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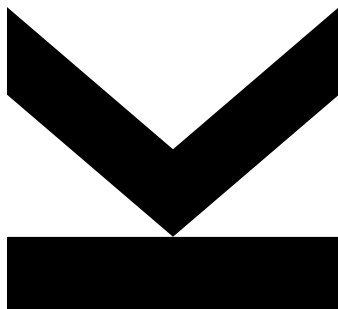
Submission
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Social Policy**

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Month Year
November 2021

THE SEXUAL VIOLENCE BILL CONTROVERSY IN INDONESIA: A FEMINIST CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS



Master's Thesis

to confer the academic degree of

Master of Social Sciences

in the Joint Master's Program

Comparative Social Policy and Welfare

SWORN DECLARATION

I hereby declare under oath that the submitted Master's Thesis has been written solely by me without any third-party assistance, information other than provided sources or aids have not been used and those used have been fully documented. Sources for literal, paraphrased and cited quotes have been accurately credited.

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A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Rizka' followed by a stylized surname.

Rizka Amalia Putri

ABSTRACT

Cases of sexual violence in Indonesia are increasing every year. The National Commission on Violence against Women, the Service Provider Forum, and Commission VIII of the House of Representatives submitted a Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence to combat the increasing number of sexual violence cases. However, the rejection of the ratification of the bill occurred from various elements of society such as the Prosperous Justice Party, AILA, members of the house of representatives, and the Indonesian Ulema Council. Therefore, this thesis aims to investigate and unearth the ideology and discourses shaped against the ratification of the sexual violence bill by the opposing group. The research method used in this study is Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA). FCDA helps to criticise the discursive strategy that perpetuates the patriarchal structure in Indonesia that impacts the ratification of the sexual violence bill. This study finds that heteronormative gender ideology is an ideology brought and perpetuated by those who reject the sexual violence bill. In addition, the opposing group activates victim-blaming discourse, anti-feminist discourse, anti-LGBT discourse, religious discourse, nationality, and discrimination discourse against men to reject the sexual violence bill and sustain heteronormative gender ideology in Indonesia.

Keywords: Sexual Violence, The Elimination of Sexual Violence Bill, Heteronormativity, Gender Ideology, Discourse.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction.....	6
1.1. The proposed sexual violence eradication bill and the current existing law.....	12
1.2. The current existing law.....	12
1.3. The Proposed Sexual Violence Elimination Bill.....	14
1.4. The Journey of the Draft Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence	16
2. Literatur Review.....	18
3. Methodology	31
3.1. Research Approach.....	31
3.2. Research Type	31
3.3. Research Object.....	31
3.4. Data Collection	32
3.5. Data Analysis	33
4. Theoretical Framework	35
5. Analysis	46
5.1. Semiotic Analysis	46
5.1.1. Discrimination against men in the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence	46
5.1.2. Victim blaming promoted through sexual violence prevention efforts	49
5.1.3. Framing 'Us vs. Them' in the Debate against the Draft Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence.....	51
5.1.4. The Pattern of Rejection aimed at the Draft Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence.....	57
5.1.5. The definition of Sexual Violence in the Draft Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence is Problematic.....	60
5.1.6. The LGBT controversy, sexual deviance and premarital sex in the Draft Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence.	63
5.2. Communicative Control Analysis	64
5.3. The debate over the ratification of the bill on the elimination of sexual violence and Its underlying Ideology.....	70
6. Conclusion.....	77
7. Discussion	79
8. References	85
8.1. Journal	85
8.2. Book.....	91
8.3. Grey Literature	93
8.4. Website	95

8.5. Thesis.....	96
8.6. Legal Documents	97
8.7. Material for Analysis	97

1. Introduction

According to the annual report of the National Commission on Violence against Women (*Komnas Perempuan*) (2018a & 2019), there were 5.280 and 4.898 reported cases of sexual violence against women in Indonesia throughout 2018 and 2019, respectively. The report highlights that women and children are most often victims of sexual violence due to strong patriarchal culture, which also put victims of sexual violence in difficult situation. They often face degrading questions from the law enforcement official when they report their cases (The National Commission on Violence against Women and Service Provider Forum, 2017). Thus, the situation has led to many cases of sexual violence against women rarely being reported. The existing law is perceived to be non-comprehensive to protect women against sexual violence (The National Commission on Violence against Women and Service Provider Forum, 2017; Siburian 2020).

According to the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection of Indonesia (2020), Indonesia is yet to have a law that deals specifically towards the elimination of all forms of violence against women. Moreover, sexual violence is still considered a moral issue instead of a crime against humanity, hence a strong stigma is attached to the sexual violence case. Furthermore, the strong stigma surrounding sexual violence causes many cases of sexual violence to go unreported and unidentified, resulting in an iceberg phenomenon of sexual violence.

According to the National Commission on Violence against Women and Service Provider Forum (2017) and Rahayu et al. (2017), women face many forms of sexual violence besides rape that are not covered in the existing law. The existing law only covers rape, which falls under Indonesian criminal code as indecency offense or unlawful act against morality. Furthermore, Indonesian criminal code for sexual violence only recognizes forced vaginal penetration with penis as rape and demands evidence of physical violence due to penetration. Above all, the definition of rape used in the Indonesian criminal code is still very narrow, and many forms of sexual violence do not involve vaginal penetration. The narrowness of this definition creates loopholes in the law, which calls for a more comprehensive law against sexual violence.

Therefore, in 2016, a draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence were proposed. To understand more about the proposed bill on the elimination of sexual violence, I will explain the current sexual violence law in Indonesia and the proposed bill later in the next chapter.

At the beginning of 2019, a debate about the elimination of sexual violence bill emerged in Indonesia. Google Trends reveals that in the past five years, there has been an increase in internet searches regarding sexual violence bill (RUU PKS in the Indonesian language) in Indonesia, especially in the year 2019. Google Trends shows that the search value for the keywords 'RUU PKS', from 2016 to 2018 was 0, meaning that it was not popular. However, from January to February 2019, the value reached 28 and spiked to 100 in September 2019, which is the highest value, meaning that during that month the search keywords for RUU PKS reached a peak in popularity.¹

The increase in searches for the keyword 'RUU PKS' in February and September was due to the debate and discussion over the elimination of sexual violence bill, which is considered as a controversial issue. According to Tim Detik News (2019), there are several points considered controversial about the sexual violence elimination bill, namely the title of the bill itself, the definition of sexual violence used in the bill and its scope, which are considered liberal, as well as the spread assumption that the bill supports the practice of abortion, LGBT, free sex and other values that are contrary to the religious values and ideology of Indonesia, namely *Pancasila*. *Pancasila* contains five basic principles and guidelines for the life of Indonesian (Jenco, Idris, and Thomas 2019). In addition, Indonesian government posits Pancasila as the nation's core ideology; thus, the values of Pancasila must be embedded in every aspect of life (Jenco et al. 2019:611). Furthermore, Pancasila is also embodied in the preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. The five basic principles of Pancasila consist of:

- (1) belief in one and only God; (2) just and civilized humanity; (3) the unity of Indonesia (4) a democratic life guided by wisdom in deliberation /

¹ The whole information from the paragraph derived from 'Google Trends'
<https://trends.google.com/trends/explore?date=2016-01-01%202020-01-01&geo=ID&q=RUU%20PKS>

representation; (5) social justice for all the people of Indonesia. (The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia, 2015: 4)

This controversy is then followed by a petition voicing rejection of the bill initiated by Maimon Herawati (Ibrahim, 2019). The opposition group did not blatantly reject everything that is proposed in the draft bill. One of them, the Prosperous Justice Party faction (P-KS), stated that they support the goal of the bill to prevent, reduce and eliminate sexual violence cases that are growing in Indonesia (Central Board of the Prosperous Justice Party, 2019). However, the opposition group is concerned about the definition of sexual violence itself and several articles in the draft bill which they regard as problematic. Therefore, they propose to replace the concept and the definition of sexual violence to sexual crimes. The debate on this matter is still ongoing at the parliamentary level where the P-KS party faction strongly rejects the concept and definition of sexual violence. They argue that the definition of sexual violence used in the draft law on the elimination of sexual violence contains terms that are not widely known in Indonesia (Central Board of the Prosperous Justice Party, 2019).

The Bill has found advocates and adversaries among the public, political parties, academics, and related institutions. On the parliamentary level, the political party factions are divided into two groups, namely those that support the passing of the Bill and those who oppose it (Niko et al. 2020). The political party factions who oppose the implementation of the bill, such as P-KS party, argue that it is important to implement a religious obedience approach to prevent sexual crimes (Central Board of the Prosperous Justice Party, 2019). The P-KS party believes that an obedience religious approach will keep people from doing bad things that are considered sinful acts. The P-KS party also argues that implementing a religious approach on a regulation is in line with the value of Pancasila, while they hold that the sexual violence bill does not accommodate Pancasila's values. Community organizations, namely Family Love Alliance (AILA as abbreviated in Indonesia language) and Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI as abbreviated in Indonesia language), also support the P-KS argument for opposing the bill (Niko et al. 2020). The Indonesian Ulama Council is an organization that provides direction or guidelines for Islamic religious practice in Indonesia. According to Indra (2018), the Indonesian Ulama Council members are Islamic scholars who have the credibility and legitimacy to

interpret Islam in Indonesia. Besides, they have the power to make demands and guide Muslims in Indonesia, for example by issuing fatwas whether something is halal or haram.

According to Indra (2018), the political climate in Indonesia is strongly influenced by Islam. The majority of people in Indonesia are identified as Muslim and Most Indonesians adhere to Islam with at least 210 million followers as of 2010 (Bouma, Ling, and Pratt 2010). In addition, it affects the political climate of the country. For example, politicians and political parties based on Islamic ideology are popular in Indonesia, such as P-KS (Hamayotsu 2011). Thus, civil society organisations based on Islamic ideology such as Islamic Defender Front (*Front Pembela Islam* (FPI) in Indonesian language) and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) are also popular among the people, and they also have political influence (Menchik 2016). These community organizations are further divided into mainstream, conservative and liberal Islamic community organizations (Ainunnisa Rezky, Andini Naulina, and Raditio Jati 2020). Indonesia is not an Islamic state but has a rather complex relationship with the concepts of secularism, pluralism, liberalism, and democracy (Indra, 2018). Therefore, according to the constitution of the Republic of Indonesia 1945, Indonesia does not explicitly recognise or grant privileges to a particular religion in the application of policies or laws (Alfitri, 2018).

Although the bill of sexual violence receives strong backlash from political parties (P-KS) - which is very vocal in voicing their opposition towards the bill, as well as from civil society organisations, there are also political parties in the parliament that have been vocal in their stance to support the bill, such as Gerindra, PDIP and PKB (Fatuhrohman 2020). PKB is an Islamic-based political party akin to P-KS, but they support the implementation of the sexual violence bill. Moreover, civil society organisations such as Forum Pengada Layanan (FPL), National Commission on Violence against Women, and LBH Apik also support the implementation of the bill (Niko et al. 2020).

Due to the rejection of and backlash against the bill from the opposition group, the bill has not been ratified. House of Representatives (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* in Indonesian language often abbreviated as DPR) agreed to postpone the discussion of the bill because of the rejections and misunderstandings of the

bill (Purnamasari 2020). They argue that if the bill receives a lot of resistance from some people, a deeper discussion is needed so that the bill can accommodate all the interests of the people (Purnamasari, 2020).

According to Rahayu & Agustin (2018), the patriarchal culture influences the ineffectiveness of law enforcement in handling cases of sexual violence in Indonesia and makes the implementation of some policies and regulations difficult, such as the bill of sexual violence (Ainunnisa Rezky et al. 2020). The bill of sexual violence stipulates an exhaustive definition of sexual violence, including marital rape (The National Commission on Violence against Women and Service Provider Forum 2017). The concept of marital rape is one of the reasons that the bill gets a lot of rejection along with the assumption that the bill will promote LGBT and free sex. The backlash against marital rape, LGBT, and the difficulties in handling sexual violence cases is the reflection on how strong patriarchal culture is in Indonesia (Ainunnisa Rezky et al. 2020; Indra 2018; Rahayu and Agustin 2018).

Recent studies on RUU PKS have documented numerous concerns over the sexual violence bill, including the allegations that it (1) promotes extramarital sex (Nurrahman, 2019; Muhibbah, 2020; Hodijah 2020); (2) endorses homosexuality (Nurrahman, 2019; Muhibbah, 2020; Hodijah, 2020); (3) violates religious norms, particularly those of Islam (Nurrahman, 2019; Muhibbah, 2020; Hodijah 2020); (4) contradicts the first principle of the state philosophy 'Pancasila' (see p.7-8). (Nurrahman, 2019; Muhibbah, 2020; Hodijah, 2020; Rosa et al, 2021); (5) fails to embody the 'eastern values', because the bill emphasises consent and unequal power relations, and is therefore considered to be too 'liberal', 'western minded', and makes room for voluntarily sexually deviant acts (Ainunnisa Rezky et al. 2020; Nurrahman, 2019; Muhibbah, 2020; Hodijah, 2020; Rosa et al, 2021). Therefore, according to the opposition group, the sexual violence bill will not accommodate Indonesian values. As P-KS Chairman Jazuli put it in the house of representatives, "We need firm and comprehensive laws that are based on the values of Pancasila, religion and national culture, not with ambiguous and strongly perceived regulations departing from liberal-secular ideologies which are contrary to the character and identity of the Indonesian nation itself" (Ibrahim, 2019).

The pro group has published many attempts to clarify that the sexual violence bill does not accommodate the values alleged by the opposition. For example, The National Commission on Violence against Women published a press release regarding the misconception and hoax spreading around the bill. Some studies have argued that the bill does not contradict the teachings of Islam. Research that uses Islamic thoughts proves the bill has Islamic values and must be supported (Hany 2019; Tamam 2019). According to Hardianti et al. (2021), each year sexual violence cases keep on increasing, and the fact that the sexual violence bill has not been ratified and the discussion of the bill has been postponed contributes to the increasing cases of sexual violence in Indonesia.

Although many studies have been carried out on the discourse around the sexual violence bill, none of them discusses Indonesia's gender ideology that underlies opposition to the bill. All past studies that adopt CDA² as their research method lack feminist insights and are unclear about their position on the hegemonic gender ideology in Indonesia. Critical discourse analysis is political and should challenge unequal power relations (van Dijk 1993; Lazar 2005). So, this paper will aim to identify the discursive strategies used by the opposition to discredit the sexual violence bill and explain how such strategies represent and at the same time reproduce the hegemonic gender ideology in Indonesia. Therefore, the research question for this thesis will be:

What are the discursive strategies used by the opposition to debate the sexual violence bill?

1. What are the semiotic choices made by the opposition to debate the sexual violence bill?
2. How does the opposition control the communicative situation in which the debate takes place?
3. What discourses are 'activated' or called upon to oppose the bill?
4. How does the opposition to the sexual violence bill relate to gender ideology and gendered relations of power in Indonesia?

² Critical discourse analysis is a type of discourse research technique that focuses on revealing social problems such as discrimination, power inequality, domination and others that are often reproduced through text and speech in social and political contexts (Dijk 2001; Lazar 2007)

Generally, this study aims to describe the discourse against the sexual violence bill and reveal its underlying ideologies. It will consider (1) the semiotic choices the opposition uses, (2) the setting or context in which the debate takes place, and (3) a number of discourses that they weave into the debate in support of their stance. The goal of this paper is to unearth the hegemonic gender ideology and the gendered power relations that are reflected in and at the same time reproduced by this opposition.

1.1. The proposed sexual violence eradication bill and the current existing law.

The National Commission on Violence against Women and the Service Provider Forum (2017) feels the need to reform the current law on sexual violence against women by proposing a draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence. They argue that the existing law does not have an exhaustive definition of sexual violence. Further, there are loopholes in the existing law that make it difficult for victims to get justice. Consequently, most cases of sexual violence in Indonesia are solved within the family. Law enforcement officials often recommend victims solve problems of sexual violence through mediation rather than the legal process.

Therefore, the national commission on violence against women and the service provider forum (2017) argue that the existing law does not use women's perspectives in handling cases of sexual violence. In addition, the existing law is still gender neutral. In handling cases of sexual violence where the victims are mostly women, a gender perspective is needed, especially that of a women (The National Commission on Violence against Women 2018; The National Commission on Violence against Women and Service Provider Forum 2017).

1.2. The current existing law

Indonesia has laws regulating sexual violence that are subject to positive laws, meaning that there are codes applied and enacted regarding the matter (Purwanti and Prabowo 2018). Those laws are: Criminal Code Act (KUHP as abbreviated in Indonesian language), law number 23 of 2004 concerning the elimination of domestic violence, law number 21 of 2007 concerning eradication of criminal acts on human trafficking, and law number 23 Year 2002 as

amended by law no. 35 of 2014 concerning children. However, these regulations are still very limited and not comprehensive (Hardianti et al. 2021; Purwanti and Prabowo 2018). For example, Indonesia's criminal code applies a definition of rape which is very narrow and outdated. This is reflected in the criminal code article 285, as follows "Whoever, by force or threat of violence, forces a woman to have sexual intercourse with him shall, being guilty of rape, be punished by a maximum imprisonment of twelve years". It can also be seen in criminal code article 286 which states that "Whoever has sexual intercourse with a woman, outside of a marriage, whom he knows is unconscious or helpless, shall be punished by a maximum imprisonment of nine years".

According to Indonesia's Code of Criminal Procedure (KUHP), the prosecution of rape requires tangible evidence such as semen found through medical records as well as testimonies from two sources, including a witness or proof of the victims' efforts to defend themselves from acts of rape, for example in the form of screams, torn clothes, the scratching of the perpetrator's hand, or other physical injuries on the body of the victim or perpetrator. According to the National Commission on Violence against Women and Service Provider Forum (2017), the situation makes it difficult for victims to obtain justice through the court. If the victim fails to provide evidence, then the case will fall under the category of obscene act, which rarely goes to court due to difficulties in obtaining evidence. The criminal act of rape is included in the chapter on criminal acts of decency, not in the chapter on crimes against humanity. Decency³ can be interpreted as politeness norms employed in society, usually containing rules regarding sexual desires, therefore sexual violence cases are regarded as impolite acts instead of serious crime, making it easily overlooked in Indonesia (The National Commission on Violence against Women and Service Provider Forum, 2017)

According to the National Commission on Violence against Women (2014), the existing law does not comprehensively accommodate the rights of victims of sexual violence. Hence, the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence aims

³ The word decency in Indonesia is more often used and referred to regulate behaviour that is considered right or wrong concerning sexual matters. However, the real meaning of the word decency has a broad-spectrum concerning value in Indonesian society. It also includes the regulation of manners and morals. (Rahayu 2021:185)

to accommodate the rights of victims in a comprehensive manner. In addition, the rights of victims are regulated in the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence as part of restorative justice. These rights include: the right to handling; the right to protection; and the right to recovery. Therefore, in the draft bill, the scope of the regulation includes prevention, treatment, protection, and recovery of victims, as well as the handling of perpetrators.

