou, & Harris, 2014, p. 438-460). Social media has become the refuge for many women who can now directly address the patriarch and misogynist ideology and make their voices heard. Women started to change history by calling out public figures, politicians, leaders, and others to reveal their behaviours. Social media became a valuable tool in the gender equality 'battle' and promised to further this quest (Crossley, 2015, p. 253-268).

The mediality of social media plays a significant part in the success of cyberfeminist activism. Mediality refers to a typical set of digital media platforms, creating how a specific platform works (Bruhn, 2016, p. 1-5). Examining the mediality of social media platforms can be conducted by exploring the four aspects of social media: connectivity, sociability, networking, and interactivity (Van Dijck, 2013, p. 10-55). In the research in regards to the role of online feminist social networks in feminist mobilization, it is found that Facebook and feminist blogs enlarge and nourish feminist networks, create online feminist communities, expand recruitment bases for online and offline mobilization, and increase opportunities for online interaction with adversaries (Crossley, 2015, p. 253-268). Another research argues that cyberactivism is the movement of connected individuals; it exemplifies how individuals can organize themselves as a politically acting community (Maireder & Schwarzenegger, 2012, p. 171-195).

The rise of cyberfeminist activism is marked by the emergence of fourth-wave feminism, or also well-known as postfeminism. The postfeminism era is characterized by the intersectionality approach in examining women's issues worldwide, hence deconstructing the ideal feminist movement that was biasedly constructed by white women or Anglo-Saxon feminism in the West (Hooks, 2012; McRobbie, 2012; Mohanty, 2012). In postfeminism, women's issues are seen as contextual issues that depend on other cultural indicators such as country, race, religions, and many more. In Indonesia,

for example, feminism is constructed by the problems and issues that Indonesian women face and have. Hence, it could be very different with the problems and issues owned by women in the West. Therefore, it is significant in women's cyberactivism to contextualize the issue. Hence the movement could represent the issues that are departed from the reality that women have to deal with in that particular context (Mendes, 2015, p. 22-30).

In the case of Indonesia, women empowerment's issue has shifted uniquely following the political regime. Before the era of social media, women's activism gave space for women to speak up about their experience with gender inequality or sexual harassment in enclosed and limited forums, particularly during the New Order era. This situation was caused by the authoritarian regime that did not allow feminist ideas and thoughts to be developed (Arivia & Subono, 2017, p. 11-15). During that era, the discourse of women's empowerment was constructed by the patriarchal state (men dominated the power of the state), which have implications toward the mindset of the society.

Women's empowerment was meant to be a woman who can be the functional support system of her family, her husband, and her society. Hence, the discourse itself had diminished the subjectivity of women in society. Therefore, women found it hard or even did not have the willingness to speak up for themselves because their mind had been set as a subordinate of men; that it was right if they were treated unequally

from men and that the unequal traits they got from the society were what they had to get (taken for granted). In the mid-1990s (before and at the start of the Reformation-era) the women's activism was starting to deconstruct sexist discourse and promote feminist knowledge through activities that include the publication of journals, books, and literature as well as conducting relevant studies, and second, emphasizing the discourses on pluralism, equality, and trans-nationalism (Arivia & Subono, 2017, p. 13).

Although feminism has significantly progressed in Indonesia, there is still a strong rejection mainly among fundamentalist religious groups, conservatism, and right-wing populism. Gender, sexual orientation, and religious minorities are confronted with discriminative laws and bylaws in various jurisdictions in Indonesia. Hence, social media's existence is significant for the modern women empowerment movement, for many women's activism movements are still repressed or even oppressed in physical space by some fundamentalist religious groups and right-wing populism.

Gender equality has become one of the main points in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG), as leaders of world countries, including Indonesia, take global action. At this rate, the rise of women's activism in social media is actually in line with the effort to reach the goals in SDG. However, in the context of Indonesia, as explained above, nothing is going smoothly. With the never-ending debates and controversy among the society itself regarding

feminism, it is essential to look deeper at the dynamics in the social media accounts for women's activism; hence, the novelty of this research compared to previous research lays in cyberactivism.

As a part of digital technology, Instagram is a social media whose primary function is to mediate people's communication and interaction process with their social environment (Van Dijck, 2013, p. 4). In this case, Instagram plays a vital role among any other social media platforms because it is the third (80%) most active social media platforms for the social network category in Indonesia, behind Youtube and Facebook (We Are Social, 2020). Moreover, Instagram has been a significant player in giving a chance for women's activism to grow and be nurtured in Indonesia. The many women's activism accounts prove the movement on Instagram, such as @indonesiafeminis, @perempuanbergerak,@womensmarchjkt, @perempuanberkisah, @lawanpatriarki, and many more. Those accounts are not only actively disseminating information, but also having high engagement with their followers through conversations in the comment section.

In regards to the condition of Indonesia's society, where the concept of feminism, gender equality, and women empowerment clashes with local construction and dominant religious view, it is essential to know how those women's activism accounts in Instagram are facing the challenges and how those clashes perspectives appear in the public debates

on social media. Hence, this study will first dive into the women's activism accounts on Instagram by choosing only five (@ indonesiafeminis, @perempuanbergerak, @womensmarchjkt, @perempuanberkisah, and @lawanpatriarki) as representatives. This study examines how those five representative accounts disseminate their followers' advocacy on feminism, gender equality, and women empowerment. Next, this study depicts women's empowerment in frames; it examines those five accounts promoting on Instagram. Therefore, in a nutshell, this study will describe and analyze the dynamics of women's activism in Indonesia that mainly takes place in social media platform Instagram to gain insight into how the women empowerment movement is framing and presenting the concept of women's empowerment itself.

