

THE ROLE OF COUNTER-PATRIARCHY MEDIA MUBADALAH.ID IN SUPPORTING THE ELIMINATION OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE BILL RATIFICATION

Irma Khairani¹, Siti Sadiyah¹, T.B. Massa Djafar²

¹Departement of Political Science, Universitas Nasional, Jakarta, Indonesia

²Graduate School of Political Science, Universitas Nasional, Jakarta, Indonesia

irmakhairanilubis@gmail.com; sadiyah@civitas.unas.ac.id;

tbmassadjafard@yahoo.com

Abstract: The draft on the Elimination of Sexual Violence Law is one of the bills that has been discussed for a long time in Indonesia. Various views of the relevant parties were discussed quite a lot in media, both for and against the bill. Mubadalah.id is a counter-patriarchal media which is one of the instruments and strategies used by women's movement in Indonesia expressing the importance of ratifying the bill. This study examines the role of Mubadalah.id as a counter-patriarchal media which express the urgency of this ratification. In order to explain the problems, this research has used a descriptive qualitative research method that relies on in-depth interviews with key resources related to the ratification of this bill. Literature reviews have been carried out to obtain supporting data that will confirm the data from previous interviews. The findings show that Mubadalah.id has a role as a political communication tool for the women's movement in Indonesia in supporting the ratification of the bill through several strategies: channeling messages regarding the urgency of the passage of the bill; countering the narratives that reject the ratification of the bill; encourage the ratification of the bill by forming opinions supporting the ratification.

Keywords: Draft on the Elimination of Sexual Violence Law, Mubadalah.id, Movement Strategy, Political Communication, Opinion.

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INTRODUCTION

The number of cases of sexual violence in Indonesia has increased every year, both in number and types. Based on National Commission on Violence Against Women's (Komnas Perempuan) 2020 end-year note (CATAHU 2020), there are 78%-80% increase of sexual violence within 12 years (2008-2019) (Komnas Perempuan, 2020). From the same source, it can be seen that Women and Children Service Unit (UPPA) of Indonesian Police Department accepted 4,124 cases of sexual violence reports, but only 940 cases were processed in the courts. The increasing number of reports of sexual violence from the public indicates that the community is now

having the courage to speak out against cases of sexual violence that occur. However, from the number of cases processed, we can see that there are still problems so that cases of sexual violence cannot be accommodated to the fullest. This is the proof that it is very important to have a law that can be a legal umbrella for the elimination of sexual violence in Indonesia.

In fact, the Draft on the Elimination of Sexual Violence Law was initiated in 2010 and began to be drafted by Komnas Perempuan, LBH APIK Jakarta, and the Service Provider Forum in 2014. In 2016 the academic script and draft on the Elimination of Sexual Violence Bill were submitted to the chairman of Committee III of Indonesian Regional Representatives Council (DPD RI) then been included in the list of additions of 2017's National Legislation Program (Prolegnas). In 2017 the bill has become an initiative bill from the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI). It started to be discussed by the Legislative Body (BALEG) of the DPR RI, Commission VIII of the DPR RI and relevant Ministries (Komnas Perempuan, 2017). However, in 2020 the bill was removed from the 2020 Prolegnas and become raw again.

Support for the bill draft came from various parties, one of which is Alliance of the Women's Anti-Violence Movement (GERAK Perempuan), which is a combination of several organizations and communities working on the issue of gender equality and justice. This alliance supporting acceleration of the bill's ratification considering the increasing cases of sexual violence and the urgency of having a legal umbrella in handling cases of sexual violence. When the Draft was removed from the 2020 Prolegnas, GERAK Perempuan was one of several alliances that were quite active in speaking out against that decision (Prayogi, 2020).

In addition to GERAK Perempuan, there are several groups that support the ratification of the bill's draft, such as: the Indonesian Women's Ulema Congress; the Coalition of Women with Disabilities; Cherbon Feminists; and others who have the same opinion that this law needs to be ratified as an effort to prevent and eliminate sexual violence not only because the law is comprehensive enough as a legal basis but also can be a step to implement gender equality and justice.

