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VIOLENCE AGAINST FEMALE JOURNALISTS IN INDONESIA

*A Threat to Journalism and
Freedom of the Press*



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PREFACE

Towards the end of 2021, violence against female journalists received greater public attention when Maria Ressa, a female journalist from the Philippines who experienced a series of acts of violence in President Rodrigo Duterte’s regime, shared the Nobel Peace Prize with Russian journalist Dmitry Muratov, for their struggle to defend freedom of expression.

Maria Ressa, a co-founder of the online media outlet Rappler, was deemed by the Nobel Committee to utilize freedom of expression to “reveal the abuse of power, use of violence, and increasing authoritarianism in the country” (Henley et al., 2021). As one of the most well-known female journalists in the world today, Maria Ressa has received much attention over the last few years for experiencing coordinated digital attacks and numerous lawsuits that human rights defenders have deemed to be state-backed attacks.

The real impact of the award on advocacy on the issue of violence against journalists still needs to be seen. Nevertheless, the Nobel Peace Prize can certainly open more doors towards improving the journalistic work ecosystem—at least increase public and stakeholders’ awareness of the urgency of this issue.

This research, in the form of surveys and interviews in August and September 2021, followed by a focus group discussion with the stakeholders in October 2021, is PR2Media’s effort to participate

in creating a more dignified and democratic ecosystem through mapping the various forms of violence experienced by Indonesian female journalists.

This report does not detail all the findings of our survey. Therefore, readers who want to inquire more are encouraged to access the publication of the *2021 National Survey Result: Violence Against Indonesian Female Journalists* (PRMedia, 2021) on pr2media.or.id page.

Hopefully, this research, followed by the preparation of the modules, online training, and campaigns, can provide a complete and more up-to-date picture to help formulate measures to prevent and overcome violence against female journalists in the country. Our appreciation goes to all female journalists who have participated and supported this nationwide research, and acknowledgements to USAID and Internews for all the support in this series of activities.

Sincerely,
Engelbertus Wendratama
Program Coordinator

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This research was conducted through a survey (involving 1,256 respondents) and interviews (six informants) of female journalists in 191 cities, representing western, central, and eastern parts of Indonesia.

This survey included 25 questions about the respondents' violence experiences related to their work in the digital and physical world. The forms of violence asked in the questionnaire cover all forms of violence that we could find in literature and case records in Indonesia and abroad, including various policies and practices of discrimination for female journalists in the workplace related to salaries, reporting assignments, and so on, which we included in the categories of violence in the physical domain.

From all the survey respondents, the researcher selected six respondents to be interviewed, based on the diversity of forms of violence, the context of the incidents, where they lived, and the form of media where they worked at. Furthermore, the findings of the survey and interviews were presented in discussions to various stakeholders to enrich the findings.

According to the statements from the female journalists, as many as 1,077 respondents (85.7%) had experienced violence during their journalistic career. Of these, as many as 70.1% of the respondents had experienced violence in the digital domain as well as in the physical domain, 7.9% of respondents had experienced

only violence in the digital domain (online), and 7.8% of respondents had experienced only violence in the physical domain (offline). Meanwhile, only 179 respondents (14.3%) never experienced any form of violence at all.

Of all forms of violence in the digital and physical domains investigated in the questionnaire, the form most commonly experienced by the respondents was offline body-shaming comments (59%), followed by online disturbing/harassing comments of a non-sexual nature (48%), online body-shaming comments (45%), offline threats or harassments of a sexual nature (40%), offline non-sexual threats or harassment (37%), online disturbing/harassing comments of a sexual nature (34%), gender discrimination at work (32%), online misinformation/defamation (28%), online abuses related to ethnicity/religion/race (22%), and physical assaults of a sexual nature (22%).

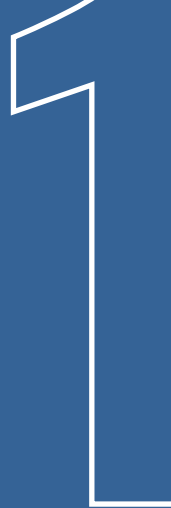
Based on the 272 received responses (aside from the respondents who chose not to respond), there were several ways in which respondents acted in response to cases of violence that they experienced. The way that most respondents (52%) chose to do was to report to their superiors or co-workers. Another common response was to report to the relevant organization such as journalist associations (29%) and file a lawsuit (10%). Other responses were to solve the problem independently, such as through personal confrontation, direct rebuke, discussions, counterattacks, recounting to relatives, and writing articles.

Of the 1,256 respondents, most of the suggestions related to the supporting tools and assistance that can prevent or overcome violence were training (40%), followed by guidelines or modules on preventing and overcoming violence (29%), legal aid or assistance (23%), and psychological assistance (7%).

In the interviews, all informants (six journalists) said that they had experienced sexual violence perpetrated by sources, both in the digital and physical domains. In the digital domain, informants experienced various forms of sexual violence, from seductive messages to photos of genitalia sent by their sources on WhatsApp. Sexual violence in the physical domain, for example, having their hair, shoulder, and cheek stroked, then hugged and their buttocks held, and their hand touched. Other examples were invitations to meet or interview at a hotel and proposals for marriage as a second or third wife.

For non-sexual violence, the informants said that this form of violence occurred mainly because of the reporting carried out by the informants, and their sources perpetrated the violence. This form of violence occurred in both physical and digital domains. For example, three informants had received death threats directly or via telephone and social media platforms.

Although the survey data do not show a strong relationship between the acts of violence and the topic of the journalists' reporting, interviews show that female journalists are more vulnerable to violence when covering issues considered risky, such as gender and sexuality (LGBTIQ) and the environment. The latter finding is in line with the statement by the Committee to Protect Journalists, which classifies environmental investigations in developing countries as dangerous, second only to reporting of armed conflicts.



INTRODUCTION

Freedom of the press has been guaranteed by Article 28 of the 1945 State Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and Law No. 40/1999 on the Press. However, violence against journalists, especially female journalists, continues to occur and is often minimally responded to by adequate legal and non-legal actions. Consequently, more significant efforts are necessary to address this issue.

This research seeks to map and identify violence against female journalists so that an educational module and a set of methods can be formulated for female journalists to prevent and overcome violence through training and advocacy. In addition, the findings of this research will also serve as the basis for policy and actions recommendations for regulators of the press (Press Council, Indonesian Broadcasting Commission, Ministry of Communication and Informatics, Commission I of the Indonesian House of Representatives), journalist associations (such as the Alliance of Independent Journalists–AJI, and the Indonesian Journalists Association–PWI), media company associations (such as the Indonesian Cyber Media Association, the Indonesian Private Television Association, and the Union of Press Organizations), and other parties to deal with this issue.

Prior to this research, there have been several studies related to violence against journalists in Indonesia, but according to our records there has not been a nationwide survey that focuses on female journalists.

According to reports received by AJI during 2017–2021, cases of violence experienced by male and female journalists amounted to 300 cases. The cases were varied, ranging from beatings, destruction of journalist’s equipment, civil lawsuits, to murder. In the report titled “Press Freedom Deteriorating Amidst the

Pandemic” published by AJI Indonesia (2021) (Mawel et al., 2021), cases of violence against journalists reported during 3 May 2020–3 May 2021 totaled 90 cases—an increase from the previous period, which amounted to 57 cases. Cases of violence recorded by AJI Indonesia during 2017–2021 are tabulated in the table below.