METHOD

This research is conducted with virtual ethnography as the primary method. The virtual ethnography method is used to investigate the internet usage that has meaning for the life of society. At this point, interactive media is understood as the culture itself and the cultural artefact (Hine, 2000, p. 14-38). Using virtual ethnography has allowed the researcher to see the mediated interaction in the virtual and physical field. This method enables the researcher to be involved directly with subjects in the decided time, even periodically, without drowning in the long term. Virtual ethnography must be partial (Hine, 2000, p. 83-116). Hence, the researcher's accounts are based on strategic

relevance to answering the research question instead of the objective reality of proper representation. In order to learn the internet and social media, the researcher must involve within it and conduct ethnography as the user of social media itself. Henceforth, this ethnography is at, in, and through the internet. Therefore, this method is considered as the closest method to find answers to the formulated research question.

In this study, the researcher took five women's activism accounts in Instagram based in and originated from Indonesia to be examined. Purposive sampling was conducted to choose five accounts to be studied. Those five accounts are @indonesiafeminis, @perempuanbergerak, @womensmarchjkt, @perempuanberkisah, and @lawanpatriarki. The main reason for choosing those five accounts is that they currently have more than 10,000 followers each (as of May 2020) rather than other women's activism account such as @plainfeminism, @perempuanhariini, @indonesiabutuhfeminis, and many more. Moreover, those five accounts were five pioneers of women's activism accounts on Instagram. Many other accounts were created later than those five. With the high numbers of followers for an activism account, those five accounts have massive engagement with the followers. It is indicated by the number of comments and likes they get in their posting.

Indonesia Feminis (@indonesiafeminis) currently has more than 71,900 followers, with approximately 500 to 2,000 likes for every post. Perempuan Bergerak (@perempuanbergerak) has over 16,000 followers, with approximately 400 to 1,500 likes for every post. Women's March Jakarta (@womenmarchjkt) currently has more than 14,100 followers, with approximately 200 to 700 likes for every post. Perempuan Berkisah (@perempuanberkisah) currently has more than 32,700 followers, with approximately 400 to 700 likes for every post. Lastly, Lawan Patriarki (@lawanpatriarki) has more than 163,000 followers, with approximately 3000 to 5000 likes for every post. The considerably high number of followers and likes indicates that those five accounts are accountable enough for their followers in particular and the netizen in general. Hence, the researcher considered those five accounts as the representative women's activism account in disseminating information and knowledge about women empowerment, gender equality, and feminism.

As the researcher is applying the virtual ethnography method, the data collection procedure in this study is conducted by documenting virtual or online data from those five Instagram accounts. The data is consisted of: (1) posting, in which the researcher chooses some representative posting that has a considerably high number of likes, (2) comment, in which the researcher chooses some representative comments from both followers or the administrator of the account that appear in the main page of the comment section. The data collection process is running from January 2019 to May 2020. Unlike the observation conducted in traditional ethnography, virtual ethnography deals

with vast and massive data uploaded online from time to time. In a matter of seconds, the data could be updated and reach quite large amounts of comprehensiveness. Hence, for the virtual ethnography method, the duration of eight months for data collection is more than enough to acquire the polyvocality needed for the validity and reliability of findings in ethnography.

The data analysis procedure in this ethnographical study requires the researcher to conduct the cross-check and double-check within the data gained from those five Instagram accounts to find the pattern by comparing it with the socio-cultural context.

FINDINGS

Instagram accounts of Indonesia Feminis, Lawan Patriarki, Perempuan Bergerak, Perempuan Berkisah, and Women's March Jakarta have their characteristics in disseminating information and knowledge regarding feminism, women empowerment, and gender equality. It is found that there are two forms of activism performed by those accounts: (1) creating and posting their content or infographics and (2) reposting content from other accounts. As for activism, those five accounts show varied purposes, but there is some similarity: advocating women empowerment and gender equality. The movement is organized by whether collective individuals, non-profit communities or organization's committees. More details about the characteristics can be seen in Table 1 below.

The characteristics of women's activism accounts show how the social media movement takes place on Instagram. The mediality of Instagram plays a significant role in how those accounts disseminate

Table 1 Characteristics of Women's Activism Accounts

Account	Form of Dissemination	Purpose of Activism	Managed By
Indonesia Feminis (@indonesiafeminis)	Creating infographics & reposting content from other accounts	Advocating gender equality & women empowerment Raising awareness on social issues	Collective individuals
Lawan Patriarki (@lawanpatriarki)	Reposting content from other accounts	Advocating gender equality & women empowerment Raising awareness on social issues	Collective individuals
Perempuan Bergerak (@perempuanbergerak)	Creating infographics	Promoting Perempuan Bergerak's event Advocating gender equality Raising awareness on social issues	Non-profit community
Perempuan Berkisah (@perempuanberkisah)	Creating infographics	Giving space for telling the story Giving counselling to sexual violence victims Advocating women empowerment	Non-profit community
Women's March Jakarta (@womensmarchjkt)	Creating infographics	Extension social media channel of Women's March movement Coordinating offline movement Promoting Women's March events Advocating women empowerment	The organizer of the Women's March organization in Jakarta

Source: Primary Data (2020)

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their information. The connectivity aspect of social media has enabled women's activism account to connect with netizen, particularly young women and men in Indonesia who have access to the internet and social media. Hence, they could spread awareness regarding the issue of women's empowerment and gender equality. The sociability aspect has enabled women's activism accounts to socialize their programs to larger audiences. For accounts that also have offline activity like Perempuan Bergerak and Women's March Jakarta, this connectivity aspect has made it possible to make more people know about their existence. Hence, they could recruit more volunteers and broadcast their activities to broader audiences.