1.3. The Proposed Sexual Violence Elimination Bill

As mentioned, the existing laws are not sufficient to give justice for the sexual violence victims, especially women. Furthermore, the existing law is also perceived to promote sexual violence especially against women due to these loopholes. (The National Commission on Violence against Women and Service Provider Forum, 2017). According to the National Commission on Violence against Women and Service Provider Forum (2017), the amended sexual violence law will be more comprehensive as the proposed bill aims to prevent any forms of sexual violence, to handle, to protect, and to recover the victims, to criminalize the perpetrators, and to ensure every element of society and government collaborates in creating a sexual violence-free environment. Thus, the new bill aims to address sexual issues in a holistic way. The loopholes in the existing law provide room for sexual violence to occur. Consequently, a reform of the existing law is urgently needed to solve the problem of sexual violence especially against women (Hardianti et al. 2021).

According to the National Commission on Violence against Women (2018b), women constitute the majority of victims of sexual violence. However, women mostly are discriminated against the law. Therefore, the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence uses a feminist paradigm and adopts the approach of feminist legal theory and jurisprudence. In addition, using feminist approaches can provide direction for policy maker based on the real experience of women as legal subjects and those who have experience in the prevention, handling, and recovery of cases of sexual violence, including the experience of law enforcement officials. Thus, the sexual violence elimination bill guaranteed a comprehensive set of right for the victims, the family, and the witness as well as recontextualised, broader definition of sexual violence.

The proposed sexual violence elimination bill offers nine forms of sexual violence and ensures the rights of victims and their families (Purwanti and Prabowo 2018; The National Commission on Violence against Women and Service Provider Forum 2017). In the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence in Article 1 Paragraph (1), sexual violence is defined as follows:

“Sexual violence is any act of degrading, insulting, attacking, and/or other actions against a person's body, sexual desire, and/or reproductive function, by force, against someone's will, which causes that person to be unable to give consent in a free state, because inequality of power relations and/or gender relations, which results in or can result in physical, psychological, sexual suffering or misery, economic, social, cultural and/or political harm”(The Elimination of Sexual Violence Amendment Bill, cl 1 (1)).

Furthermore, these are the definitions of nine forms of sexual violence as defined in the elimination of sexual violence bill:

- Sexual harassment is *“sexual violence that is carried out in the form of physical or non-physical actions against other people, which is related to a person's body part and related to sexual desire, so as to cause other people to be intimidated, humiliated, humiliated, or humiliated.”* (The Elimination of Sexual Violence Amendment Bill, cl 12)
- Sexual exploitation is *“sexual violence carried out in the form of violence, threats of violence, deceit, a series of lies, false names or identities or dignity, or abuse of trust, so that someone has sexual relations with him or another person and / or actions that take advantage of the person's body related to sexual desire, with the intention of benefiting oneself or others.”* (The Elimination of Sexual Violence Amendment Bill, cl 13)
- Forced contraception is *“sexual violence carried out in the form of regulating, stopping and/or damaging other people's biological reproductive organs, functions and/or systems, with violence, threats of violence, deception, a series of lies, or abuse of power, so that the person loses control over organs, functions and/or reproductive system which causes the Victim to be unable to have children.”* (The Elimination of Sexual Violence Amendment Bill, cl 14)
- Forced abortion is *“sexual violence that is carried out in the form of forcing other people to have an abortion with violence, threats of violence, trickery, a series of lies, abuse of power, or using the condition of someone who is unable to give consent.”* (The Elimination of Sexual Violence Amendment Bill, cl 15)
- Rape is sexual violence *“carried out in the form of violence, threats of violence, or deception, or using the condition of a person who is unable to give consent to have sexual intercourse.”* (The Elimination of Sexual Violence Amendment Bill, cl 16)

- Forced marriage is “*sexual violence carried out in the form of abusing power with violence, threats of violence, deception, a series of lies, or other psychological pressure so that a person cannot give real consent to marriage.*” (The Elimination of Sexual Violence Amendment Bill, cl 17)
- Forced prostitution is “*sexual violence carried out in the form of violence, threats of violence, a series of lies, false names, identities, or dignity, or abuse of trust, prostitution of someone with the intention of benefiting oneself and/or others.*” (The Elimination of Sexual Violence Amendment Bill, cl 18)
- Sexual slavery is “*sexual violence carried out in the form of limiting the space of movement or depriving a person of freedom, with the aim of placing that person to serve the sexual needs of oneself or others within a certain period of time.*” (The Elimination of Sexual Violence Amendment Bill, cl 19)
- Sexual torture is “*sexual violence carried out in the form of torturing the victim.*” (The Elimination of Sexual Violence Amendment Bill, cl 20)

1.4. The Journey of the Draft Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence⁴

The draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence was initiated in 2012 by the National Commission on Violence against Women to President Jokowi but was only realized in early 2014. In 2014, Komnas Perempuan, LBH Apik Jakarta, and the Service Provider Forum (FPL) began drafting the bill. Then in 2016 the draft bill was completed and submitted to parliament. In the same year, 70 members of parliament agreed to include the draft law in the priority national legislation program (*prolegnas prioritas*) with various considerations as well as meeting with experts regarding the contents of the draft bill. Afterwards, through a plenary meeting, the draft law was officially included in *prolegnas* as part of the process to its ratification.

In 2018, the draft bill was still in the *prolegnas* priority list, but this time various groups were involved in the discussion of the bill, including the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI), the Association of Indonesian Churches (PGI), Representatives of Indonesian Buddhists (Walubi), the Indonesian Women's Ulama Congress (KUPI), Komnas Perempuan (The National Commission on

⁴ The content of this chapter is a summary derived from detiknews under a title “History of the P-KS Bill in the DPR: Discussion Continues to be Delayed, Now Withdrawn from Prolegnas” Team detikcom, July 2020. <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5077015/riwayat-ruu-p-ks-di-dpr-pembahasan-terus-tertunda-kini-ditarik-dari-prolegnas?single=1>

Violence Against Women), the Indonesian Family Love Alliance (AILA), as well as criminal law experts. 2018 was the year before the election, thus, many parties promised that they would fight for the the draft bill to be passed. However, until the end of 2018, the draft bill just sat on the *prolegnas* priority list.

In 2019, various parties began to reject the draft bill. In January 2019, a petition emerged calling on the public to reject the bill, as it was considered to support free sex. The petition against the draft bill was made by Maimon Herawati, who is a lecturer in a state university. She has been very vocal in voicing rejection to the draft bill. In February 2019, the rejection against the draft bill emerged on the parliamentary level, namely through PKS faction who brings forward their concerns as well as claims that many religious leaders, experts, and mass organizations have rejected the bill. Therefore, they strongly reject the draft bill to be passed. Another rejection also came from the professor at the Bogor Agricultural Institute, Euis Sunarti and Deputy Secretary General of the Indonesian Ulama Council Tengku Zulkarnain. They argue that the draft bill gives room to legal prostitution because it does not include a prohibition against adultery or free sex.

Due to many rejections from various parties, The National Commission on Violence Against Women issued a clarification and press release rejecting the claim that the bill on the elimination of sexual violence supports adultery and free sex which, however, failed to calm the situation. In addition, the discussion regarding the bill has become stagnant. The period of the 2014 - 2019 House of Representatives was about to end on September 30, 2019, but the bill was still not passed. Moreover, there was a debate over the title of the draft law, whether it should be changed from the term sexual violence to sexual crime. Crowds opposing and supporting the bill demonstrated in front of the parliament building before the 2019 deadline and demanded that the bill should be passed.

At the end of the 2014 – 2019 DPR period, the draft bill was still not passed. Members of the parliament for the next term were inaugurated and the parliamentary legislative body has confirmed that discussions on the bill on the elimination of sexual violence will be given to members of the 2019-2024 parliament and will still be included in the 2020 priority *prolegnas*. However, in

the middle of 2020 the draft law was removed from the priority *prolegnas*. The reason for removal was the difficulties regarding the discussion on the bill. Afterwards, The National Commission on Violence Against Women demanded the parliament to re-enter the bill on the elimination of sexual violence into priority *prolegnas* due to the increasing number of sexual violence in Indonesia. Finally, on March 23, 2021, the draft bill was put back on the list of priority *prolegnas*.

2. Literatur Review

The issue surrounding the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence discourse expressed by those in opposition to it is that it has its own agenda, namely trying to legalize adultery, LGBT, and abortion. In addition, the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence is considered to have values that are incompatible with Eastern norms and the nation's ideology, called Pancasila. The parties who support the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence in return provided rebuttals to the discourse of these parties, making the process of passing the bill on the elimination of sexual violence difficult. Therefore, the discussion process stalls.

The argument raised by the opposition group against the ratification of the sexual violence bill in Indonesia is that the bill is not in accordance with the Indonesian state philosophy. According to Nurrahman (2019), the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence in Indonesia contains westernised, namely feminist, thought. He argues that the feminist idea does not fit with Pancasila as the nation's state philosophy especially with the first principle of Pancasila (see p.7). In addition, his study shows that the draft bill of sexual violence in Indonesia gives room for free sex and LGBT and the possibility of criminalising a husband when the wife does not obey the husband. The study also criticises that the draft bill only regulates forced abortion but does not regulate voluntary abortion. Therefore, Nurrahman (2019) argues, the draft bill can create multiple interpretations that voluntary abortion is permitted. The findings in the study are also supported by other research findings. Hodijah (2020) arrives at similar conclusions, arguing that if introduced on the macro level, the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence will greatly affect and disrupt family resilience on the micro level.

Numerous other studies support Nurrahman (2019) and Hodijah (2020) findings. A study conducted by Rosa and Noak (2021) found that the feminist principle of legal theory used in the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence is the basis for resistance from organizations that strive to maintain family resilience in Indonesia, such as GIGA and AILA. In addition, feminist legal theory is considered irrelevant for Indonesia because it is not in line with the character of the family in the country, which is based on functional structures. The structural-functional theory is an orientation that focuses on the social systems that exist in society (Juwita et al, 2020 : 5). This theory believes that the social system in society consists of interrelated elements, and any changes in one system will affect other parts (Juwita et al. 2020:5).

Moreover, Rosa and Noak (2021) use Tong's theory of liberal feminism to investigate the implication of a feminist perspective within the bill. The result of the study shows that there is a correlation between liberal feminism and the structure of political opportunities that makes the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence difficult to ratify. Rosa and Noak (2021) argue that liberal feminism encourages individual autonomy for women and principles of justice that allow women to freely express their opinions both in terms of political and economic issues. Therefore, utilising the democratic government system in Indonesia, community organisations that do not agree with the draft bill took to social media to form social movements that re-opened the discussion in parliament.

According to Rosa et al (2021), those opposing the implementation of the draft bill hold the opinion that the draft bill discriminates against men, and that men can also be victims of sexual violence. However, according to Putri (2020), the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence can protect both men and women from all forms of sexual violence. Putri also emphasises the concept of power relations in the draft bill. She highlights that the concept of power relations in the bill on the elimination of sexual violence is an act of coercion, including physical and psychological harm. Moreover, the power relation between perpetrators and victims of sexual violence occurs from the power of the perpetrator over the helpless victim. Besides that, perpetrators of sexual violence are usually aware of the power they have over the victim.

Putri (2020), emphasises that in Indonesia, minority groups such as LGBTQIA + and persons with disabilities are also vulnerable to becoming victims of sexual violence. Using ideas from queer theory, her study found that the bill on the elimination of sexual violence not only protects women, but also all people who have experienced sexual violence, regardless of sexual orientation, gender, and other aspects of identity. The findings of Putri's study (2020) are supported by the research findings by Hany (2019), who found that the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence can protect individuals from sexual violence regardless of their gender.

Hany (2019) also found that the RUU PKS is not against Islamic teaching, a result that is supported by various other studies. Research conducted by Tamam (2019), for example, using the *Maslahah Mursalah* perspective⁵, found that the bill accommodates Islamic teaching, in that it tries to eradicate harm, namely sexual violence. Thus, preventing and rejecting adversity is part of *Maslahah Mursalah*. In addition, Hany (2019) uses the point of view of *Surah Al-Nisa* verse 1 that states that men and women have the same position. Therefore, the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence has the function of providing protection and a sense of security for society from acts of violence and sexual harassment.

Contrary to the research findings from Rosa et al (2021), Hodijah (2020) and Nurrahman (2019), which state that the draft bill contradicts the teachings of religion, especially Islam and supports adultery or free sex, undermines family resilience, and provides room for LGBT behaviour to develop in society, and discriminates against male victims of sexual violence, research conducted by Hany (2019) and Tamam (2019) stresses that the bill on the elimination of sexual violence does not contradict Islamic teachings. They argue that the bill on the elimination of sexual violence is in line with the religion of Islam because it aims to protect and safeguard human dignity from harmful acts such as sexual violence.

⁵ *Maslahah Mursalah* is defined as "the consideration which secures a benefit or prevents harms and harmonious with the aims and objectives of the Sharia" (Al-Ghazali, 1997 as cited in Laldin 2013, p.153)

The discourse created by the supporters and opponents of the draft bill on elimination of sexual violence cannot be separated from the role of the media in framing the news about it (Wahyuni, 2019). In addition, the never-ending discourse at the stage of policy formulation is closely related to the effect of media on public policy. Wahyuni highlights that the nuances in the news about the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence are inseparable from the pro and con arguments. They reflect how online news media frame the news about the draft bill. Wahyuni (2019) states that in general, the news that emerges regarding the bill has positive and negative nuances. In addition, the news with positive nuances emphasises the urgency of ratifying the draft bill based on data and facts, while news content that has negative nuances contains elements of misleading opinions or hoaxes related to the draft bill.

National news media such as Tempo.co, for example, focus on the discourse of pro and con surrounding the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence when publishing its news (Ramadhana, 2019). Using critical discourse analysis, Ramadhana (2019) found that Tempo.co, in delivering news regarding the bill, can be considered as neutral. In addition, it does not take any stance towards those who support the bill or oppose the bill. The arguments in favour of and against the draft bill are also reflected on online Islamic news channels such as VOA Islam, *Nur.id* and *Hidayatullah.com*. The three Islamic news channels frame news about the bill on the elimination of sexual violence in different ways.

According to Rohma (2018), VOA Islam is one of the most popular Islamic news channels in Indonesia. Using frame analysis, this study found that the news channel VOA Islam frames the draft bill on eliminating sexual violence as pro-adultery and pro-LGBT whereas another Islamic news channel, Nur.id, frames the draft bill as legislation that prioritizes the interests and needs of the victim. According to Susilawati (2020), another Islamic news portal, *Hidayatullah.com*, frames the news about the draft bill with arguments why it should not be ratified. Furthermore, this news portal shows news that emphasises the views of actors who reject the bill on the elimination of sexual violence and the opinions of members of parliament with attitudes against the bill. In addition, there are rhetorics such as that the bill is 'against the value of *Pancasila*', slogans like

'reject the bill on the elimination of sexual violence!' and 'the law that violates family norms' posted by the news portal hidayatullah.com.

In addition to online news channels based on Islamic values, there are online news channels with feminist perspective such as Magdalene.co. Magdalene.com is an online news media that explicitly supports the ratification of the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence (Kirnandita 2020). Using Stuart Hall's audience theory, Wibowo (2019) found that readers' ideology affects how they interpret and agree with news content. However, the researcher also emphasised that the ideology of online news media and their news content can influence the newsreaders. The researcher also found that out of eight interviewees, four agree with the news content from Magdalene.co that discusses that the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence is in accordance with the teachings of the Islamic religion. These four people are considered to share the same knowledge and ideology as the news. Meanwhile, three of the interviewees are still in the negotiation stage about the news from Magdalene.co. In other words, they agree with some of the news but are still sceptical. However, one other person rejects the news because it is considered only to lead the readers' opinion to support the ratification of the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence.

According to Noelle-Neumann (1974), the enlargement of an issue in online media certainly has an impact on the formation of public opinion. As emphasised by Wahyuni (2019), news about the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence in the online media is closely related to the dispute of the draft bill. Thus, the enlargement of the issue regarding the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence certainly shapes public opinion. This is indicated by the existence of social movements that support and reject the bill on the elimination of sexual violence. According to Bou Karroum et al (2017), the effect of the media had an influence on the opposition group forming a movement against the proposed bill.

The existence of social movement mobilisation that supports or rejects the bill on the elimination of sexual violence is reflected in movements such as [#Gejayanmemanggil](#), [#rakyatgugatnegara](#) (the people sue the state), and [#TolakRUUPKS](#) (reject the bill on the elimination of sexual violence) (Niko et al.

2020 ; Rosa et al 2021). Research conducted by Niko et al (2020) found that in the context of women's struggles, women face challenges in eradicating sexual violence. This is reflected in the discourse on the ratification of the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence. The discourse on the ratification of the draft bill lead to several demonstrations of the two groups supporting and opposing the bill (Niko et al. 2020). Moreover, the postponement of the passage of the bill on the elimination of sexual violence has resulted in various aspirations about and interpretations of the bill among the public which have strengthened the emerging social movements.

According to Niko et al (2020), Karl Marx's theories of conflict and class struggle help to unveil that there is a clash of interest between the two groups. Moreover, social movements such as #Gejayanmemanggil, #rakyatgugatnegara, and #tolakRUUPKS are a form of class struggle. These social movements form collective action and demand that the ruling class, namely, the government, take steps following the interests of the social movement. Furthermore, according to Niko et al (2020) and Purwanti (2017), for the support group to carry out their actions, they frame the patriarchal culture of Indonesia as the root of the problem of the high number of cases of sexual violence in the country. In addition, this patriarchal culture also causes an unclear position of women and victims of sexual harassment in the law. Therefore, they demand legal justice for women and victims of sexual violence. Framing a topic is important to bring out a sense of togetherness in a movement (Arnold and Ake 2013). For the opposing groups, they frame the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence as a law that is incompatible with Eastern customs because it provides room for sexual freedom as reflected in the use of the phrase 'forcibly' in the draft law on the elimination of sexual violence article 1 paragraph 1 (Muhibbah 2020; Niko et al. 2020; Rosa et al 2021).