Among the groups that rejected the bill, there are the Indonesian Alliance for Family Love (AILA). AILA refused draft on the Elimination of Sexual Violence Law due to the point of view that the Law was a form of campaigning for sexual freedom, and the support given to the ratification of the Draft did not have philosophical, normative, and sociological reasons (Rahadi, 2019).

Apart from AILA, there are also many alliances, institutions, and community organizations that also refuse to pass the bill, such as the National Assembly of the HMI-Wati Alumni Forum (Forhati) and the Alliance for Enlightening the Country with various views and reasons. These groups argue that this Bill is against religious values; there are indications of a campaign for sexual freedom in the content of bill; legalization of LGBT; and are considered to have unclear and unmeasurable objections.

Table 1.2 The Views of Several Institutions/Organizations About the Ratification of the Draft on the Elimination of Sexual Violence Law

| No | Fraction | Support/ Not Support | Descriptions |
|----|--|----------------------|---|
| 1 | Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia | Support | - |
| 2 | Koalisi Perempuan Disabilitas | Support | - |
| 3 | Swara Parampuang Sulut | Support | - |
| 4 | Aisyiyah-Muhammadiyah | Support | - |
| 5 | Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia | Support | - |
| 6 | AILA | Not Support | There are indication of campaign for sexual freedom, and the support given to the ratification of the Draft did not have philosophical, normative, and sociological reasons |
| 7 | Majelis Nasional Forum Alumni HMI-Wati (Forhati) | Not Support | Violating religious norms and loaded with feminism content. |
| 8 | Aliansi Cerahkan Negeri | Not Support | The bill is considered not to have clear benchmarks, biased meanings such as sexual orientation which has multiple interpretations. |

Source: Self-processed from Republika.co.id

Various strategies have been implemented by the two groups. One of the actions taken by the support group for the bill is by submitting a petition through change.org which was initiated by Lentera Indonesia. Based on data on October 19, 2020, there have been 341,000 people who signed the petition to support the hastening of the signing of the bill and continues to grow until now.

A counter-petition was also created by a group against the bill initiated by Friends of Youth AILA Indonesia. As of October 19, 2020, 48,600 people have signed and rejected the ratification of the bill. These petitions use information and communication technology to gather support from the public with a broader range without space and time limitation.

Another way to convey the pros and cons is through media because it has become an easiest instrument to use to convey various arguments to people. This instrument was used by both groups, the support groups and those who opposed the ratification of the bill.

One of the media that voiced the issue of the importance of the ratification of the bill and countered the narrative of rejection of the law was Mubadalah.id. This study discusses how Mubadalah.id plays a role in the political system as a political communication tool which functions to spread political messages to every unit in the structure (as a subjects or actors) and how Mubadalah.id acts as a medium for

channeling political messages and is involved in the process of political communication (as an object). This study also analyzes how the response of several groups who were the targets of conveying political messages by Mubadalah.id regarding the content of the ratification of the Draft on the Elimination of Sexual Violence Law and Mubadalah.id as a movement strategy.

LITERATURE REVIEW

As a policy that is needed by the community in the midst of cases of sexual violence which is increasing all the time, the struggle to voice the ratification of the Draft on the Elimination of Sexual Violence Law is important. A political communication process through media, can be carried out which aims to give influence to both the public and policy makers to be able to immediately continue the process of formulating and ratifying law regarding elimination of sexual violence.

Communication comes from the Latin "*communicatio*" which means notification or exchange of thoughts. According to (Suprpto, 2009), there must be elements in the communication process which have common meaning in order to exchange thoughts and understanding between the communicator (messenger) and the communicant (message recipient). Referring to Laswell, communication is a process that describes who says what in what way, to whom, and with what effect (Laswell, 1958).

(Rauf & Narsun, 1993) describes political communication as an object of political science study because the message conveyed in the communication process have political elements, it is related to: government; political power; state; and the activities of communicators in their positions as actors in political activities. According to Rauf, political communication can be seen from two dimensions. First, communication as a political activity, a process to convey messages characterized by politics by political actors to other parties. Second, communication as a scientific activity, an activity in the political system.