In terms of networking, social media activism has enabled women activists to build a network with fellow activism accounts. It is found through reposting content conducted by Indonesia Feminis and Lawan Patriarki (also sometimes Perempuan Bergerak too). As for the interactivity aspect, through social media platforms, those women's activism accounts can interact directly with their followers through the 'comment' section or 'direct message' feature. Moreover, they could directly call out some accounts they found troublesome or problematic in degrading women or gender equality.

Indonesia Feminis, Perempuan Bergerak, and Lawan Patriarki bring the similar spirit within their content. Their primary purpose is to disseminate information and knowledge regarding feminism, women empowerment, and gender equality. Lawan Patriarki has more concerns in deconstructing Indonesian society's standard view and perspective that is trapped in the patriarchal system. Meanwhile, Indonesia Feminis and Perempuan Bergerak give more concern to raise awareness in the wake of contemporary women empowerment.
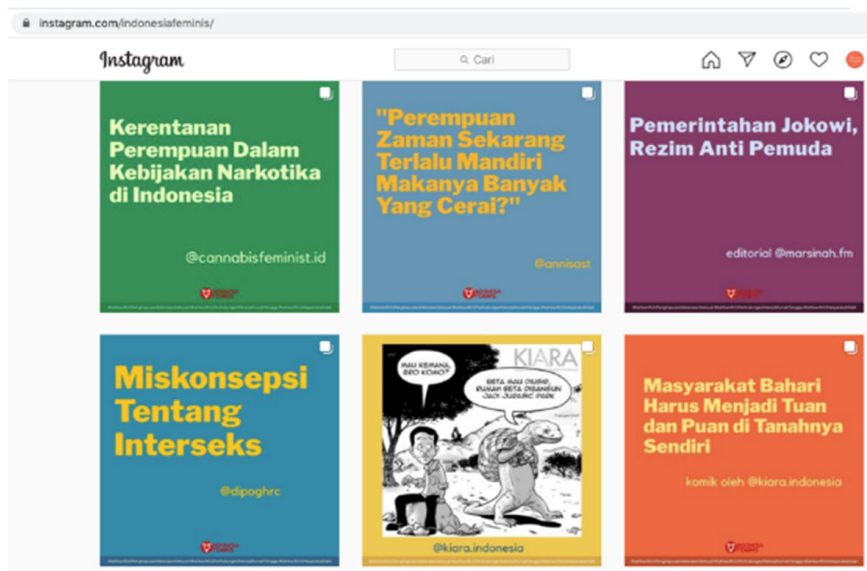

Figure 1 Postings on Indonesia Feminis (@indonesiafeminis) Account
Source: Instagram Account @indonesiafeminis (2020)
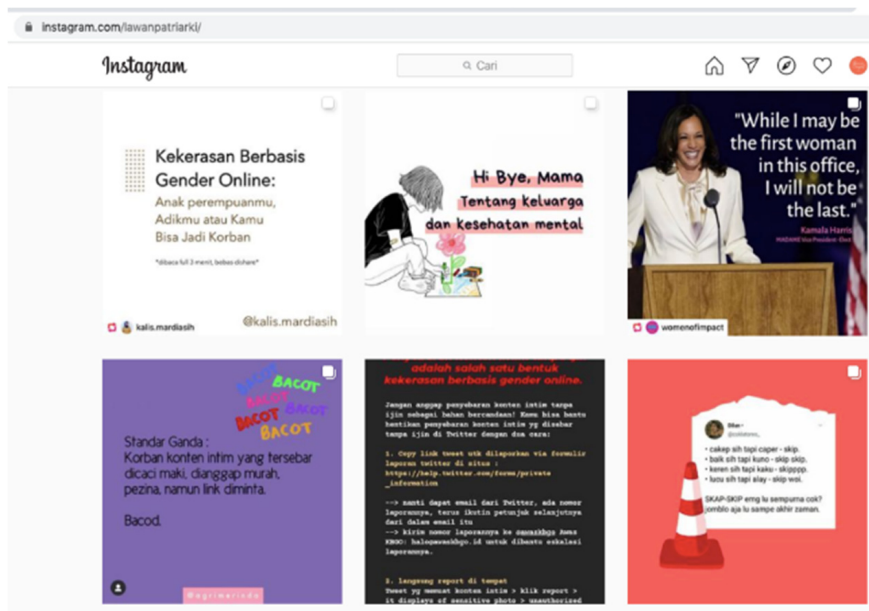
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Figure 2 Postings on Lawan Patriarki (@lawanpatriarki) Account
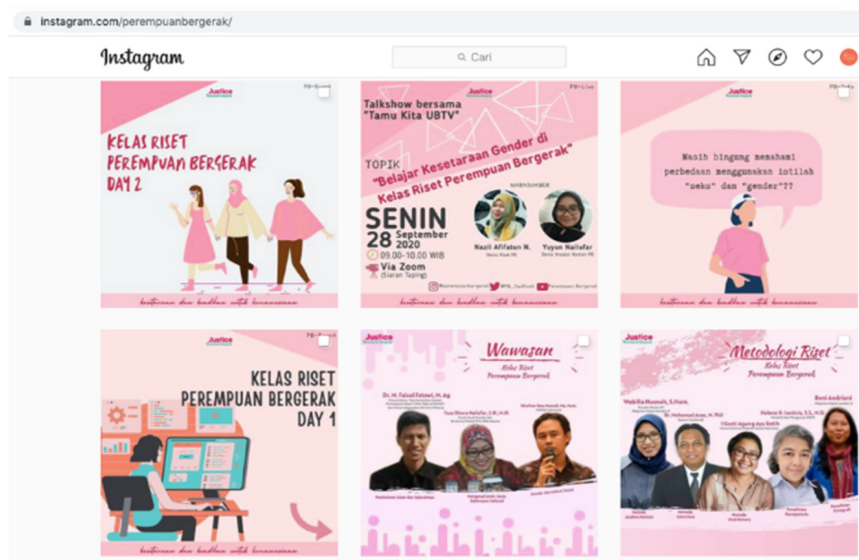Source: Instagram Account @lawanpatriarki (2020)

