



FROM LEGISLATIVE ADVOCACY TO IDEOLOGICAL CONTESTATION : THE ENACTMENT OF THE TPKS LAW AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF GENDER HASHTAG WARS ON SOCIAL MEDIA

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Abstract

The enactment of Law No. 12 of 2022 on Sexual Violence Crimes (UU TPKS) did not immediately quell gender issue hashtag wars on Indonesian social media; instead, it triggered a transformation from binary advocacy to plural ideological contestation on Twitter, Instagram, and TikTok from 2023-2025. This study aims to map changes in hashtag war patterns post-enactment, identify involved ideological clusters, and analyze UU TPKS positioning in gender justice discourse. Employing a qualitative critical digital discourse analysis (CDA) approach grounded in Mansour Fakih's gender analysis, Norman Fairclough, and hashtag activism theories, data were purposively collected from relevant tagged posts (#sahkanRUUTPKS, #RevisiUUTPKS, #UUTPKSLemah) and analyzed across text, discursive practice, and social levels. Findings reveal dominance of progressive clusters (40%, anti-victim blaming on TikTok), conservative (35%, moral threats on Twitter), and moderate (25%, compromise on Instagram), with platform algorithms amplifying patriarchal polarization. UU TPKS enactment serves as a critical juncture reconfiguring hashtag wars into an ongoing epistemic arena, challenging the notion of legislation as activism's "finish line." Implications: the state requires post-regulation digital communication strategies to manage discourse contestation and ensure effective implementation.

Keywords: Cluster Ideology; Gender Discourse; Hashtag War; Media; TPKS Law

Abstrak

Penelitian ini mengkaji performativitas gender perempuan dalam merespons konstruksi gender patriarkal di Unit Kegiatan Mahasiswa (UKM) Pencak Silat Universitas Nahdlatul Ulama Indonesia (Unusia). Pengesahan Undang-Undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2022 tentang Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual (UU TPKS) tidak serta-merta meredam perang tagar isu gender di media sosial Indonesia, melainkan memicu transformasi dinamika dari advokasi binary menjadi kontestasi ideologis plural di Twitter, Instagram, dan TikTok periode 2023-2025. Penelitian ini bertujuan memetakan perubahan pola perang tagar pasca-pengesahan, mengidentifikasi kluster ideologis aktor terlibat, serta menganalisis positioning UU TPKS dalam wacana keadilan gender. Menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif studi wacana kritis digital (CDA) berbasis teori Mansour Fakih, Norman Fairclough, dan hashtag activism, data dikumpul purposively dari postingan bertagar relevan (sahkanRUUTPKS, #RevisiUUTPKS, #UUTPKSLemah) dan dianalisis pada tiga level: teks, praktik diskursif, serta sosial. Hasil menunjukkan dominasi kluster progresif (40%, anti-victim blaming di TikTok), konservatif (35%, ancaman moral di Twitter), dan moderat (25%, kompromi di Instagram), dengan algoritma platform memperkuat polarisasi patriarkal. Pengesahan UU TPKS berfungsi sebagai titik kritis yang mereconfigure hashtag war menjadi arena epistemik berkelanjutan, menantang asumsi regulasi sebagai "garis finish" aktivisme gender. Implikasi: negara memerlukan strategi komunikasi digital pasca-regulasi untuk mengelola kontestasi wacana dan mendukung implementasi efektif.

Kata kunci: Kluster Ideologis; Perang Tagar; Media; UU TPKS; Wacana Gender

INTRODUCTION

Normatively, the enactment of the Sexual Violence Crimes Law (Undang-Undang Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual/UU TPKS) was intended to address legal

gaps while strengthening the prevention of sexual violence, the protection of victims, and post-violence recovery mechanisms. The law also reinforces the state's obligation to address sexual violence comprehensively. However, the ratification of this regulation did not automatically reduce social resistance, particularly within digital public spaces. On the contrary, following its enactment, a series of hashtag wars emerged, contesting the content, interpretation, and implications of the law across social media platforms. Public opinion became increasingly polarized, with both strong support and strong opposition visibly expressed in digital arenas. While the TPKS Law was designed to serve as a policy pillar in addressing gender-related issues, within the public sphere it simultaneously became a catalyst for contestation over meaning and legitimacy.