Supporting the definition of political communication from Rauf, (Rush & Althoff, 1997) said that political communication as a process in which relevant political informations are passed from one part of the political system to another between social systems and political systems. This political communication process occurs continuously and includes patterns of information exchange among individuals and groups at all levels (Pureklolon, 2016).

Political communication in the process of delivering political messages requires the media as a means of delivering political messages to the communicant and as an effort to carry out the functions of political communication. (Laswell, 1958) said that there are four functions of mass media: to inform; to educate; to entertain; and social control of the behavior of the public and authorities. (McQuail, 2005) said that "the media operates in the public sphere according to the interests of users, the main activities are producing, distributing symbolic content, and participation, it is professional, directed and free of interest values". It means that media can not be influenced by various social, economic and political forces and prioritizes information transparency for the public (Susanto, 2017).

The concept of public space was popularized by Jurgen Habermas through his work in 1989, entitled "The Structural Transformation of The Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society". It was his enlightenment project by reconstructing a democratic public space. Habermas said that the best democracy is represented with critical reasons (Achsa, 2018). In explaining about public sphere, (Habermas, 1989) focuses on the political sphere as a space that allows citizens to freely express their attitude, sphere is created for conditions that allow citizens to use the power of argument. The political public sphere as the conditions of communication, is neither an institution nor an organization with binding membership and rules. However, public space is a space that is lived by civil society which functions as an intermediary between the state and private individuals (Hardiman, 2009).

Public policies can be produced through a political process based on requests from people who felt a problem. In Gabriel Almond's political system, input from the community can be mobilized by the political superstructure and political infrastructure. The political superstructure is the government and the political infrastructure is the institutions or groups outside the government. (Almond & Coleman, 1960) classified political infrastructure into five groups: political parties; interest groups; pressure groups; and political communication tools. The five of them have an influence on the situation and dynamics of political life (Shahreza, 2018).

It would be interesting to see how the mass media as a political communication tool plays a role in the public sphere as a channel for political messages, seeing how the political messages in the mass media are responded by groups who support or do not support the ratification of the Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence, as well as the views of the groups about that mass media which was used as a movement strategy to encourage the ratification of the Draft on the Elimination of Sexual Violence Law.

The groups can be categorized into interest groups or pressure groups. (Suwadi, 2005) explained that according to Gabriel Almond, interest groups are any organization that tries to influence government policy without wanting to get public office. Interest groups convey issues that are only related to the interests of the group. This is different from pressure groups which in conveying their voices or bringing up an issue are not only related to the interests of the group, but also to the interests of other groups who cannot represent their own group due to many factors that can endanger their existence if the group pressures the government (Suwadi, 2005).

METHOD

To achieve the objectives of this study, the most suitable method used is descriptive qualitative method with two stages of data collection techniques. The first stage is to collect primary data using in-depth interview techniques to several key informants who are considered to be able to explain the phenomenon. Other relevant informants are obtained according to the instructions from the key

informants from the interview. the second stage is the collection of secondary data that will support the results of the interviews that have been conducted. Secondary data is obtained through a literature study related to the issue about the process of ratification of draft on Elimination on Sexual Violence Law in the mass media, journals, books, and so on.

The data that has been collected was then reduced, simplified and classified. After being reduced, the data was arranged systematically so that it is easy to understand and can provide meaning by looking for relationships, similarities, or differences to answer the existing problems.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Mubadalah.id as a Counter-Patriarchal Media

Media is a political communication tool that can be used to convey and disseminate messages quickly and widely. The development of Information and communication technology (ICT) has improved media to be unlimited in space and time so it can be accessed easily. Internet has changed media from conventional form such as magazines, television, radio, and others to online platform.

Instruction to use media as an instrument for campaigning for gender equality were conveyed by the United Nations (UN) at the Fourth Conference in 1955. Quoted from the book Gender Sensitivity Indicators for Media which was translated and republished by the Indonesian Journalists Alliance (AJI), it was stated that the results of the conference emphasized that the role of the media in campaigning for gender equality in all fields is very important. Each stakeholder is directed to participate in fighting stereotypes and inequality for women in gaining access, as well as participation in various fields, especially in the media (AJI, 2015).

