Initiating Justice for Sexual Violence Victims via Hashtag Activism: Opportunity and Vulnerability In Contemporary Indonesia

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Abstract

Digital technology brings new opportunities to accessing justice for women and marginalized groups after being excluded from conventional-masculine technology for decades. In the internet era, the use of social media has become very massive and intensive, therefore feminist activism in this digital space is unavoidable. Hashtag activism has become popular since the #MeToo movement and such an opportunity to seek justice for victims and survivors through voicing and documenting their voices. The use of hashtags (#) opens up opportunities for victims' stories to be documented, connect with other stories, and go viral. In Indonesia, the use of hashtags in activism also occurs in more local contexts such as #KitaAgni, #SaveIbuNuril, #UIITidakAman, #KamiBersamaKorban, and #SahkanRUUPKS. Some hashtag activism has succeeded in initiating follow-up actions in the *offline* world, although not always viral stories get satisfactory case resolutions. This study uses a qualitative approach, and collecting the data through literature studies, especially on feminist theories around technology and digital such as; Science and Technology Studies (STS) feminism, cyberfeminism, technofeminism, and feminist digital activism. This paper finds that the digital space is a contested space where there are opportunities and vulnerabilities for victims, activists, and netizens to seek justice through hashtag activism.

Keywords: hashtag activism, justice initiation, digital feminism, new technology, digital vulnerability

Introduction

The sexual violence case allegedly to have happened in the KPI (Indonesian Broadcasting Commission) that went viral on August 2021 is just one of the examples how victims of sexual violence still face difficulties in accessing justice in Indonesia. The victim posted about his ordeal of being victim of sexual violence on Facebook, reflecting on his efforts in finding justice in this country. He has taken all of possible measures to access justice, unfortunately the outcome is far from his expectation (Tempo 2021). As the victim felt that there is no other options and he wanted to free himself from sexual violence, he decided to share chronological story of his ordeal in social media. His post then went viral and garnered wider public support including from law enforcement officers.

Sharing their ordeal of sexual violence on social media is one of the alternatives victim or survivors chose in order to get justice. In the KPI case for instance, sharing the victim's story in social media is the last resort after the victim fails to get justice in real world. In this context, "being viral" is the main reason for "sharing" the story. One of the strategies of being viral is by using hashtag. The hashtags #StopKekerasanSeksual and #SahkanRUUPKS start to emerge in social media when the allegation of sexual case in KPI surfaces.

For some victims and survivors of sexual violence, social media becomes the new space to bring about justice in the real world. Bringing justice through social media and the use of hashtags (intentionally and unintentionally) are considered as hashtag activism. The cases of sexual violence that go viral show that there is public response and attention to victims and survivors. Even though the responses are not necessarily positive (in favor/supporting the causes), some are negative too (stigma and criminalization). Being viral through hashtag activism is seen as a starting point to resolve long and probably problematic cases (Pratiwi & Nikodemus 2021).

The stories of victims and survivors that go viral do not always find a happy ending. Some stories remain unresolved and even ended in social stigma and threats of criminalization. Hashtag activism is perceived as hope and vulnerability. This article is trying to highlight the discourse on hashtag activism—as part of digital feminism—that would try to bring about justice for victims of sexual violence in Indonesia. Using some of the hashtag activism phenomenons that went viral

in Indonesia, this article is descriptively presenting opportunities and vulnerabilities that victims, activists, and social media users experience in bring about justice.

Furthermore, this article is trying to explore how hashtag activism which becomes part of digital activism has both opportunity arm and challenges in women activism. This study uses qualitative approach by employing data collection method through literature study especially on feminism theories on digital space such as science and technology feminism, cyberfeminism, technofeminism and digital feminism activism. This article stems from the fact that victims or survivors of sexual violence prefer digital space as their way of obtaining justice, and open its door for feminist digital activism.

'*Spill the tea*' and hashtag activism as justice initiative in digital space.