According to Muhibbah (2020), the use of the term 'forcibly' in article 1 paragraph 1 is a language euphemism in the bill on the elimination of sexual violence. Her study argues that the definition of sexual violence used in the draft bill is ambiguous because the definition of sexual violence in the draft bill contains language euphemisms. Moreover, she states that language euphemisms are commonly used by policy makers to manipulate reality so that

the agendas brought by policy makers can be included in the policy in more subtle words. Her statement is supported by Anderson's argument (1996) as cited in Kuntarto (2018) found that language euphemism is commonly used by politicians in the New Order⁶era.

Furthermore, according to Muhibbah (2020), the objections to the bill on the elimination of sexual violence prove that the bill contains strong language euphemisms. She argues that language euphemisms found in a policy leads to ambiguity. Moreover, according to her study, the draft bill implicitly attacks Islamic Sharia laws regulating family norms, the obligation of children to cover their *Aurat*⁷ and the fulfilment of sexual desires which are deemed to be channelled towards the same sex, objects, and even animals. Although Indonesian law is not based on sharia laws, it is still an important matter since the majority of the people are Muslims who practice at least parts of these laws on their daily lives (Yanlua,2015). Moreover, the Indonesian government tries to ensure stability and integrity of the people by selectively choosing the law that contains the Sharia principle; for instance, Aceh is the only province in Indonesia allowed to implement Sharia Law because of its special status (Manan 2020; Yanlua 2015)

As argued by Wahyuni (2019), the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence has been successfully raised by the media as a controversial issue. In addition, the media manage to push the issue of the bill on the elimination of sexual violence to the point of shaping public discourse. This can be seen through the existence of social movements that have emerged to demand the ratification or rejection of the draft bill (Niko et al. 2020; Rosa et al 2021). Consequently, it will be impossible for the draft bill to escape from the wave of mobilisation and public dispute (Wahyuni 2019).

The concept of marital rape is one of the controversial issues in the effort to pass the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence (Ainunnisa Rezky et al. 2020). In addition, the feminist values or perspectives contained in the draft bill are also one of the barriers to passing the bill (Ainunnisa Rezky, Andini Naulina,

⁶ New Order era is the era of President Soeharto's regime, from 1967 to 1998. This era has been thought of as authoritarian and corrupt (ASPINALL and FEALY 2010)

⁷. Aurat is a part of the body that should not be shown to the public and must be covered with clothing (Muhammad and Sumardi 2019:174).

and Raditio Jati 2020; Rosa et al 2021). This is because feminist values and perspectives are considered westernised thinking. Moreover, there is a strong patriarchal culture in Indonesia which makes it difficult to implement the draft bill (Purwanti 2017; Rahayu et al. 2017). The feminist movement is well-known for its demands to acknowledge the existence of marital rape (Ainunnisa Rezky et al. 2020). Therefore, they demand legal reforms so that marital rape can be regulated and they emphasise the importance of consent in sexual relations, including in sexual relations between husband and wife (Ainunnisa Rezky et al. 2020; Siburian 2020).

However, the concept of marital rape, which is also included in the discourse on the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence, has been questioned by many (Ainunnisa Rezky et al. 2020; Nurrahman 2019; Siburian 2020). Apart from the deeply ingrained patriarchal culture in Indonesia, according to Ainunnisa Rezky et al (2020), Indonesia is dominated by three branches of Islam, namely conservative, reformist, and liberal. Ainunnisa Rezky et al (2020) argues that the three branches of Islam criticise each other on the issue of marital rape. For instance, the liberals certainly support the implementation of marital rape whereas the conservatives reject the implementation of marital rape law. In addition, the conservatives stated that the implementation of marital rape law will interfere with the sanctity and privacy of marriage because marriage is a form of worship.

Ainunnisa Rezky et al (2020) add that the reformists criticise both conservative and liberal. In addition, the reformists support the existence of legal regulations for marital rape but demand to review the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence because of the controversy of its values. Moreover, the reformist reminds the conservative that husband's authority remains below the level of the state and God, therefore their authority cannot be juxtaposed above the state or at the level of God. But the reformists also disagree with the consensual perspective contained in the bill because it is considered incompatible with the sociological aspects of Indonesian society. Ainunnisa Rezky et al (2020) also found that because of the on-going debate between the three branches of Islam, the regulation on marital rape in Indonesia remains unclear and the

public discourse regarding the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence is still intense.

The study conducted by Ainnunisa Rezky et al (2020) is supported by Siburian (2020). However, Siburian (2020) emphasises the concept of patriarchy as the root cause of the difficulty implementing a marital rape law in Indonesia. Siburian (2020) adds that the concept of sexual violence in marriage is taboo within a society that is accustomed to a patriarchal culture. Moreover, Siburian (2020) found that Indonesia has a strong patriarchal culture, and its people perceive that the country practises eastern customs. Therefore, in domestic sexual matters, the state does not need to interfere because they are considered as a private matter.

In addition, the concept of marital rape is difficult to apply in Indonesia, because it is considered not in accordance with the beliefs of the people who see marriage as a sacred thing and a form of worship for mankind and their God (Ainunnisa Rezky et al. 2020; Siburian 2020). Siburian (2020) argues that the existence of a distinction between women and men causes gender inequality that leads to exploitation of women, one of which is sexual violence. According to Rahayu et al (2017), the high rate of sexual violence and the existence of gender-biased perspective are manifestations of patriarchy. Moreover, the basic idea of eliminating sexual violence departs from the fact that sexual violence has a broader and more complex conception than just criminal acts related to sexual organs. It affected the overall well-being of victims. Therefore, sexual violence is considered as a crime against humanity (Purwanti and Prabowo 2018).

The process of passing the bill on the elimination of sexual violence is still a matter of public debate. Public discourse can influence the policy implementation process, one of which is marked by the emergence of many movements that reject and support the ratification of the bill (Wahyuni 2019). According to Eddyono et al. (2016), the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence is a policy issue that falls into the doctrinal category, which happens when doctrines challenge the deeply ingrained religious and cultural doctrines of a country. Policies that fall into the doctrinal category usually experience a lot of resistance, especially from religious and resistance groups (Bentancur and

Rocha-Carpiuc, 2020; Eddyono et al. 2016). Therefore, the bill on the elimination of sexual violence is known to use a gender perspective in tackling issues of sexual violence, hence this helps to trigger the backlash surrounding the bill.

According to Biroli and Caminotti (2020), backlash against feminist and LGBT agenda is usually carried out by individuals, groups or organizations that seek to impede the rights of these minority groups. Resistance or backlash to a policy can be carried out with two strategies, namely institutional (judicial, legislative, executive, and administrative) and non-institutional (informal and contentious and usually in the form of street politics) (Bentancur and Rocha-Carpiuc, 2020). For instance, lawyers and political scientists who are against gender equality usually frame the issues conveyed in their campaigns towards radical feminists that are supported by global elites such as the United Nations and have the goal of eliminating traditional families and values— those of the heterosexual family and patriarchal authority (Bentancur and Rocha-Carpiuc, 2020; Biroli and Caminotti, 2020). The existence of a gender backlash comes from criticism that prioritises the interests of family rights rather than individual rights due to the perspective that gender equality is dangerous because it questions and challenges parental authority (Biroli and Caminotti, 2020). According to Nelson (2017), feminist finds that family institution is a barrier in achieving gender equality. Moreover, the conservative group mobilises a conservative framework and maximises democratic channels to promote the idea that feminism and gender equality threaten marriage, family structure, the natural order, and national values (Bentancur and Rocha-Carpiuc 2020; Biroli and Caminotti 2020).

According to Cupač and Ebetürk (2020), there is a growing anti-feminist mobilisation within the UN. They have an agenda to restore the 'natural family', oppose 'gender ideology' and oppose feminism. The term 'gender ideology' used by religious conservative groups and right-wing groups has a contradictory meaning to the term gender ideology used by feminist scholars in the social sciences (Hamlin 2020:1003). The conservative religious groups and right-wing groups use the term gender ideology for religious and political purposes against feminist ideas (Kováts, 2018 ; Biroli and Caminotti 2020; Cupač and Ebetürk

2020; Hamlin 2020). The discourse on 'gender ideology' created by conservatives religious and right-wing groups is a political and religious tool to form anti-gender, anti-feminist, and anti-liberal movements (Kováts, 2018). They encourage people to speak up against progressive regulations that values gender equality and justice such as the draft bill supporting reproductive rights of women and LGBTQ groups (Kováts, 2018).

Feminist scholars describe the backlash against feminism or anti-feminist mobilisation as a reaction to the success of the feminist movement that threatens the structure, values, status, identity, and power of patriarchy (Cupać and Ebetürk 2020; Walby 2011). The anti-feminist movement has its own agenda, which is to maintain family values and impose familism, hence it prioritises family rights over individual rights (Biroli and Caminotti 2020). According to Cupać and Ebetürk (2020), the anti-feminist movement forms a political movement to lobby and frame their agenda setting within the UN human rights council, the commission on the status of women and security council. Thus, the situation forms the phenomenon of division between 'gender rights' vs 'natural family' within the United Nations. Moreover, the anti-feminist movement is wide-spread in countries which show the rise of the right-wing populist movement and the conservative religious populist movement (Cupać and Ebetürk 2020; Hamlin 2020).

According to Blackburn (2004), feminism has negative connotations in Indonesia as it is associated with the West, secularism and communism. Blackburn argues that most Indonesians avoid calling themselves feminist because of its western connotations and history, and because Indonesian history makes it difficult for people to use the term and accept themselves as feminist. The heavy influences of nationalism, Islam, and New Order ideology play a major role in contributing to the negative connotations associated with feminism (Blackburn 2008). Thus, people in Indonesia are reluctant to use the feminist label. For instance, the Islamic movement has a negative view of teachings that come from the west, because they perceive and frame feminism as incompatible with Islamic teachings in Indonesia(Qibtiyah 2010). In addition, during the New Order era, feminism, and liberalism along with other ideological teachings were rejected in Indonesia because they were considered subversive

and incompatible with Indonesian culture (Blackburn 2004:14). Moreover, Indonesia was under the authority of an authoritarian regime during the New Order era.

However, according to Rinaldo (2013), Indonesian women do not blindly reject feminism. Although most Indonesian women, especially pious women activists, reject feminism they do not reject the core idea of feminism (Rinaldo 2013:8). The core that they support is that women have the same political, economic, and social rights as men (Rinaldo 2013:8). Rinaldo (2013) adds that the concept of feminism can be accepted in Indonesia if it is explained using the understanding and values that are respected by Indonesian (p.8). Moreover, she argues that feminist agency and pious agency are not dichotomous, and they can intersect, and bring positive impact to pro-women policy advocacy. This is reflected in contradictory arguments expressed by female activists in pious agencies and feminist agencies with religious backgrounds, for example, in the statement expressed by pious women activists that they do not support feminism but advocate the importance of women getting involved in politics (Rinaldo 2013:19). Furthermore, women's activist groups have established non-governmental organizations with religious backgrounds to support women's rights and gender justice (Rinaldo 2013:19). This contradicts the Islamic understanding that feminism is considered a western teaching that misleads the morality of the nation (Rinaldo 2013:8 & 19).

Although Indonesian women do not blatantly reject feminism, negative connotations are still strongly associated with feminism (Blackburn 2004; Poerwandari, Munti, and Viemilawati 2018; Rinaldo 2013). This negatively affects the women's movement in Indonesia in their attempts to advocate for pro-women policy (Poerwandari et al. 2018). They face a lot of challenges trying to implement and advocate pro-women policies in Indonesia because of the negative connotations attached to the feminist idea (Poerwandari et al. 2018; Rinaldo 2013). According to Poerwandari et al (2018), the obstacles and challenges come from the government, civil society, legislators in parliament, and the public. Moreover, certain religious teachings, misunderstandings about gender equality, and backlash against pro-women perspectives and feminism contribute to the difficulties of advocating pro-women policies. In addition, when

women's groups advocate for policies that contain elements that can be linked to religious interpretations, these policies are often rejected. As parties that do not support women's empowerment and gender equality utilise religious teachings and texts to reject a policy proposal. However, Poerwandari et al (2018) & Arnez (2010) stress that by using the right strategy and negotiation, women's groups can use both secular and religious resources to advocate pro-women policies and promote gender justice.

According to Rinaldo (2013), Indonesian often uses a nationalist perspective in accepting ideas that are considered incompatible with Indonesian values. Therefore, the easiest way for the idea to become controversial and rejected by Indonesia is by labelling it as Western and foreign. (Rinaldo 2013:155). Menchik (2016) adds that liberalism is rejected by leading Islamic religious organisations in Indonesia which he focuses on Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, and Persatuan Indonesia. They firmly reject liberalism as part of Indonesian society. Therefore, feminist thought, which is heavily associated with secularism and liberalism is marginalized and experienced strong rejection in Indonesia, especially by Muslims (Menchik 2016; Rinaldo 2013). Menchik (2016) argues that while liberalism is strongly rejected by prominence Muslim organisations in Indonesia, they prefer the concept of community tolerance in respecting different ideas in society and accommodating the interests of the people and a pluralistic country like Indonesia on the basis of tolerance and Godly Nationalism.

Therefore, from previous studies, it appears that the controversy surrounding the draft bill of sexual violence consists of five discourses, namely 1) prevailing norms around gender and sexuality, 2) state philosophy, 3) religious norms, particularly of Islam, 3) national identity, and 5) tolerance without liberalism (Ainunnisa Rezky et al. 2020; Hodijah 2020; Menchik 2016; Muhibbah 2020; Nurrahman 2019; Rosa and Noak 2021)

3. Methodology

3.1. Research Approach

This research uses a qualitative approach. Unlike a quantitative research approach, which can be very rigid due to its attempt to understand humans through numerical or statistical categories, the qualitative approach provides a detailed explanation and analysis of the quality or substance of human experience (Marvasti, 2004). According to Bryman (2016) the qualitative approach emphasizes the use of words rather than numbers to describe social phenomena. In addition, it is more appropriate to use in researching or obtaining cultural information about the values, opinions, behaviour, and social context of a particular population. Therefore, this study chose the qualitative research approach to understand the hidden intentions or agendas that are buried in the news, speech or texts. Thus, writers need methods that can explore these things in depth. This approach will help to analyse the values, opinions, behaviour, and social contexts contained in a particular purpose or agenda in a text.

3.2. Research Type

The type of this research is a case study. According to Yin (2018) a case study is “a research strategy that is specifically used when a researcher wants to investigate ‘why’ or ‘how’ a social phenomenon occurs” (p.4). Moreover, when the phenomenon is contemporary, meaning that it is not far in the past as in historical studies and the phenomenon cannot be controlled by research like in the experimental studies, then the case study allows the researcher to describe in detail the discourse against the sexual violence bill and also reveal its underlying ideologies (Yin, 2018).

3.3. Research Object

This study is going to analyse reports from the public hearing (RDPU) downloaded from the parliament website regarding the discussion of the bill on the elimination of sexual violence (which involves actors who reject the bill), and statements or press releases. This research will use data from 2018 and 2019, which are important moments in the discussion of the bill. In 2018 marked

critical discussions involving various influential groups in society. Meanwhile 2019 marked the beginning of a strong resistance to the bill from various elements of society and also from the parliamentary level.

Additionally, at the beginning of 2019, the debate about the sexual violence eradication bill emerged in Indonesia. The trend for searches for sexual violence spiked that year (see p. 7). The increasing keywords for 'RUU P-KS' is because of the ongoing debates regarding the controversy from the draft bill.

3.4. Data Collection

Data will be collected and analysed using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) techniques, specifically Feminist Critical Discourse analysis (FCDA). In short, FCDA is an existing expansion of the research field of CDA. The approach of CDA is significant because it talks about the connection between the power inequalities, practices, and discursive structures (Lazar, 2005). The concern of FCDA is to criticise discourse that sustains a patriarchal social order. Thus, FCDA aims to unveil that social practices are gendered and focuses on “how gender ideology and gendered relations of power are (re)produced, negotiated and contested in representations of social practices, in social relationships between people, and in people’s social and personal identities in texts and talk.” (Lazar, 2007: 149).

According to Ehrlich, Mayerhoff & Holmes (2014) doing FCDA starts from “a position of knowing that the issues that the researcher dealt with have material consequences for groups of women and men in specific communities and contexts and is driven by a conviction in effecting social change” (p, 185). Therefore, a critical praxis-oriented research has to include its political stance as part of its argument, and it is not recommended to adopt a neutral stance. Thus, by using FCDA, it is clear that our position is that of a feminist point of view, as the idea of scientific neutrality itself is problematic, meaning that it fails to recognise that all knowledge is constructed socially and historically and valuationally based (Lazar, 2007: 5). Data is collected using the help of the MAXQDA application. This application helps writers in the coding stage and discloses the relationship between codes automatically.

3.5. Data Analysis

In analysing the data, this research will use the analytical method from Machin and Mayr (2012). Machin and Mayr (2012) outlined several semiotic strategies that can be detected by critical discourse analysis. In addition, there are three level of analysis in CDA, namely micro, meso, and macro (Fairclough, 2010; Koller, 2017). The micro-level of analysis refers to detecting and interpreting semiotic choices in the text. It focuses on linguistic and semiotic approaches such as detecting semiotic devices to find discourse features in the text, and to find out 'what actors, events, and entities represented' (Koller, 2017: 28). In addition, meso-level of analysis focuses on the context of discourse practice while macro-level of analysis focuses on the social context (Koller, 2017: 28). According to Machin and Mayr (2012), below are some semiotic strategies that can be detected while doing micro-level analysis of CDA:

Over lexicalisation (synonym for overwording)

Over Lexicalisation refers to the excessive use of a word and its synonyms (Machin and Mayr 2012:222). It covers moral awkwardness within a text and influences the reader towards an ideology contained in a text (Machin and Mayr 2012:222).

Suppression or lexical absence

The omission of some aspects such as social actors and information that we expected to be found in the article (Machin and Mayr 2012:224). According to Machin and Mayr (Machin and Mayr 2012:224), what is not contained in a text is as important as what appears in a text, because the absence of lexical texts affects the meaning of the text.