By using media as an instrument in fighting for gender equality and justice, the women's movement finds new spaces to struggle. Before the development of ICT as it is today which has a great impact on the development of the media, the delivery of information can only be done directly by the public such as public discussions; seminars; direct consolidation of organizations or institutions; and demonstrations. Whereas the public space which is a space where everyone is free to enter and participate, speak and express their thoughts without any pressure is very much in accordance with democratic principles which guarantee the right of citizens to freedom of opinion and expression, so that they will be able to intervene in the policies of the government.

Currently, these activities have been carried out by utilizing the development of existing technology and information. Not only through petitions, these discourse activities also utilize other media that have undergone digitization, such as mass media in the network (online) or can also be called online media.

Mass media has its own point of view in spreading its messages. This study classifies mass media into two categories, which are pro-patriarchal media and counter-patriarchal media. In this study, the concept of patriarchy is used because the author wants to see how the mass media convey their messages about women's issues that

discuss the oppression felt by women as a result of a system or culture that causes women's oppression, called patriarchy.

Based on the book *Gender Sensitivity Indicators for Media*, it is explained that the differences in the media as previously stated occur because of the various interests of the media which are influenced by the owners of capital; actors behind the media such as journalists, editors and others; and business interests that are very influential in providing the direction of media coverage (AJI, 2015).

Pro-patriarchal mass media is a media that in delivering messages or contents does not use the perspective of gender equality and justice and is not loaded with messages that seek to undermine patriarchal culture or can be said to be gender-insensitive mass media. Pro-patriarchal mass media can be detected through messages or contents. For example, it can be seen from the news headlines that are displayed tend to be clickbait to attract the attention of readers as communication targets (communicants). The headlines are often tend to objectify women, such as the news from madiunpos.com with the headline "Forced with alcohol, the girl in Probolinggo was raped and found helpless in the pine forest". From the headline, women are described as helpless objects. Moreover, the content of the news does not discuss the perpetrators of the rape, but clearly describes the identity of the victim and the condition of the victim, the facts of which cannot be proven (Anandita Marwa Aulia, 2020).

Not only on madiunpost.com, the mass media of Suara.com also spreads news that tends to objectify and stigmatize women. This can be seen from the news with headlines such as "Forced to Surrender, Two Girls in Nganjuk Raped by Four Drunk Youths" and "Towards Maghrib, SMK girl in Nganjuk Raped in the Forest". (Suara.com, 2020).

Another type of media is the counter-patriarchal mass media. This media is a media that has a point of view in delivering messages and content using the perspective of gender equality and justice. From the messages conveyed in the media, they have aspirations to create a gender-equal and gender-just life. They also voiced an agenda to destroy the patriarchal culture that causes women's oppression such as subordination, marginalization, and discrimination against women which also has an impact on the many cases of sexual violence.

One example of a counter-patriarchal mass media that can be seen from the message or content is Mubadalah.id. It makes writings that have a gender justice perspective, like Siti Rofiah's writing with the headline "This is the Argument Why the PKS Bill Must Be Immediate Ratification". As a human being, freedom from torture is guaranteed in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia in Article 28G paragraphs (1) and (2), and this is in accordance with the Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence which aims to protect victims of sexual violence cases, provide sanctions against perpetrators of sexual violence cases and suppress cases of sexual violence that occurred (Rofiah, 2019).

Kyai Faqihudin Abdul Qadir, the founder of Mubadalah.id said that Mubadalah.id was originally a personal blog to express his thoughts on the relationship between men and women in Islamic perspective. In 2017, the blog which was originally called

Reciprocity –the English language of Mubadalah- was taken seriously and eventually changed its name to Mubadalah.com. Then, Mubadalah.com was inaugurated at the Indonesian Women's Ulema Congress (KUPI) in April at Kebon Jambu Islamic Boarding School, Babakan, Ciwaringin. Over time, Mubadalah.com changed to Mubadalahnews.com, then Mubadalah.id.