Table 1
Violence Against Indonesian Journalists (2017–2021)

No.	Form of Violence	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	Total
1.	Physical violence	34	16	22	15	8	95
2.	Expulsion/ban on reporting	13	11	5	2	3	34
3.	Threats of violence or terror	7	10	6	7		30
4.	Damage of journalist’s equipment and/or work product	6	9	14	21		50
5.	Litigation/criminalization	5	7	7	5	1	25
6.	Mass mobilization/attack on the editorial office	1	2		1		4
7.	Verbal intimidation by state officials		5	1	23	1	30
8.	Censorship/prohibition of reporting		4	3	2		9
9.	Threats				1	2	3
10.	Deletion of journalist’s work product				2		2
11.	Detention				2	1	3
12.	Civil lawsuits				1		1
13.	Digital attacks					5	5
14.	Terror and intimidation					3	3
15.	Damage/confiscation of equipment				1	1	2
16.	Legal prosecution					3	3
17.	Murder					1	1
	Total	66	64	58	83	29	300

(Source: Processed from AJI Indonesia’s data)

It is worth noting, in addition to repression against journalists that occurred offline, violence had also occurred online. In the span of May 2020 to the end of April 2021, there were 14 terror cases in the form of digital attacks, namely against 10 journalists and four news sites. The types of attacks were also quite diverse, including eight cases of doxing, four cases of hacking, and two cases of distributed denial-of-service (DDoS) attacks. Data on digital attacks in AJI's publication are in line with SAFEnet's findings (Banimal, 2020), that journalists are the profession with the most doxing targets in Indonesia throughout 2020.

AJI had also conducted a survey of female journalists about the violence they had experienced (AJI Indonesia, 2021). Of the 34 respondents surveyed, 25 of them (73%) had experienced sexual violence during 2020.

Meanwhile, a survey on press freedom and the safety of journalists during the pandemic was carried out by a research team from the Institute for Criminal Justice Reform (ICJR), the Legal Aid Center for the Press (LBH Pers), and the Indonesian Judicial Research Society (IJRS) on 125 male and female journalists in Indonesia (Shader et al., 2021). This survey found that 24% of respondents had experienced physical, non-physical, digital, or legal assaults during the pandemic.

This vulnerability was also reflected in the data compiled by LBH Pers. During 2020, there were 117 cases of violence against journalists, which increased by 32% compared to the previous year, which was 79 cases. The 2020 figure was the highest since LBH Pers began monitoring violence against journalists (LBH Pers, 2021).

In addition, violence was not only directed at journalists as individuals, but also against media organizations. LBH Pers recorded

at least six cases of assault directed at media organizations during 2020, such as those experienced by Tirto, Tempo, Magdalene, and Konde (Shader et al., 2021). Most recently, in October 2021, a cyber-attack was experienced by the Project Multatuli media website in the form of DDoS following the media's uploading of a report on a rape case in East Luwu Regency, South Sulawesi (Guritno, 2021).

Meanwhile, a study related to violence against journalists with a more specific scope was carried out by Nuraryo (2020). Nuraryo's research focuses on psychological implications of victims of violence experienced by journalists in a case of alleged extortion at a public service place in the city of "A". The results of Nuraryo's research show that journalists received intimidation after reporting on the case. Several informants stated that they felt deeply devastated, afraid to return to their profession, especially when they had to report on demonstrations, land confiscations, or conflicts. The loss of confidence had also led to their poor performance on the field and a lingering feeling of vengeful resentment.

Another thing to note is the inequality of rights between female and male journalists, as discussed in Stellarosa and Silaban's research (2019) that conducted in-depth interviews with three informants from *Koran Sindo*, *Kompas*, and *Jawa Pos*.

Stellarosa and Silaban highlighted two major injustices suffered by female journalists. First, in terms of benefits and health facilities, female journalists are not considered the head of the family so that the health facilities and insurance they receive are different from those of male journalists. Second, in terms of editorial structure, female journalists are not given much space in top positions such as editor-in-chief.

The issue of violence against female journalists also needs to be seen in the bigger picture, namely violence against women in

general in Indonesia, which experienced a sharp increase in 2020. Komnas Perempuan (National Commission on Violence against Women) received 2,389 complaints, up 40% from 2019 (970 cases). The highest domains of violence occurred in personal/household level, namely 1,404 cases (65%), followed by public/community level with 706 cases (33%), and national level of 24 cases (1%). The form of violence in the public/community level is dominated by sexual violence, with 590 cases (56%) (Komnas Perempuan, 2021).

The findings above indicate that violence against female journalists are multi-faceted and multi-perspective in nature, where methods to prevent and address the violence certainly need to be enriched with up-to-date and complementary data.

Due to the need for data on violence against Indonesian female journalists that are comprehensive and nationwide, PR2Media conducted a research consisting of a survey with 1,256 respondents and interviews with six informants in August and September 2021. Thus, this research was able to produce nationally representative data on the experiences of Indonesian female journalists facing various forms of violence in the digital and physical domains.

1. Research Objectives

- a. To identify cases of violence in digital and physical domains experienced by Indonesian female journalists.
- b. To know the needs of female journalists for resources (tools and support) to prevent and deal with various cases of violence in the digital and physical domains.
- c. To formulate the efforts needed from various stakeholders to respond to cases of violence against Indonesian female journalists.

2. Research Methodology

This research used mixed methods, namely quantitative (survey) and qualitative (interviews), all of which were conducted online. The survey was conducted to identify forms of violence in the digital and physical domains against female journalists, which includes the context of the incident, triggering factors for the case, perpetrators of violence, intensity, medium of violence, mitigation factors, and others. Overall, there were 16 forms of violence that were investigated with the respondents, namely eight forms of violence in the digital domain and eight forms of violence in the physical domain.

The samples encompassed 1,256 respondents by considering a margin of error of $\pm 2.7\%$ and a 95% confidence level. Samples were taken using the snowball sampling method and represented the western, central, and eastern parts of Indonesia.

Interviews were conducted with six female journalists, who were selected from respondents who had experienced various types of violence in the digital and physical domains. Selection criteria were made based on the complexity of the violence experienced, the form of violence, the context of the incident, and the impact of the violence. In this report, six interview informants were referred to by pseudonyms, namely Nita, Dian, Yeni, Tari, Wulan, and Rita.

Interviews were conducted mainly to answer the two main questions. *First*, how is violence in the digital and physical domain experienced by Indonesian female journalists? *Second*, how did the journalist respond to the violence and what kind of support did they receive and expect?

The interviews documented several cases of violence against female journalists, whose diversity of cases is expected to represent

cases nationally. In this way, adequate recommendations can be formulated for efforts to prevent and overcome violence against female journalists, both in the digital and physical domains.

