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ABSTRACT

News coverage about a junior high school girl who was raped and found dead was first appeared on April 5th, 2016 in several local sites in Bengkulu. Yuyun's case started to gain traction after social media users had initiatives to use hashtag #NyalaUntukYuyun as an expression of sympathy. This online act followed by several offline actions and Yuyun's case became the start of public awareness of sexual violence against minors' issue. The goal of this article is to describe how participatory culture of social media users regarding the Yuyun case. Method used is virtual ethnography, with social media observed are Twitter. Result from this study are, netizens participated online via Twitter by using particular hashtags. At first netizens only have Low participation but rose to a high participation for their offline collaboration through "Ring the Warning Signs" and Solidarity Night. From these results, we recommend the modern social movement to use both online and offline media to attract public participation.

Keywords: participatory culture, sexual violence, the Yuyun case

Sexual Violence against Minor in Indonesia

Child sexual abuse is a major scourge in Indonesia, especially in the 2016. According to Indonesian Child Protection Commission (KPAI), in 2015 there were 1,726 recorded cases of sexual assault on minors (Belarminus, 2016). Besides those numbers, KPAI also recorded 40 cases of gang rape in Indonesia (Purba, 2016). And according to the National Commission on Violence against Women, an average of 35 women are victims of sexual violence in Indonesia every day. Nearly 70% of cases of violence against women, be they fatal or nonfatal, are committed by family members or partners (Kwok, 2016).

In 2016, child sexual abuse case became a spotlight after a gang rape was conducted in April 2016 to a 14 years old minor, YY, in Kasiah Kasubun village, Bengkulu. At first, not many people talked about this case, only one local news media gave a coverage, and it was not very detail. Until Kartika Jahja of Kolektif Betina community initiated a campaign on Twitter with the hashtag #NyalaUntukYuyun. This hashtag #NyalauntukYuyun survived for nine hours as one of the popular topics on Twitter on Monday, May 3, 2016. The campaign is intended to put pressure on policy maker so that this case can be processed objectively (Franciska, 2016).

Other hashtag used are #YYAdalahKita and #SaveOurSister or #SOS. The hashtag #YYadalahKita initiated by some people that are concerned about cases of child sexual abuse, including Frenia Nababan of Perkumpulan Keluarga Berencana Indonesia (PKBI) or Indonesia Family Planning Association, and Dhyta Caturani, a female activist. #YYAdalahKita is a token of appreciation without mentioning the original name of the victim. This is done as a form of protection for victims and to educate the public that sexual assault victims should be protected, including by not mentioning the name of victims in variety of

reports. #YYAdalahKita is also an analogy to show that this case can happen to anyone no matter where they resided.

While hashtag #SaveOurSister or #SOS is the name of the movement that also has two meanings, which are (1) sexual crimes is dangerous and (2) as a form of concern for the victims of sexual violence. Netizen participation in YY case was not only happening on Twitter, Lentera Indonesia, a support group for victims of sexual violence, and Magdalene, an online magazine based in Jakarta, initiated a petition on Change.org. The petition, contains the urgency for a discussion of Sexual Violence Elimination Act by Indonesian parliament.

Cases of sexual assault on children in Indonesia is like an iceberg phenomenon. These cases often go unreported because of the stigma that sexual violence occurs because of the victim's fault. The tendency of people to blame the victims of sexual harassment makes many women reluctant to report cases of sexual violence (Fauziah, 2016). By looking at the phenomenon in YY case, we tried to answer two questions in this research, (1) how is the participatory culture in YY case? And (2) how did the internet affect participation in the real world? We aim here to answer those questions and to give understanding about various functions of Twitter as a tool of online participation especially in the case of sexual violence against minor in Indonesia.