Structural Opposition

Structural opposition refers to the use of concepts such as "good-bad" or "democracy-communism" in a text to create opposition (Machin and Mayr 2012:39). However, text producers usually describe it more implicitly by using lexical selection (Machin and Mayr 2012:39)

Word Connotations

Connotations refers to 'the association a word or visual element can bring' (Machin and Mayr 2012:219). For instance, the word 'independence' connotes confidence and strength (Machin and Mayr 2012:219). Connotations are ideological.

Abstraction or Generalisation

Abstraction or generalisation are found when elements of information or process are reduced and generalised (Machin and Mayr 2012:219). Usually, the concept of abstraction is used to hide certain aspects so that the aspects that the author wants to highlight are more visible.

Presupposition

According to Machin and Mayr (2012), presupposition refers to 'a taken-for-granted assumption found in communication' (p. 222). For instance, when politicians say that French culture is threatened by the influx of immigration (Machin and Mayr 2012:222). The use of the words 'French culture' is a presupposition because the politicians assume that there is such a thing as French culture even though France is made up of many different cultures (Machin and Mayr 2012:222). Presupposition usually signifies the existence of particular interest and certain ideology that is endorsed in the text.

Foregrounding and Backgrounding

Foregrounding and backgrounding is a strategy to draw attention to information that the text producer wants to highlight by silencing other information within the text (Machin and Mayr 2012:131). Machin and Mayr (2012) highlights that it is important to ask that why certain information is foregrounded while others are backgrounded.

Nominalisation

Nominalisation refers to a semiotic strategy that turns verb processes into nouns to conceal some information (Machin and Mayr 2012:222). In addition, nominalisation is also used to simplify complex processes by removing place, time, and concealing agents.

Modality

Refers to modal verbs such as 'will', 'must', 'might' and 'is' which indicate the certainty level of truth and information exposed in a statement by the text producers (Machin and Mayr 2012:221). In addition, hedging is also part of modality that helps to conceal the uncertainty of a statement as well as to soften the tone of it.

After that, the next step is to interpret the analysed text. Next, the role of ideology in the discourse needs to be investigated as the final stage (macro-level analysis) of CDA. By doing these stages, we can find out the position of the discourse found in society and its role in the society.

4. Theoretical Framework

In this section, several key concepts such as gender ideology, hegemony, patriarchy and heteronormative will be explained. After that I will describe the relationship between the concepts used in the study. These concepts help to sharpen the process of analysis as a guideline and as a line of thought in this research.

According to Lazar (2007), gender ideology is an ideological structure that divides humans into two sexes – male and female. She highlights that gender ideology emphasises a hierarchical relationship of domination and subordination (p.146). So, gender ideology places one gender at a higher hierarchical level than the other gender; thus, it often results in domination and subordination based on gender (Lazar 2007:146). Lazar (2007) argues that the existence of a hierarchical relationship between gender differences creates a social dichotomy of the division of labour that clearly distinguishes male and female characters based on place and time (p.146). She adds that gender ideology is hegemonic and so subtle, making it difficult for the public to realise it (p.147). In fact, gender ideology looks like something that is considered normal by society, so it is generally accepted (p.147). Moreover, gender ideology uses discourse to reinforce its agenda that the dichotomy in society is natural and something that can be accepted through common sense (p.147). As it is perceived as something natural and normal, so when there is an inequality in the workplace and an inequality of power, it is difficult to detect because of the

confusion and invisibility. An example of gender ideology is the ingrained knowledge that there are only two sexes - male and female, and the knowledge that male and female have very contrasting needs and roles in society (p.147). Thus, Lazar (2007) argues that gender ideology is patriarchal in nature because it is manifested and replenished in societal institutions and social practices which are an integral part of society (p.147). To support Lazaar's statement, I also use radical feminist idea by Rubin and Firestone highlights in Tong & Botts (2019) that biological differences from sex create inequality in power relations between genders in society which perpetuates by patriarchal gender ideology.

According to Gayle Rubin (as cited in Tong & Botts, 2019: 53) the process of gender socialisation is also a way of perpetuating patriarchy. Moreover, Shulamith Firestone (as cited in Tong & Botts, 2019: 74) adds that the biological differences of sex are used as the root of inequalities in the division of gender roles and power. In addition, the labelling of feminine and masculine is strongly attached to the gender division. Moreover, women are often disadvantaged by the division of gender and feminine labels attached to gender identity and biological facts (Rubin & Firestone, as cited in Tong & Botts, 2019: 53 & 74). Rubin (as cited in Tong & Botts, 2019: 53) argues that patriarchy uses biological facts on sex to convince people that the division of gender identity is natural. Thus, traits such as passive, loving, gentle, friendly, obedient, and others are traits that are considered feminine traits, and women are expected to have these traits (Rubin, as cited in Tong & Botts, 2019: 53). Meanwhile, men are expected to have masculine traits such as active, persistent, responsible, ambitious, assertive, and others (Rubin, as cited in Tong & Botts, 2019: 53). Those are products of patriarchy, and the way patriarchy perpetuates and manifests itself in society. Giddens and Sutton (2014) add that patriarchy usually uses religious institutions to perpetuate and normalise patriarchal ideology in society. They argue that "the idea of male domination has a long history which many religions present as natural and necessary" (Giddens and Sutton, 2014: 200).

According to Giddens and Sutton (2014) patriarchy is "The domination of men over women in some or all fields or institutions in society" (p, 201). They argue that patriarchy refers to a very specific form of gender order, namely a gender

system that is based on male superiority and women's subordination. In addition, this domination and subordination occur through the unequal division of gender roles and power between men and women. Therefore, patriarchy manifests itself through restricting women to domestic jobs, restricting the assignment of important and influential positions in society to women, and control over women's bodies and sexuality.

Additionally, for the concept of patriarchy to be more in line with the situations and characteristics in Indonesia, elements of patriarchy as formulated by Sylvia Walby (1989) are also used as references. Walby identifies that there are six overlapping patriarchal structures⁸:

1. Women tend to receive lower wages than men
2. Women tend to be confined to domestic affairs, including taking care of children
3. Women's access to formal state power tends to be limited
4. Women are more vulnerable to various forms of violence
5. Female sexuality tends to be treated badly
6. Women tend to experience misrepresentation in the mass media and public culture. (Walby, 1989).

Based on these six elements, Indonesia is in fact a patriarchal society. The first point is reflected in the gender pay gap in Indonesia. According to International Labour Organization (ILO) (2020), women in Indonesia earn 23% less in average than men. Furthermore, there is also gender pay gap regarding high-paying jobs. Women earn less than men in the field of high-paying jobs. International Labour Organization emphasizes that higher levels of education do not close the gender pay gaps between men and women. In addition, women still earn less than men despite having higher education levels. Based on data presented by World Economic Forum (2021), participation of women (55.9%) in the labour market is significantly lower than men (84%). Moreover, women work more in the informal sector (81.8%) than men (79.4%). According to Cameron et al (2017), women still get paid 36% less in informal sector than men and 20% less in formal sector than men. They argue that the gender pay gap in Indonesia is due to discriminatory practices towards women in workplace.

⁸ See Walby 'Theorising Patriarchy' (1989) page 221-227

The second point is reflected in the lower participation rate of women (55.9%) in the labour market compared to men (84%) (World Economic Forum, 2021). According to Asriani and Ramdlaningrum (2019), women's participation in the workforce is inseparable from their role as carers in the family and society. Their study shows 35 million women do not enter labour force because of domestic responsibilities. According to a study conducted by The Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection of the Republic of Indonesia (2020), in 2019, 37,04% of women were domestic workers and only 3,55% of men in Indonesia were domestic workers. They argue that cultural demands that encourage women to do more household chores are the main factor that contributes to the lower participation of women in the workforce compared to men. In Indonesia, women are considered to have more responsibility in the domestic sphere, thus, women's activities in the economic sector are not prioritized. Moreover, discrimination against women and unequal power relations among women contribute to the low participation of women in the labour force. This statement is also supported by research conducted by Asriani and Ramdlaningrum (2019). Asriani and Ramdlaningrum (2019) argue that strong patriarchal structure in Indonesia places women as caretakers of the household while men as husbands have a moral responsibility as breadwinners. It leads to the division of gender roles for men and women create a condition known as "housewifisation". Consequently, these conditions contributed to the undermining of the value of domestic work, which is categorized as unpaid care work.

The third point is reflected on the widening gap in political empowerment against women. According to The Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection of the Republic of Indonesia (2020), there is a decline in the number of women as ministers from the working cabinet positions 2014 - 2019 to 2019 - 2024. In the period 2014 – 2019, ministerial positions held by women reached 23.53% while men reached 76.47%. However, in 2019-2024 ministerial positions held by women decreased to 14.71% while ministerial positions held by men increased to 85.29%. Indonesia has a policy that requires political parties to include at least 30% women's representation in the parliament. However, throughout Indonesian history, the fulfilment of women's representation in parliament never reaches 30%.

According to The Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection of the Republic of Indonesia (2020), in 2019, the percentage of women in the parliamentary seats reached 20.87 % or still far from the expectation of reaching a minimum quota of 30%. Furthermore, in 2019, the leader of the legislative body is still dominated by men. In addition, female leaders in the legislative body at the central level only consisted of 10.53 %, while male leaders in the legislative body reached 89.47 %. The percentage figure shows that women still underrepresented in the legislature and the political world (Woetzel et al. 2018).

According to Woetzel et al (2018) the weak representation of women in the legislative body results in weak legal protection for women. In addition, weak legal protection for women increases the discrimination against women. For example, Indonesia has maternity leave and menstrual leave policies. However, due to the poor implementation of anti-discrimination laws, companies are not compliant in implementing maternity and menstrual leave policies. Woetzel et al study highlights that companies are not afraid of the consequences if they refuse to provide maternity and menstrual leave. Thus, these conditions exacerbate discrimination against women.

In Indonesia women are also vulnerable to various form of violence. According to data shown by the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (2020), there were 431.471 cases of violence against women reported and handled throughout 2019. Of the many cases of violence against women, 75.4% occurred in the personal sphere, 24.4% in the community and 0.08% in the state. Cases of sexual violence are identical to the iceberg phenomenon because many cases are largely undetected. Other than that, victims of sexual violence are often threatened with criminalization because of the difficulties to obtain evidence. For example, in 2019, a victim of sexual violence (BN) was sentenced for the tragedy that happened to her. According to Ardianingtyas (2019), BN was the victim of verbal sexual harassment at work by her boss. Afterwards, she then reported her boss sexual harassment to the police, but because Indonesia's criminal code does not regulate verbal sexual harassment, her action to report her case was backfired. Instead of getting protection and

justice from the law, she was accused to have special relationship with her boss.

To prove she never has special relationship with her boss and to prove the case of sexual violence that happened to her, she then recorded her boss conversation towards her which contained verbal sexual harassment content and reported it to the police (Ardianingtyas, 2019). However, her action to report and provide evidence on her case turned her into the criminal because her boss reported her back under the Article 27 Paragraph (1) Law No 11 of 2008 in conjunction with Law No. 19 of 2016 concerning Information and Electronic Transactions (UU ITE) which states *“Every person intentionally and without rights distributes and / or transmits and / or makes accessible electronic information and / or electronic documents that have contents that violate decency”*. At the end she lost the case and must pay fine and went to jail for six months (Ardianingtyas, 2019). In addition, many people protested the injustice imposed on BN and launched a petition to the president of the republic of Indonesia, Jokowi to free BN from the law punishment (Ardianingtyas, 2019). Therefore, Jokowi used his authority to sign an amnesty so that BN were freed from legal punishment. The case of BN and the high rate of violence against women demonstrate the strength of patriarchy in Indonesia (Walby, 1989).

The last element of patriarchy is the misrepresentation of women by the mass media. Unfortunately, in Indonesia, there are no studies that comprehensively analyse the representation of women in various mass media. However, according to Hendriyani et al (2016), their study concludes that women are mostly portrayed as sexual objects and as traditional gender roles. In conclusion, there is no doubt that Indonesia is patriarchal society. In 2020, Indonesia ranks 107 out of 188 countries in the Gender Inequality Index (GII) (UNDP, 2020). For Global Gender Gap Index 2021, Indonesia ranks 101 out of 156 countries and actually in 2021 Indonesia ranks lower by 13 points compare to previous year 2020 (World Economic Forum, 2021). Although Indonesia is not in the worst ranks – if that was the case a study like this will not happen, but still, Indonesia remains far from the world median, 80 (UNDP, 2020).

Additionally, Connell (1987) also mentions that patriarchal structure is related to power relations. Connell divides these power relations into three categories:

direct, colonial, and ideological/cultural (Connell 2009:76–79). Direct power relations, for example, is rape, while colonial refers to the colonialization of society by other community groups and is not always physical but can also be through economic domination. Meanwhile ideological or cultural power is defined as:

The ability to impose a definition of the situation, to set the terms in which events are understood and issues discussed, to formulate ideals and define morality, in short to assert hegemony, is also an essential part of social power. (Connell 1987:107)

Connell gives an example of the form of ideological power relations such as the ingrained perception in patriarchal society that women are weak, and homosexuality is a form of mental illness (Connell 1987:107). So, basically, ideological/cultural power relations refer to how society constructs, describes and gives certain attributes of how men and women should behave, act, and play their role in society, thus forming a hegemony. In addition, there are symbolic relations, culture, and discourse which are the most important structures that shape the patriarchal gender order (Connell 1987, 2009). According to Connell (2009), language such speech and writing are often used to analyse gender symbolic relations. In addition, gender symbolic relations are usually closely related to stereotypical representations. For example, men who wear clothes like women are considered feminine. In addition to clothing, gender symbolic relations can be found in films, media, and the culture of society itself, in other words, it can be found in all corners of social life. Therefore, language as a tool of discursive strategy is an important element in the formation of a patriarchal gender structure. According to Fairclough (1989), every social phenomenon contains linguistic elements and language is a form of social practice.

Therefore, gender ideology and patriarchy are hegemonic in nature (Lazar, 2007). According to Gramsci (1971, as cited in Machin and Mayr, 2012: 24), hegemony is the way of the dominant group to convince the subordinate group to follow the morals, political values, culture, institutions that are believed and formed by the dominant group. Besides, the methods are carried out in a way that seems natural and common sense even though they are ideological in nature. Gramsci also notes that one way to perpetuate this ideology is through a

discursive strategy and hegemony has a changing nature, meaning it is not static (Gramsci, 1971 as cited in Lazar, 2007: 147). Hegemony can change with time but still has the aim of perpetuating the ideology it carries (Gramsci, 1971, as cited in Machin and Mayr 2012; Lazar, 2007). It is reflected in women's participation in the labour market (Lazar, 2007). Although the participation of women in the labour market is good, there is still an element of hegemonic patriarchal gender ideology in the labour market. This patriarchal gender ideology perpetuates itself through the wage gap between men and women also other policies that are not beneficial for women in the labour market. (See p. 37 to 38)

According to radical feminists, women's oppression is a systematic oppression that persists to this day although it has been confronted from various directions to fight the oppression of women (Tong & Botts, 2019). Women are not the only gender who experience oppression because of the structural subordination of women, but other genders that do not fit the gender dichotomy created by patriarchal gender ideology also experience subordination and oppression (Connell, 2005: 77). Therefore, Patriarchal gender ideology also subordinates non-hetero and cis-gender people (Connell, 2005: 77). It reflects on the definition of heteronormativity "A regime that organizes sex, gender, and sexuality to fit heterosexual norms." (Varela et al, 2011; 11). In addition, Wieringa (2012) also added the concept of heteronormativity as follows:

Heteronormativity [...] informs the normativity of daily life, including institutions, laws and regulations that impact on the sexual and reproductive lives of members of society as well as the moral imperatives that influence people's personal lives. Heteronormativity, then, refers to erotic, sexual and affective practices, the norms governing those practices, the institutions that uphold them, and the effects produced by those norms within individuals. (p.518)

For instance, Indonesia is a prime example of a heteronormative country. According to Bennett and Davies (2015), this is reflected by the existence of policies that only apply to heterosexual marriages. In addition, the recognition of sexuality only recognizes heterosexual couples through marriage. Moreover, there is a view that a heterosexual patriarchal family is an ideal and harmonious family form. In other words, as argued by Wieringa (2015), harmonious family in Indonesia consists of a wife who is obedient to her husband and a husband who

is responsible for the family. The idolisation of the ideal family model, which is also idolised by the state, has the potential for symbolic and physical violence contained in such a model to be hidden and ignored (Wieringa, 2015; Wieringa, 2012). An example is sexual violence that occurs in a marriage. Marriage is seen as something sacred religiously, so when there is violence in a marriage or even incest, those things are considered taboo to talk about (Siburian 2020; Wieringa 2012).

Wieringa (2012) also adds that heteronormativity believes that gender only consists of women and men who are seen based on their biological sexual differences. Heteronormativity also believes that gender division based on biological differences is a natural thing (Wieringa 2012:519). In addition, the division of behavioural differences that women must be feminine, and men must be masculine is natural, based on the existence of these sexual biological differences. Therefore, gender that is outside the binary is considered abnormal, and it becomes the basis of the hierarchy between sexes and genders.

Harding (2011) also adds that another important aspect of heteronormativity apart from excluding lesbians and gay men and placing them at the bottom of the family hierarchy, heteronormativity also excludes other forms of family that do not meet the ideal standards of family proclaimed by heteronormativity. In addition, the legalisation of same-sex marriage or civil union does not necessarily destroy heteronormativity. For instance, in the case of adoption of same-sex couples, regardless of their status, they are often placed at the bottom of priority as potential adopters, placing the heterosexual married couple first. Harding also argues that the legalisation of same-sex marriage and the civil union is a direct challenge against heteronormativity, but this does not necessarily make the problem of heteronormativity disappear. Connell (1987) argues that heteronormativity and patriarchy are closely related. Thus, it is difficult to destroy heteronormativity if patriarchal values are still deeply rooted in our society and reproduced.

Therefore, the existence of heteronormativity is supported by patriarchy because heteronormativity only recognizes heterosexuality as the norm; thus, the LGBTQ movement gets rejected (Harding 2011; Varela, Dhawan, and Engel

2011; Wieringa 2012). In addition, patriarchy and heteronormativity are also the reason for the oppression of non-heterosexuals and non-cisgender groups. To conclude, patriarchal gender ideology clearly divides humans into men and women and then ascribes a set of contrasting expectations to both (Lazar 2007; Rubin, as cited in Tong & Botts 2019). One has to be 'masculine' and the other 'feminine', thus, the LGBTQIAP+ movement disrupts this rigid delineation.