3. Respondents' Profiles

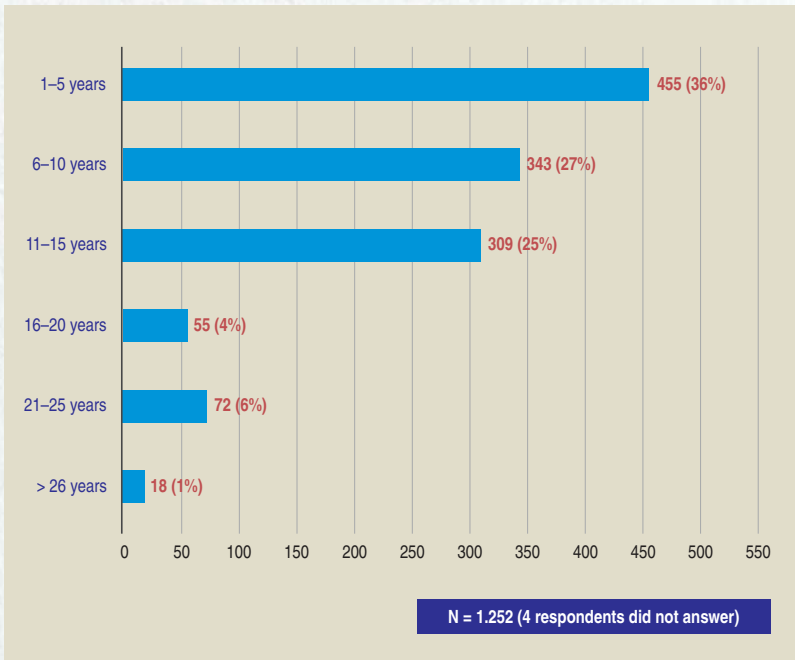
A total of 1,256 respondents lived in 191 cities/districts across 33 provinces. Only the province of West Papua was not represented by any of the respondents, and this was not intentional. This was not possible because the network of female journalists that distributed the digital survey questionnaires coincidentally did not reach any female journalists in West Papua. Meanwhile, the majority of respondents came from the city of Jakarta (86 respondents or 6.8% of the total), followed by Makassar (4.1%), Pontianak (3.9%), Pekanbaru (3.9%), Medan (3.6%), Kendari (2.8%), Manado (2.6%), Depok (2.4%), Semarang (2.4%), and Kupang (2.3%).

Table 2
Types of Job

Type of Job	Frequency	Percentage
Editor	206	16.4
Reporter	838	66.7
Producer	22	1.8
Managing Editor	43	3.4
Editor-in-chief	54	4.3
Presenter	53	4.2
Photographer	8	0.6
Others (content creator, program creator, creative writer, and others)	32	2.6
Total	1,256	100.0

In terms of type of job, most of the respondents worked as reporters (838 respondents or 66.7%). Followed by respondents working as editors (206 respondents or 16.4%), editors-in-chief (54 respondents or 4.3%), broadcasters/presenters (53 respondents or 4.2%), and managing editors (43 respondents or 3.4%).

Figure 1
Length of Service



Meanwhile, most of the respondents had worked as journalists between 1-5 years (455 respondents or 36%). Respondents who worked for 6-15 years were quite dominant. A total of 90 respondents had worked more than 20 years.

Table 3
Respondent's Age

Respondent's Age	Frequency	Percentage
18 years old	1	0.1
20-25 years old	254	20.2
26-30 years old	338	26.9
31-35 years old	240	19.1
36-40 years old	181	14.4
41-45 years old	135	10.8
46-50 years old	77	6.1
>50 years old	29	2.3
Did not answer	1	0.1
Total (N)	1,256	100.0

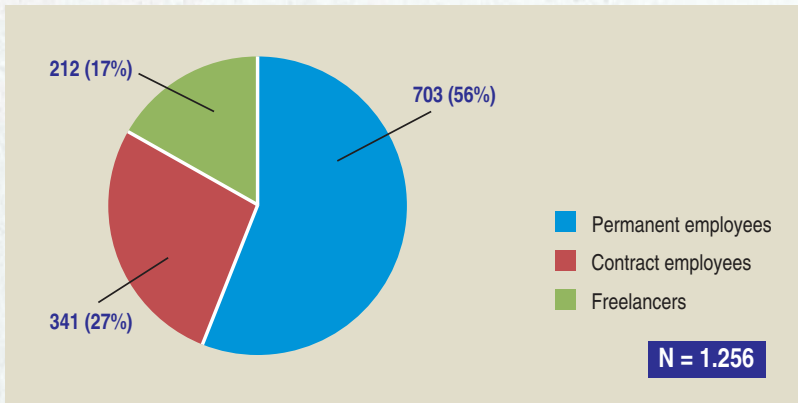
For the age of respondents, most of them were between 26–30 years old with a total of 338 respondents (26.9%). Journalists seem to be mostly young people, aged 20–35 years old. However, there was a substantial number of respondents aged over 40 years, totaling 241 respondents (19.1%).

Table 4
Type of Media Employing the Respondent

Type of Media	Frequency	Percentage
Online	625	49.8
Print	255	20.3
Television	162	12.9
Radio	143	11.4
Cross-platform	71	5.6
Total (N)	1,256	100.0

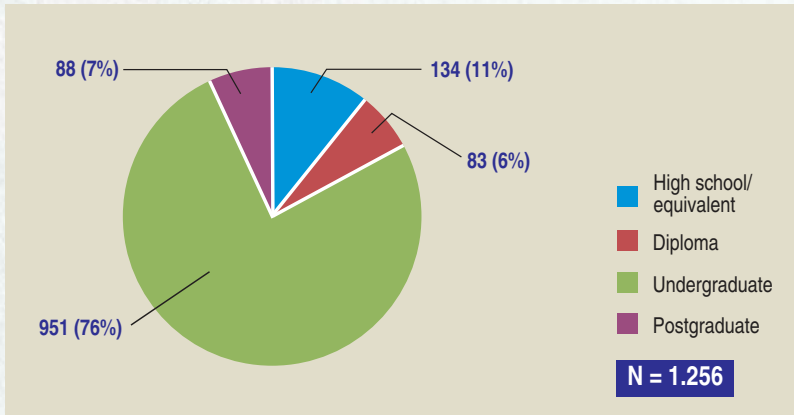
The table above shows the type of media where the respondents worked. Most respondents worked at online news media with a total of 625 respondents (49.8%). A total of 560 respondents (45%) worked at conventional media (such as print, television, and radio). The practice of convergence in the growing media industry means many journalists now work cross-platform, with 71 respondents (5.7%) of respondents employed by cross-platform media companies.

Figure 2
Employment Status



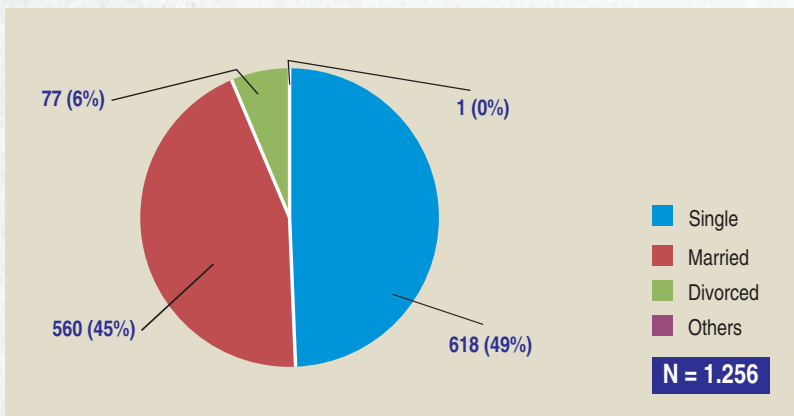
Respondents who were permanent employees made up more than half of the total respondents (703 respondents or 56%). Respondents with the status of contract employees and freelancers were quite significant in number, respectively 341 respondents (27%) and 212 respondents (17%).

Figure 3
Level of Education



Most of the respondents were undergraduates (951 respondents or 76%), followed by graduates of high school or equivalent (134 respondents or 11%), postgraduates (88 respondents or 7%), and diploma holders (83 respondents or 6%).

Figure 4
Marital Status



In terms of marital status, most of the respondents were single (618 respondents or 49%). This number was slightly more than those who were married (560 respondents or 45%). There were 77 respondents (6%) who were divorced, and 1 respondent (0.1%) answered with “others” for their status.