Figure 3 Postings on Perempuan Bergerak (@perempuanbergerak) Account
Source: Instagram Account @perempuanbergerak (2020)

Perempuan Berkisah has different approach from Indonesia Feminis, Perempuan Bergerak, and Lawan Patriarki. This account focuses on the story-telling of women in regards to their experience in society. Perempuan Berkisah concerns about experiences of gender inequality, violence, harassment, and injustice. Perempuan Berkisah brings the spirit to raise women who cannot speak up about their experience in other forums, even with their close peers. This account allows women to tell their stories anonymously. However, the aim, similar to Indonesia Feminis and Perempuan Bergerak, is to raise awareness regarding contemporary women's empowerment and trigger the spirit to fight against gender inequality.
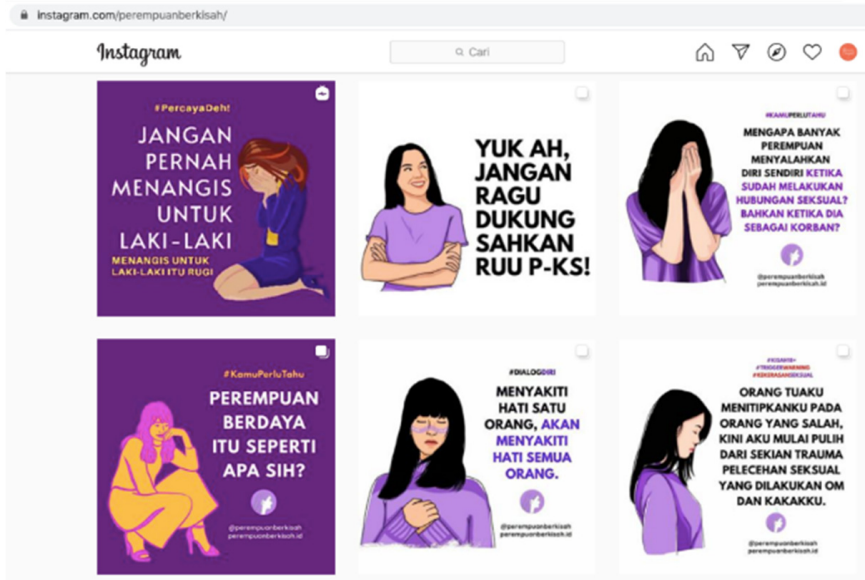
Figure 4 Postings on Perempuan Berkisah (@perempuanberkisah) Account
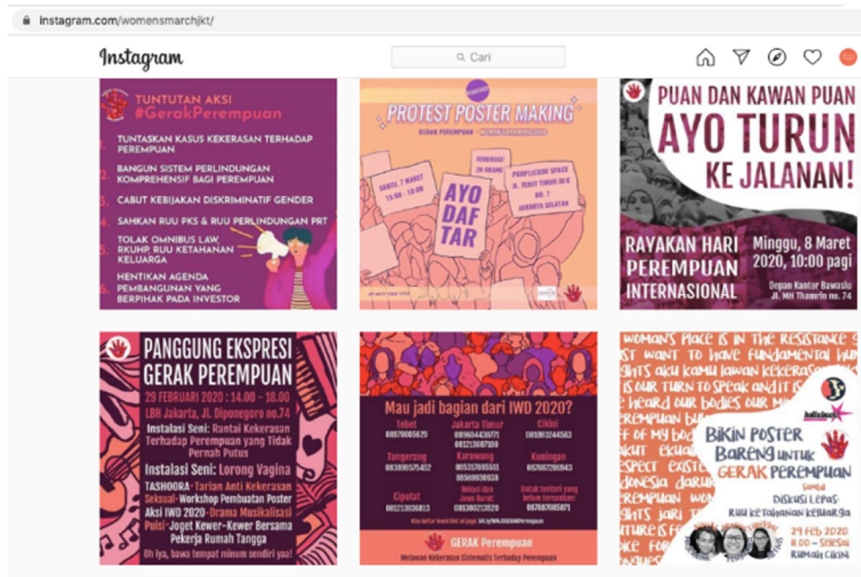Source: Instagram Account @perempuanberkisah (2020)

Figure 5 Postings on Women's March Jakarta (@womensmarchjkt) Account
Source: Instagram Account @womensmarchjkt (2020)

Unlike the four previous accounts, Women's March Jakarta is an official account of the movement. Women's March is specialized but not exclusive for their movement branch in Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia. Aside from Women's March Jakarta, every branch of Women's March in other cities in Indonesia has its official account. However, Women's March Jakarta is the one with the most followers. As an official account, the main content of this account is to promote the events held by the movement. Unlike Indonesia Feminis, Perempuan Bergerak, and Lawan Patriarki, Women's March Jakarta creates their content and seldom reposting from other accounts.

These findings show that the usage of Instagram for women's activism has

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functioned in three main fields: (1) tools for knowledge and information dissemination, (2) space for inspirational and unheard story-telling, (3) the extension media of women's movement. Each function indicates the shifting of women's activism groups in utilizing the media to run their programs. For knowledge and information dissemination tools, Instagram replaces or enhances the previous media used by NGOs, such as books, journals, magazines, and newspapers.