The patriarchal gender order is shaped and perpetuated by power relations (Connell, 1987; Fairclough, 1989). Connell and Fairclough both believe that power can be obtained through ideology, by utilising practices that are considered common sense to establish hegemony. Hegemony can be perpetuated through discourse (Machin and Mayr, 2012). Therefore, patriarchal gender ideology which is hegemonic can also be enshrined by discourse. The concept of power here is also important to perpetuate ideology, because those who have power can dominate, control, and coerce subordinated groups. According to Lazar (2007), hegemony is a form of power that shapes and is shaped by social practices in society. Lazar's argument is also supported by Fairclough and Wodak (1997, as cited in Machin and Mayr, 2012: 24) stating that discursive events are shaped by social structures, situations, and institutions. Also, situations, social structures and institutions can be formed from discursive events.

Machin and Mayr (2012) emphasize that power domination does not only come from the top; it can also be formed because society gives legitimacy to it. This is because the public perceives that those who have the power are considered to have the legitimacy to dominate. So, basically, "power needs [...] to be seen as legitimate by people in order to be accepted [...]" (Machin and Mayr 2012: 24). For instance, people believe that doctor has legitimate power to provide medical assistance for us, and politicians that we choose through elections have authority to govern a country (Machin and Mayr 2012: 24).

To summarize the interaction between concepts from the theoretical framework, the patriarchal gender ideology is hegemonic, consisting of heteronormative ideology and patriarchal ideology. Heteronormativity and patriarchy are overlapping and intersecting as a system of power, thus patriarchy is not inflexible and it should not be seen as a monolithic system (Lazar 2017). In

addition, discourse constructs and perpetuates hegemonic attitudes, opinions, and beliefs. So according to Lazar (2017), "the relationship between discourse and the social is dialectical" (p.374). Discursive strategies can shape and be shaped by social practices; thus, discourse can determine policies, laws, and norms that exist in society (Lazar 2007, 2017; Machin and Mayr 2012).

Hegemony is enshrined through social structures, institutions, situations, and discourses in our daily lives (Connell 1987; Fairclough 1989; Lazar 2017; Machin and Mayr 2012). In addition, it affects the formulation of policies and laws in society. For example, patriarchal culture is deeply ingrained in Indonesia, and as Bennett and Davies (2015) marked, Indonesia is also a prime example of a heteronormative country. It leads to the manifestation of patriarchal and heteronormative values into the state legislation, such as legislation governing sexual violence, marriage, and law regarding abortion (Robinson 2015). As argued by a prominent radical feminist scholar, MacKinnon (1982), patriarchy manifests and controls the legal world of women, as reflected in the law concerning sexual violence. Therefore, victims of sexual violence, predominantly women, often experience victim-blaming because of an androcentric assumption during court proceedings (Ehrlich 2001).

Therefore, patriarchy is not only manifested physically but also in discourse (Connell 1987:107). Sexual violence is evidence that it is not only a physical form of patriarchy but also perpetuates patriarchy itself which is supported by social structures and institutions in society (Connell 1987:107). Therefore, due to the oppression experienced by women and LGBT groups, feminist scholars argue that legal instruments are needed to protect women and LGBT people (MacKinnon 1987; Tong & Botts 2019). It is also important to note that, patriarchy and heteronormativity is overlapping and converging with each other (Lazar 2017). Patriarchy requires and divides people to be strictly hetero-men vs hetero-women, meanwhile, heteronormativity is more of a practice regulating sexual practices which also includes moral regulation (see p.42). Heteronormativity and patriarchal gender ideology are hegemonic, and both are a form of a system of power (Lazar 2007, 2017; Machin and Mayr 2012).

5. Analysis

In conducting an analysis, the statements made by the opposition will be the focus of analysis. In addition, I will explore and analyse the semiotic choices used by the opposition. Detecting semiotic choices allows us to uncover hidden discourses expressed by the opposition group, the consequences, and their impact on the reader. Afterward, we can see the way the opposition group communicates and control the discourse surrounding the bill. At some point, they must be linked to a communicative situation and a larger context in order to answer the research question. Then, we can finally find out their discursive strategy to oppose the ratification of the draft bill.

5.1. Semiotic Analysis

This section will reveal semiotic choices used by the opposition to reject the implementation of sexual violence bill. According to Machin and Mayr (2012), semiotic choices can hide discourse within the text. In addition, semiotic choices help us to finally dismantle the ideology embodied within the text or speech. Therefore, this section will mainly focus on analysing their semiotic choices. Semiotic analysis is actually part of micro analysis in CDA.

5.1.1. Discrimination against men in the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence

Opposition groups who reject the Elimination of Sexual Violence Bill insist on framing the draft bill as a law that will only protect women and exclude men. They often bring up an issue that draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence does not protect men who can also become victims of sexual violence. But they never refer to the articles of the bill on the elimination of sexual violence that depict discrimination against men to back up their argument. Instead of providing evidence that the draft bill is discriminatory and not inclusive, they use semiotic techniques to shape their discourse on the draft bill. For instance, see an example of a statement expressed by sociologist Euis Sunarti back in January 2018 during a public hearing meeting of the working committee of the 8th commission of the people's representative council of the republic of Indonesia:

The spirit carried in the P-KS Bill seems discriminatory because it is more dominant in protecting women from sexual violence, even though one of the

fundamental principles is non-discriminatory. Although so far reports of sexual violence are mostly reported to have happened to women, the results of the study show that many incidents of violence against men so far have not surfaced for various reasons. This should receive attention, so that the bill on the elimination of sexual violence in a balanced way brings up the case of violence against women and men. (Euis Sunarti, Sociologist, as cited in the report of public hearing meeting of Commission VIII House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, 29 January 2018)

'Seems discriminatory' contains relational process because they want to say that the bill IS discriminatory. The relational process can be used to present opinions as if they were facts. Therefore, they present and shape their opinion as 'facts' that the nature of the bill is discriminatory. Moreover, 'seems discriminatory' also contains hedging because they try to avoid any further explanation. They can just say 'the bill is discriminatory' instead of 'seems discriminatory'. In addition, the 'spirit carried' in the bill suggests a sense of vagueness or hedging because they do not explain or give any further information about what kind of spirit is carried in the bill. Hedging helps to conceal other information that they probably do not have and avoid direct explanation to something (Machin and Mayr, 2012:192). Furthermore, the use of connectors such as 'even though' and 'although' show that they are covering any further explanation (Selinker, 1979, as cited in Machin and Mayr, 2012:196). It shows that they want to discredit the bill by shaping the message that the bill is discriminatory. But because they cannot explain it in detail 'how' and 'why' it is discriminatory, so they use semiotic techniques to cover up the flaws in their argument.

The author wrote 'the bill in a balanced way brings up the case of violence against women and men' but the verb process 'brings up' is an example of abstraction. It is an abstraction because they did not specifically refer to articles from the bill that needs to be amended so that it can 'brings up' violence against women and men in a balanced way. Furthermore, the sentence will insinuate that the bill will only become a law that benefits women but not men. According to Fairclough (1989) as cited in Machin and Mayr (2012:116), by using abstraction method indicates that the author is carrying out a process of ideological manipulation. This is reflected in their discourse that men are also victims of sexual violence. It shows that they want to be seen as inclusive and

progressive by bringing up the issue of men as victims of sexual violence. But at the same time, it reveals that they do not acknowledge that women have a special and particular struggle in this patriarchal society, and also, they reluctantly acknowledge that sexual violence comes in many forms.

To emphasize the discourse that the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence does not accommodate the interests of men. So, Euis Sunarti again mentioned that “The draft bill on elimination of sexual violence is still felt discriminatory because it focuses more dominantly on women [...]” (parliament hearing, 2018: 7). Her statement is an example of suppression. Suppression is “where social actors or aspects of an event are backgrounded or removed from a representation” (Machin and Mayr, 2012:224). It is obvious that they do not include social actor in the sentence. Thus, it is unclear who actually feels that the bill is discriminatory, and it leads to an abstraction. It is also an example of hedging. The phrase ‘is still felt’ and ‘does not yet have’ contain hedging. They use it to soften the tone and avoid unwanted responses and explanation rather than blatantly saying ‘the bill is discriminatory’ and ‘does not regulate’. Furthermore, ‘focuses more dominantly’ is overlexicalisation because of its redundancy and unnecessary emphasis.

The discourse formed by the opposition is in line with the discourse shaped by men's rights activism (MRA). Men's rights activism is an anti-feminist movement (Gotell and Dutton, 2016; Schmitz and Kazyak, 2016). It challenges issues raised by feminists, such as issues of sexual violence and rape. Men's rights activism contains misogynist discourse and point of view (Gotell and Dutton 2016; Schmitz and Kazyak 2016). Men's right activism claims that feminist does not acknowledge the experiences of male victims of sexual violence (Gotell and Dutton, 2016). They push their discourse that sexual violence should be gender-neutral instead of gendered. Their discourse consists of sexual violence is gender-neutral; feminism eliminates the experience of men who are victims of sexual violence; open up opportunities to spread false accusations; and feminist operates based on moral panic with its rape culture discourse (Gotell & Dutton, 2016: 66).

Therefore, following the results of a study conducted by Gotell & Dutton (2016), the analysis in this study shows that the contra group uses the same discourse enforced by MRA to challenge feminist and progressive law discourses that focus on gender issues. In addition, MRA forms a discourse that sexual violence is gender-neutral by emphasising individual's responsibility regardless of gender. However, MRA does not acknowledge the dynamic of power relations between genders in the society, in which other genders, besides hetero men, are still subject to subordination (Connell 2005; Gotell and Dutton 2016). The existence of the MRA movement proves that patriarchal gender ideology and heteronormative ideology are still strong in society. The men's rights activism and its discourses signify a resistance and contestation against the feminist movement and its discourses (Messner 2016; Schmitz and Kazyak 2016). Therefore, it shows that the opposing group of sexual violence bill applies similar discursive strategy used by men's rights activism.

5.1.2. Victim blaming promoted through sexual violence prevention efforts

Prevention efforts are often promoted by parties who are against the ratification of the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence. However, there is a hidden discourse behind the emphasis on preventing sexual violence, namely the discourse of victim blaming. The victim blaming discourse is hidden using semiotic choices strategy. Look at the following example:

The P-KS Bill ... does not yet have a proportional arrangement between the handling and recovery of victims and prevention and does not yet fully regulate prevention efforts which are the core of the elimination of sexual violence. (Euis Sunarti, Sociologist, as cited in the report of public hearing meeting of Commission VIII House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, 29 January 2018)

'Prevention efforts' is nominalisation to avoid explanation of what prevention does she mean and how to prevent it. It is also an example of implicature. According to Machin and Mayr (2012: 220) Implicature is a way of conveying information ambiguously. It aims to make the reader assumes the author's intentions. Therefore, if the author had said, 'does not completely regulate how potential victims can prevent themselves from experiencing sexual violence' it

would have become too noticeable that they were blaming victims. So, they avoided it by turning the verb 'to prevent' into a noun. Furthermore, the author also wrote 'reduces norms' and 'focuses more on women' contains abstraction because the author did not explain the process of how one can reduce norms. Below is another example that clearly indicates the victim blaming discourse.

The government and the parliament prioritise the preventive aspect of things that cause sexual arousal and its prevention efforts, including clothing that creates opportunities for sexual violence. (Indonesian Ulama Council as cited in the report of public hearing meeting of Commission VIII House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, 03 October 2018)

The phrase 'preventive aspect', 'prevention efforts' and 'clothing' are nominalisation. It is clear their intention is to blame the victim of sexual violence. However, they have to soften their tone to avoid unwanted response. For instance, if they had said 'prevent it by wearing or not wearing____', they had to explain the kind of clothing one should wear to avoid becoming a victim of sexual violence. If they had said that, it would trigger unwanted reactions because it would have been obvious, they wanted to control women's bodies through clothing. Therefore, the discourse is victim-centered instead of perpetrator-centered. The author emphasizes and focuses on what victims should or should not do to avoid being raped, harassed, or being victimized instead of focusing on what to do with sexual violence perpetrators and potential sexual violence perpetrators.

It is necessary to formulate a clear and firm definition of sexual violence in accordance with sharia principles to be submitted to the parliament as a material for the improvement of the Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence before it is ratified (Indonesian Ulama Council as cited in the report of public hearing meeting of Commission VIII House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, 03 October 2018)

The sentence is an example of presupposition because it is presupposed that the bill is against sharia principles. According to Machin and Mayr (2012:222), presupposition is "a taken-for-granted assumption found in communication". The author here assumed that the bill does not accommodate sharia principles. So, they demanded the parliament to review it to insert Sharia principles. Islam is not the only religion officially recognized by the state. There are five other

religions, namely Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism; thus, Indonesia does not apply sharia law and sharia principles into state laws as stated by the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (see p.9). Therefore, the text exhibits the existence of religious interest inserted by Indonesian Ulama Council in the discussion of the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence, especially the interests of Islam.

5.1.3. Framing 'Us vs. Them' in the Debate against the Draft Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence

In this study, I find that the opposition group uses us vs them framing method to launch their agenda, namely, to thwart the ratification of the draft law on the elimination of sexual violence. The framing method of us vs them can be seen from the use of words such as the feminist paradigm, too liberal, and the emphasis on Pancasila values. They use these words to form a message that the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence is a product of other countries whose values are different from Indonesian. In addition, they also use terms such as liberal and feminism that already have negative connotations in Indonesia. To thwart the draft law on the elimination of sexual violence, they use the already negative connotations against feminism and liberal to further push their agenda, namely the agenda of the family resilience bill. To clarify the analysis, I divide it into various sub-sections related to the framing of 'us vs them' formed by the opposing group. Afterward, we can see the discourse that emerged through their statement.

5.1.3.1. The Draft Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence is not in accordance with the norms and values of Indonesian people

Opposition groups who reject the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence often emphasize that the draft bill does not contain the norms embedded in Indonesia. However, they often use an abstract explanation when discussing the issue of the norm. According to Parmono (1995), norms are the embodiment of values that are considered good or bad in society and as social guidelines for people to live in society (p.23). In addition, norms are abstract in nature. According to Bagir et al (2020), Indonesia does not have a clear definition in defining religious norms, religious values, and morality (p.47). They argue that Indonesia places the issue of morality and religious values in the

same category and applies the same understanding. So, when Indonesians talk about morality norms, they are actually talking about religious norms. In addition, Bagir et al. (2020) argue that the religious norms referred to in Indonesia are focused on certain religious teachings that are widely embraced by the Indonesian population (p.48). Thus, certain religious norms are often considered universal. Therefore, I argue that the opposing group uses a smart semiotic strategy by using the word norm because of its abstract nature; thus, easier to be generalised. Moreover, it enables them to activate another discourse behind the word norms such as religious discourse. To see the abstraction and generalization of the use of the word norm, see the example below:

- 1) The existence of the bill, we should finish it with the norms of Pancasila, the norms that exist in Indonesia. Because when it comes to decency, there is no formulating at all about the Marriage Law. Is not it? Yet this is very much related. (Iskan Qolba Lubis, faction of the Prosperous Justice Party, Deputy chairman of Commission VIII of the House of Representatives as cited in the report of the working committee meeting of the House of Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia, 25 September 2019).
- 2) The Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence should be legal protection for the main issues of sexual crime in society and not become a form of sexual liberalisation that eliminates norms, religion, and culture of Indonesian society (Family Love Alliance, in the report of public hearing meeting of Commission VIII House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, 31 January 2018).
- 3) Restore generic arrangements and strengthen the noble values of the Indonesian nation, Pancasila as the source of all sources of law in Indonesia (Family Love Alliance, as cited in joint statement on the Draft Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence, August 2019).
- 4) Many of the contents of the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence are irrelevant to local cultural content (Ikhsan Gumelar, Psychologist, as cited in the report of public hearing meeting of Commission VIII House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, 03 October 2018).
- 5) Specifically, the form of sexual violence “forced marriage” will intersect with the principles in religious norms. (Indonesian Ulama Council as cited in the report of public hearing meeting of Commission VIII House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, 03 October 2018).

Look at examples number (1), (2), (3) and (4), on average their statements use the phrase Pancasila norms, religious norms, culture, and Indonesian values. These phrases contain presupposition technique because they form a message that the culture and norms of Indonesian society are being threatened by the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence. In addition, they also abstractly use the term Indonesian culture. In fact, Indonesia is made up of various ethnicities and cultures. So, when they use the term Indonesian culture, they are doing genericisation to cover up the ambiguity of which Indonesian culture will be threatened by the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence.

Moreover, from the example number (2), they use the term sexual liberalisation which contains vagueness and nominalisation. Furthermore, the term 'eliminating culture' is a method of abstraction and a vague verb. We can therefore ask what and how does it mean when norms, culture, and religion disappear. They also often use the word norm to launch their semiotic strategy. I argue that the word norm is used to impose their personal beliefs or their worldview onto others. Moreover, they do not want to say that their beliefs or worldviews are not absolute truth so, the word 'norm' comes in handy. Therefore, by using vague heavy jargon such as Indonesian culture and sexual liberalisation, they sound like they make sense when they actually do not. Their words are actually very ambiguous. But, in the end, people believe in this baseless dichotomy of us vs them.

The example of number (5) reveals that there is a religious discourse inserted into the statement, precisely the discourse of Islamic religious teachings into state laws. However, they cover it up by using a nominalisation technique on the phrase 'principles' and generalising the use of the word religious norms. It is not explained which religion will be harmed when forced marriage is included in the category of sexual violence. However, it is clear that the religious norms in question are Islamic religious norms. This problem is unique to Islam, but the arguments usually come with a remark that other religions have the same problem in order to make it like it is a common religious stance among different religions. In addition, it affects the formation of state laws.

According to Bagir et al (2020), Indonesia has a history of dealing with ambiguity when it comes to the type or form of state. The 1945 constitution states that Indonesia is a country based on the principle of God Almighty. This principle also contained in the first precept of Pancasila (see p.7). Moreover, the first precept of Pancasila is a result of a compromise between parties who want to make Indonesia a more Islamic country and others who reject the idea because Indonesia consists of various ethnic groups, nations, cultures, and religions that together fought against colonialism (Bagir et al. 2020:41). Thus, religious freedom in Indonesia is protected by the 1945 Constitution. But Islamic parties use the principle of divinity embodied in the constitution to enforce sharia law into the state law for Muslims in Indonesia (Bagir et al. 2020:41). Islamic parties in Indonesia have been trying to enforce and negotiate sharia law since the beginning of Indonesia's independence (Bagir et al. 2020; Menchik 2014b). However, it creates confusion because Indonesia does not give special authority to particular religions, but it also does not fall into a secular state category (Alfitri 2018; Bagir et al. 2020). It is reflected in the existence of a ministry of religious affairs and the application of religious identity on the citizenship card.