Sharing victims' stories or being victims in digital space is often referred as "spill the tea" or in Indonesian phrase it is defined as "spilling out the facts". It could be interpreted as sharing story with news, rumors, or even personal information nuances. The term "spill the tea" became trendy among social media users—especially Twitter—when it comes to sexual violence that is linked (though not always) with public figures, people in power or certain organization. This is more than just spilling out the facts but also garnering public support and perceived as collective protests.

One of the most recent examples of "spill the tea" is when the KPI staff blew the whistle on allegation of sexual violence that he has been experiencing since 2011. In details he wrote down the case chronicles and list of alleged perpetrators on his Facebook page. Then his post became viral on Twitter and triggered the public's anger and disappointment on KPI. The netizens posted their expressions of anger and showed protests by using the hashtag #KPI #PelecehanSeksual #KekerasanSeksual.

One of the strategies to go viral is by using hashtag. Hashtag is a unique feature of Twitter, which enables other user to search, link, and interact with one another using (#) symbol. By using the hashtag, the netizens would be more aware about the most recent and hot topics argued in public sphere (Yang 2016). Bringing about justice through social media and the use of hashtag (intentionally and organically planned) is specifically referred as hashtag activism. Hashtag activism is the act to garner support or to show mass protest through social media.

Hashtag activism has grown into popular approach among internet users. Sarah Jackson et al. in her book titled *#HashtagActivism: Network of Race and Gender Justice* explains that hashtag activism is a unique phenomenon of the 21st century. It is when a person has specific objective of using social media, especially Twitter in pushing any social changes (Jackson et al. 2020). Hashtag activism also enables real changes to happen in real life. In some cases, celebrities, artists, influencers, politicians, officials, and even buzzers play major roles in expanding network or silencing the activism (CFDS 2021).

Unlike other activism practices, hashtag activism does not require any action from other users than "sharing", "like" or "use same hashtag" on a Twitter post (Goswami, 2018). Hashtag activism has given opportunity for common people, who initially has no access to traditional form of power, to create new or even contradicting political narratives in order to attract allies (Jackson et al. 2020). Though it opens up the door for anyone to bring about justice, hashtag activism is often criticized as slacktivism (lazy activism) since the activists do not go on the street meaningfully or just seen as "resharing", "clicking", "liking" as initial steps to social changes (Lim 2015).

In sexual violence, hashtag activism becomes very interesting as it gives space to debate over issues that are initially placed in private sphere. Aside from being a media for organizing and gathering support for victims, hashtag activism does not directly build public interest on the discourse and urgency of sexual violence.

The viral hashtags such as #MeToo, #BringBackOur Girls, #YesAllWomen, dan #BeenRapedNeverReported have highlighted the ongoing violence against girls and women. The increased visibility of activists' initiatives is mostly due to the creative and innovative use of digital technology to promote feminism objectives. For instance in 2005 a group of people in New York created Hollaback! website to fight against sexual harassment on the streets. Hollaback! is currently active in 31 countries, including Indonesia. Hollaback! activities are very important to name and shame perpetrators, increase awareness and encourage anyone from all gender, sexuality and orientation to challenge sexual harassment that occurred on the streets of diverse community (Mendes et al. 2019).

The hashtag activism used to carry gender equality issues has started to grow significantly since the development of #MeToo hashtag in 2017. In October 2017, Alyssa Milano used #MeToo hashtag on her Twitter to encourage her followers to share their stories of sexual violence. The tweet went viral and #MeToo hashtag has

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been used over 12 million times for 24 hours (Garcia 2017; Mendes et al. 2019).

The phrase "Me Too" has been used by Tarana Burke since 2006. Burke is a black American feminist activist as well as a survivor of sexual violence who has been voicing sexual violence issue using the "Me Too" slogan. Burke has committed to stop sexual violence and other systemic problems that would affect marginalized people especially black women and girls (Kantor 2021). Burke has since advocated for victims of sexual violence through many offline and online programs (metoomvmt. org).