Literature Review

Participatory Culture

Participatory culture is a term introduced by Henry Jenkins in 2006. This term refers to a culture with relatively low barriers to artistic expression and civic engagement, strong support for creating and for sharing one's creations, and

some type of informal mentorship whereby what is known by the most experienced is passed along to novices (Jenkins, 2006). Delwiche & Henderson (2013) also added that a participatory culture is also one in which members believe their contribution matter, and feel some degree of social connections with one another (at least they care what other people think about what they have created). Jenkins (2006) divided forms of participatory culture include:

1. Affiliations – memberships, formal and informal on online communities centered around various forms of media, such as Friendster, Facebook, Twitter)
2. Expressions – producing new creative forms, such as digital sampling, skinning, and modding, fan video making, fan fiction writing)
3. Collaborative Problem Solving – working together in teams, formal and informal, to complete tasks and develop new knowledge (such as Wikipedia, gaming, spoiling)
4. Circulations – shaping the flow of media (such as podcasting, blogging)

The concept of participatory culture emerged after social communities adapt to the new technology that allows users to share information in new ways. A culture of participation can thrive because of their "affinity spaces", which offers the opportunity for users to learn and participate with other users (Jenkins, 2006).

James Gee found their affinity spaces can be successful as it can bridge the differences in basic demographic of users, such as age, gender, race, social class, and education level. In addition users can also participate according to their expertise, so that each user feels as an expert and can contribute their knowledge to other users. The participatory culture concept, also has three weaknesses, namely (Jenkins, et.al, 2009):

1. The participation gap: the unequal access to opportunities, skills, and knowledges that prevent public for full participation
2. The transparency problem: the challenges that public face to recognize the ways that media shape perceptions of the world
3. The ethics challenge: the breakdown of traditional forms.

Online Participation and Civic Engagement

Internet, make information and communication are easier to share. Often it emerges as part of an interactive process and Internet websites and bulletin boards serve as depositories where useful information is collected and stored and becomes a communal public good (Butler, 2011). Emerging channel of communications since the internet is through websites. With websites, companies can interact directly with the public but with the pattern of one-way communication and top-down. Through websites, organizations cannot interact with a large audience, or identify individuals who leave comments, as well as fellow users cannot communicate with each other (Halpern &Lee, 2011). But, with the emergence of social media had added changes to other digital channels.

The presence of social media gives two important changes, namely (1) the exchange of information occurs in public, this resulted in a pattern of communication between organizations as a two-way communication and community members also have access to content that is left by other members. Another changes (2) social media also allows for horizontal communication, where people can exchange comments with each other (Halpern &Lee, 2011). Social media users also have a characteristic which is actively choosing the content of interest to them. If the content is interesting then social media users

will actively provide reviews or sharing that information to their peers, whereas if the content is not interesting then they will ignore it.

By having relations, people will engage in social activities as well as learning to hone skills needed to establish a broader relationship. In social activities people are required to pay attention to issues happening in the community in order to discuss them with other members, and with increasing scope of relations, people will seek out a larger and more complex issues, including social issues. Discussion in a public forum is more apt to occur through social media, in which the interaction takes place instantaneously and without gatekeeper to filter news and opinion. So it can be safely concluded that the way people use social media demonstrate their online participation.

Some researchers argue that, through discussion the members of the community can share their opinions, understand the opinions of others, and contribute in developing the ideas that lead to civic engagement (Halpern & Lee, 2011). Civic engagement based on The Pew Research Center are individual and collective actions designed to identify and address issues of public concern (Pew Research Center, 2013). Civic Engagement can take many forms, from individual volunteerism to organizational involvement to electoral participation. It can include efforts to directly address an issue, work with others in a community to solve a problem or interact with the institutions of representative democracy.

Ross Mayfield also gave the power law of participation concept, which stated that user participation can be divided from reading the link, pressing the "like" button, to organizing collective action in a general election. The forms of digital participation could lead to deeper engagement and become more creative. Low level of participation, such as reading an online article, tagging, and commenting, will form a community that has a collective intelligence. While high digital

participation rates, such as collaboration, moderation, and leading social movements, will form a community with collaborative intelligence (Halpern & Lee, 2011).