5.1.3.2. The Elimination of Sexual Violence Bill is Feminist

The opposing group use semiotic choices by labelling and problematising the sexual violence bill for being feminist. They argue that feminist idea does not suit the core value and norm of Indonesian people. See examples below:

- 1) The academic text of the bill is feminism which is irrelevant for Indonesia. Feminism is not our problem, but a problem that occurs abroad. Thus, this problem can be called subversive. (Bagus Riyono, Psychologist, as cited in the report of public hearing meeting of Commission VIII House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, 25 October 2018).
- 2) This draft bill on elimination of sexual violence uses a feminist paradigm that does not fit with the values or norms upheld by Indonesian families and society in general, and the draft bill gives the role and authority of supervision to the national commission on violence against women, which incidentally has a main task related to anti-violence against women (and incidentally places men as those who make women victims of violence) (Euis Sunarti, Sociologist, as cited in the report of public

hearing meeting of Commission VIII House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, 29 January 2018).

- 3) We are worried that this is too feminis [...] (Marwan Dasopang, faction of the National Awakening Party (PKB), Deputy chairman of Commission VIII of the House of Representatives as cited in the report of the working committee meeting of the House of Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia, 25 September 2019).

Look at examples number (1) & (2), these statements contain elements of abstraction and generalisation. The statements do not provide a detailed explanation of why and how feminism is considered irrelevant for Indonesia. In addition, those who reject the draft law on the elimination of sexual violence frame the negative feminist connotation. For example, in sentence number (3), the phrase 'we are worried that this is too feminist' conveys a negative connotation that makes feminist thought seem distorted and threatening. In addition, there is a framing of us versus them in their statements. For instance, presented in example (2), the opposing group constructs that the feminist paradigm is not in accordance with the existing local values; thus, it does not fit to be applied in Indonesia. This indicates that the feminist paradigm is something foreign that poses a threat to local values. Moreover, example (2) shows that the opposing group uses discourse endorsed by MRA (see p. 48), meaning that they deny the existence of patriarchy and gendered violence. In addition, their discourse tends to simplify the case of sexual violence by implying that both victims and perpetrators of violence can be anyone regardless of their gender.

The technique of framing us versus them related to the ideas and values of feminism is a clever method launched by those who reject the draft bill. They know that feminism already has a negative connotation in Indonesia. So, they use this opportunity to build a conception of nationality and stigma against ideas that are deemed coming from the West. As argued by Rinaldo (2013), feminism has a negative connotation in Indonesia because it is often associated with western and communist understandings. In addition, there is an inherent stigma attached to the feminist label, such as tendencies of being too liberal and promotes behaviour that is contrary to the moral values of Indonesian (Qibtiyah

2010; Rinaldo 2011; Wieringa 2009). Thus, encourage premarital sex behaviour, same-sex sexual relationship and anti-men sentiment.

5.1.3.3. The Elimination of Sexual Violence Bill is too Liberal

Examples of the statements below are expressed by members of the parliament from parties who support the ratification of the draft bill (see p.9). However, even though they support the ratification of the draft bill, they still show concern and rejection of the feminist and liberal values which are the main concerns in the debate over the ratification of the bill.

- 1) What we worry about is too feminine too liberal. (Marwan Dasopang, faction of the National Awakening Party (PKB), Deputy chairman of Commission VIII of the House of Representatives as cited in the report of the working committee meeting of the House of Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia, 25 September 2019).
- 2) Well, I also do not want this labelling of sexual violence to become a liberal law. (Diah Pitaloka, faction of The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) as cited in the report of the working committee meeting of the House of Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia, 25 September 2019)

The liberal label in the statement above contains a negative connotation. The statement was actually made by two party members who supported the ratification of the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence. According to Wieringa (2009), Indonesia has a history of rejecting liberal ideas from the independence era and a complex relationship with liberal values. Thus, the words liberal and liberalism have negative connotations in Indonesia. Wieringa also adds that in Suharto's presidency, liberal understanding, communism, and progressive ideas and policies are prohibited. Menchik (2016) states that Islamic organisations that have power such as NU, MUI, and Muhammadiyah condemn liberal ideas. NU and Muhammadiyah are the largest Islamic mass organizations in Indonesia with a strong influence on Indonesian politics and government with a massive number of followers - Muslim in Indonesia is either the follower of NU or Muhammadiyah.

5.1.3.4. The Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence is a product of another country

- 1) Power relations, gender relations. These terms are not very well understood in Indonesia. Because in my opinion, these are the terms that I think are translated from existing systems in other countries. This is our long debate. That's all perhaps Mr. Chairman (Iskan Qolba Lubis, faction of the Prosperous Justice Party, Deputy chairman of Commission VIII of the House of Representatives as cited in the report of the working committee meeting of the House of Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia, 25 September 2019).

In the example number (1), this is an instance of omission of subject; it is unclear who does not understand the terms discussed and, consequently, unclear why they fail to grasp these concepts. This omission enables the speaker to be vague while instilling baseless fear surrounding the terms. Additionally, the foreign countries are once again blamed by the opposing group for introducing these terms. It has to be noted that the speaker of the statement never specified from which country these terms originated and how they are harmful. Yet this framing effectively enabled the speaker to blame 'foreign entities' and construct a binary opposition of Indonesian vs. foreigners.

5.1.4. The Pattern of Rejection aimed at the Draft Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence

The party faction that does not support the bill on the elimination of sexual violence appears to not entirely oppose the bill by stating that 'we support the bill BUT' or 'doesn't mean we refuse'. The choice of these words indicates an implicit meaning that they actually do not agree but they still want to appear as if they care about the topic which Machin and Mayr (2012) named it as hedging. Thus, the use of the words 'but' and 'doesn't mean I' is a way to make them sound neutral. Moreover, the use of these words is also a characteristic of Indonesian people when they reject something they disagree with, by using words that make them appear neutral. I argue that politicians in Indonesia show a semiotic pattern of rejecting ideas and cover it with semiotic strategy to avoid the responsibility of providing explanations when these ideas cause public controversy and debate that lead to protest movements. Check out the statement below to see the pattern:

- 1) We assume, we do not quite agree because there are many terms in this bill for example the term gender that has been problematised by many. (Iskan Qolba Lubis, faction of the Prosperous Justice Party, Deputy chairman of Commission VIII of the House of Representatives as cited in the report of the working committee meeting of the House of Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia, 25 September 2019).
- 2) We do not want the end of this bill to be the same as the KPK Law, the criminal code bill. There was demonstration everywhere. The DPR is stupid, the DPR is stupid and so on. We do not want that to happen again team leader [...]. Well, this should be a subject for our reflection. Let us not be careless about it. Do not arbitrarily agree even though this is crucial and very important. This is what I said, does not mean I reject it completely. This is important but we have to digest it more carefully. Do not let the events of yesterday repeat. (Endang Maria Astuti, faction of Golongan Karya Party as cited in the report of the working committee meeting of the House of Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia, 25 September 2019)
- 3) With various notes and perspectives, then MUI supports this bill but, it must be discussed smartly and carefully and needs to be synchronised and harmonised with other laws and regulations at the same level and higher level and under the values and principles of religious teachings that live and develop in Indonesian society. (Indonesian Ulama Council as cited in the report of public hearing meeting of Commission VIII House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, 03 October 2018)

Presented in example (1), the sentence 'we do not quite agree' is a hedging technique. Hedging shows us that the speaker is actually against the bill. Moreover, he said that 'for example, the term gender has been problematised by many', but he omitted further explanation on why the term gender is problematic. Furthermore, his statement contains modality technique. It shows in the use of the words 'many' and 'for example'. He used the modality technique to cover up the insecurity behind his statement. It reflects on how he left out information on who actually has been problematising the term gender and how the term gender has been problematised. In the case of example (2), hedging device is also detected. It reflects from the statement 'this is what I said, does not mean I reject it completely'. Moreover, she brought up previous events as comparison to the present situation. It indicates as if she has "a sense of wisdom" and an "awareness of a bigger picture" (Machin and Mayr, 2012: 195).

Thus, as readers we will have the impression that we are being provided with the right information and evidence.

However, the evidence and comparison that she stated in her statement, in fact, are still kept in vagueness. It reflects on the way she did not elaborate explanation on why the anti-corruption commission law and the draft criminal code law led to rejections and demonstrations. Hedging techniques help to cover up the fact that she is covering another option or alternative to solve the problem of the bill (Machin and Mayr, 2012). For the case of example (3), apart from hedging that we can detect from the words 'carefully', 'smartly' and 'supports this bill BUT', the statement also indicates presupposition. Their statement conveys that the draft bill does not comply with other laws in Indonesia. Furthermore, they use abstraction technique by leaving out detail information of which religious teaching do they mean. In Indonesia, the phrase 'religious teachings' is considered universal, but in practice, it usually refers to particular religious teaching of religion with the most followers in the country (Kuntarto, 2018).

The result of this analysis is different from Kuntarto's research finding (2018). Kuntarto found that politicians in Indonesia tend to use language styles that seem sarcastic, harassing, bullying, and cornering. In addition, they no longer care about politeness in language, although the politeness technique is beneficial to gain sympathy and support from the people. Kuntarto also argues that politicians in Indonesia use language as a political tool to maintain power and realise their political agenda. So, language refinement is no longer a concern as long as their interests can be realised and maintained. In addition, political parties in Indonesia use a different style of language - some are more polite, and some are not. It also depends on the political context at that time.

The results of the analysis of this study differ from those of Kuntarto but show similarities with the results of Pangestika et al (2018) findings. They found that politicians in Indonesia often use vague speech as a strategy in expressing their statements. It shows similarities from the analysis of this study, which often finds hedging and abstraction techniques used by the opposing group. I argue that the pattern in the use of confusing language in their statements that show vagueness and ambivalence is a strategy to sound sympathetic to the plight of

women, especially victims of sexual violence, who have spoken loudly in support of this bill. However, at the same time, the opposing group have to discredit the legislation, even though using spurious grounds. This strategy helps them not to appear rude in the eyes of the public. It looks like they still try to shape their language during the debate to sound polite.

Language is a cultural product because culture shapes the way we speak (Kuntarto, 2018). According to Ponka, Kuklin, and Sibarani (2019), Indonesian political culture is strongly influenced by Javanese culture and ethnic values. From the era of independence until today, Javanese politics still dominates the political system in Indonesia. In addition, during the leadership of President Suharto who served for 32 years, he had the ambition to spread and impose Javanese values throughout Indonesia - this event is known as Javanisation. Javanese culture has a characteristic that emphasizes the principles of togetherness, harmony, politeness, collectivism, syncretism, and the desire to maintain harmony (Kuntarto 2018; Ponka et al. 2019). Therefore, speech in politics is strongly influenced by Javanese culture which emphasizes the principles of avoiding conflict and politeness (Ponka et al. 2019). As it is reflected in the way opposing groups often use hedging to shape their statement.

5.1.5. The definition of Sexual Violence in the Draft Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence is Problematic.

In this chapter, I will reveal how the opposing group disputed the definition of sexual violence from the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence. They want to replace the concept of sexual violence with the concept of sexual crime. In addition, they criticise the concept of sexual violence that they deemed is too broad which leads to potentially ill-targeted criminalization. They also assume that the definition of sexual violence has a hidden meaning. However, in criticising the definition of sexual violence, they do not provide legal reasoning or specific reasoning. See the statements of the opposing group below:

- 1) Multi-interpretational words such as the term sexual violence are not appropriate to be used as the title of the Bill so that the Family Love Alliance proposes that the name of the bill to be changed to a draft bill on

the Sexual Crimes or Decency Crimes (*Kejahatan kesusilaan*)⁹ [...] (Family Love Alliance, as cited in the report of public hearing meeting of Commission VIII House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, 31 January 2018)

- 2) “The forms of sexual violences in the Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence have a very biased definition, such as the expansion of the meaning of rape, sexual slavery, sexual torture so it has the potential to become overcriminalisation society because the norms regarding the category of sexual violence do not have basic needs in Indonesian society.” (Family Love Alliance, as cited in the report of public hearing meeting of Commission VIII House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, 31 January 2018)

In example number (1) Family Love Alliance stated that the phrase sexual violence has multiple meanings. Here they use problematisation as their semiotic choice strategy. There is nothing wrong to argue that the phrase is multi-interpretative, but the argument has to be specific such as which part is problematic and in what ways can the word sexual violence be misinterpreted. Since their accusations against the bill are not specific, it raises questions. For example, every draft law begins with formulating a definition of a key concept, but why do not they discuss this. Therefore, they are often vague in giving suggestions or alternatives by not providing specific explanations. Vague criticism can only spread unnecessary anxiety regarding the bill; thus, it can lead to moral panic (Machin & Mayr, 2012). They also propose to change the concept of sexual violence into sex crimes. Sex crime has broader meaning and can actually criminalised socially deviant acts such as homosexuality and prostitution (Frenkel, 1964). Therefore, it is possible that they want to change the concept of sexual violence into sexual crimes because it accommodates their agenda.

We can also see that in example number (2) they project an idea the definition of sexual violence in the bill is biased through lexical choices. For instance, ‘a very biased definition’ contains overlexicalisation and nominalisation. Overlexicalisation is a way to conceal the ambiguity of the real information and

⁹ The word decency in Indonesia is more often used and referred to regulate behaviour that is considered right or wrong concerning sexual matters. However, the real meaning of the word decency has a broad-spectrum concerning value in Indonesian society (Rahayu 2021:186). It also includes the regulation of manners and morals (Rahayu 2021: 186)

indicate anxiety on the part of the speaker (Machin and Mayr 2012:37). In this text, they evade the responsibility of explaining how the bias manifests. The adjective 'very' that modifies the noun 'bias' does not reveal any valuable information about what the author means. It simply acts as an unnecessary emphasis that may only reflect the anxiety on the part of the author for not being able to truly clarify what they mean. This is an instance of redundancy that Mayr and Machin (2012) called as overlexicalisation. Moreover, nominalisation is a semiotic choice to shape a message and a clever technique for backgrounding hidden information or meaning (Machin and Mayr 2012). For instance, from the previous text, it can be seen that the speaker/author willingly chose to use the noun 'bias' instead of its verb form. For example, take a look at this sentence 'the bill has a very biased definition' (noun) vs 'the bill is biased towards...' (verb form). If the author used a biased construction as a verb form, they must elaborate the bias they are talking about hence the use of nominalisation technique. This therefore allows the author to avoid specifying what they mean as 'bias' and how it manifests in the sexual violence bill.

The phrase 'become overcriminalisation' is another example of nominalisation. They did not elaborate on what 'become overcriminalisation' means in the context of sexual violence in Indonesia. This phrase also implies that sexual violence has been properly handled by the criminal justice system in Indonesia, making further 'criminalisation' unnecessary. In 2020, The National Commission on Violence against Women documented many cases where women were countersued for speaking about their experiences of sexual violence. This only adds to the mounting evidence that, in Indonesia, sexual violence tends to be mishandled by the criminal justice system and is therefore most likely underreported - further proving the urgency of the sexual violence elimination bill (The National Commission on Violence against Women, 2021). Furthermore, the use of the word 'the norms' indicates an abstraction. It is unclear what kind of norm that the author means. Moreover, the sentence of 'the norms regarding the category of sexual violence do not have basic needs in Indonesian society', contains implicit meaning. They are implicitly saying 'The issue of sexual violence in Indonesia is not important'.

5.1.6. The LGBT controversy, sexual deviance and premarital sex in the Draft Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence.

In the explanation of the sub-chapter above, they insist on changing the concept and definition of sexual violence into a sexual crime. However, changing the concept of sexual violence into a sexual crime has a potential to criminalise sexual acts that are considered deviant by the community. Thus, I argue that there is a hidden discourse regarding anti-LGBT discourse and other deviant sexual acts that do not fit into their norm standard. See examples below:

- 1) The bill on the elimination of sexual violence also affirms LGBT behaviour because the academic text of the Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence clearly includes an agenda for sexual violence based on different sexual orientations, namely that sexual violence is not only based on gender but is also based on sexual orientation, gender identity, and gender expression. (Family Love Alliance, as cited in the report of public hearing meeting of Commission VIII House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, 31 January 2018)
- 2) The expansion of regulated norms, into sexual crimes, instead of just regulating sexual violence. Because there are sexual deviations that are bound and related to violence and are categorised as crimes and atrocities from the religious norms adopted by the Indonesian people (Euis Sunarti, Sociologist, as cited in the report of public hearing meeting of Commission VIII House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, 29 January 2018)
- 3) The forms of sexual violence are changed into rape, prostitution, adultery, abortion, forced contraception, sodomy, sexual deviance including masochism, voyeurism, exhibitionism, sadism, bestiality, necrophilia (sexual interest in corpses), homosexuality, anal sex, and husband and wife sexual intercourse when the wife is menstruating. (Family Love Alliance, as cited in the report of public hearing meeting of Commission VIII House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, 31 January 2018)

In example (1) opposition group use nominalisation technique in the phrase 'affirms LGBT behaviour'. Moreover, the phrase also contains abstraction technique because of its broad and unclear term. It is unclear what the Family Love Alliance meant by 'LGBT behaviour'. Which LGBT behaviour distinguishes them from heterosexual people and their behaviour? The phrase LGBT behaviour implies that there are differences in the behaviour of LGBT people

and heterosexual people. In example number (3), the statement also implies that LGBT groups as deviant groups that engaged in deviant sexual acts. Moreover, in example number (2), it can be seen that the opposing groups want to criminalise sexual deviations by using overlexicalisation technique represented in the repeated use of the word's 'crime' and 'atrocities'. The overlexicalisation technique shows the opposing groups' intention to emphasize and enhance the chance of criminalising LGBT group that commits deviant sexual acts. According to Worthen (2016), a deviation is a result of social construction that is determined by place and time. In addition, what is considered a deviation can be deeply ideological depending on the ideology related to gender, sex, and sexuality adopted in society (Foucault, 1990). Therefore, there is an anti-LGBT discourse formed in Euis Sunarti and Family Love Alliance's statement.

5.2. Communicative Control Analysis

This analysis will focus on how the opposing group controls the issue of rejecting the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence. For example, is there a specific discourse that the contra party wants to prioritise or for example they want to change the discourse on the issue of sexual violence to be in line with their ideology. In essence, this level of analysis wants to detect how they control the debate over the draft law - the law on the elimination of sexual violence. Therefore, this level of analysis is a part of meso analysis in CDA.