By using the hashtag, stories of sexual violence and individual testimonies are collected and documented. Technological network enables dissemination of digital activism through interpersonal ability and interconnectivity—as well as contributing to social movement. Hashtag activism also allows individual expression, specifically victims' and survivors' on social media. Activism also enables a person who initially is only a feminist enthusiast to be a feminist. (Parahita 2019; Bennett 2012).

The #MeToo hashtag activism has turned into a large movement and reached many people, which shows that sexual violence is like an epidemic that many women and marginalized people experienced including in Indonesia. Simultaneously, the use of hashtag is adapted to local context such as the hashtags #kitaagni, #adilisitok, and #saveibunuril—that specifically made to advocate sexual violence cases and punish perpetrators. Furthermore, popular hashtag used in Indonesia is #sahkanruupks that aims to advocate the enactment of bill of Elimination of Sexual Violence (known as RUU PKS in Bahasa Indonesia). Some of the viral hashtags are shown in the table below.

Table 1. Examples of Hashtag Activism

Hashtags	Descriptions
#KitaAgni #KitaBersamaAgni #NamaBaikKampus	The hashtags are used to advocate sexual violence case experienced by Agni (a female student) in 2019. This hashtag has brought tremendous impact especially in campus debates on sexual violence cases—in which the perpetrators are lecturers or students.
	This particular hashtag activism has triggered several initiatives and brought up many undisclosed stories. Some argue that the campus' acclaimed name is far more important than bringing justice for victims of sexual violence. Many of these cases of sexual violence are remain unresolved and even hidden in order to maintain the institutions' untarnished name. the hashtag #KitaAgni is then followed by the hashtag #NamaBaikKampus.
#GilangBungkus #PredatorSeksual	The hashtag is used in sexual violence case perpetrated by a man named Gilang back in 2020. The case went viral when one of his victims created a thread in Twitter recollecting her experiences of being victim to sexual violence perpetrated by a man named Gilang. The sexual violence is done online, and it was believed to have been linked to perpetrator's sexual fetish in wrapping and using batik cloth (*jarik*) (CFDS 2021).
	After the thread was uploaded, many netizens came forward sharing the same experience as the victims. This case is then taken by the law enforcement agency.
#UIIBergerak #UIITidakAman	This hashtag is used as an effort to advocate a sexual violence case experienced by several female students in Universitas Islam Indonesia in 2020. The alleged perpetrator was an alumni with academic merits. The Yogyakarta Legal Aid Institute (LBH Yogyakarta) provides the advocacy work for around 30 plaintiffs (Muryanto 2020).
	The alleged perpetrator was still going through his master's degree education in one of the universities in Australia. The UII management received all of the reports, but only "revoked academic merits" that the perpetrator has. Though the hashtag has gone viral (hashtag activism and online petition), the resolution of this sexual violence case still has not satisfied everyone.

Hashtags	Descriptions
#KPI #PelecehanSeksual #Perundungan	The hashtag is used to put the allegation of sexual violence case in KPI into public discussion. Unlike the previous hashtags, the hashtag activism in this case is a combination of general hashtag (#PelecehanSeksual) and special hashtags (#KPI #Perundungan).
	The case went viral in August and has gained public, law enforcement officers, and government institutions' attention in September. The case has somehow gone in cyber space. The case is now being investigated by the police, and the victim received threats of being sued with ITE Law by alleged perpetrators whose names went published on the victim's social media.
#SaveIbuNuril #SaveBaiqNuril	Many netizens use the hashtag to help Ibu Nuril (41 years old)—a woman victim of sexual violence—who is facing ITE law lawsuits after sharing her ordeal to her friends through phone conversation. The tape was circulated without her consent and went viral ever since.
	Unfortunately, Baiq Nuril was sentenced guilty of violating ITE Law.
	Though Baiq Nuril was pardoned by President Joko Widodo, the judges' verdict that sentence Baiq Nuril with imprisonment has disappointed many people. Baiq Nuril should have never been imposed with imprisonment.
#LawanKekerasanSeksual #KamiBersamaPenyintas #SahkanRUUPKS	This is the hashtag that social media users post to support certain action—especially related to sexual violence issue. These hashtags are often attached with other more specific hashtags.