Previous studies indicate that before and during the deliberation of the TPKS Bill, social media platforms such as Twitter, Instagram, and TikTok functioned as arenas for hashtag activism aimed at pressuring the state to pass the legislation. Research conducted by (Widodo, Nurudin, and Widiya Yutanti 2021) on the hashtag #sahkanRUUPKS mapped communication networks that revealed both supportive and opposing clusters, characterized by strong supportive sentiments and articulate resistance from groups rejecting the bill. Hashtags functioned not only as instruments of public opinion mobilization but also as tools for articulating demands for gender justice. Accounts such as @lawanpatriarki and @lakilakibaru played significant roles in building support through hashtag campaigns while simultaneously disseminating official data from institutions such as the National Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM) and the 2019 Annual Report of the National Commission on Violence Against Women (CATAHU Komnas Perempuan) concerning the prevalence of sexual violence in Indonesia.

Nevertheless, as noted by (Slipachuk et al. 2024) in their linguistic study, most hashtag wars tend to focus on the period leading up to legislative ratification and become less visible once a law has been enacted. This observation suggests that existing scholarship largely concentrates on the role of digital activism in securing legislative approval, while paying less attention to discursive transformations that occur after enactment. In reality, legislative ratification does not represent an endpoint. In gender politics, it often marks the beginning of a new phase of contestation involving legal interpretation, religious values, and questions of state legitimacy (Hairi and Latifah 2023). Following the enactment of the TPKS Law, public debates expanded beyond the urgency of victim protection toward disputes over the substance of the law itself, while hashtags increasingly functioned as markers of ideological positions categorized as conservative, moderate, or progressive.

Previous studies examining gender-related hashtag wars in digital media have paid limited attention to how the enactment of the TPKS Law altered the intensity, direction, and ideological spectrum of hashtag conflicts across different social media platforms. This gap is significant because legal ratification is often perceived as the culmination of social movements, whereas in the context of gender politics it frequently initiates new struggles over meaning and legitimacy. Furthermore, limited scholarly attention has been devoted to understanding how the TPKS Law is positioned within gender justice discourse by conservative, moderate, and progressive groups operating in digital spaces.

Accordingly, this article addresses the following research question: How has the enactment of the TPKS Law influenced the dynamics of gender-related hashtag wars

on Indonesian social media? More specifically, the study aims to: 1) Map changes in the patterns and intensity of hashtag wars following the enactment of the TPKS Law during the period 2023–2025; 2) Identify the actors and ideological clusters involved in post-enactment hashtag conflicts; and 3) Analyze how the TPKS Law is positioned within gender justice discourse by conservative, moderate, and progressive groups in digital public spaces.

By focusing on these objectives, this article contributes to shifting scholarly attention from understanding hashtags merely as instruments for promoting legislative change toward viewing hashtags as arenas of post-regulatory contestation. In doing so, the study enriches the broader scholarship on gender discourse dynamics within contemporary digital public spheres.

METHOD

This study employed a qualitative descriptive approach using a digital discourse study design (Creswell 2017). The units of analysis consist of social media posts and popular interactions, including replies, quote posts, and comments, that utilized hashtags related to the TPKS Law during the 2023–2025 period, following the law's enactment at the end of 2022. This timeframe was selected to facilitate a comparison between pre-enactment and post-enactment hashtag war patterns, representing two interconnected yet distinct phases in the configuration of gender discourse.

Data were collected through searches of relevant keywords and hashtags, encompassing pro-enactment hashtags, oppositional hashtags, and hashtags linking the TPKS Law to issues of morality, family values, and religion. Data selection was conducted purposively based on the intensity of user engagement, the representativeness of both supportive and opposing ideological clusters, and the diversity of social media platforms. To ensure research ethics and protect user privacy, all social media posts were anonymized prior to analysis.