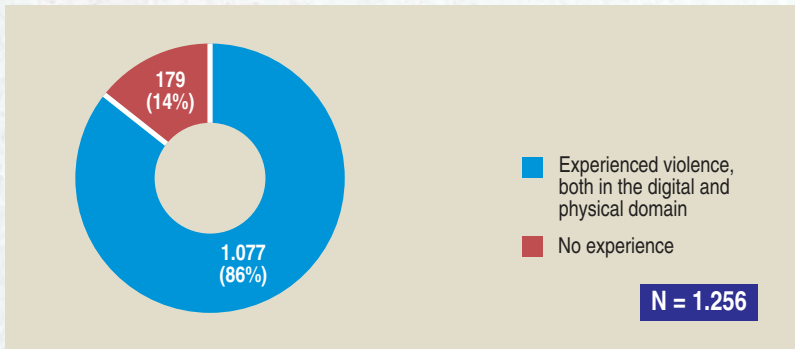
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**VIOLENCE IN
THE DIGITAL DOMAIN**

Before specifically discussing about violence in the digital domain, this chapter will start with general findings.

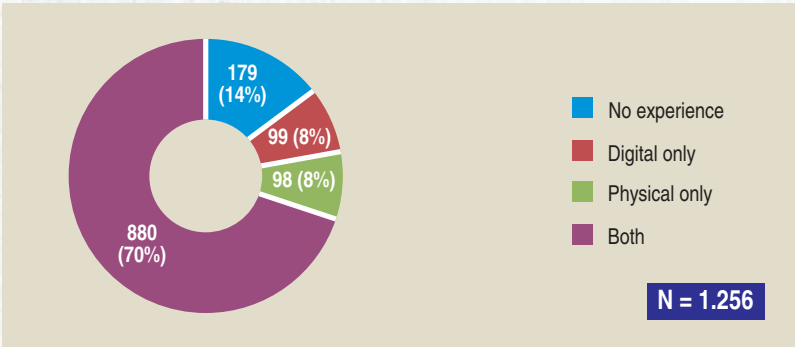
Of the 1,256 female journalists who participated in the survey, 1,077 respondents (85.7%) had experienced violence in their journalistic career, both in the digital domain and in the physical domain. Only 179 respondents (14.3%) had never experienced any violence at all. The data are shown in the figure below.

Figure 5
Number of Journalists Having Experienced Violence



Of the 1,077 journalists, as many as 880 journalists (70%) had experienced violence in the digital domain as well as in the physical domain. As many as 99 journalists (8%) had experienced violence in the digital domain only, and 98 journalists (8%) had experienced violence in the physical domain only. This is presented in the figure below.

Figure 6
Comparison of Journalists Who Had Experienced Digital and Physical Violence



This alarming finding should serve as a warning for all stakeholders in the Indonesian press, especially for regulators of the press, namely the Press Council, the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission, the Ministry of Communication and Information, and Commission I of the Indonesian House of Representatives. In addition, journalists and media companies also need to be more aware of this long-perceived but unconfirmed phenomenon.

According to our records, this research is the first nationwide survey to confirm the widely-circulating individual allegations and stories that many Indonesian female journalists had experienced violence, both in the digital and physical domains.

In addition, regarding the trend of increasing activities of Indonesian citizens in the digital domain and the declining level of activity in the physical domain due to digitization and the COVID-19 pandemic, this survey has also confirmed that violence in the digital domain is experienced more by female journalists than violence in the physical domain, albeit the difference being very slim.

Therefore, considering the trend of violence against female journalists at the global level (Posetti et al., 2021), that violence in the digital domain is more common than violence in the physical domain, particular efforts need to be made to deal with the increasing violence in the digital domain against Indonesian female journalists.

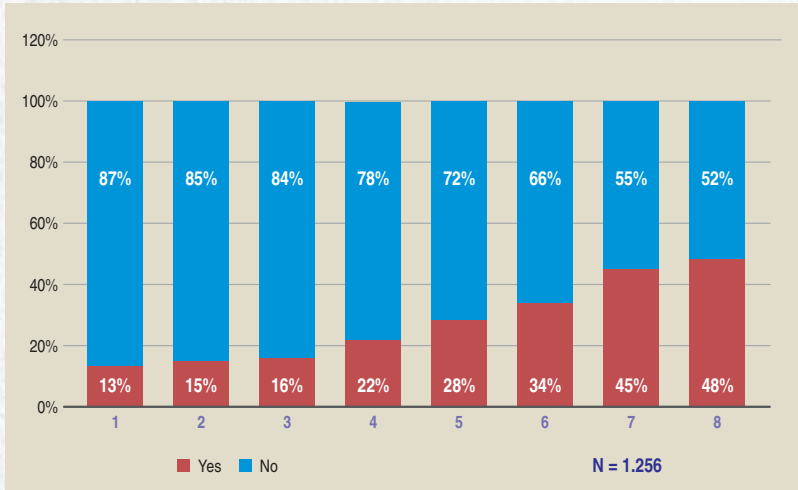
Research conducted by UNESCO in 2020 showed that 73% of female journalists in the world had experienced violence in the digital domain (Posetti et al., 2020). The research involved 900 respondents, 714 of whom were female journalists from 125 countries.

What about the experience of female journalists in Indonesia? Is violence in the digital domain also a problem? If so, what form of digital violence did they experience?

It is worth noting that intimidation and harassment of female journalists in Indonesia in the digital domain can occur both as a result of their profession and their gender identity (Kurnia, 2019). As a consequence of their profession, female journalists are under pressure in the digital domain owing to their reporting being deemed not in line with the wishes of the pressuring groups. As a result of their gender identity, female journalists experience violence in the digital domain more often than male journalists do, because female journalists are considered as objects of harassment or violence.

This PR2Media study found that disturbing/harassing comments of a non-sexual nature (48%) was the form of violence most frequently received in the digital domain by respondents. The second most common form was online body-shaming comments (45%), followed by online disturbing/harassing comments of a sexual nature (34%).

Figure 7
Violence Experienced by Female Journalists
in the Digital Domain



Description of violence in the digital domain

1. Experienced wiretapping/monitoring of telephone and/or internet conversations by third parties, hacking/interception of phone calls/ messages/accounts
2. Received threats of physical violence to murder
3. Had their personal information related to domestic or professional life uploaded by others without consent (doxing)
4. Received insults related to ethnicity/religion/race
5. Became a target of misinformation/defamation
6. Received disturbing/harassing comments of a sexual nature
7. Received body-shaming comments online
8. Received disturbing/harassing comments of a non-sexual nature

The next forms of violence was the spread of misinformation/defamation (28%), abuses related to ethnicity/religion/race (22%), doxing or uploading of personal information related to their domestic and professional life that by others without consent (16%), threats of physical violence to murder (15%), and wiretapping/monitoring

of telephone and/or internet conversations by third parties (hacking/ interception of phone calls/messages/accounts) (13%).

1. Online Body-Shaming Comments

A total of 565 respondents (45%) had received online body-shaming comments with varying frequency. Although most of the respondents (72%) stated that they seldom received such comments, some of the other respondents often (24%), and a small number of respondents very often (4%) received body-shaming comments in the digital domain.