Source: author obtain the information from various sources.

There are two main characteristics in bringing about justice and voicing voices of sexual violence victims on social media. First, the story sharing process on social media—that the victims could be done by themselves, their relatives, or legal counsels. Second, the use of hashtag aims to make victims' story viral and gathering public supports. These two are interlinked with one another.

Furthermore, there are two types of hashtags used here. First, specific hashtag on specific sexual violence cases, such as #KitaAgni, #UIIDaruratKekerasanSeksual, #GilangBungkus, and #SaveIbuNuril. Second, more generic hashtag or the one that used by anyone to fight for more wider issue, such as #StopKekerasanSeksual, #SahkanRUUPKS, #LawanKekerasanSeksual, #KamiBersamaPenyintas, and #NamaBaikKampus.

One thing to note here is that even though some hashtags are created organically, organizations, communities, or even women's movement group play major role in establishing the hashtag activism. For instance, community or organization of women that would take on advocacy and campaign work on social media. These groups would play important role in shaping hashtag activism (Parahita 2019).

Digital Feminism Discourse

In the digital space, feminism is inseparable from feminism and technology analysis. Science and technology feminist philosophy emerged in the 70s as part of the second wave feminism. The thinkers among others are Evelyn Fox Keller, Donna Haraway, and Sandra Harding. These feminists approached and challenged theories and science with positivistic, objectivistic and technocratic standards (Dusek 2006). Shulamith Firestone triggered discussion around technology as a media for women liberation in her work *Dialectic of Sex* (1970), which stated that what separate women from their biological womb is the way they obtain full equality. This is the time when reproductive technology is perceived as savior for women (Dusek 2006). Firestone's idea was criticized by many feminists as technology is not fully gender neutral.

Technological advancement is not perceived as something neutral, since technology is also used to sustain gender-based power relation. In the concept of traditional technology, technological advancement is still around industrial machinery, military weapons, weaponry, and other technologies that would have adverse impacts to human life. On the contrary, many women perceive

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technology as domestic technologies such as washing machine, rice cooker, room sweepers (Wajcman 2001). Similar to that is technology in reproduction, which is still perceived as men's extended arm to intervene women's bodies. This becomes a challenge for feminists to show that identification of technology is attached to masculinity and sex should be reconstructed (Wajcman 2007; 2009).

Furthermore, the presence of internet in the late 60s and the world wide web network has given new fresh air for feminists to bring themselves closer to any kind of new technology (Candraningrum 2013). The analysis on feminism and technology is then growing past the traditional concept of technology. In this era more optimistic cyber feminism analysis emerged as it welcomed the internet and is interlinked with identity (Haraway 1984; 1985; 1997). Internet is perceived to have provided basis of technology in establishing new society and innovative diversity of subjectivity. This technology facilitates the diminishing boundaries between men and machine as well as the boundaries between men and women who would enable the users to select their own identity, disguise themselves and consider the alternative identity. (Haraway 1985; Wajcman 2006).

In many important aspects, Firestone's work is the initial step for contemporary cyber feminist composition especially the ones from Donna Haraway (Halbert 2007). The existence of digital space was seen as promising for women. for many cyber feminist activists, digital media is a new electronic space that offers new start for women in creating language, program, platform, image, more fluid identity, and new multiple language. Women and marginalized groups in the digital sphere plays an important role as subject that would re-code, re-design, and re-program information technology altering social condition to a more just, inclusive and feminist ones. (Jain 2020).

Internet gives public to space to do feminist activism (Fotopoulou 2016). One of the examples of this is the birth of online petition platforms (such as Change.org, Avaaz, Care2, 350.org, and etc) as the first initial step to initiate justice for marginalized group in the late 90s. Digital space has changed the face of feminist activism. Initially the feminists group took the street to protest and used it to display their protest banner and campaigning to fight injustice, arbitrary, and authoritarianism (Candraningrum 2013).