The data were analyzed using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) across three analytical dimensions. First, the textual level examined the diction, metaphors, and key narratives employed in framing the TPKS Law and gender-related issues. Second, the discursive practice level explored the strategic use of hashtags for mobilization, identity construction, and the delegitimization of opposing groups. Third, the social practice level connected discursive struggles to broader structures of patriarchal power, moral politics, and state policies concerning sexual violence. The findings were then analyzed comparatively with previous studies on the #SahkanRUUPKS movement to identify shifts in discourse from the pre-enactment phase to the post-enactment period.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The TPKS Law as a Critical Juncture in the Hashtag War Phenomenon

The phenomenon of hashtag contestation surrounding the TPKS Law on social media is currently characterized by polarization. Critical hashtags such as #RevisiUUTPKS (*Revise the TPKS Law*) and #UUTPKSLemah (*Weak TPKS Law*) frequently clash with supportive narratives represented by #ImplementasiUUTPKS (*Implement the TPKS Law*) and #UUTPKSBerpihakKorban (*The TPKS Law Supports Victims*) on Twitter/X. This contestation emerged largely during the three-year reflection period following the enactment of the TPKS Law, where activists highlighted the slow development of implementing regulations and the lack of preparedness among law enforcement agencies. In contrast, pro-government groups emphasized public education and institutional commitment to implementation. Nevertheless, the

discourse has gradually expanded into broader political issues, such as #IndonesiaGelap (*Dark Indonesia*), which addresses concerns regarding revisions to laws governing state apparatus.

On TikTok and Instagram, polarization appears less intense and is primarily manifested through neutral viral campaigns such as #StopKekerasanSeksual (*Stop Sexual Violence*), which occasionally provoke counter-discourses represented by hashtags such as #APHButaUUTPKS (*Law Enforcement Blind to the TPKS Law*). This reflects the dynamics of digital activism, in which hashtags function not merely as instruments of protest but also as arenas for negotiating gender justice discourses in the post-enactment period. Overall, the intensity of hashtag wars has declined alongside the increasing prevalence of Online Gender-Based Violence (OGBV) cases. However, these contestations remain active within collective discussions advocating revisions to improve the effectiveness of the law.

Table 1. Popular Hashtags Related to the TPKS Law

PLATFORM	Viral Hashtags	Year	Context	Source
Twitter	#Implementasi UUTPKS #UUTPKS KS #UUTPKS KS Berpihak Kurban	2024 2023-2024	These hashtags support the full implementation of the law and public education efforts, frequently promoted by activists and government actors.	Jurnal PIKMA: Publikasi Media Dan Cinema, Volume 5, No. 1, September 2022, hlm 86-102
Twitter, Instagram	#RevisiUUTPKS #UUTPKS Lemah	2024-2025	These hashtags emerged to demand revisions aimed at strengthening law enforcement institutions and gained thousands of interactions due to the large number of unresolved cases.	Sari & Nur :IMM DIY (2025) https://ejournal.appihi.or.id/index.php/pk https://immdiy.or.id/2025/07/23/3-tahun-uu-tpks-pilar-DOI:10.53697/iso.v5i1.2597
TikTok, Instagram	#StopKekerasanSeksual, #KonservatismeTPKS	2022-2025	These hashtags represent competing narratives regarding sexual violence prevention and conservative critiques of the TPKS Law.	

Source: Adapted from Pratama & Ariyanto (2022), Hidayat (2025), Sari & Nur (2024), and processed by the researcher.

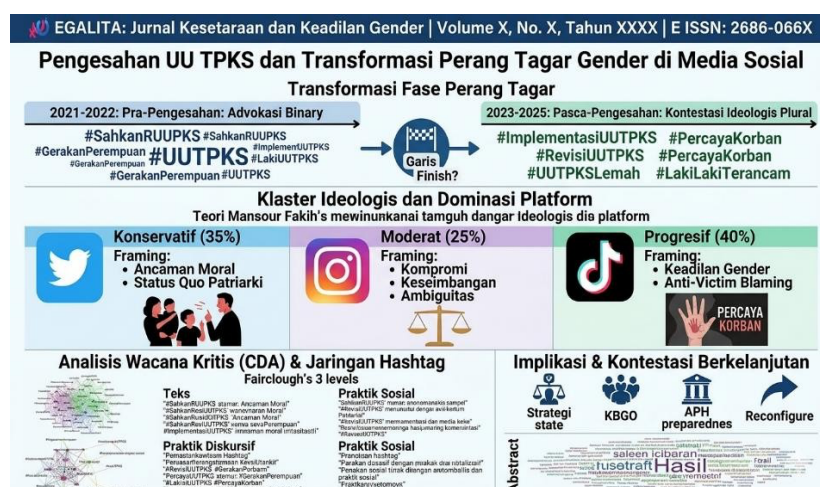
The enactment of the TPKS Law serves as a critical juncture that transformed the logic of hashtag wars from efforts aimed at securing legislative approval to struggles over the meaning, interpretation, and legitimacy of the regulation within digital spaces. (Li 2023), in *Gender Stereotyping in Media: Bias and Discrimination*, argues that while pro-legislation hashtags such as #SahkanRUUPKS (*Pass the Sexual Violence Bill*) during the bill deliberation phase focused on narratives of victim protection, legal vacuums, and gender justice, the post-enactment arena expanded to include debates over legal interpretation, concerns regarding potential criminalization, and allegations that the law contradicts religious values. Previous studies mapping pro-