Similar research conducted by Ferrier (2018) shows that body-shaming is one of the forms of assault in the digital domain against female journalists, especially television journalists. The research, supported by Trollbusters and the International Women's Media Foundation, involved 597 female journalists in the United States and other countries. Similar to Ferrier's research, PR2Media's research also shows that female journalists who worked in the television industry experienced the most body-shaming comments (47.5%) compared to those who worked in news site (46.1%), and in print media (45.9%). Body and appearance of female journalists which are "controlled" by various stakeholders to make it look "ideal" on the television screen seems to be the source of body shaming aimed at them.

This kind of condition happens not only in Indonesia but also in other countries such as the United States. A renowned female television journalist, Nina Herrelson (in Desk, 2019), strongly rejects body-shaming comments directed at female journalists who work on television. According to her, female journalists are not models or eye candy who are merely valued based on their

physical appearance, but for the quality of their work as television journalists.

Table 5
Online Body-Shaming & Type of Media Employing the Respondent

Type of Media		Received online body shaming comments		Number of respondents in the category
		No	Yes	
Online	frequency	337	288	625
	%	53.9%	46.1%	100.0%
Print	frequency	138	117	255
	%	54.1%	45.9%	100.0%
Television	frequency	85	77	162
	%	52.5%	47.5%	100.0%
Radio	frequency	90	53	143
	%	62.9%	37.1%	100.0%
Cross-platform	frequency	41	30	71
	%	57.7%	42.3%	100.0%
Total	frequency	691	565	1,256
	%	55.0%	45.0%	100.0%

In percentage terms (percentage in each category of employment status), female journalists with the status of contract employees experienced the most violence (51.3%), compared to those who were permanent employees (44.1%), and freelancers (37.7%). However, in terms of numbers, female journalists who experienced the most violence were permanent employees (310 people). In terms of percentage and number, female journalists with a length of service from 1 to 5 years experienced the most violence (49.7%).

2. Disturbing/Harassing Comments of a Non-Sexual Nature

As many as 600 out of 1,256 female journalists (48%) had received disturbing or harassing comments of a non-sexual nature in the digital domain with different intensities. The highest percentage related to those who said they seldom (80%), followed by often (19%), and very often (2%) received this form of violence.

These comments were usually related to the opinion of sources who were dissatisfied with the performance of female journalists. Some of the expressions they stated were: “What a fool [journalist]!”, “Fake news!”, and “How much did you get paid for that kind of reporting?!”.

These offensive, ambuscading comments show that sources have interests that are not always aligned with the interests of the media, especially in the way female journalists report or present the news. In this context, it can be understood that different levels of knowledge, experience, educational background, and mindset are some of the factors that cause perceptions in the performance of female journalists to be different (Ainah & Yanuar, 2017).

When viewed from the type of media where they worked, female journalists who worked in television (53.1%) received the most non-sexual disturbing/harassing comments compared to female journalists working in news site (51.3%), cross-platform media (48.3%), print media (44.3%), and radio (29.4%).

3. Disturbing/Harassing Sexual Comments

A total of 424 respondents (34%) had received sexually disturbing/harassing comments in various ways from their sources.

One of the informants for the research, Tari, said that she had received disturbing and sexual comments from a source. She received an invitation from the source to meet at a hotel, accompanied by a photo of his genitalia, with the following message:

“He texted, ‘Let’s have a chat. Don’t you want to?’ I answered, ‘What are you talking about?’ He said, ‘I just want to have a chat with you, but I’ll book a room later’.... Yes, I was surprised, ‘Why does it have to be at a hotel?’. Then he replied, ‘Yes, so it can be more intimate, and no one can eavesdrop’. Then he sent a photo of his genitalia,” said Tari (17 September 2021 interview).

Another informant, Nita, also said that she had experienced a perceivably harassing remark from a source in the digital domain.

“He often sent WhatsApp messages and he once offered me to stay at an inn in Semarang,” said Nita (17 September 2021 interview).

Nita also experienced almost the same incident from other sources for different news reporting. The harassing comments in the online domain that she experienced could not be separated from the harassing comments she received when directly meeting with the source.

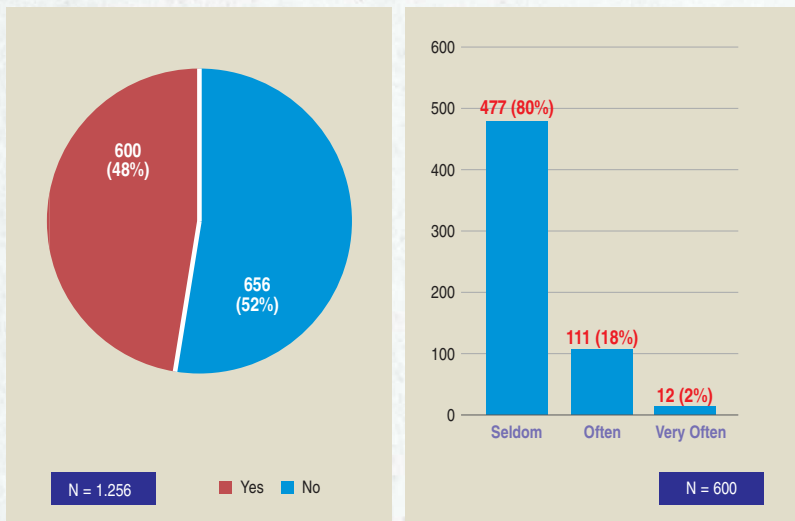
“He texted me, let’s meet sometime in the future.’ He also offered me a beer when I interviewed him at the police station. ‘We have plenty of beer here’, I replied, ‘No sir, I don’t drink.’ Then he often sent WhatsApp messages. The message is something

like this: ‘Hi darling, good morning,’ something like that. It was flirtatious and disgusting for me, and it had nothing to do with my interview,” said Nita (17 September 2021 interview).

Tari and Nita’s experiences show that sexually disturbing/harassing comments have nothing to do with their work as female journalists, but rather because of their identity as female who are vulnerable to being disturbed and sexually harassed.

This study also maps the frequency of female journalists in receiving disturbance or sexual harassment in the digital domain. As many as 76% of respondents stated that they seldom received, 21% often, and 3% very often, this form of violence, as seen in Figure 8.

Figure 8
Distribution of Frequency and Intensity in Receiving Sexually Disturbing/Harassing Comments



The above data cannot, however, be interpreted that the psychological impact received by female journalists who had very often received disturbance or harassment of a sexual nature would be more severe than those who had rarely received them, and vice versa. This is due to the difference in the condition of each respondent, the forms of disturbance or harassment, and the who the perpetrator was.

This study also found that in percentage terms (percentage in each category of media type), female journalists who received the most disturbing/harassing comments of a sexual nature worked in television (41.4%), cross-platform media (38%), and news site (34.7%). However, in terms of numbers, female journalists who experienced violence the most worked in online media (217 respondents).

Meanwhile, based on the employment status, by percentage, female journalists who were contract employees received the most sexually disturbing/harassing comments (39.3%), compared to freelance (35.8%) and permanent employees (30.4%). However, by number, female journalists who experienced violence the most were permanent employees (214 people).

4. Threats of Physical Violence to Murder

This study found that as many as 194 female journalists (15%) had received threats of physical violence, even murder, with varying frequency. As many as 90% of the respondents said they seldom received, 9% often, and 1% very often, this form of violence. Threats of physical violence to murder were usually associated with sources who were dissatisfied with their journalists' work.

In the cases that had occurred in Indonesia, most female journalists who had received death threats had been assigned on major issues, such as political, environmental, religious polemics, and gender and sexuality (LGBTIQ).