Traditional offline activism mobilized people through street rally or going from door to door, using their social network and membership to organization, political party, or educational institution. Digital activism, on the other hand, could mobilize people within minutes, much faster than the offline activism. This type of activism also encourages more interactive approach, in which many diverse people could participate through their blogs, petition and articles while at the same time connecting with others. before the digital space was invented, global feminist movement was mostly mobilized by few activists through feminist academic discourse (Jain 2020). Furthermore, digital media enables new connections, which previously unavailable for women and girls, and it enables them to recapture the connection between them and other people (Keller et al. 2018).

Nevertheless, new technology such as social media, online petition and online donation application do not apply equally for everyone. For most people, new technology and media are strategic spaces for activism, space that would provide the opportunity and chances to get connected with people's lives directly. While for the rest, digital media is still perceived as a gendered space that only accommodates certain identities and marginalized other identities such as elderly women or even transgender (Fotopoulou 2016).

There are at least three most influential factors affecting one's participation, organization, and feminist movement involvement in digital activism which are age, lack of resources, and media literacy. These three factors would be a leverage for certain group in gaining publication and acknowledgment in their digital activism and simultaneously would be an exclusion space. Unlike public figure or even professional actors/actresses, the activists utilizing the digital space sometimes fail to earn the acknowledgment due to their limited resources, including skill required in digital medium. This would be different for activists and women's organizations that are already skilled in using digital media (digital native)—dominated by young urban activists who are growing up with the advancement of new media (Fotopoulou 2016; Lim 2015).

The feminists have never stopped to continuously questioning the oppression against women and marginalized groups as a way to move towards feminist objectivity (feminist standpoint). From this feminist standpoint, the perception on technology as an alternative space that expresses the voice of marginalized groups, free from intervention and enabling new and non-conventional forms of activism should be investigated further.

Digital space and technology are not entirely a safe and inclusive space. It is important to acknowledge

that the presence of new media is highly influenced by well-established social, economic, political, cultural structures—which is very sexist and racist. The presence of digital space and borderless exchange of information does not automatically diminish hierarchy and patriarchy. Digital space and internet are socially linked with body, sex, age, economy, social class, and race. Bringing about justice and feminist actions in virtual space are similar to disturbing masculine codes and patriarchal structure that co-exist with the presence of new technology (Wilding 2006).

Though the feminists use media network to stay connected with many forms of new participations and actions, does feminist activism in digital space constitute as civic engagement? In his article, "*Many Clicks but Little Sticks: Social Media Activism in Indonesia*", Lim (2015) described that it is not easy to refer digital activism as part of civic engagement. Social media does not inherently promote civic engagement and could not be perceived as agent of social changes—though there are several digital activisms that lead to change in the real world. Digital activism has its own limitations from the reach of users who are mostly in urban setting to its machine logic. By understanding the nature and limitation of social media activism and how to ensure its successful use, the activists may use and change this exclusive situation to more meaningful civic and political engagement.

Furthermore, on the challenges and opportunities in digital activism, Fotopoulou in her book (2016) *Feminist Activism and Digital Networks Between Empowerment and Vulnerability* explained about two main concepts as analytical edge to assess digital feminist activism. First, networked feminism that describes about collective identity and communicative practice of activists as it is established by imagination of new social space (known as network) and digital connectivity. The concept of networked feminism helps us in rethinking technology and their role in feminism by reflecting how activists negotiate five main aspects of digital media: access, connectivity, closeness, labor, and visibility. Through this negotiation, activists would critically rethink—rather than just accepting or arguing about the nature of this digital media as exploitative or empowering. Second, the bio digital vulnerability that would explore about the complexity of content creation and power that establish contradictory spaces of online network, between empowerment and vulnerability of feminist's politics. Fotopoulou (2016) explains that there is indeed vulnerability when the public see the potential of political

involvement in digital space to empower marginalized community and individuals or turning them as victims due to their sexuality and gender.