- 1) So, with a new draft of the criminal code, there are articles containing adultery, *kumpul kebo*¹⁰, and then consensual [sex] is prohibited. Therefore, in this short time, if we refer to the old criminal code, it is a bit troublesome, sir. So, this [the draft bill of sexual violence] still has to wait for the new draft of the new criminal code law. Well, this is it more or less. If we force it, we only have a little bit of time, right, sir [...]. All sides roughly agree with it. (Achmad Fauzan Harun, faction of United Development Party as cited in the report of the working committee meeting of the House of Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia, 25 September 2019)
- 2) There are many issues in this bill. That's mostly violence against women. But this bill denies violence against men. Sexual relations are not only between men and women, but between other men. This is covered in this. That's why we have to wait for the new criminal code law, which has

¹⁰ Kumpul kebo is a term commonly used in Indonesia to indicate that a couple lives together without being married (cohabitation) and "[...] carries heavy overtones of moral disapproval" (Quinn 2020:824).

formulated these types of crimes. (Iskan Qolba Lubis, faction of the Prosperous Justice Party, Deputy chairman of Commission VIII of the House of Representatives as cited in the report of the working committee meeting of the House of Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia, 25 September 2019).

From example, statements number (1) and (2), can be seen the way the opposing group controls the debate on the ratification of the sexual violence bill by 'foregrounding' the issue of the ratification of the criminal code bill. This means that they want to delay the ratification of the sexual violence bill before the criminal code bill is passed. Thus, they did 'backgrounding' on the discussion of the sexual violence bill by raising the discussion of other bills. Typically, 'backgrounding' and 'foregrounding' are based on the ideological interests of the actor or the political party (Machin and Mayr 2012). Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) is a leading Islamist party in Indonesia that has significant influences. Its ideology is Islamist ideology originates from the Muslim Brotherhood organisation founded in Egypt. But, to gain electoral support, PKS must reduce its ideology intensity and shifted it to be more moderate to suit the political climate in Indonesia. According to Rofhani and Fuad (2021), PKS has a patriarchal party structure and emphasizes the importance of women focusing on the domestic (family) realm but also allows women to enter politics, of course following Islamic teachings. Thus, the PKS party implements elements of the feminist movement even though they are explicitly anti-feminist. Therefore, in the debate on the ratification of the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence, they put forward the discussion of the criminal code bill because it was in line with the party's ideology. If the criminal code bill is ratified before the sexual violence bill, it will automatically criminalise sexual relations based on consent, and LGBT groups will become more vulnerable to criminalisation.

- 3) The performance of the DPR in Indonesia really needs to be improved, so that the DPR does not appear to be "kejar setoran"¹¹ in ratifying various bills that are still controversial. Ethically, of course, this is very problematic. There are legislators who are no longer elected in the next period, so it is unethical to decide on a controversial bill that will bind and regulate sensitive issues in society for the next 5 (five) years. Especially if the bill is allegedly going to change the criminal procedure law such as

¹¹ *Kejar Setoran* is a term that Indonesian often use when they refer to a goal or a task that must be pursued and completed – especially when there is a certain deadline. Literal definition of *Kejar Setoran* is chasing income.

the P-KS Bill. Crucial issues in the bill should be decided by members of the council who are still in office so as not to lose their legitimacy (Family Love Alliance, as cited in joint statement on the Draft Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence, August 2019)

- 4) The bill to be passed must have a high level of public participation. However, if the formal aspects are not transparent and the process is questionable, the bill has the potential to be submitted to the Constitutional Court by the public even though the bill has been ratified, both in material and formal aspects. This should be avoided because it is counter-productive and consumes the nation's energy (Family Love Alliance, as cited in joint statement on the Draft Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence, August 2019)

From statements number (3) and (4) we can see how the opposition groups influence the process of ratifying the sexual violence bill. They used the momentum of the end of the term of office for members of the House of Representatives period 2014 – 2019 to criticise the performance of the members and use this opportunity to delay the ratification of the draft bill. The term of office for the members of the House of Representatives period 2014 – 2019 ended at the end of September 2019. The inauguration of the members for the period 2019 – 2024 period began on October 1, 2019. In statement number (4) they use their power as mass organizations and major civil society actors to influence the ratification process of the draft bill. As argued by Machin and Mayr (2012), groups that are considered legitimate by the community can use their power to shape discourse. In the case of AILA, the community sees them as a group that has legitimacy so that the ideology brought by them is supported by the community that supports the organisation (Machin and Mayr 2012; Wieringa 2019b). For example, they succeeded in thwarting the ratification of the gender equality and justice bill in 2014 by using religious arguments supported by the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) and the Indonesia Ulama Council (MUI) (Arivia and Amzy 2015). However, their efforts were not always fruitful, in 2017 they filed a criminal case against LGBT people and people who have sex outside of marriage to the constitutional court, but this proposal was rejected (Wieringa 2019b).

- 5) [Alternative solutions to prevent sexual violence and sexual crimes] Enforce laws and various regulations to reduce and eliminate sexual deviance factors, such as [enforcement] Law concerning electronic information and transactions (UU ITE), the pornography prevention law

and pornographic action. (Euis Sunarti, Sociologist, as cited in the report of public hearing meeting of Commission VIII House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, 29 January 2018)

From statement number (5) they brought up the enforcement of law concerning electronic information and transactions and law concerning the pornography prevention and pornographic action. According to Wieringa (2019), The pornography law is a law that is successfully ratified because of the massive support from conservative Islamic organisations such as Family Love Alliance (AILA) and the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI). Wieringa also emphasize that the pornography law is the first Indonesian law that can criminalise same-sex practice as well as sex outside of marriage. By bringing up the topic of the law concerning electronic information and transaction and anti-pornography law, it is clear that they are trying to thwart the sexual violence bill. The electronic information and transaction law and anti-pornography law are often used to criminalise victims of sexual violence such as the BN case described above (see p.39) and also victims of revenge porn (Kamilla 2021).

In the context of meso analysis, we have to pay attention to the position of civil society actors such as the Indonesian Ulama Council, AILA, and the Prosperous Justice Party in the society as groups that oppose the implementation of sexual violence bill and the position of the National Commission on Violence against Women (*Komnas Perempuan*) as a group that supports and created the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence. In addition, we can see the power relations of these groups in society. The Indonesian Ulema Council is an Islamic organization in Indonesia that is very influential in the legislative and political process in Indonesia (Wieringa 2019b). The Indonesian Ulema Council has the power to issue fatwas for Muslims in Indonesia and become a reference for all Muslims in Indonesia (Wieringa 2019b:239). The Indonesian Ulema Council is officially an independent institution from the government, but in Presidential Decree no. 151 of 2014 concerning the Indonesian Ulema Council funding assistance, the state provides financial assistance for the Indonesian Ulema Council to optimise the

performance of the Indonesian Ulema Council in helping the government realise the improvement of faith and morals of the Muslim population in Indonesia¹².

According to an explanation from the Family Love Alliance (AILA) website, they are an inter-institutional alliance whose concern is to strengthen Indonesian families' resilience¹³. AILA members consist of academics and position themselves as mothers. As mothers, they are concerned with strengthening family values in Indonesia and creating a more civilised Indonesian society. In addition, they feel their role as mothers is to maintain the values of the Indonesian family and the nation's children. According to Wieringa (2019), AILA sees themselves as good mothers who provide moral guidance for society. The view of women as good mothers is a legacy from the New Order era and AILA uses this idea to gain legitimacy (Wieringa 2019b:238). AILA as civil society organisation gains powerful support from powerful politicians such as the Prosperous Justice Party and Vice-President of Indonesia, Ma'ruf Amin who used to be the chairman of the Indonesian Ulema Council and the head of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) (Wieringa 2019b:238). The way AILA operates and voices its aspirations are the same as non-governmental organizations.

Meanwhile, The National Commission on Violence Against Women is an independent state institution that aims to uphold the human rights of Indonesian women. In addition, the National Commission on Violence Against Women was formed through Presidential Decree no. 181 of 1998, on October 9, 1998, after the mass rape case of Indonesian women of Chinese descent. Then, the establishment of The National Commission on Violence Against Women was also strengthened by Presidential Regulation no. 65 of 2005. The National Commission on Violence Against Women is also one of the National Human Rights Institutions funded by state budget. (The National Commission on Violence Against Women n.d.)¹⁴

¹² Presidential Decree No. 151 of 2014 concerning Funding Assistance for the Indonesian Ulema Council.

¹³ <https://cintakeluarga.org/#>

¹⁴ The whole paragraph information derived from The National Commission on Violence Against Women's website <https://komnasperempuan.go.id/profil>

By looking at the position of these organizations in society, we can see the power relations between these organizations. MUI as an institution that is very influential in society and the government level, together with AILA as an independent community institution share the same ideological foundation, namely conservative Islamic ideology (Bourchier 2019; Hasyim 2020). In addition, the opposing group promotes ideas that are well-received in Indonesia and the fact that they are part of the majority of the population in Indonesia (as explained on page 8). It is reflected in the result of Bourchier's study (2019) which found that Indonesian Ideological landscape has shifted leaning more towards ideology that will make it difficult to "defend secular law, pluralism, democracy and human rights." (p,730). In addition, the existence of blasphemy laws exacerbates the problem of pluralism in Indonesia where blasphemy laws often only apply to the majority religion and become a boomerang for minority religions (Bourchier 2019; Hasyim 2020; Menchik 2014a).

Meanwhile, the National Commission on Violence Against Women is a national human rights institution funded by the state budget. In addition, their movements are quite limited, and they do not have effective power and control over women's protection in Indonesia. It is reflected in the previous experience that several draft laws submitted by the National Commission on Violence Against Women, such as the draft law concerning gender equality and justice failed to be ratified, while the laws rejected by the National Commission on Violence Against Women such as the anti-pornography law were successfully ratified (Arivia and Amzy 2015). The National Commission on Violence Against Women is also known as a feminist organization founded by feminist figures in Indonesia (Arivia and Subono 2018). Since the founding of the National Commission on Violence Against Women, Indonesian feminist figures have always led the National Commission for Women. As argued by Rinaldo (2013) and Qibtiyah (2010), feminism and the word feminist have negative connotations in Indonesia and often associated as liberal and Western and communist. Moreover, the Indonesian Ulema Council issued fatwas banning secularism, liberalism and pluralism back in 2005 (Hasyim 2020). The situation in Indonesia regarding negative perceptions of feminism creates an unequal power relation between the National Commission on Violence Against Women

and opposing groups (MUI, AILA, and PKS) in the process of passing the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence.

Therefore, during the debate over the ratification of the bill, the National Commission on Violence Against Women barely has any power to control the debate whereas the opposing groups have more control on the debate. It shows when the opposing groups repeatedly bring up the topic of discussion of other draft laws such as the criminal code bill and the family resilience bill. I also think that the existence of the blasphemy law and the electronic information and transactions law is one of the reasons that prevents the National Commission on Violence Against Women to speak out more regarding the draft bill on sexual violence. In addition, they try their best to articulate their support for the draft bill without violating any laws so as to not be prosecuted.

5.3. The debate over the ratification of the bill on the elimination of sexual violence and its underlying ideology

In this chapter, I will discuss the ideology contained in the debate on the ratification of the draft law on the elimination of sexual violence in Indonesia. Borrowing the thoughts of Lazar, Connell, Rubin, Walby and Wieringa, I want to explore the process of ratifying the draft law on the elimination of sexual violence in Indonesia's patriarchal gender order and its relation to the discourses found in the micro/semiotic choices analysis stage.

Through micro-analysis, it was found that the opposing group endorsed heteronormative ideology and through meso analysis, it was found that the opposing group controlled the debate around the draft law on the elimination of sexual violence by highlighting the themes that became their agendas. It is mainly because the opposing group shares the same idea as the majority. After all, Indonesia is a country with a high patriarchal culture and a prime example of heteronormative country (Ainunnisa Rezky et al. 2020; Bennett and Davies 2014; Purwanti 2017; Siburian 2020).

From the results of the analysis of the semiotic choices, it can be concluded that the debate on the draft bill on the elimination of sexual violence contains heteronormative ideology and gender ideology. It is reflected in the anti-feminist discourse and the use of strategies similar to men's rights activism to reject the draft bill. In addition, there is an element of victim-blaming in the discussion. As stated by Lazar (2007), gender ideology is hegemonic. In Indonesia, gender ideology is closely related to the New Order era led by President Suharto. According to Robinson (2015) and Blackburn (2004), during the New Order era, the state had imposed what it was called state gender ideology. State gender ideology is the role of the state in regulating gender roles for men and women and “the way it attempts to influence the construction of gender in society” (Blackburn 2004:9). State gender ideology imposed through policy regulating the role of men and women. For instance, the legacy from New Order era is a very strong notion of *kodrat*¹⁵ between men and women (Blackburn 2004:11). Men are destined to be the breadwinner in the family whereas women are destined to take care of household affairs and raise children and be good wives (Blackburn 2004:11).

The very strong idea of nature enforced by the state forms a construction of gender roles, thus creating a common sense that it is women's job to take care of the family while men are the heads of households and income earners. The construction of gender roles has indeed changed from time to time because Indonesian women nowadays have easier access to the job market, but the changes that occur still subordinate women. As argued by Blackburn (2004), even during the new order era, state gender ideology was often inconsistent and contradictory to the reality because, for the lower middle class, women were also the backbone of the family. This condition then leads to the exploitation of female workers (e.g., receiving lower wages). The existence of power inequality based on *kodrat* or common sense is what Connell (1987) refers to as ideological/cultural power relation in the patriarchal structure.

The debate over the ratification of the sexual violence bill certainly contains ideological/cultural power relations. Indonesia has a history of domesticating

¹⁵ The meaning of *kodrat* is natural destiny or behaviour or duties that has been determined by God that it becomes a natural law (<https://kbbi.web.id/kodrat>)

women which was supported by the state policies during the new order period and still has a strong influence on today's climate. For instance, state gender ideology that was imposed during new order era was called “state *ibuism*”¹⁶, because it emphasizes the role of women as mothers, and husbands’ companions (Hyunanda et al. 2021). Moreover, it was also aimed to domesticate women and prevent their contribution in the political sphere (Hyunanda et al. 2021:10). Rhoads (2012) argued that “state *ibuism*” was social construction imposed by the state to assert male dominance, reinforce state power against women, and create social hierarchies so that women stay domesticated and limit their role in social and political sphere (p, 50). The family structure in Indonesia is basically patriarchal and hierarchical, therefore the state idolises an ideal-harmonious type of family (see p.42). According to Chin and Daud (2017), the ideal and harmonious family type favored by the state is in line with the ideology of the Indonesian nation, namely *Pancasila*, precisely the first principle. In addition, the notion of family was used as the backbone for the nation building. The notion is still being upheld until today.

Therefore, it is not surprising that the opposing group include their agenda in the discussion of the sexual violence bill, namely the agenda of the family resilience bill. The draft law on family resilience believes in emphasizing the traditional values of the Indonesian family and positions the family institution as the main foundation of the nation because a person's morality is determined by the family as the first institution for an individual to make initial interactions before plunging into the outside world. In addition, research conducted by Nursyifa (2020) and Purnama (2018) found that the family resilience bill embodied patriarchal values that are detrimental to women and LGBT minority groups and are contrary to the principle of gender justice.

AILA is famous for its family empowerment mission which aims to strengthen family resilience, and women as mothers are the main empowerment agents to achieve this goal. Meanwhile, Prosperous Justice Party is known as an Islamic ideological party that upholds women's participation in politics, as long as it is in line with the party's ideology, namely conservative Islam and *Pancasila* (Rofhani

¹⁶ Ibuism derived from the word Ibu. Ibu is Indonesian word for mother, thus state Ibuism can be translated as state motherhood.

and Fuad 2021). Therefore, the participation of women cadres of the Prosperous Justice Party in politics aims to strengthen family values and encourages women to focus on the domestic sphere. However, gender ideology is still deeply manifested in the participation and empowerment of women, where women are still subordinated in the patriarchal gender order that is reinforced by the state. As argued by Hyunanda et al. (2021), “state *Ibuism*” has influenced how women’s empowerment in Indonesia operates because of a strong gendered relationship between the state and women as “the subjects to be governed”(p.15).

Rubin (as cited in Tong & Botts 2019) also argues that the patriarchal structure is perpetuated through dichotomous gender socialisation which heteronormative in nature. Men and women are distinguished based on their biological sexual differences, which lead to the labelling of masculine and feminine for men and women. Connell (2009) mentions that gender power relations can be symbolic. For example, in Indonesia, various media still represent women as sexual objects (Afneta 2015). In addition, there are also gender-biased stereotypes as found in the results of research conducted by Farida (2013) that the mass media in Indonesia still emphasizes the nature of women as good wives, namely wives who serve their children and husband. Meanwhile, men are represented as strong and brave protectors. In the end, masculine thought is heavily portrayed and represented in the mass media in a patriarchal and heteronormative society.

In addition to women, other minority groups such as the LGBT group also experience negative impacts from the symbolic power relations of gender. Research conducted by Afniar (2019) and Indra (2018) found that the representation of the LGBT minority group is still very negative in Indonesia, which is influenced by hegemonic masculinity. In addition, the LGBT group is represented as a bad influence and a virus for Indonesian society. In a heteronormative country such as Indonesia, where gender is dichotomous, the LGBT group is classified as an inferior and subordinated group. That is because they do not fall into the category of two genders idolised by gender ideology. Therefore, the mass media as agents of social construction play an important

role in shaping the discourse, which forms a hegemony (Evans 2002; Kim 2008).

Therefore, it is not unusual when the opposing group of sexual violence bill problematised the bill for discriminating against men but criticised and problematised the existence of sexual violence that occurred based on sexual orientation, gender identity, and gender expression. In other words, they refuse to acknowledge LGBT groups can become victims of sexual violence (i.e., gay rape) and they can get protection from the sexual violence bill, if it is ratified. Therefore, there is a logical fallacious and inconsistency in the discourse on discrimination against men in the sexual violence bill that the opposing group demanded in the debate.