Apart from the issues being sensitive and involved those in power, death threats had also been received by journalists who committed an error in reporting (Faisal, 2020). It is a little-known fact that journalists are protected by Law No. 40/1999 on the Press in carrying out their work. If there is any error in reporting made by journalists, citizens can request the right to answer in accordance with the Press Law. Therefore, intimidation and even death threats are strictly not permissible.

Seen from the type of media where they worked, by percentage, female journalists who received the most threats of physical violence to murder worked on cross-platform media (22.5%), print (19.2%), and news site (16%). However, in terms of numbers, female journalists who experienced this form of violence the most worked in news site (100 respondents).

Meanwhile, in terms of employment status, by percentage, female journalists who were freelancers received the most threats of physical violence to murder (17.9%), compared to permanent employees (14.9%), and contract employees (15%). However, in terms of numbers, female journalists who experienced violence the most were permanent employees (105 respondents).

The data indicate that the experience of violence in the form of physical to murder threats were had by female journalists with various employment status but in approximately the same scope, that is, between 14% and 17%. In practice, this difference in employment status is more likely to be damaging for the freelancers compared to for contract employees, let alone for permanent

Table 6
Threats of Physical Violence to Murder & Employment Status

Employment Status		Received threats of physical violence to murder		Number of respondents in the category
		No	Yes	
Permanent Employees	frequency	598	105	703
	%	85.1%	14.9%	100.0%
Contract Employees	frequency	290	51	341
	%	85.0%	15.0%	100.0%
Freelance	frequency	174	38	212
	%	82.1%	17.9%	100.0%
Total	frequency	1,062	194	1,256
	%	84.6%	15.4%	100.0%

employees. This is because protection from media organizations will certainly be prioritized to be given to permanent employees rather than to contract employees and freelancers.

5. Uploading of Personal Information Related to Domestic or Professional Life by Others Without Consent

Personal information related to the domestic and professional life of female journalists is often uploaded on various digital platforms without their consent, which obviously can be very damaging. One of the research informants, Tari, had an experience that made her ill at ease with the digital domain. Her personal photos on her Instagram and Facebook accounts were uploaded to TikTok without

her consent. It started with a friend who contacted her and asked if she could follow her TikTok account.

“I was surprised, there were photos from my old IG account, even photos from my Facebook were also there, collected on TikTok, with the handle for the account exactly the same as the handle for my IG account. So, people would certainly think, ‘Oh this must be Tari,’ even though I never had a TikTok account. And there were also sexually explicit photos in that account,” said Tari (17 September 2021 interview).

What was troubling and stressful for Tari was that the TikTok account was still available up to the date of the online interview for this research.

“I’ve asked friends who have TikTok accounts for help, to report it so that it’s blocked, or something like that. Even until now the TikTok is still available and even have more followers. I’m so upset....,” said Tari (17 September 2021 interview).

Personal data theft as experienced by Tari will certainly be harmful for her because the digital footprint that involves her personal data is not easy to erase, while other users have no idea that the account was not hers (Kurnia, 2021).

Including Tari, as many as 197 (16%) female journalists had experienced unauthorized uploading of personal information with varying frequency. Of this amount, 86% respondents stated that they seldom experienced, 12% often, and 2% very often, this form of violence.

When viewed from the type of media where they work, by percentage, most female journalists who experienced personal or professional information uploading without their consent worked at television (21.6%), followed by news site (15.8%), and cross-platform media (15.5%). However, in terms of numbers, female journalists who experienced this form of violence the most worked in news site (99 respondents), print (39 respondents), and television (35 respondents).

Table 7
Uploading of Personal Information Related to Domestic or Professional Life Without Consent & Type of Media

Type of Media		Personal information related to domestic or professional life uploaded without your consent		Number of respondents in the category
		No	Yes	
Online	frequency	526	99	625
	%	84.2%	15.8%	100.0%
Print	frequency	216	39	255
	%	84.7%	15.3%	100.0%
Television	frequency	127	35	162
	%	78.4%	21.6%	100.0%
Radio	frequency	130	13	143
	%	90.9%	9.1%	100.0%
Cross-platform	frequency	60	11	71
	%	84.5%	15.5%	100.0%
Total	frequency	1,059	197	1,256
	%	84.3%	15.7%	100.0%

Meanwhile, in terms of length of service, by percentage, female journalists who had worked for 6–10 years experienced the

most incidents related to uploading of personal and professional information without their consent (19.2%). However, in terms of numbers, female journalists who experienced this form of violence the most had worked for 1-5 years (68 respondents).

Table 8
Uploading of Personal Information Related to Domestic or Professional Life Without Consent & Length of Service

Length of Service		Personal information related to domestic or professional life uploaded without your consent		Number of respondents in the category
		No	Yes	
1-5 years	frequency	387	68	455
	%	85.1%	14.9%	100.0%
6-10 years	frequency	277	66	343
	%	80.8%	19.2%	100.0%
11-15 years	frequency	264	45	309
	%	85.4%	14.6%	100.0%
16-20 years	frequency	46	9	55
	%	83.6%	16.4%	100.0%
21-25 years	frequency	66	6	72
	%	91.7%	8.3%	100.0%
>26 years	frequency	17	1	18
	%	94.4%	5.6%	100.0%
Total	frequency	1,057	195	1,256
	%	84.4%	15.6%	100.0%

Those who have worked for more than 21 years seemed to be the group with the lowest frequency of having their personal information related to domestic and professional life uploaded by other people on various digital platforms without their consent. This

could be because they were not as active as younger journalists on social media or those who had more experience were more wary of sharing their personal data on social media.

6. Spreading of Misinformation/Defamation

In a “post-truth” era where misinformation is frequently found in digital media, female journalists are also vulnerable to becoming targets of the spreading of misinformation or defamation. More than a quarter of all respondents, as many as 347 (28%) female journalists had been targets of misinformation/defamation with varying frequency. Of these, 84% of respondents said they were seldom the targets, 14% often, and 2% very often, of this form of violence.

In percentage terms, female journalists who mostly became targets of misinformation/defamation worked on cross-platform media (36.6%), television (30.9%), and online media (28.8%). However, in terms of numbers, female journalists who had experienced the most violence of this form were those who worked for online media (180 respondents), print media (55 respondents), and television (50 respondents).

This study found that, by percentage, female journalists with postgraduate education were the ones who most often became targets of misinformation/defamation (31.8%). However, in terms of numbers, female journalists who experienced this form of violence most often were those with undergraduate education (262 respondents), as shown in the following table.

Table 9
Becoming a Target of Misinformation/Defamation &
Respondent's Most Recent Level of Education

Respondent's Most Recent Level of Education		Became target of misinformation/defamation		Number of respondents in the category
		No	Yes	
High School/ equivalent	frequency	96	38	134
	%	71.6%	28.4%	100.0%
Diploma	frequency	64	19	83
	%	77.1%	22.9%	100.0%
Undergraduate	frequency	689	262	951
	%	72.5%	27.5%	100.0%
Postgraduate	frequency	60	28	88
	%	68.2%	31.8%	100.0%
Total	frequency	909	347	1,256
	%	72.4%	27.6%	100.0%

7. Abuses Related to Ethnicity/Religion/Race

With the diversity of ethnicities, religions, and races in Indonesia, female journalists also receive abuses regarding differences of their identity in the digital domain. A total of 274 respondents (22%) had received abuses related to ethnicity/religion/race with varying frequency. Of these, 79% of respondents stated that they seldom became targets, while 17% often, and 4% very often.