Similar to offline space, digital (online) space cannot be separated from the biases of masculinity and patriarchy. One example is how the Google search engine algorithm is racist and sexist. Safiya Noble in her book *Algorithm of Oppression* discusses how the Google search engine is biased towards minority groups. According to Noble, algorithms play an important role because these mathematical formulations drive human decisions. While we often think of terms like "Big Data" and "algorithm" as harmless, neutral, or objective, the people who automate these decisions hold all kinds of values, many of which openly promote racism and sexism. For example, when Noble did a Google search with the keyword "black women" in September 2011, it came up with sexualized and pornographic content. After Noble wrote his critique in 2012, there was a change in Google's search algorithm so that the first search results for the keyword "black women" were no longer dominated by pornographic content. However, Noble found that the search results for "Latina women" and "Asian women" were still closely related to pornographic content. That is one example, how oppression works in automation, codes, and algorithms. This is what Safiya Noble calls the *Algorithm of Oppression*, that information and mathematical logic are not completely neutral and objective.

Haraway (1997) then mentions that vulnerabilities in this digital space are the result of 'technobiopower'—continuing what Foucault (1978) wrote—that knowledge and technology cannot be separated from who the actor owns it and what tools or resources are used to demonstrate his power. This means that there are new types of vulnerabilities that result from activism in the digital world. When individuals are active in the digital space and using new technologies, they are not only traced through the words posted on social media pages, but in all the applications and data they follow. Digital footprint, identity, privacy become very transparent. For women, children, and minority groups, the digital space allows them to experience sexual violence, engage in sexting, and experience cyberbullying. Although it is possible to be anonymous, the impact of bullying and violence on individual bodies is experienced in real terms—for example, cases of suicide due to slander, social stigma, and bullying on social media (Fotopoulou 2016).

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Digital space as a space of contestation

At first, hashtag activism as part of digital activism by common people and feminist groups was celebrated as a new way to achieve justice and collective agenda. Moreover, feminist activism in the digital space is considered capable of accommodating and connecting activism activities with the young women's community, as well as other social groups that are often excluded from mainstream public participation and political discourse. The presence of the internet is also naturally used by groups of young women and girls to easily voice their opinions and aspirations because social media is assumed to be unregulated or outside the reach of 'adults' (read: rulers) intervention (Keller 2012).

The "spill the tea" activity itself is an alternative way to fight sexual violence. Although digital media provides space for victims to speak, the reality is that the digital space is never value-free. Victims, legal assistants, or even internet users are facing the risk for their sharing of stories on the internet or "spill the tea". It is a privilege because not everyone (both victims and survivors) has access to technology, legal aid, public support, or even personal data protection.

In activism in the digital space, another threat arises and is often experienced by victims of sexual violence and feminist activists. For women human rights defenders and feminist activists, vulnerabilities in the digital space arise as a result of their activism. They are often sexualized in the digital world and get attacked by viruses, spyware, content blocking, receiving unwanted emails, and so on (Radloff 2013). Furthermore, some of the risks—which are experienced by both victims, feminist activists, and the public who take sides—in this paper are social stigma in the digital space and criminalization.

Social Stigma

As explained above that not all "leaked facts" get public support or receiving positive responses from the netizens. In some cases, instead of gaining public sympathy, victims and survivors are stigmatized, branded, intimidated, and even targeted by bullying. This of course has implications for bringing new trauma to victims and survivors (Amnesty International Indonesia 2021; Pratiwi & Niko 2021).

In cases of sexual violence—whether published on social media or not—victims and survivors have long been stigmatized. Victims of sexual violence often receive negative comments from others, including law enforcement officials, family, friends, and netizens. Although the majority of victims and survivors of sexual violence can get stigmatized, there are different forms of stigma based on the sex of the victim.