These women's activism accounts continue to deconstruct sexist discourse and promote feminist knowledge while developing it using social media platforms. More details about how the issues are contextualized for Indonesian audiences are laid out in Table 2 below.

The usage of social media platforms to disseminate is considered more effective to reach a more significant number of audiences, particularly among the youth; not only they are digital natives, but they also did not have the experience to deal with oppressive regimes such as the New Order. Those digital natives were born at the beginning of the Reformation era. They have known the freedom of thinking and speaking since they were born. They are no longer watching television or reading newspapers and more occupying themselves to surf the internet. For a generation like this, the approach by social media is more effective at some point to some extent. In terms of women's activism, social media allows the discourse of feminism, women

Table 2 Contextualizing the Issues in Women's Activism Accounts

Account	Issues Contextualized	How to Disseminate
Indonesia Feminis (@indonesiafeminis)	What feminism is What patriarchy is What misogyny is What sexist is Sexual harassment	Sharing knowledge Appreciating individuals or groups who are supporting gender equality Calling out individuals or groups who are practicing sexist/misogynist
Lawan Patriarki (@lawanpatriarki)	Rape culture Victim-blaming culture Double-standard in society regarding patriarchy The construction of being an ideal woman	Sharing knowledge Appreciating individuals or groups who are supporting gender equality Calling out individuals or groups who are practicing sexist/misogynist
Perempuan Bergerak (@perempuan bergerak)	The construction of beauty The myth of virginity Women supporting women Law and regulation in Indonesia in regards to women and gender equality	Sharing knowledge Conducting class/workshop to enhance knowledge Motivating women to write and speak up their thoughts
Perempuan Berkisah (@perempuanberkisah.id)	Mental health issue Sexual reproduction Sex education Body positivity Representation of women in media Toxic masculinity	Sharing knowledge Motivating women to share their stories Giving safe space for their stories to be known without judgment Advocating women to support fellow women
Women's March Jakarta (@womensmarchjkt)		Sharing knowledge Encouraging women to take part in the movement Conducting class/workshop to enhance knowledge

Source: Primary Data (2020)

empowerment, and gender equality not to stop in the elitist discussion among scholars and activists. Besides, social media enables women's activism to reach the youth who have concerns about feminism, women empowerment, and gender equality.

Moreover, this patriarchal mindset had created a standard view that women who experienced sexual harassment were considered a disgrace to their family and society compounded by the matter of sexuality considered taboo by the society. It was affecting women to think that when they experience sexual abuse or harassment, they must remain silent because it would give their family and society a bad name. On the other side, the mindset had created a habit of victim-blaming in society; society tends to blame victims of sexual harassment. Hence, when a victim of rape, for example, shared her experience, it could backlash her, for she would be blamed for not taking care of herself. This condition put women on edge; they were experiencing pain and trauma but could not share it. The existence of women's activism accounts such as Perempuan Berkisah fills the gap by providing space for women to share without being judged or blamed for things that occurred to them.

The social media platforms enable women's movements or NGO to extend their program and publication to publish their work and achievement and, most importantly, to spread awareness through discourses and gain more participation from society towards their cause. Women's March is only one of the many movements

or NGOs that utilize social media to extend their institution. Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan, Kalyanamitra, and Rifka Annisa have also created an official account on Instagram to extend their movement.

The existence of many kinds of women's activism accounts on Instagram leads us to the following discussion about the landscape of women empowerment discourses in social media. With each kind of account bringing its mission by joining digital platforms, it is vital to know and map the information and knowledge disseminated through the platform. Hence, we could gain insight into what kind of women empowerment, gender equality, and even feminism perspective these women's activism advocate in the social media space.

DISCUSSIONS

The activities of women's activism accounts in Instagram show the efforts towards disseminating knowledge and information in feminism, women empowerment, and gender equality. This dissemination process tells us a lot about the stage of Indonesian society's understanding regarding those issues. Since the media is socially embedded in the society where it lives, through the content that women's activism accounts regularly post on Instagram, we can map the current state of feminism, women empowerment, and gender equality discourses among Indonesian.

The distribution of information and knowledge of feminism, women

empowerment, and gender equality in women's activism account ranges from a contemporary feminist with Indonesian society's socio-cultural context to the cases and social phenomenon in Indonesia regarding human rights. In the wake of the contemporary era of feminism in Indonesia, theories of feminism have a role; the intellectual basis of feminism is very evident in the movement. The feminist perspective is used to highlight those issues the movement fights for in the contemporary era, such as gender violence, trafficking, sexuality, polygamy, development, democracy, and human rights (Arivia & Subono, 2017, p. 13).

In the frame of women's empowerment, one of the discourses that women's activism accounts in Instagram try to advocate is regaining women's power and rights toward their own body and sexuality. It is an effort to empower women to gain their subjectivity in society. In this matter, the women's activism accounts are going against the common view of Indonesian society that tends to obliterate women's subjectivity and against the social construction of the society that the matter of sexuality is taboo to be discussed in a public space. Regarding this matter, the women's activism accounts on Instagram define 'empowered women' as women who have liberty towards their bodies and sexuality.

The effort to empower women to have liberty towards their own body and sexuality is implemented by prompting women to wear anything they feel comfortable with or anything they want to wear (Mendes, 2015, p. 55-58). It suggests women to wear

anything as long as she wears it by her own will and not because of being under repression or oppression.