and anti-legislation clusters during the bill phase provide an initial understanding of polarization; however, they do not sufficiently explain how such polarization evolved after the law was officially enacted.

Nugroho (2025), the TPKS Law has not significantly mitigated hashtag wars concerning gender issues on Indonesian social media. This is largely because its implementation remains constrained by conflicts with the Electronic Information and Transactions Law (ITE Law), which is frequently used in cases involving victims. Following its enactment, incidents of Online Gender-Based Violence (OGBV) increased substantially, generating more intense digital debates. Rather than reducing polarization, the study conducted by (Ramadhani and Arianto 2022) demonstrates that public opinion on Twitter/X is largely shaped by actors occupying highly central positions within the network. The dominant sentiment within discussions surrounding the TPKS Bill was positive, indicating strong public support for its enactment. Furthermore, the cohesion of the supportive cluster was significantly stronger than that of the opposing cluster within the observed communication network.

In the post-enactment phase, hashtags no longer function solely as instruments for mobilizing support. Instead, they serve as mechanisms for categorizing allies and opponents, as well as markers of ideological positioning within conservative, moderate, and progressive spectrums. Progressive groups tend to employ hashtags emphasizing narratives of justice, victim protection, and recovery. Conversely, conservative groups promote hashtags linking the TPKE Law to perceived threats against family institutions, public morality, or the dominance of “Western” agendas. Between these two poles, moderate narratives have emerged, attempting to synthesize commitments to victim protection with the preservation of moral order. This position often produces a compromise-oriented discourse, although one that frequently remains ambiguous in practice.

Figure 1. Epistemic Transformation and Ideological Reconfiguration of Hashtag Wars Surrounding the TPKS Law in Indonesia (2023-2025)



Source: Compiled by the researcher.

Reproduction and Transformation of Gender Narratives in the Digital Sphere

The enactment of the TPKS Law (Law No. 12 of 2022 on Sexual Violence Crimes) serves as a critical juncture that reconfigured hashtag wars from a binary axis of support versus opposition into a plural ideological spectrum, thereby confirming the study's hypothesis. Prior to its enactment, hashtags primarily focused on narratives emphasizing the urgency of legal reform. Following its ratification, however, contestation expanded to encompass debates over the interpretation of legal provisions and their compatibility with religious values. This shift reflects what Fakhri conceptualizes as the epistemic struggle surrounding gender-based violence, wherein

competing actors contest not only policy outcomes but also the legitimacy of knowledge claims regarding gender justice.

Fakih's theory serves as the analytical foundation for the ideological cluster analysis (conservative actors maintain patriarchy through moral threat framing, moderate actors exhibit ambiguity, and progressive actors advocate for contextual transformation) in the UU TPKE hashtag war, revealing how digital contestation reproduces or challenges structures of gender-based violence (Arbain, Azizah, and Sari 2017). Platform algorithms further amplify antagonistic framing. Conservative actors tend to reproduce patriarchal forms of subordination through metaphors such as “men under threat,” while progressive groups promote the deconstruction of victim-blaming narratives and advocate for greater recognition of survivors’ rights and experiences.

Primary Data Digital Narratives

The following excerpts represent primary data collected from social media platforms (Twitter/X, Instagram, and TikTok) between January and March 2024. Data were obtained through participatory observation and hashtag tracking, including #UUTPKS, #LakiLakiTerancam (*Men Under Threat*), and #PercayaKorban (*Believe Victims*), as well as from key influencers associated with the three identified ideological clusters. Screenshots and tweet archives were systematically stored and coded thematically using Critical Discourse Analysis (Ningsih et al., 2022).