Mubadalah.id was used as the main public media by the Indonesian Women's Ulema Congress (KUPI) to spread its ideas about Islam and gender relations, gender-just Islam, the rahmatan lil 'alamin relationship, and so on. Mubadalah.id is also the only media that openly declares itself to carry out the mandate as a media partner of KUPI to spread its ideas and the results of the congress or can be called a “congress fatwa” which is the issue of sexual violence; the issue of preventing child marriage; and environmental issues.

The messages conveyed through Mubadalah.id have an agenda to embody a gender-equal and fair life and express an agenda to destroy patriarchal culture that causes oppression of women such as subordination, marginalization, and discrimination against women which also has an impact on sexual violence cases. Kamla Bhasin in her book *Claiming the Patriarchy* said that at first patriarchy was used to refer to a type of family controlled by men, a large patriarchal household consisting of women, young men, children, slaves, and domestic servants which is under the dominion of male rulers. However, nowadays the term is used generally to refer to male power; power relations in which men are more powerful than women; and to refer to systems where women are controlled in various ways (Kamla Bhasin, 1996).

Based on this explanation, Mubadalah.id can be categorized as a counter-patriarchal mass media because it seeks to undermine all oppression felt by women. Anisa Rizkina delivered an article whose message was trying to overthrow patriarchy with the title "Women and Patriarchy". Rizkina said: "Patriarchal culture does not only take away women's rights, but also influences the thoughts of many people who grew up in this patriarchal culture. When someone is already affected, that person will find it difficult to let go." Rizkina also said that in the midst of patriarchal shackles, women should not give up giving up their thoughts to be shaped by a patriarchal environment. Women, as independent individuals, must be aware from the start that they have the right to be independent, to choose the right one for themselves according to their wishes (Rizkina, 2020).

Raising the Issue of the Importance of Passing the Draft Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence

As one of the political elements, Mubadalah.id as a medium of political communication has an important role in the process of delivering political messages, especially in spreading a political agenda to the public so that their opinions can be heard by more people. Moreover, in today's digital era, mass media has a very wide reach, without any space and time limitation, and can be accessed easily by anyone because it is available on the internet.

In a democratic country like Indonesia where the right to freedom of expression is guaranteed in the constitution, media become an instrument that can be used to

convey people's aspirations. Media as a medium that can be used to articulate the needs of the community and the state that participates in conveying political messages in the public sphere, has an important role. Moreover, media which has metamorphosed into digital mass media have become more widely distributed and are quite easy to be accessed by anyone.

Zahra Amin, who is the Chief Editor of Mubadalah.id, responded that the metamorphosis of media that has undergone digitalization is a necessity. Changes that occur in the media must be accepted as a reality, especially for us, people who have a moderate Islamic perspective. As adherents of moderate Islam, we must be able to keep up with changes and from there the reason for the presence of Mubadalah.id which is trying to counter hoax and hate speech narratives. Mubadalah.id is concerned with the issue of identity politics, which has dominated media and even produced a movement that might diminish the concept of *rahmatan lil 'alamin* or mercy for all nature. As moderate Muslims, Mubadalah.id answer this challenge as a strategy to show a friendly face of Islam. According to her, media is one of the important things to strengthen the Islamic narrative that is *rahmatan lil 'alamin*.

Kyai Faqihudin Abdul Qadir, as the founder of the mass media Mubadalah.id also said that the media is a pillar of democracy, apart from civil society and political parties. It has a very central position related to formulation policies including products of law. Thus, the media is very important to educate the public as well as to exercise control over the government so that the substance of democracy runs for the benefit of the people. Realizing the importance of the role of the media, Mubadalah.id was present.

As a counter-patriarchal media that participates in voicing out justice and gender equality from an Islamic perspective, Mubadalah.id also voices out the importance of ratifying the Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence Draft. Moreover, the issue of sexual violence is one of the fatwas of the Indonesian Women's Ulema Congress (KUPI) which was held on 25-27 April 2017 (Wardah, 2017).