In another effort, the women's activism accounts suggest that women need to gain their authority towards their bodies and sexuality by dismantling the myth of virginity. The standard view in Indonesian society towards virginity is that virginity is a sacred thing; that a woman who remains a virgin (until they got married) is noble and dignified, whereas a woman who has lost her virginity before marriage is commonly seen as an immoral and disgrace. Moreover, women who conduct sex before marriage are commonly seen as not religious or have no moral values.

In this matter, talking about women's virginity is not merely talking about morality or religiosity, but also about early sex education for children, both of young women and men. Through the feminist perspective, the myth of virginity with the cover of morality and religiosity has caused the discussion about sex as a taboo thing, which results in the lack of sex education for Indonesian youth. It then causes some implications, such as teenage pregnancy. Hence, the women's activism finds it essential to unveil the myth of virginity to invigorate sex education for youth and empower women who are not virgins (before marriage) to gain confidence and regain authority towards their bodies.

The dismantling of the myth of virginity has led us to another topic regarding the effort of women's activism to advocate for women to have the authority

of their bodies. The women's activism campaign the idea that women have to understand that they have the right to do everything with and towards their bodies. One of the ways that women's activism does is by advocating for women that they have the right to choose whether they do an abortion when they experience an unwanted pregnancy. Another way is to make women understand that they have the right to do things towards their bodies even if society's standard view has put some stigma into it, such as making a tattoo on their skin and smoking cigarettes. In Indonesia, this negative stigma of women with tattoos and smoking women is seen as indecent women. Having a tattoo and smoking are not proper for women because they will not be good wives or good mothers for the family.

The standardization of what a woman should do and choose, as well as how a woman should think and behave in order for them to be a 'true and 'real' ideal woman, has, at some point to some extent, made women lose the authority of their own body (Mendes, 2015). However, those ideal things are the ideal constructed by society, which the women's activism accounts try to contend with. In order to do that, these women's activism accounts are advocating sex education and promoting different perspectives to approach certain cases that are considered sensitive or controversial among Indonesian society, such as abortion, virginity (safe sex before marriage), and more.

Another discourse in regards to women's empowerment is to fight and stand up against sexual harassment. In this matter, the women's activism accounts are disseminating information and knowledge about the forms and kinds of sexual harassment. This women's activism is the first step needed to raise people's awareness towards some acts that are considered sexual harassment. In a society dominated by patriarchal views and ideology, Indonesian people tend to tolerate some acts and not consider them a form of sexual harassment, referred to by the academics as the 'rape culture' of the society. Hence, the women's activism accounts find the vital need to advocate the basic knowledge about how we define 'sexual harassment and the forms and kinds of acts considered sexual harassment.

In order to reach the objective of urging women to stand up against sexual harassment, women's activism accounts are urging the courage to speak up about experiences in regards to sexual harassment (Parahita, 2019, p. 110). This women's activism is the second step taken after laying out the perspectives to see how some acts are defined as sexual harassment by disseminating knowledge and information. It is not an easy task as 'finding the authority of their voices' for a woman has long been a problematic issue in this society. Even the women's activism account such as Perempuan Berkisah has to serve women's stories anonymously; this indicates that there are still many women who are afraid to share their experiences regarding sexual harassment. It depicts the reality check of society that being the

victim, particularly the female victim, of sexual harassment is seen as a disgrace by society's standard view. Hence, women find trouble having the authority of their voices, leading us to another aspect of advocation that the women's activism accounts bring.

It is found that the women's activism accounts are urging the audience to diminish the habit of victim-blaming in sexual harassment cases. In order to raise the willingness of sexual harassment victims to speak up and share their experiences, this step is needed. Unless society changes its way of thinking in examining sexual harassment cases, similar cases will just be repeated because society will not break the chain of crimes. This habit of victim-blaming has adhered in the mind of the society that people are most of the times unaware and subconsciously think in that way when they see a particular case of sexual harassment. For example, when there is a case of rape (a man rapes a woman), some people tend to agree that the woman must be wearing revealing clothes. Hence, she got raped, or the woman must make gestures that signal an agreement to be raped. This case may sound simple and quite suitable for Indonesian society. It is the depiction of how the habit of victim-blaming is sinking in deeply in the mind of people. The women's activism accounts lay out different perspectives to trigger people to think other ways and diminish the habit of victim-blaming, including advocating how physical interaction between a man and a woman should be consensual.

Standing against sexual harassment also urges the audience to diminish the misogynist way of thinking and sexist jokes. The framework of thinking used in this aspect is more or less the same as how we analyze the previous aspect about the habit of victim-blaming. The misogynist and sexist way of thinking has adhered in the mind of the society that most of the time, people are unaware and unconsciously think in that way. For example, in a workplace dominated by men, women often become the object of sexist jokes and might not even realize that it is sexist since they used to make a joke that way. Of course, in terms of humour, then it is very contextual. We cannot generalize that one thing that is considered a joke at one place is also considered a joke. However, there is a fine line between humour and harassment. The woman might not feel insulted right now because she thinks it is only a joke, whereas the men might not feel guilty. After all, right at the moment, the women take the joke by laughing together with them. However, if this uncomfortable feeling builds up as time goes by, they are something not right. The sexist jokes subtly put women in subordinate positions and the misogynist way of thinking, which represses or even oppresses women. Hence, the women's activism accounts are advocating for people to break this chain of habit.

In the wake of standing up against sexual harassment, women's activism accounts prompt women to learn self-defence techniques. Indonesia Feminis and Lawan Patriarki advocate the importance and needs of women to master at least the basics of self-defence combat sport. In some chances, the women's activism

accounts share some workshop events or training sessions specially created for women to learn the basics of self-defence combat. That way, women can have the prevention in regards to sexual harassment. Therefore, the women's activism accounts make an effort to advocate people to stand up against sexual harassment from both ways; they attempt to urge women and society to diminish the rape culture, but they also contrive to prepare women for facing the harsh society where they live.