Participation conducted by netizens is sharing of information and spreading knowledge to the people who become their followers in social media. Digital technology provides flexibility that means more than one person's knowledge and skills can be brought to bear in getting a message out (Butler, 2011). Papacharissi (2010) added points to how citizen-users can participate in campaigns whilst simultaneously enjoying television and/or chatting with family in the privacy of their own home.

Butler (2011), gave a detail explanation in his thesis, titled "Clicktivism, Slacktivism, or 'Real' Activism Cultural Code of American Activism in the Internet Era", stated online activities, particularly identifying issues of concern and organizing and mobilizing people to address issues, certainly fulfill this definition. Consider the possible effect of a well-crafted political argument posted to one's Facebook page or a homemade video expressing a particular viewpoint uploaded to YouTube. If one's message resonates with even one other person, regardless of an author's ethos, digital media allows one to express an opinion that can be widely spread, far beyond word of mouth that might begin at a cocktail party or neighborhood barbecue, and with the author's message as originally presented. The successes of once-anonymous bloggers and even individuals posting short tweets on Twitter, some of whom were launched into fame with book and movie deals, and even TV show pilots, illustrate the possibilities that exist for not only raising awareness, but also prompting desired action.

Twitter and Public Participation

Twitter is a popular microblogging service that enables the users to send and read short text messages (up to 140 characters), commonly known as tweets. The service offers an interesting example of the convergence between "old" and "new" media and between "producers" and "consumers" (Jenkins, 2006). After its launch on July 2006, Twitter users have increased rapidly; on December 2009, they were estimated as 75 million worldwide with around 6.2 million new accounts per month (basically 2-3 per second), which makes Twitter one of the fastest growing web sites in the world (Cataldi, et al, 2010). Lovejoy and Saxton (2012) give a few example about the usages of Twitter such as become a vehicle for narcissism, opinion-making, and information-sharing. By contrast, studies by Hughes and Palen (2009) and Smith (2010) have shown how Twitter can serve as a valuable communication and information-sharing resource during emergency-relief efforts. Other research on Twitter performed by Deller (2011) which states that by studying user participation in Twitter, a deeper understanding of the audience can be obtained and its relation to the use of old and new media.

Cyberurban Space

Cyberurban space concept was first introduced by Merlyna Lim in 2015. This concept offered by Lim perceive that online and offline worlds can no longer be separated, but must be seen as one entity. Lim (2015) defines cyberurban space as a term describing a complex spatial landscape of modern society, where the boundaries between cyber and physical space increasingly blurred.

Through the development of social media, such as Facebook, Twitter, or LinkedIn, society interact not only in the online world but also brought those virtual experiences to the offline realm. For example, when a person establish relationships through LinkedIn (online) and decided to meet face to face (offline) to establish a deeper relationship with the person. For modern society, daily activities assisted by electronic devices and the Internet, the boundaries between the physical and digital lives are becoming increasingly blurred. Life in the virtual world became a part of the real lives of urban residents. This happens in the daily life of urban societies, who experienced the offline and online world and can switch very quickly between them. These urban societies does not see one of the world as more important or more real than the other.

Methodology

This study used a qualitative approach with virtual ethnography method. Briefly, virtual ethnography is the process of constructing ethnography using virtual environments (Hine, 2015). In conventional ethnographic method, research carried out in the real world using field studies and then described in details the experience of people in a community culture. Researchers are trying to be part of this community and become familiar with its members as well as their behavior from day to day. In the virtual ethnography, interview and survey data can be obtained from the information that has been circulating on the Internet, such as through social media or internet forum (Hine, 2015).

Data were collected through a virtual observation on Twitter with hashtags related to YY case, namely #NyalauntukYuyun, #YYAdalahKita, #SaveOurSister, and #SOS. YY case is chosen in this study because it is considered as a case that raises the issue of sexual violence against children in

Indonesia. In addition, data was also collected through interviews with Frenia Nababan (FN) and Bahaluddin Surya (BS).