Women victims and survivors often get biased questions and comments such as; "Why did you (a woman) go out at night?", "What were you wearing?", "why didn't you scream?", "did you give consent?" On the other hand, when men become victims of sexual violence, their masculinity is questioned. Male victims and survivors often face intimidation because of the myth that it is impossible for men to be raped or victimized. Men who are sexually assaulted are often labeled as weak or have their sexual orientation tracked—if they are assaulted by men. However, if they are sexually assaulted by a woman, the male victim will be deemed unable to defend himself and be bullied with questions; "why not fight?", "you're such a whimp!"

Social stigma is a cultural problem rooted in society that influences various decisions that will be made by victims and survivors. The results of an online survey on sexual violence conducted by Lentera Sintas Indonesia and Magdalene in 2016 found that 93% of survivors of sexual violence never reported their case to law enforcement officials (Asmarani 2016).

By "leaking the facts" of sexual violence cases on social media, victims and survivors must also bear various social stigmas from netizens. This social stigma then makes victims and survivors refuse to report, continue, or fight for their cases before the law. From the very beginning, victims and survivors of sexual violence have been conditioned to remain silent.

In a patriarchal culture, sexual violence is a real manifestation of a biased view of gender and sexuality—which has been believed by society. Sexual violence is not perpetrated by psychopaths, sexual violence is perpetrated by anyone from the perspective of domination and violence, which has been attacking women (femininity). Patriarchy creates masculine dominance over femininity. This means not only referring to a particular gender but the gender roles inherent in it. This means that both women and men have the potential to experience sexual violence if they show their femininity—the culture is constructed as the weak, the passive, the subordinate (Dworkin 1976).

This perspective generates various forms of gender inequality, one of which is social stigma—a condition when men and women who are deviated from masculine and feminine boxes will be blamed. There are a number

of beliefs about what is perceived as natural, acceptable, and even desirable in sexual interactions between men and women such as being invulnerable, strong, violent, and commanding, and that women want such behavior from men. Another view is that, 1) "real men" can get sexual access to women when, where and how they want it; 2) sexual intercourse is an act of male subjugation; 3) that women are sexual objects of men; 4) that men "need" and have the right to sex. Therefore, it is not surprising that both men and women victims of violence are stigmatized and often repeatedly blamed (revictimization) because they are considered not in accordance with the patriarchal view. This stigma is rooted in patriarchal culture, a condition where women and men are bound by gender roles constructed by society (Dworkin 1976; Walby 1990).

Criminalization

In the context of Indonesia, the digital space as a new civic space is under threat. The digital space which was originally an empowerment space for the Other group has actually been hijacked by patriarchal values. One of the most obvious forms is the use of the ITE Law in order to silence the voices of victims of sexual violence.

SafeNet documents cases of citizens, activists, journalists who have been entangled in the ITE Law since 2008 (SafeNet 2008). One of the cases that was quite busy sparking public anger was the case of Baiq Nuril (victim of sexual harassment) who was ensnared in Article 27 paragraph (1) of the ITE Law. Baiq was detained by the police from 27 March to 31 May 2017, and submitted an amnesty to the president.

Another case is the case of Anin (a female activist who experienced sexual harassment) who uploaded a chronology of intimidation, violence, and sexual harassment that happened to her on her Facebook account with the aim of seeking justice. Instead of receiving protection, Anin was reported to the police on suspicion of defamation in accordance with Article 27 paragraph (3) of the ITE Law in conjunction with Article (45) paragraph (3) of the ITE Law and spreading hatred according to Article 28 paragraph 2 in conjunction with Article 45A paragraph (2) UU ITE.

The presence of 'rubber' articles in the ITE Law poses a threat to victims, survivors, and feminist activists who want to seek justice through digital media. The ITE Law can be used as a threat tool from those who disagree to silence and to stop the case investigations. For example, after the viral KPI case, there is a potential for the victim

to be reported back by the alleged perpetrator for defamation and other offenses.