The outline of women empowerment in frames brought by women's activism accounts is the effort to deconstruct the meaning of women's empowerment itself; that the empowered women are women who can define themselves, instead of just following the definition that the patriarchal society has standardized. The thirty years regime of the New Order era had shaped the mind of society in the patriarchal framework thinking that puts women in a subordinate position. Hence, by the common view of society and society's standard norms and values, and empowered woman is defined by her role and contribution in household affairs and domestic area. The findings indicate that the main point of these women's activism accounts is to shift that common view towards the meaning of women's empowerment. It is all right for women to be housewives or choose a career, get married or stay single, be a mother, or not to bear children, skilled in the household such as cooking or sewing, or do not. Life is a matter of choices for women as it is for men. By this notion, the women's activism accounts are encouraging women to make choices of their own.

Therefore, women's activism accounts believe that two aspects define contemporary women's empowerment. The first aspect is the women's authority towards their bodies and sexuality. An empowered woman is a woman who has authority towards her own body and sexuality. Without deconstructing the standard view, this notion will not be achieved. Since we have learned that the standard view in Indonesian society has obliterated the subjectivity of women; that in many aspects, women's bodies and sexuality are the objects of rules and conception made and shaped by the patriarchal system.

The second aspect is the women's power to stand up against sexual harassment. An empowered woman is a woman who dares to speak up whenever they witness or experience any sexual harassment. Again, without deconstructing the standard view, this notion will not be achieved. One of the ways that the women's activism accounts conduct to gain this aim is by disseminating the information and knowledge of laws. By understanding the laws, women can see the inequality and injustice that occurs to women. Henceforth, the awareness will be raised, and the deconstruction process will take place. Besides that, another way is by laying out the current case of sexual harassment or human rights violation to give an authentic depiction of how inequality and injustice occur in society.

Indeed, the process of deconstruction will not be able to roll without society's awareness that something is not quite right

among them. Hence, raising awareness is the most critical mission for these women's activism accounts to carry because it lays the foundation of the public's concerns about gender equality. However, the struggle is real in Indonesia. Since the standard conservative view has already had strong and deep roots in society, women's activism accounts often find themselves in a battle of perspectives, leading to the next part of the discussions.

The Struggle is Real: The Clash of Perspectives in Gender Equality

As a social media platform, Instagram has the characters that define it as media, referred to as the mediality of Instagram. In the digital era, social media takes the role of online facilitator or activator of human networks or the networks of humans that designates connectivity as social value (Van Dijck, 2013, p. 10-11). On one side, this aspect of connectivity as part of social media's mediality enables people to utilize Instagram to connect with people from many ideological backgrounds. On the other side, the connectivity of Instagram provides people with a space to share and express their ideological views.

Regarding women's activism, the connectivity in Instagram has shaped the sociability built in the platform. On one side, users can choose whomever they want to connect in Instagram. At some point, they tend to choose to connect with people they already know in real life; hence the sociability is departing from the offline reality (Van Dijck, 2013, p. 22). On the other side, users also tend to

utilize Instagram to gain information about things they are interested in. At this point, they often have to connect their account to people or some accounts that they do not have a connection with in real life before. Therefore, they created the online reality based on their interest; this explains how women's activism accounts are gaining followers on Instagram.

Instagram has proven to facilitate and activate social movement through women's activism accounts in terms of networking. At this point, the platform enables its users to share their ideas, views, and works of art in a communal activity. In women's activism accounts, users or followers can meet people with the same interest or concern, particularly regarding feminism, women empowerment, and gender equality. The algorithm of Instagram enabled its users to find other accounts or content similar to their interests and concern. Hence, the networking in Instagram tends to be built based on similarities.

The behaviour of social media usage as a cultural practice is framed in the networking built by users in social media platforms. Christakis and Fowler (Van Dijck, 2013, p. 12) stated that this networking has also affected what someone thinks and does. Hence, the interactivity in Instagram becomes a fundamental aspect of social media usage behaviour since the information exchange takes place rapidly in a two-way or multi-direction. As mediated through a social media platform, the interactivity process occurs between humans and the device. Even though other people are also

present, they present in the form of an avatar. However, when users interact with other users, they gain real human-to-human interactivity (pseudo-interactivity).

Knowing the mediality of Instagram, how does it affect the dynamics of women's activism accounts? First, the mediality of Instagram has created the women's activism accounts as a public space instead of a personal space. Even though users are principally logging in with their accounts (with their identity, not by their organization or institution), their interaction with other users occurs in the stage of public space. Second, the mediality of Instagram has created an echo chamber caused by the algorithm of the platform, where social media has become the space of common interest for users (Purwaningtyas, 2019, p. 221; Quattrociocchi, Scala, & Sunstein, 2016, p. 18). It is related to the connectivity and networking in Instagram, as people with some perspective will find it challenging to get into other perspectives because they are only served information that strengthens their perspective. In regards to this matter, on the other side, the sociability in Instagram that some are based on offline reality has enabled users to connect with people who have a different perspective from them. At this point, it leads to the third impact of the mediality of Instagram: related to the post-truth era and the flood of information in the social media, Instagram has enabled perspectives to meet and clash with one another. Moreover, with the socio-cultural context of Indonesian society that has been discussed in the previous part,

women's activism accounts often record a never-ending war between the perspective of standard conservative view and contemporary women empowerment.