As argued by Fairclough and Wodak (1997, as cited in Machin and Mayr, 2012: 24) that discursive events are shaped by social structures, situations, and institutions, and otherwise; thus, both supporters and opponents of the sexual violence bill can influence and perpetuate gender ideology and heteronormative ideology in Indonesia. For instance, according to research conducted by Doko (2019), news coverage regarding sexual violence in the Indonesian mass media still blames women as victims of sexual violence for being careless. Meanwhile, men are represented as the dominant party who have body authority over women. The construction of patriarchal ideology is not only perpetuated by the mass media, but the government as a policymaker also plays the role. For example, in research conducted by Eddyono et al. (2016) show that the attitude of the government, such as the Minister of Education and Culture together with law enforcement officials, often shows an attitude that discredits the statements of victims of sexual violence and makes a remark with a victim-blaming tendency.

The victim-blaming discourse is also found in the debate on the sexual violence bill by the Indonesian Ulema Council (see chapter 5.1.2). The Indonesian Ulema Council has the power and authority as a leading Islamic organisation that can issue fatwas where Muslims in Indonesia look up to them. The Indonesian Ulema Council is known for its anti-secularism and liberalism

organisations, and the Indonesian Ulema Council seeks to implement sharia law for Indonesian Muslims. Indonesia has a long and complicated history when it comes to national identity. According to research conducted by Jenco et al. (2019), the Suharto regime established *Pancasila* as a state ideology, but also as the original identity of the Indonesian state, which upholds the noble values of the Indonesian nation as presumably opposed to western values and other foreign ideologies. In addition, *Pancasila* is often used to justify defenses against freedom of speech, liberalism, politics, and human rights (Jenco et al. 2019:611).

Nowadays, Pancasila is used by religious conservative groups to demand the creation of laws or policies that contain religious values. They use the 1st principle of *Pancasila* as a reference for demanding the formation of the religious-based law. According to Bouchier's research (2019), *Pancasila* is used by conservative Islamic groups, such as the MUI, to infuse conservative Islamic values into *Pancasila*, in other words, there is Islamisation of Pancasila. Therefore, this background is used by the opposition as a strategy to reject the ratification of the draft law on the elimination of sexual violence. They form the framing of us versus them by taking advantage of the ambiguity of the form of the Indonesian state which can be said to be neither a secular nor an Islamic state (Seo 2012). Such a framing can be seen by the way they portrayed sexual violence bill contains values that are identical to the west such as feminism and liberalism. Thus, it triggers moral panic surrounding the debate over the ratification of the bill.

The opposing group practices an ideology that enjoyed widespread support; thus, it is utilised to trigger moral panic and binary opposition surrounding the ratification process of the sexual violence bill. The existence of ideological power relation that is heteronormative and patriarchal is perpetuated by the actors in the debate over this bill, for instance, the attempt to apply the fatwa haram (forbidden) by the MUI regarding liberalism and secularism; meaning that practicing liberalism and secularism is forbidden for Muslim believer. In addition, AILA, MUI, and PKS initiate the implementation of the family resilience bill and the criminal code bill over the discussion of the sexual violence bill can further

harm and subordinate women and LGBT groups. Furthermore, the existence of women subordination and LGBT groups lead to the difficulty of acknowledging marital rape and gay rape exist.

Meanwhile, those who support the sexual violence bill are considered to carry an ideology that deviates from the values of Pancasila, so they cannot make a bold move, and they try to avoid the label of being feminist and liberal as reflected in the statement of members of the House of Representatives from parties that support the ratification of the sexual violence bill. Thus, there is an inequality of ideological power relations between the pros and the cons group, which leads to a condition where the opposing group and the supporting group ultimately perpetuate the existing patriarchal gender ideology in Indonesia.

A conservative Islamic ideology is also embodied in the debate on the ratification of the bill. The conservative Islamic ideology can be considered as dominant ideology in Indonesia. As reflected in the debate on the sexual violence bill, the opposing group dispute the clothes of victims of sexual violence (see p.50) and seek to criminalise LGBT groups (see p.63). The conservative Islamic ideology embodies heteronormative gender ideology, such as upholding the principle of harmonious familial relationship consisting of a heterosexual couple and obedient wife, tendency to regulate women's clothing, and the enactment of anti-pornography and pornographic laws. In addition, that is a manifestation from the attitude of sex negativity that leads to moral and sex panic (Herdt 2009). Moreover, anti-liberalism and feminism also mark the existence of conservative Islamic ideology. Further, Organizations such as MUI are given the authority to determine certain moral values and standardise Islam in Indonesia based on their interpretation, values, and ideology.

To conclude, the ideology brought by the contra group is the heteronormative patriarchal gender ideology and conservative Islamic ideology. Both ideologies are hegemonic in nature since they are so pervasive, and most people accept it without questioning it, and thus it makes it easier to instil their ideologies and beliefs into the debate over the sexual violence bill. In addition, patriarchal gender ideology is so pervasive that it has influenced almost every aspect of

society and created hegemony. In accordance with the statement of Gramsci (1971, as cited in Machin and Mayr, 2012: 24) and Lazaar (2007) that gender ideology is indeed hegemonic. Hegemony can be created when the actors who perpetuate the ideology have the authority and public trust to govern and make decisions. In this case, MUI, DPR, AILA are seen as prominent figures in society that dictate and create regulations that share values and ideologies that are enjoyed-widespread support in Indonesia. Meanwhile, the group that supports the ratification of the bill represent ideology that is considered controversial and a contra against heteronormative gender ideology. Therefore, the supporting group faces criticism and backlash, limiting their activities to be more stand out in promoting the ratification of the Sexual violence bill as opposed to the opposing group action in promoting their ideologies and beliefs.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, this thesis finds that the opposing group utilise certain semiotic choices to reject the sexual violence bill. To be specific, methods such as hedging, nominalisation, abstraction, generalisation, backgrounding and foregrounding a topic and implicit meanings are the strategies they use to oppose the bill effectively. According to Machin and Mayr (2012), the use of semiotic choices is beneficial to hide hidden discourse or agenda from a text, speech, and statement. This thesis finds that the opposing group often uses hedging devices and vague reasoning strategies to reject the ratification of the sexual violence bill. Hedging is commonly used to soften the impact and avoid unnecessary blame. In terms of Indonesian political culture, hedging devices and vagueness reasoning are often used because Javanese culture strongly influences political style in Indonesia (see p. 59 – 60) (Hussein 2021; Kuntarto 2018; Ponka et al. 2019).

According to Zhang (2011), existing culture and context influences a language. In addition, Gruber (1993) also explains that vagueness is often used by politicians as a communication strategy to avoid controversy in conveying things that are considered taboo in society and their political opponents, but for them, it is important to convey it because it is useful to achieve their political goals. Furthermore, using a vagueness communication strategy, they can convey their

message to the greater audiences and political opponents without damaging their image while preaching their agenda. Thus, politicians can hide their discourses and ideologies while maintaining their image by communicating in vagueness as their semiotic strategy. Therefore, the opposition reject the sexual violence bill implicitly, and avoid making criticism in detail. In addition, they also use the framing method of us vs. them to build a discourse as the basis for rejecting the sexual violence bill.

The framing method of us vs. them is used to reject the sexual violence bill by illustrating that the sexual violence bill is a product of western countries that contains values that are not in accordance with the noble values of the Indonesian nation. Thus, in the debate on the sexual violence bill, the opposing group forms the issues of feminism, liberalism, and secularism as teachings and values that threaten Pancasila as the guiding values and ideology of the Indonesian nation. They also take advantage of Indonesia's history, which has negative sentiments with values and ideologies originating from the west (Blackburn 2004; Jenco et al. 2019). Furthermore, a prominent Islamic organisation such as MUI is well known for its stance against liberalism. As argued by Menchik (2016) that prominent Islamic organisations in Indonesia strongly against anything related to liberalism. In addition, to maintain the nation's pluralism, they prefer to become tolerant between communities based on the moral values prevailing in society. Therefore, Menchik comes up with the term tolerance without liberalism to describe Indonesia.

The opposing group also controls the debate over the ratification of the sexual violence bill by raising the issue of the ratification of the criminal code bill and the family resilience bill. Both parties who support the ratification of the sexual violence bill and those who reject the bill both have legitimacy and authority in society. However, there is an ideological power imbalance between the opposition and the supporters of the bill. As explained by Gramsci (1971, as cited in Machin and Mayr, 2012: 24), discourse and ideology become hegemony because people who spread and create it are seen as legitimate by society. The negative sentiment against feminism and western values in

Indonesia enables the opposing group to control the communication during the debate by putting forward their agenda to overshadow the sexual violence bill.

In the debate over ratification of the sexual violence bill, some discourses are activated to reject the ratification of the PKS Bill by the opposition. These activated discourses are victim-blaming, the anti-LGBT, the west vs. east or national discourse, religious, anti-feminist, and discriminatory discourse against men. These discourses reflect the hegemony of gender ideology and conservative Islamic ideology, which is heteronormative. Therefore, the ideology brought by those who reject the bill is an ideology that enjoys widespread support in Indonesia, making the process of ratifying the bill still stalled due to the inequality of power based on ideology between the opposition and the supporter.

7. Discussion

In this chapter I will discuss and highlight the finding from this thesis, my thesis finds that the semiotic strategy of abstraction, vagueness and implicit rejection is the method used by the opposition that also answers research question number one. The semiotic strategy that they use enables them to trigger moral panic through anti-feminist discourse, anti-LGBT discourse, and nationality discourse such as us vs. them which creates binary opposition. Furthermore, it also enables them to deny gender-based violence implicitly through victim-blaming and anti-discrimination against men discourse. Therefore, they chose vagueness as they semiotic strategy. As explained by Gruber (1993) and Zhang (2011), politicians usually use a communication strategy of vagueness in politics to keep their image from unwanted attention when the topic being proposed is considered controversial. I argue that the semiotic election strategy used by the opposition in the debate over the ratification of the draft law on the elimination of sexual violence is a clever way to maintain their public image and gain support from the community. That is because the case discussed is sensitive and controversial. If they do not use the vague semiotic method to reject the ratification of the sexual violence bill, it can lead to the implication that they do not support victims of sexual violence.

For instance, they do reject feminist ideas but rather implicitly as they never explain the reason why they reject it except for it does not fit Indonesian values. However, they never stated that feminist idea is harmful for Indonesia. According to Blackburn (2004) and Qibtiyah (2010) getting labelled as feminist in Indonesia is still frowned upon because of negative stigma attached to being feminist. In addition, for strategic reason, people and especially gender activists avoid admitting themselves as feminist publicly (Qibtiyah 2010:171). Furthermore, women's movement in Indonesia and women involvement in political party is not uncommon even for Islamic political parties. According to Rofhani and Fuad (2021) female cadres in Islamic party PKS encourage women to increase their political knowledge and exposure as well as improving their economic, cultural status and rights, thus they bring and practice feminist element within the party but refuse to acknowledge that there is an inequality of gender roles between men and women in the domestic sphere. In addition, they refuse to call themselves feminists and they also refuse to be called anti-feminists. However, their campaign that focuses on women's struggles is, of course, still adapted to the party's ideology and Islamic teachings. (Rinaldo 2013; Rofhani and Fuad 2021). I argue that this situation may lead to the vagueness as their semiotic strategy because of additional pressure to sound polite and to appear sympathetic towards victims of sexual violence. Moreover, it is possible they are aware that the number of feminist sympathizers is increasing in Indonesia.

According to Rinaldo (2013), female cadres in Islamic parties usually participate in promoting and perpetuating their party's ideology. Therefore, in the debate over the ratification of the PKS bill, they tried to put forward bills that are in line with their ideology. This can be seen from the discourses brought by them in the debate on the sexual violence bill, namely victim blaming discourse, anti-LGBT discourse, anti-feminist discourse, national discourse, and discriminatory discourse against men in the sexual violence bill. In the debate on the ratification of the sexual violence bill, they control the debate by pushing forward the criminal code bill and family resilience bill which are heteronormative. I assume that the supporter of the sexual violence bill lacks control over the debate because of the blasphemy law and law concerning electronic

information and transactions, which often become a boomerang for minorities. This thesis finds that there is an ideological power imbalance between the opposition and the supporters. According to Bouchier (2019) and Hasyim (2020), blasphemy law mostly benefits religion group belongs to majority, in the case of Indonesia, Islam is the majority religion. Tyson (2021) adds that blasphemy trials are so complicated in Indonesia because of the involvement of religious authorities and Islamic mass organisation, which have a strong influence that determine the judicial processes. Thus, I argue that these laws the law may contribute to limiting the arguments of supporter group to support the sexual violence bill. This paragraph also summarises the answers to the research question number 2 and 3 of this thesis.

This thesis finds that the opposition carries a hegemonic and heteronormative gender ideology in the debate over the ratification of the bill for the elimination of social violence. In addition, the opposition to the sexual violence bill relates to gender ideology and gendered relations of power in many ways in Indonesia. Patriarchy in Indonesia is still very strong. During the New Order era, gender ideology was imposed by the state, and since then still has a strong influence. The refusal to ratify the sexual violence bill indicates the strength of patriarchy and gender ideology in Indonesia. In this debate, the opposition constructs discourses that are heteronormative such as the discourse on victim blaming, anti-LGBT, and the sexual violence bill discriminates against men. This also indicates that there is a form of ideological power relation in the debate on the ratification of the PKS Bill, in which discourse plays an important role (Connell 1987). According to Connell (1987) the form of ideological power relations usually refers to how a society constructs and describes how men and women should be in the society.

In Indonesia, the way victims dress is still often questioned and blamed when sexual violence occurs (Ihsani 2021). It reflects on the attempts of some politicians to implement the wearing of hijab in government offices and schools in several provinces in Indonesia to set an example of how women should dress (Harsono and McMinn 2021). Indonesia is a country that is no longer friendly to the LGBT minority, marked by the emergence of many homophobic campaigns

launched by both the government and influential organisations in society (Arivia and Boangmanalu 2015:8). There are still many who believe that lgbt is a lifestyle and a disease that can be cured and also a culture that comes from the west (Arivia and Boangmanalu 2015:4; Rachman and Adityo 2018). In addition, the state is increasingly repressive and absent in protecting the LGBT group (Arivia and Boangmanalu 2015:8). It reflects on the attempt of some regional regulations to criminalise them that further marginalise the community (Sarbin and Bintang P. Has 2019). Furthermore, they are being denied access to marriage and adoption making it difficult for them to build a family (Lee Badgett, Hasenbush, and Luhur 2017). According to Wieringa (2019a), because the heteronormativity regime in Indonesia is still very dominant.

As argued by Fairclough and Wodak (1997, as cited in Machin and Mayr, 2012: 24), discursive events can be formed by institutions and social structures also institutions and social structures are constituted through discourse. Therefore, it leads to hegemony as argued by Gramsci (1971, as cited in Machin and Mayr, 2012: 24) that discursive strategy perpetuates ideologies and becomes hegemony. In this case, community organizations and government institutions influence perpetuate existing discourses and ideologies that are heteronormative and are rooted in the patriarchal structure in Indonesia and ultimately affect the process of ratifying the sexual violence bill.

Gramsci also highlights that common sense contains ideology. In a country that has a strong patriarchal culture like Indonesia, the concept of gender is highly dichotomous and only focuses on gender based on their biological conditions. Therefore, it creates a common sense that there are only women and men and their roles are different according to *Kodrat* that women must be feminine and men must be masculine (Rubin, as cited in Tong & Botts 2019). Institutions such as the MUI, the PKS political party, the AILA community organisation, and the People's Representative Council operate based on common sense that has been established in society to perpetuate the heteronormative gender ideology. In addition, they have authority and dominance over society. Therefore, they have the influence to convince society to follow their ideology.

They also operate based on moral panic which also creates binary opposition during the sexual violence bill debate. They know that values and ideologies associated with western ideas spark controversy in Indonesia. Therefore, they also push forward the national discourse in the debate on the sexual violence bill and trigger 'othering'. The supporter of the sexual violence bill is considered endorsing the idea of feminism in the sexual violence bill derived from western ideas that are equal to supporting liberalism (Blackburn 2004). Menchik (2016) found that Islamic organizations with authority in Indonesia firmly reject liberalism and secularism because they are considered incompatible with the divine principle upheld by the state. However, this often benefits the dominant religion in Indonesia, namely Islam to reject and propose law or policy that fits to their ideology. For instance, rejection of laws by activating religious discourse often occurs in Indonesia, which happened towards draft law on gender equality and justice (Kholifah 2021). Besides, religious and moral discourse can also be used to demand the ratification of some laws, for example, the enactment of the anti-pornography and pornographic act law (Eddyono et al. 2016). In addition, it also reflects in the rejection of the PKS Bill, which puts forward their conservative Islamic ideology in the debate on the sexual violence bill, which reflects in the victim-blaming discourse and the anti-LGBT discourse by trying to regulate women's clothing and criminalise LGBT.

Demanding the discussion and ratification of the criminal code bill and the family resilience bill marks the strength of heteronormative gender ideology in Indonesia. The criminal code bill aims to criminalize LGBT groups and regulate the sexual intercourse between men and women by stressing the importance of being legally married (Human Watch Rights 2020). In addition, it has the potential to criminalise LGBT couples and other couples who have sexual intercourse based on consent. Meanwhile, the family resilience bill is very patriarchal because it aims to strengthen traditional family values and regulate the role of women in the domestic sphere and it refuses to acknowledge family that does not fall into the category of traditional family which further marginalise women (Kholifah 2021). Therefore, it is clear the heteronormative gender ideology in Indonesia is still strong and perpetuated by those who reject the

sexual violence bill and government institutions and community organizations in Indonesia that manifest patriarchal values.

Furthermore, practices that contain values that deviate from traditional family values are considered deviant, cases of domestic sexual violence are considered taboo, and issues of women and LGBT minorities are considered subversive. Moreover, the number of sexual violence against women is still high, and matters related to sexuality cause sex panic, as stated by Walby (1989) and Herdt (2009). It shows that the rejection of the sexual violence bill illustrates how heteronormativity relates to the patriarchal gendered structure in Indonesia, as defined and argued by Wieringa (2012).

In conclusion, the rejection of the sexual violence bill because heteronormative gender ideology has formed a hegemony. The dominance of conservative Islam ideology and the existence of a deeply rooted patriarchal culture magnifies the strength of gender ideology in Indonesia. Government institutions participate in perpetuating heteronormativity by practicing heteronormative policies. The discursive strategy launched by the opposition does not only bring an impact on the process of ratifying the sexual violence bill but also brings an impact to the public discourse regarding the ratification of the sexual violence bill. The rejection of the sexual violence bill also proves the argument of (MacKinnon 1982) that the law relating to the issue of sexual violence is inherently patriarchal.

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