Considering the type of media where they were employed, in percentage terms, female journalists who received the most abuses related to ethnicity/religion/race worked on news site (24.6%), cross-platform media (21.1%), and television (21%). In terms of numbers, female journalists who experienced this form of violence

the most worked on news site (154 people), print (51 people), and television (34 people).

This study also shows that the level of education of the female journalists was not always related to the frequency of abuses related to ethnicity/religion/race, because those with undergraduate and postgraduate education oftentimes became the targets as well. In terms of percentage, female journalists with postgraduate education were those who received the highest incidence of abuses related to ethnicity/religion/race (30.7%). However, in terms of numbers, female journalists who experienced this form of violence the most were those with undergraduate education (205 respondents).

Meanwhile, considering the age of female journalists, there was a tendency that the younger the respondents, the more likely it was for them to receive abuses related to ethnicity/religion/race, as presented in the following table.

Table 10
Received Abuses Related to Ethnicity/Religion/Race & Respondent's Age

Respondent's Age		Received abuses related to ethnicity/religion/race		Number of respondents in the category
		No	Yes	
20-25 years old	frequency	187	68	255
	%	73.3%	26.7%	100.0%
26-30 years old	frequency	256	82	338
	%	75.7%	24.3%	100.0%
31-35 years old	frequency	191	49	240
	%	79.6%	20.4%	100.0%
36-40 years old	frequency	144	37	181
	%	79.6%	20.4%	100.0%

Respondent's Age		Received abuses related to ethnicity/ religion/race		Number of respondents in the category
		No	Yes	
41-45 years old	frequency	112	23	135
	%	83.0%	17.0%	100.0%
46-50 years old	frequency	67	10	77
	%	87.0%	13.0%	100.0%
>50 years old	frequency	24	5	29
	%	82.8%	17.2%	100.0%
Total	frequency	981	274	1,255
	%	78.2%	21.8%	100.0%

Table 10 shows that by percentage, female journalists in the range of 20–25 years old received the highest incidence of abuses related to ethnicity/religion/race (26.7%). However, in terms of numbers, female journalists who experienced this form of violence the most were those in the age range of 26–30 years old (82 respondents).

Another notable finding regarding abuses related to ethnicity/religion/race concerns where the media these female journalists was headquartered. Female journalists who worked for media organizations based overseas had a higher percentage of receiving abuses related to ethnicity/religion/race compared to those who worked in organizations based in DKI Jakarta and non-DKI Jakarta. This is most likely because their journalistic work is often associated with foreign interests, as experienced by one of the informants, who was accused of being “foreign minion, Chinese minion”. However, in terms of numbers, female journalists who experienced this form of violence most frequently were those who worked in non-DKI Jakarta-based media organizations (185 respondents). This finding

indicates that diverse identities in different regions outside Jakarta was one of the determining factors for abuses related to ethnicity/religion/race received by female journalists.

8. Wiretapping/Monitoring of Telephone and/or Internet Conversations by Third Parties

In their line of work, female journalists also experienced violence in the digital domain in the form of wiretapping/monitoring of telephone and/or internet conversations by third parties.

A total of 167 respondents (13%) had experienced wiretapping/monitoring of telephone and/or internet conversations by third parties (hacking/interception of phone calls/messages/digital accounts) with varying frequency. As many as 83% of respondents said they seldom became targets, while 13% stated often, and 4% very often.

One of the informants, Nita, had had her Facebook account hacked after posting about a visit of people claiming to be from the Immigration Office to AJI Yogyakarta office, when they held a discussion with an artist from Vietnam.

“My Facebook has never been hacked like this. Goodness me, on my Facebook account, there appeared naked pictures of a stranger. I was shocked, my friends were also shocked, then they contacted me,” said Nita (17 September 2021 interview).

Nita then contacted her friends at the Combine Resource Institution and Facebook, asking for their help to restore her account, so that Nita’s account was recovered in about a week. During the period, Nita received moral support from professional organizations and her friends.

In addition, Nita also believed that her phone had been monitored and bugged while covering the murder of a convict in prison.

“At that time, I was reporting on the murder of a convict in Cebongan prison, Yogyakarta. I felt monitored. I told my editor, how come my phone buzzed when I got called. What’s wrong with my phone? Then came the suspicion of monitoring, which made it difficult for me to sleep,” said Nita (17 September 2021 interview).

Not only Nita, another informant, Wulan (in the interview on 20 September 2021) also had trouble with changing the mode of her cellphone while covering about two COVID-19 vaccines: Pfizer vs. Sinovac, for a media based in the United States. Sometimes a third voice would appear, followed by a buzzing. Apart from that, Wulan also experienced telephone hacking while covering terrorism. This incident made Wulan depressed and experienced sleep disorder. It took quite some time for her to seek psychological assistance.

For both Wulan and Nita, violence in the digital domain really interfered with their personal and professional lives.

Furthermore, this PR2Media research found, by percentage, female journalists who were employed as freelancers experienced wiretapping/telephone and/or internet conversations monitoring by third parties the most (14.2%), compared to those with contract status (13.5%), and permanent employees (12.9%). However, in terms of numbers, female journalists who experienced this type of violence the most were permanent employees (91 respondents) as shown in the following table.

Table 11
Wiretapping/Monitoring of Telephone and/or
Internet Conversations by Third Parties (Hacking/Interception of
Phone Calls/Messages/Digital Accounts) & Employment Status

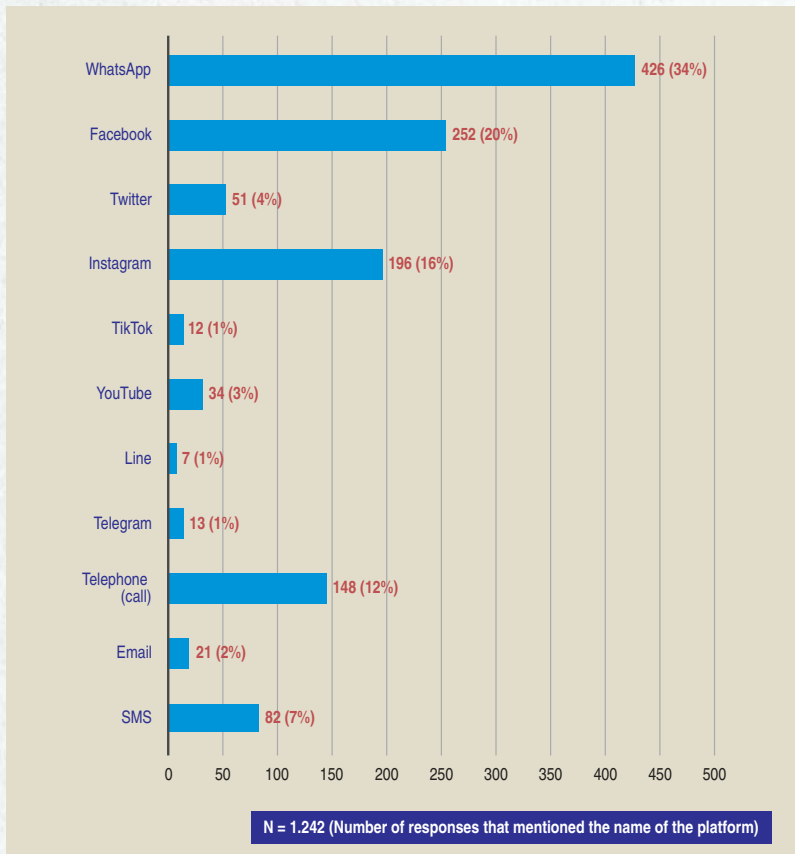
Employment Status		Experienced wiretapping/ monitoring of telephone and/ or internet conversations by third parties (hacking/ interception of phone calls/ messages/digital accounts)		Number of respondents per category
		No	Yes	
		Permanent Employees	frequency	
	%	87.1%	12.9%	100.0%
Contract Employees	frequency	295	46	341
	%	86.5%	13.5%	100.0%
Freelance	frequency	182	30	212
	%	85.8%	14.2%	100.0%
Total	frequency	1,089	167	1,256
	%	86.7%	13.3%	100.0%

In addition to findings related to eight forms of violence against female journalists in the digital domain and the various accompanying dimensions, this study also found a variety of mediums that were most widely used. Figure 9 shows that among the digital platforms, 1,242 of 1,256 respondents stated that WhatsApp (34%) was the most widely used medium for perpetrating violence against female journalists in Indonesia. This is possibly due to WhatsApp being the most popular messaging application in Indonesia, in use by women of various ages, backgrounds, educational levels, and professions (Kurnia et al., 2020).