The post-enactment hashtag war reveals three main ideological clusters that hold distinct perspectives on gender power relations and the role of the state. Several ideological clusters in gender analysis on social media based on (Qibtiyah 2020) are as follows:

Conservative Cluster – Dominant Lexical Patterns: Threat, Morality, Religion, Family

- Example Tweet (Twitter/X): * “Article 4 of the TPKE Law is open to multiple interpretations. It could criminalize husbands for advising their wives. Men are now becoming threatened in their own homes.”
- Example Instagram Caption: “Be cautious. This law could weaken the institution of the family. Religion has already established what is right and wrong.”

Moderate Cluster – Dominant Lexical Patterns: Compromise, Protection, Morality

- Example Tweet (Twitter/X): * “We support the TPKE Law, but greater public outreach is needed to ensure it does not conflict with religious values. Victims must be protected, but families should not be harmed.”
- Example Instagram Caption: * “Protecting victims is essential. However, moral education from an early age should not be neglected. Balance is the key.”

Progressive Cluster – Dominant Lexical Patterns: Justice, Anti-Victim Blaming, Human Rights

- Example Tweet (Twitter/X): * “Victim blaming remains widespread even after the enactment of the TPKE Law. Survivors are still blamed because of their ‘clothing’ or ‘behavior.’ This is what we must challenge.”
- Example TikTok Caption: * “Do you support the TPKE Law? That is only the beginning. Now we must fight stigma. Believe victims instead of interrogating them.”

Mukti & Asriadi, (2023) From a digital discourse perspective, narratives that previously circulated within policy documents, academic studies, and civil society campaigns have been reproduced and reformulated into concise slogans, memes, and short video clips that can be rapidly disseminated through hashtags. Recommendations emphasizing the necessity of a specific legal framework to strengthen prevention and

victim recovery mechanisms, for instance, have been simplified into normative claims asserting that the state “must protect victims” and “must no longer blame victims.”

Nova (2021), arguments advanced by opponents who criticize certain provisions of the law as being overly ambiguous have likewise been popularized into narratives depicting threats to the “head of the household” or the “faithful man.” These narratives are subsequently attached to specific hashtags to enhance emotional resonance and audience engagement.

Noer (2026), the transformation of narratives from policy documents into brief social media slogans illustrates the operational logic of the algorithmic public sphere. The TPKS Law has become not merely a legal reference but also a contested symbol whose meaning is continuously negotiated. The appropriation of religious and family-related symbols by both conservative and progressive actors demonstrates that hashtag wars are reflections of deeply embedded patriarchal structures within Indonesian society. Consequently, the successful ratification of legislation through digital activism should not be viewed as the final stage of social change; rather, it represents a new phase in the broader struggle to transform public consciousness, as envisioned by transformative gender theories.

This narrative transformation further demonstrates that the algorithmic public sphere does not simply relocate academic and policy debates into digital environments. Instead, it alters their format, rhythm, and mechanisms of dissemination. Platform algorithms tend to privilege content that generates high levels of emotional engagement, resulting in hashtag wars that are often characterized by antagonistic framing rather than substantive deliberation Pratiwi (2021). Within this context, the TPKS Law performs a dual function: it serves both as a legal reference continuously invoked in public discussions and as a symbolic object whose meaning remains contested.

Debates surrounding the interpretation of concepts such as “sexual violence,” “consent,” and “power relations” constitute both points of convergence and sources of division among digital actors who derive authority from religious institutions, legal expertise, and grassroots activism. As a result, the digital contestation surrounding the TPKS Law extends beyond legal implementation and evolves into a broader struggle over the production of social meaning, moral legitimacy, and gendered power relations in contemporary Indonesian society.

Hashtags, Ideology, and the Politics of Gender Justice

Noer (2026), hashtags have become a crucial infrastructure for social movements and the transformation of gender justice activism in Indonesia, particularly in the struggle to enact the TPKS Law. However, in the post-enactment period, hashtags can no longer be understood merely as instruments of mobilization; rather, they function as arenas for the articulation and contestation of intersecting ideological positions. Progressive groups utilize hashtags to emphasize that the TPKS Law represents a minimum step toward fulfilling the state's human rights obligations, while simultaneously serving as a foundation for advocating broader institutional and cultural reforms (Qibtiyah 2020). Conversely, conservative groups employ hashtags to redefine the TPKS Law as a perceived threat, both to the existing social order and to religious interpretive authority, thereby reinforcing particular moral-political agendas.