Social stigma and criminalization in the digital space, especially against victims of sexual violence, show how patriarchy operates in new media—which initially became an inclusive and equal space. Victims of sexual violence are silenced and their voices are increasingly muted. Gender injustice and discrimination against women that occur in the real world are then replicated in cyberspace—including also giving birth to new forms of violence in the digital world. The assumption that bullying, harassment, and social stigma in the online world are not "real" is wrong. This violence causes women and other marginalized groups to be silenced and denied the right to freely express themselves and seek justice in the digital world. The internet is no longer a safe space for women and victims of sexual violence (Lamensch 2021; Chemaly & Buny 2014; Dhrodia 2017).

Expectations and challenges in hashtag activism

As feminists argue that the digital space is a space of contestation, there is hope and vulnerability, we can learn how feminist activism in the digital space can succeed from the case of Baiq Nuril. The activism began with an online petition on the Change.org Indonesia page on November 18, 2018, which was initiated by the Civil Society Coalition of Save Ibu Nuril. The petition highlights the decision of the Supreme Court (MA) which declared Baiq guilty and hoped that Jokowi would grant amnesty to Baiq Nuril, because amnesty was Baiq's last resort to escape the criminal snares that haunted her. At that time the feminist movement and civil society used social media networks and hashtags as a medium of resistance and attracting sympathy from the authorities. The activism hashtag #SaveIbuNuril went viral on Twitter and was awarded an amnesty.

There are several things that make activism on social media produce positive results in real life, namely, simple narratives, congruent with dominant narratives, tending to be of low risk, and the use of certain symbols. The use of certain symbols can pump up the success of an activism. Not only with hashtags, actions and images can also be involved in activism on social media to attract more public sympathy (Lim 2013; Bonilla & Rosa 2015). Hashtags have intertextual potential to link tweets on a particular topic or on different topics as part of an intertextual chain, regardless of whether or not the issues are related to one another. Hashtags in Twitter can also be seen as an indexing system as well as a filter

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that allows social media users to reduce Twitter noise. However, this filtering process also has a distortion effect. However, hashtags can also be distorted, meaning that not all the same hashtags contain the same content and perspective (Bonilla & Rosa 2015). There is an opportunity for others to manipulate and mess with the indexing system. For example, the hashtag #SaveIbuNuril is now also filled with ads, bots, and other content irrelevant to feminist activism.

Closing and Critical Reflection

The "spill the tea" activity on social media has now become an alternative way for victims of sexual violence to seek justice—which is not found in the real world. This activity has become a trend among Twitter users and is complemented by various hashtags as an effort to fight, attract people, and voice the rights of victims. This activity cannot be categorized as a form of hashtag activism—when people use hashtags to make the issues raised go viral and get attention.

Hashtag activism cannot be separated from the history of women and marginalized groups in fighting sexual violence and rape culture. Hashtag activism itself as a part of feminist digital activism is important to be seen as a new way of pursuing justice through the digital space. The massive activism of hashtags is a sign that the feminist movement is transforming, adapting, moving and filling new public spaces (read: digital space). This activism also allows someone who was previously a feminist sympathizer to become a feminist.

Studies of digital feminism show that the advent of the internet opens up new opportunities and hope for feminist activism—when issues can be spread more broadly and more masses can be gathered in a short amount of time. Despite giving hope, feminists recognize that the digital space is not gender-neutral. Hashtag activism in the digital space often brings serious consequences as a result of the hijacking of the digital space by patriarchal values. The digital space is no longer safe and free of intervention, in fact victims, survivors, activists, and citizens are vulnerable.

Furthermore, the massive hashtag activism can also be seen as a failure of the legal system, especially in responding to cases of sexual violence. Why? Because instead of reporting to law enforcement officials, the victim chose to 'spill the tea' to testify, gather support, and use hashtags.

However, do victims of sexual violence have to wait for their stories to go viral first to get a response from law enforcement officials? If social media has moved forward and opened up opportunities for victims to speak up, what about the legal system? We can no longer let victims and survivors struggle alone, waiting for their stories to go viral, experience stigma, data security threats, and being entangled in the ITE Law along the way.

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