By utilizing digital technology, Mubadalah.id carries out its movement using cultural movements which are carried out by producing knowledge through writing and distributing it on media platforms that can be accessed by friends from the network as material for their movement. Moreover, Mubadalah.id has a strategic position due to its religious authority that other feminist movement groups do not have. That is what distinguishes Mubadalah.id from other movement groups.

In practice, Kyai Faqih also explained that Mubadalah.id is more used by the Indonesian Women's Ulema Congress network for da'wah, writing, and advocacy work. Kyai Faqih also added that the content on Mubadalah.id is focused on the needs of KUPI network; communities affiliated with Mubadalah.id; writing training alumni organized by Mubadalah.id; and other institutions such as AMAN Indonesia which has a similar perspective as a reference for arguments, and advocacy. However, the distribution of Mubadalah.id content is also intended for those outside the network, such as researchers or academics as a provision when teaching, entering the community, even hearings at the DPR.

Refers to Laswell's communication model which states that messages conveyed by communicators through a medium and delivery are focused on a specific audience (Pureklolon, 2016). In this case, Mubadalah.id as an actor as well as a message

channeling media that focuses on its content to be delivered to certain networks as previously mentioned, even though in fact the content can also be accessed by anyone.

The focused dissemination of messages does not reduce the function of the media to convey information; to educate people; and to control social system as presented by Laswell. The focused parties who are getting access to messages or content in Mubadalah.id will later use it as their provision in preaching and educating the public. In addition, these contents can still be accessed by the wider community.

Furthermore, Mubadalah.id also voiced out the issue of the ratification of the Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence which was conveyed and communicated through its articles. These articles contain counter narratives from statements or views of individuals and groups who reject the ratification of that Law as a legal umbrella in handling cases of sexual violence using an Islamic perspective and gender justice. The messages contained in the articles are delivered with a peaceful narrative to show Islam as *rahmatan lil 'alamin*, not Islam which is full of violence, anger, and hatred.

Zahra Amin, who is the editor-in-chief of Mubadalah.id, explained that Mubadalah.id had counter-narrated the narratives that refused to ratify the Law Draft and narratives to answer the doubts of those who refused because this law is considered too difficult, considered pro-LGBT, and so on. For example, an article written by Nurdiani Latifah with the title "RUU PKS: Legalization of Adultery and A Number of Misguided Other Allegations". In this article, Latifah counters the narratives that say that the existence of the Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence means the legalization of adultery and various other misguided narratives. There was a criticism submitted by the Mayor of Padang Mahyeldi who said in article 7 paragraphs 1 and 2 it was to protect LGBT and give the green light to adultery, Latifah replied in her writing (Latifah, 2020b):

"...there is no such statement either explicitly or implicitly in the draft or in the Academic Paper of the PKS Bill. Article 7 paragraphs 1 and 2 talk about the forms of prevention and implementation of prevention carried out by the police and the government. I think Mahyeldi is criticizing this to evade the government's duty in implementing deterrence."

As a strategy to communicate and voice out its message, especially regarding the issue of the Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence Draft, Mubadalah.id took several steps. First, Mubadalah.id focuses on distributing content to its networks such as the Indonesian Women's Ulema Congress (KUPI); the Women Writer Conference organized by AMAN Indonesia; Puan Menulis; and writing training alumni from Mubadalah.id which will later be used as a provision for preach.

Second, Mubadalah.id cooperates with other media such as Alif.id; islami.co; bincangmuslimah; and other media with a syndicated cooperation pattern, in which each media can quote one another's writings (AMAN Indonesia, 2020). This strategy is carried out so that the messages contained in Mubadalah.id can be spread more widely. Third, at this time Mubadalah.id is trying to expand the distribution of its

content so that it can be accessed by more parties. On this basis, Mubadalah.id began to integrate media with social media as another strategy in spreading its messages.

Social media such as Instagram can display infographics with content taken or quoted from the writings contained on Mubadalah.id. The content is modified in such a way to be more interesting, concise, and easily understood by the public. If the public or readers want to see the complete article, they will be referred to the article on Mubadalah.id. Zahra Amin, who is the editor-in-chief of Mubadalah.id, said that this strategy was quite successful in increasing the number of readers on Mubadalah.id.