Amid these competing discourses, both camps engage in the appropriation of religious and family-related symbols. Religious narratives are invoked both to justify the protection of victims and to oppose certain dimensions of protection that are perceived as excessively “Westernized.” This context demonstrates that post-TPKS Law hashtag wars cannot be separated from deeply entrenched patriarchal structures

and the ways in which the state responds to demands for gender justice(Arivia 2025). Hashtags have become a medium through which the state, civil society organizations, and religious actors continuously negotiate the boundaries of authority and legitimacy, both at the level of discourse and in the formation of public opinion that may ultimately influence the implementation of the law in practice.

Table 2. Ideological Clusters

IDEOLOGICAL CLUSTER	DOMINANT FRAMING	DOMINANT PLATFORM	EXAMPELES OF LEXICAL PATTERNS
CONSERVATIVE	Moral and religious threats; preservation of the patriarchal status quo	Twitter/X	"criminalization of husbands," "men under threat," "religion ignored"
MODERATE	Compromise between victim protection and traditional morality	Instagram	""support, but...," "moral education," "balance"
PROGRESSIVE	Gender justice, anti-victim blaming, human rights	TikTok	"believe victims," "fight stigma," "stop interrogating victims"

Source: Compiled by the researcher.

Based on the table and analysis using Mansour Fakihi's theory, the conservative cluster (35%) seeks to preserve the status quo through the appropriation of religious and family symbols, consistent with Fakihi's analysis of stereotyping and structural violence that sustain patriarchal norms. The moderate group (25%) exhibits what Fairclough describes as discursive ambiguity, attempting to synthesize victim protection with traditional moral values, yet remaining vulnerable to ideological co-optation. Meanwhile, the progressive cluster (40%) employs hashtag activism to construct counterpublics, reproducing human rights narratives through viral TikTok content. Nevertheless, its efforts are constrained by the ongoing tensions between the TPKS Law and the Electronic Information and Transactions (ITE) Law, which has frequently been used in cases involving victims of Online Gender-Based Violence (OGBV).

These findings extend pre-enactment studies, such as Nurul's (2022) analysis of #SahkanRUUPKS, which primarily mapped binary polarization between supporters and opponents. The present study provides evidence that, following enactment, the discourse has evolved into a sustained arena of ideological contestation. This dynamic underscores that legal regulation should not be viewed as the "finish line" of digital activism; rather, it constitutes a transformative variable that reshapes the ecology of gender discourse within Indonesia's algorithmically mediated public sphere.

CONCLUSION

The findings of this study demonstrate that the enactment of Law No. 12 of 2022 on Sexual Violence Crimes (TPKS Law) constituted a critical juncture that reconfigured gender-related hashtag wars on Indonesian social media. The discourse shifted from the binary advocacy phase that characterized the pre-enactment period to a plural ideological contestation emerging after 2023, marked by the predominance of progressive (40%), conservative (35%), and moderate (25%) clusters.

The transformation of hashtag war dynamics is evident in the shift from narratives emphasizing the urgency of victim protection toward debates concerning legal interpretation, religious legitimacy, and policy implementation, as reflected in hashtags such as #RevisiUUTPKS and #UUTPKSLemah. Platform algorithms further intensified patriarchal polarization by amplifying antagonistic framing and emotionally charged content. Through critical digital discourse analysis, this study confirms that the TPKS Law does not represent the “finish line” of gender activism. Rather, it has become an ongoing epistemic arena in which power relations are reproduced and contested. Conservative actors seek to maintain existing structures of subordination through narratives of moral threat, progressive actors advocate transformative social change, while moderate actors occupy an ambivalent position between these competing perspectives.

The findings further suggest that the state requires comprehensive post-legislative digital communication strategies to manage discursive contestation, prevent Online Gender-Based Violence through anti-victim-blaming educational initiatives, and strengthen the implementation of derivative regulations and law-enforcement mechanisms. By shifting analytical attention from hashtag mobilization to post-legislative dynamics within Indonesia’s algorithmic ecosystem, this study contributes to the growing field of gender communication research and offers new insights into the relationship between digital activism, ideological contestation, and the politics of gender justice in contemporary Indonesia.

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