Regarding the contemporary women empowerment that vocalizes gender equality, backlashes to these women's activism account mostly come from the fundamentalist religious groups or people, particularly the Muslims, as Islam is the religion held by the majority of society members in Indonesia. Based on their on the religious views that women are subordinate to men, people in this side believe that the idea of feminism and gender equality is not in accordance or even straying from the religious view; hence they deduct that it is the incorrect values to be applied in Indonesian society.

Making justification by the moral values of religious views, the standard views in Indonesia tend to put women in a social position below men. It leads to the notion that gender equality is debatable and arguably in the contestation with the religious view. For example, when women's activism accounts advocate that women are free and have the right to choose a career, the conservative religious view tends to argue that women who have careers will not become good wives or mothers. It is because she has to split her focus from her family to her work; whereas, according to the conservative religious view, women were born to be a wife and a mother. Besides, many other examples of the contestation between contemporary feminism and common

religious approaches make understanding gender equality's importance difficult in Indonesia.

In this matter, the strategy conducted by women's activism accounts argues the conservative religious view with the modern religious view. In many cases, accounts like Indonesia Feminis and Lawan Patriarki are reposting the post from Muslim feminist figures. In other cases, these women's activism accounts post-religious feminism accounts that they think are giving some enlightenment to fight the conservative religious view. These accounts are approaching gender equality with religious views differently than the conservative ones and even giving the effort to deconstruct the old paradigm. Besides, the women's activism accounts also use quotes from notable male Muslim figures promoting gender equality, such as Gus Dur (K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid) and Quraish Shihab. However, this strategy is not enough since we can find many people, netizens, or even activism accounts that are siding with the old paradigm and advocating that feminism is a wrong and sinful perspective.

Other backlashes are coming from people who are induced by the patriarchal paradigm. It is even more distracting because most people are unconscious that they think in a patriarchal way. Regarding Indonesian socio-political and socio-cultural background history, 'patriarchy' has been taken for granted as the standard view or a regular thing in this society. Hence, most people are neither aware that it is harmful to humanity nor realize that something is wrong with the patriarchal

society. Even though they are not justifying their views based on conservative religious views, these people are consciously or subconsciously perpetuating the patriarchal view; thus, they are preserving the system of patriarchy in Indonesia, which is detrimental to the growth of gender equality in society. Moreover, this category of people is not limited to men only, but some women think within the frame of patriarchal view.

On one side, the standard views rooted in patriarchy are seeing feminist or women activists as radical and aggressive people, or even lesbians. This stigma is the residue of second-wave feminism, where feminist movements were taking it at a global radicalism shot to raise their voice. Moreover, they are labelled as rigid people who cannot make a joke, ignorant people who cannot respect other perspectives, and hot-tempered people who are easily triggered and not thinking straight. On the other side, the women's activism accounts have their cause, even though they live up to the stigma of feminist activists. For example, they are strongly going against sexist or misogynist jokes, whereas it is twisted them as rigid people or sometimes brought by their own emotions when answering or responding to comments that attack them on the platform. This situation often leads to unhealthy and ineffective discussion, which could be detrimental to their cause.

In the middle of a society that still holds the standard views on patriarchy, sarcasm or sarcastic humour is ineffective

to some extent. Hence, the effort of women's activism accounts to deconstruct the standard views is obstructed by the strategy they conduct. Their usage of sarcasm indicates it in some cases, which is not fully understood as sarcasm by some people, particularly those who are still induced by the patriarchal way of thinking.

CONCLUSION

Along with the current condition of contemporary feminism in Indonesia, the movement of women's activism accounts in Instagram is in the deconstruction effort towards the meaning of women empowerment and gender equality. The contestation comes from the historical context of Indonesia, in regards to the socio-cultural and socio-political backgrounds. It has put contemporary women's activisms in a vis-a-vis position against the fundamentalist religious groups and the conservative patriarch. The standard view that women are subordinate to men is arduous to deconstruct since it is backed up by the conservative religious view and the patriarchal common sense; it is taken for granted that destiny has set women in a position below their male counterparts. Thus, gender equality is still a long way to go.

On one side, in contemporary feminism, the usage of social media platforms has brought shifting for the dissemination process of women empowerment and gender equality. There is a chance for broader audiences, which means that there is a greater chance for more significant awareness and enlightenment for a better

society, not only for some people but also for all gender. The digital media and internet have added new tools and created new space for people to enable them to discuss many kinds of materials, even the most controversial and taboo ones as constructed by society. On the other side, the mediality of Instagram has brought the risk of an echo chamber as caused by the algorithm system of Instagram. At this rate, it is detrimental to the dissemination process because it creates digital polarization among netizens. In the case of women's activism account, the digital polarization can be seen in the debates in the comment section.

In terms of social activism accounts in social media, social media usage also depends on the actors behind it. Even though the mediality of Instagram as a social media platform has affected the dissemination and interaction of women's activism accounts, the context of the actors behind it also affects the dynamics of the issue. The finding that women's activism accounts for administrators' tendency to live up to their negative stereotypes regarding feminists has affected the dissemination process indicates that the actors behind the media are also significant.

In the end, this study has explored and analyzed the depth of digital content and socio-cultural context of the dynamics of women's activism accounts in social media. However, this study only touches both the actors (media producers and audiences). Henceforth, in the future, a study needs to be conducted to gain deeper insights from the actors behind women's activism accounts

in social media. Moreover, the study of women's activism in social media needs to explore the audiences or followers of these women's activism accounts. This approach is needed to gain insight into how the digital communication strategy has impacted their audiences or followers and how effective the usage of social media is for women's activism from the audiences' point of view.

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