Results

Based on the interviews conducted with FN (07/14/2016), stated that participation happens on the Internet is a reflection of the real world. People who are concerned with an issue, but did not have enough time and energy, can participate online. According to FN, the internet is quite helpful in increasing awareness about the cases of sexual assault on children.

Just like in the offline world, the online world also has online opinion leaders. The task of these opinion leader is to influence people to increase awareness of the YY case. Opinion leaders have high credibility on what was being discussed. In cases of sexual assault on children, one of online opinion leader is Kartika Jahja of Betina Kolektif community. Kartika Jahja is the one who initiated the case by using Twitter, after she read the coverage in local media in Bengkulu. Lack of news coverage and society being ignorant to this case makes Kartika Jahja, who is also an activist, angry and initiated hashtag #NyalaUntukYuyun. Hashtags are used as a form of anger and solidarity, not only in the YY case but also for other women who falls victim of sexual assault. Hashtags are also intended for the media to cover news about sexual violence. Similar cases are expected to be taken seriously by law enforcement officials. Here is a fragment of Kartika Jahja tweet using the hashtag #NyalaUntukYuyun:

> @kartikajahja: Forward this flame. Our solidarity is the flame in the dark for victims of sexual violence #NyalaUntukYuyun (4/30/2016)

The second online opinion leader in YY case is Lentera Indonesia, with Twitter ID @LenteraID. Lentera Indonesia is a support group for sexual violence survivor. They became opinion leader by initiating an online petition through Change.org to put a pressure on parliament to ratify the Sexual Violence Elimination Act. Until 29th July 2016, this online petition has been signed by 76.225 supporters. This petition will be forwarded to the Indonesian parliament and the President of Indonesia.

From interviews with informants, they agree that social media can reach a large audience, but it is not without flaws. There are two drawbacks of public participation through social media, the first is a short term trending topic. Social media, especially Twitter have information with a very fast turnaround. Every second there are new tweets to appear. This is what makes it so hard to be Trending Topic continuously. Opinion leaders should actively discuss the sexual abuse against children, so that the public does not forget to the case.

The second drawback is the limitations of virtual network. Informant, BS, saw that social media is an Internet-based application, this leads to inequality in internet penetration in Indonesia. Only the urban areas who have access to the internet, otherwise rural areas are still difficult to gain internet access. According to kominfo.go.id (2016) Internet users in Indonesia, in 2016, have reached 82 million people, while the population of Indonesian citizen is more than 220 million people. This is why only a small part of Indonesian people who participated online, especially in cases of sexual assault on children.

From Online Participation to Offline Solidarity

Discussion on Twitter related to YY case, using hashtags #YYAdalahKita, #SaveOurSister, and #SOS can ultimately provide a great awareness among netizens. Many parties initiated various offline movement as a form of solidarity with the cases of sexual violence to these children. There are two offline solidarity events which will be discussed in this paper, namely "Ring the Warning Signs" and Solidarity Night with Victims of Sexual Violence.

"Ring the Warning Signs" initiated by some people who are concerned about YY case. This action was held on Wednesday, May 4th, 2016 at precisely 16:00 to 18:00 across the Indonesian Presidential Palace. The action was carried out as a form of solidarity by honking every instruments such as wind chimes, and other musical instrument at 17.30. The action was disseminated through social media, especially twitter, and had received a good reception from various cities in Indonesia. There are some cities that participate in these actions, i.e. Jogjakarta, Bengkulu, Makassar, Semarang, and several other areas in Indonesia.

Action in the offline realm does not stop at "Ring the Warning Signs", another action taken is a night of solidarity for victims of sexual violence at the Proclamation Monument in Jakarta, on May 13, 2016. According to the informant, FN, that the action was successfully held, shown by many people participated in the action (14/07/2016).