Mass Media as a Strategy for the Women's Movement

The Women's Movement or feminism was born due to the oppression experienced by women such as subordination, discrimination, marginalization, which occurred massively, systematically, and structured. These oppressions exist due to various factors such as patriarchy; the development of capitalism; women's bodies; and others.

Feminism is a new social movement. The new social movements emphasize the distinctive features of social movements in post-industrial society movements in North America and Western Europe. This new social movement theory is an approach as a response to the weakness of classical Marxism in analyzing collective action (Sukmana, 2016). In the new social movement, where people are in post-industrial social life, society as an autonomous individual, receives and produces information. This is a supposition conveyed by Melucci who is quoted again in the book *Social Media and Democracy* (I Gusti Agung Ayu Kade Galuh, 2017).

According to Singh quoted from the book *Social Media and Democracy*, new social movements have four characteristics. First, the new social movement puts an ideological assumption that civil society is at its lowest point because of state control and the market that penetrates into all aspects of people's lives. Second, movements are non-class and non-materialistic such as the anti-racism movement, feminism movement, and the environmental movement. Third, the movement involves grassroots politics; the existence of horizontal democratic associations organized in loose federations at the level of national and global issues. Fourth, the structure of the movement is defined by the plurality of ideals, goals, and desires from the heterogeneity of the social base. There is no segmentation on actions, strategies, and ways of mobilization. Every actor involved is for humanitarian reasons (I Gusti Agung Ayu Kade Galuh, 2017).

Feminism, which is a social movement and was born from the awareness of existence of oppression of women, demands the state to be present as an authority that has the responsibility to protect its citizens, both women and men, in order to avoid all existing oppression and guarantee the rights of its citizens as human beings. who have the right to live safely and comfortably.

One of the responsibility of a state is to protect its citizens from of sexual violence. The state needs to implement educational programs so that people understand their individual rights, sexuality, justice and gender equality, so that they can respect each

other. Indonesia as a state of law must ensure the security of its citizens with the existence of a legal umbrella that applies to anyone who commits injustice, disturbs the security of fellow citizens such as committing sexual violence.

In fact, until now, in the midst of increasing cases of sexual violence, the government has not yet been present to carry out its obligations to protect its citizens by producing a policy that can guarantee that its citizens rights can be protected and fulfilled, and impose sanctions on those who disturb and violate the rights of freedom of others as individuals and citizens.

Actually the government has tried to produce a legal umbrella to accommodate cases of sexual violence; take action against the perpetrators; and treat their victims. However, the political process in making these policies is very difficult. The Draft Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence which was submitted by Komnas Perempuan in 2016 to DPR RI, has not yet been ratified until 2021. The process stagnates with various existing problems.

There are a lot of social movements involved to support the ratification of this bill using various means including the use of online media such as Mubadalah.id. It has attempted to communicate the urgency of the ratification of the Draft Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence by disseminating its messages to the public. Since 2019, there have been 48 articles that specifically discuss matters relating to the Bill. These messages were initially addressed to certain parties who are part of the Mubadalah.id network. Recently the message was finally able to be spread with a wider reach using several publication strategies. Mubadalah.id realized that as a part of new social movement, they do not represent a certain class of society because anyone can become a victim, so anyone will need the law. Therefore, Mubidah.id began to spread its messages to a larger audience.

According to Chandler, strategy is the direction of action and the allocation of resources to achieve the goals and objectives that have been set (I Gusti Agung Ayu Kade Galuh, 2017). By utilizing the mass media, it is hoped that the public will better understand the importance of the law in reducing sexual violence that occurs in their environment. and then can help support the acceleration of the ratification of the law.

Communicant's Response to Mubadalah.id as a Movement Strategy

The use of Mubadalah.id as one of the movement's strategies in supporting the ratification of the law was quite successful. The messages conveyed through Mubadalah.id is able to form the communicant's opinion to believe that the Draft Law needs to be ratified immediately. This is due to several factors: First, in conveying its message, Mubadalah.id embraces the audience and does not give the impression of anger and hatred, especially when countering narratives that reject the ratification of the bill with the perspective of gender justice and Islam. These messages provide awareness by attaching data and representing concerns and experiences from the point of view of women and victims. Messages like that are able to provide awareness and understanding that the Draft Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence needs to be ratified immediately.