Discussion

Netizen participation in YY case provide empirical evidence that participation culture has grown in Indonesian society. YY case raised to the attention of public because of cases of sexual assault on children is regarded as a common enemy of

society. Although attention to this case were given late, but that does not mean people do not care about what was happening. The case is raising to public awareness after opinion leader (Kartika Jahja) tweet this case, and ultimately create a hashtags used widely by netizens.

According to James Gee, that in participatory culture there is affinity spaces, which is the imaginary space used as a place to share knowledge and information in which the public can participate to express their opinions. In this case, a specific Twitter hashtags used as affinity space where twitter successfully bridge differences in geography, gender, race, level of education, religion, and others. Society is not concerned about the background differences of people who share information about this case, instead they focus on shared contents.

In accordance with Jenkins (2009), in which the forms of participatory culture includes Affiliations, expressions, collaborative problem solving, and circulations. (1) Affiliations in YY case can be seen in the netizen's informal membership indicated via tweets marked with the hashtags. (2) The emergence of a wide variety of hashtags related to the YY case (#YYAdalahKita and #SaveOurSister) also shows that netizens using twitter as a medium to channel self-expression associated with this case. Through hashtags searches, can be seen that the majority of netizens were angry and disappointed with this case. (3) Netizens also collaborate by using the same hashtags to raise public awareness against sexual harassment to children. In addition netizens also made a petition to push the Elimination of Sexual Violence Act under discussion of Indonesian Parliament. (4) Through the hashtags, people who do not know about YY case will be easier to understand this case, based on the history of the conversation. After the story about YY being spread by opinion leader, the media, who were initially indifferent to this case, started writing about cases of sexual abuse of

children. The participation of the media increase awareness of these cases to another level.

Based on the power law of participation proposed by Ross Mayfield, in this case the netizen participation is high. This can be seen from the number of people who participated in an online petition as well as their participation in offline events. The netizen also collaborated to make a night of solidarity in various regions as well as the action of "Ring the Warning Signs' which is also carried out simultaneously in several regions in Indonesia. Collaboration is done as a form of efforts to increase awareness and encourage the government to be more concerned about cases of sexual violence against children.

Participation on the internet in YY case could affect solidarity in the real world. This is consistent with the concept cyberurban space by Merlyna Lim, who stated in an urban society, the world of online and offline are no longer seen as separate, but as one entity (Lim, 2015). Many urban communities are using social media, so they view cyberspace as part of their real world. This led to the online petitions and offline solidarity movements in the YY case can be supported by many people. We also look at Twitter, though it can functions as a bridge, also still functions as a tool to encourage online participation of the community. It is as asserted by Lim (2015) that cyberurban space has a hybrid concept, which people can move quickly from one media to the other. This is useful if in modern social movements, the authorities block online media then the movement can continue in offline media, and vice versa.

Summary

In the case of YY, netizens participated online via Twitter by using particular hashtags. Hectic use of this hashtags succeeded in making YY case as a trending topic on Twitter. The initial goal of this movement is that the mass media would proclaim cases of sexual violence, and do not consider these cases as "ordinary". But seeing the response from netizens, there was a new goal that is putting pressure to the government to draft the Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence. This new goal is almost achieved as the draft of Elimination of the Sexual Violence Act had been discussed by the National Commission for Women and the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection in June 2016 (Rakhmatulloh, 2016). But the journey is not over, until the bill is passed into law. At first netizens only have Low participation but rose to a high participation for their offline collaboration through "Ring the Warning Signs" and Solidarity Night. Moreover, the activists also initiated an online petition, which reap a lot of support. Increased participation also encourages the mass media to cover about the YY case and other similar cases intensely.

Movements in the YY case focused on major cities in Indonesia, where people have been accustomed to using social media in their lives and view the world of online as part of their real world. This is consistent with the concept of cyberurban space by Lim (2015), and led to the signing of petitions in the online media and offline solidarity movement in the YY case can be supported by many people.

From these results, we recommend the modern social movement to use both online and offline media to attract public participation. The purpose of the movement in the YY case is also not fully achieved, so it is still necessary to continue the role of opinion leaders to encourage community participation.

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