One of the articles written by Marzuki Wahid “Is it true that the P-KS Bill is against Islam?” can describe how interesting the explanation given by Mubadalah.id is. Wahid said:

“Imam al-Ghazali in his book al-Mustashfa min 'Ilmi al-Ushul explained that the benefits in question are 5 basic protections which are: adl-dlaruriyat al-khams, the protection of religion – including the guarantee of freedom of belief – (hifdh ad-din); protection of the soul (hifdh an-nafs); protection of the mind – including the guarantee of freedom of opinion – (hifdh al-'aql); protection of dignity and descent (hifdh al-'irdl wa an-nasl); and protection of property (hifdh al-mal). Imam al-Ghazali said: preventing and rejecting evil is benefit. Well, the P-KS Bill is the state's effort to prevent sexual violence (dar'u al-mafasid wa nahy al-munkar) which currently occurs 3-4 cases of sexual violence in Indonesia every hour” (Wahid, 2019).

Second, the messages conveyed through the mass media Mubadalah.id were delivered with a clear focus on discussion. As an article discussing abortion by Nurdiani Latifah as a counter narrative to the statement that the Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence legalized abortion. Nurdiani Latifah in her article said: “In the PKS Bill it is explained that forced abortion is a form of sexual violence. So, if someone forces another person to have an abortion, they will be punished. This point is then interpreted if making the PKS Bill is considered to legalize abortion. This is a wrong understanding for those who reject the PKS Bill. By regulating abortion cases in detail, it does not mean that the PKS Bill allows abortion” (Latifah, 2020a). With focused writing, you will be able to counter false narratives, especially if they are also presented with supporting data. The messages are informative and insightful quite well.

Third, the message dissemination strategy that integrates Mubadalah.id with Mubadalah social media such as Instagram can actually have a significant effect. This strategy is able to reproduce writing into interesting and short infographics and make it easier to understand spread. Mubadalah.id also has message dissemination strategy with a syndicated pattern of cooperation, where Mubadalah.id cooperates with other media so that these media can quote or reproduce the messages conveyed by Mubadalah.id

CONCLUSION

Mubadalah.id have important roles in the movement to support the ratification of the Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence in Indonesia. As a media that is widely accessed by Muslims, Mubadalah.id has a role in conveying messages related to the bill. It express its support for the draft of the Elimination of Sexual Violence Bill by communicating its messages to counter false narratives from groups that reject the ratification of the bill. Mubadalah.id seeks to counter these narratives because it is one of the factors that obstruct the ratification. Mubadalah.id conveys informative messages that include reliable data in non-provocative language. This can actually

break conservative thoughts on the Draft Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence with the perspective of gender justice and Islam.

Mubadalah.id has several strategies in disseminating the news. Firstly, Mubadalah.id uses a special network in delivering its messages, including the Indonesian Women's Ulema Congress (KUPI) and training communities and alumni organized by Mubadalah.id, with the hope that the messages will be redistributed as preaching material. Secondly, In order to broaden the target of spreading the messages, Mubadalah.id start collaborating with several media in a syndicated cooperation pattern. Each media can quote each other's writings and redistribute them. Thirdly, Mubadalah.id integrates with social media. It reproduced the news in Mubadalah.id into infographics and short writings which are then distributed on social media such as Instagram. The infographic is made as attractive as possible and easy to interpret. Readers who are interested in reading the full article will be referred directly to the page on Mubadalah.id. In today's digital era, utilizing digital media is the right step because it can be more easily and quickly reached by wider audience without any space and time limitation.

The efforts to use Mubadalah.id as a movement strategy have a significant impact. It is proven to be able to influence the opinions of communicants so that the public also considers that the Draft Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence needs to be ratified immediately. However, there are still some improvements needed, especially related to integration between media in order to broaden the scope of readers and commitment to be able to continue to express support for other gender issues in addition to the ratification of this Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence.

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