Other digital platforms often used as a medium of violence against female journalists were Facebook (20%), Instagram (16%),

phone calls (12%), and SMS (7%). Meanwhile, those used least often were YouTube (3%), email (2%), and Telegram, TikTok, and LINE, which was about 1% each.

Figure 9
Platforms Used for Perpetrating Violence in the Digital Domain



The data above show that the digital platforms that provide more features for interpersonal conversation were more often selected as a medium for perpetrating violence. This is likely because the medium only involves the female journalists and the perpetrators of violence, and cannot be seen directly by other parties. Meanwhile, other open platforms like YouTube or TikTok were less often used as a medium for violence.

3

**VIOLENCE IN
THE PHYSICAL DOMAIN**

Violence in the physical domain is defined as violence that occurs offline and can be manifested in the form of verbal statements, physical actions, or policies or rules in the workplace or office.

This research grouped acts of violence in this domain into eight forms, namely body shaming comments, litigation or criminalization, damage or confiscation of journalist's equipment, non-sexual verbal threats or harassments, verbal threats or harassments of a sexual nature, physical assault of a non-sexual nature, physical assault of a sexual nature, and gender discrimination in the workplace.

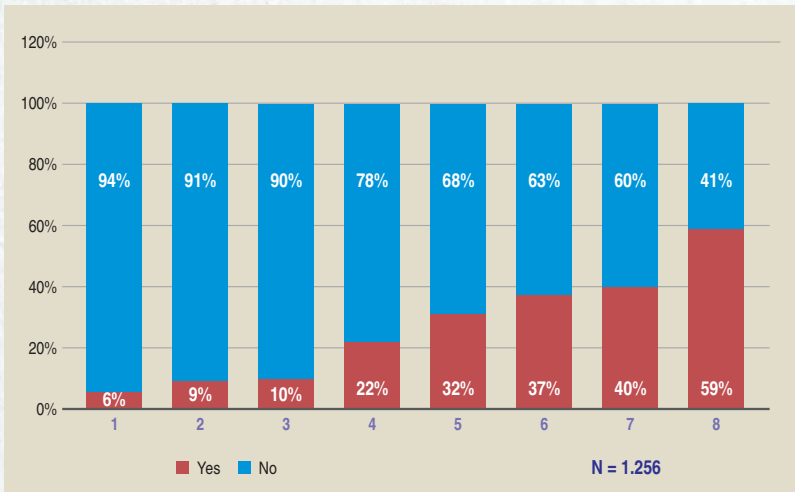
The results of UNESCO's research (2020) show that in terms of percentage, physical violence has a smaller chance to occur compared to online violence. Likewise, this research shows that violence in the physical domain is relatively less than violence in the digital domain. Although there are not as many cases of violence in the physical domain as violence in the digital domain, the trauma from this form of violence cannot be ignored.

On a micro scale, this form of violence interferes with the work of journalists. Violence also interferes with mental health and, in some cases, some journalists had wished to quit their jobs due to the violence they had experienced (UNESCO, 2020). On a macro scale, this violence threatens the practice of journalism and press freedom in Indonesia.

The five forms of violence in the physical domain that were most often experienced by Indonesian female journalists: (1) received body shaming comments (59%), (2) experienced verbal threats or harassments of a sexual nature (40%), (3) experienced verbal threats or harassments of a non-sexual nature (37%), (4) experienced gender discrimination in the workplace (32%), and (5)

experienced physical assault of a sexual nature (22%). This shows that journalists are still in an unsafe working environment and their protection is very much needed.

Figure 10
Violence Experienced by Female Journalists in the Physical Domain



Description of violence in the physical domain

1. Experienced litigation or criminalization related to journalistic work
2. Experienced physical assault of a non-sexual nature
3. Experienced destruction or confiscation of journalist's equipment
4. Experienced physical assault of a sexual nature
5. Experienced gender discrimination in the workplace
6. Experienced verbal threat or harassment of a non-sexual nature
7. Experienced verbal threat or harassment of a sexual nature
8. Received body shaming comments

1. Body Shaming Comments

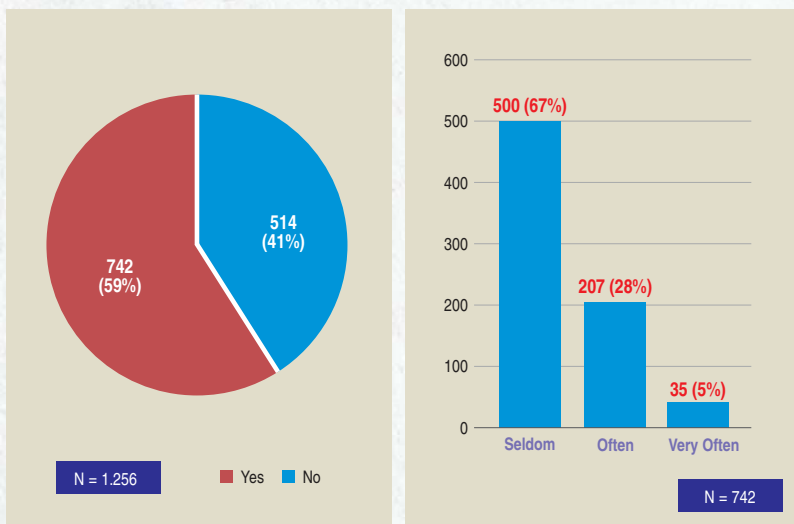
Body shaming is unsolicited negative opinions or comments, mostly about the target's body, without or with the intention of harming him/her (Schlüter, Kraag, & Schmidt, 2021). Still, the target perceived the comments as negative. Body shaming can range from well-meant advice to malicious insults.

Body shaming is related to beauty standards (Schlüter, Kraag, & Schmidt, 2021). These standards are often associated with colonialism (Uchoa, 2019). The most common form of body shaming is fat shaming, i.e., when one's body size or weight is above average (plus size) (Febrianti & Fitria, 2020). This body shape is considered not in accordance with beauty standards because a woman "ideally" has a slim body. Another form of body shaming that is also quite popular is related to skin color. A woman with brown skin or tends to be dark is considered not in accordance with beauty standards for women. Other forms are skinny (thin body) and curly hair (Febrianti & Fitria, 2020).

Body shaming comments is a form of violence in the physical domain that was most commonly experienced by female journalists. A total of 742 respondents (59%) had received body shaming comments with varying frequency. As many as 67% of respondents said they seldom experienced it, 28% often, and 5% very often.

Body shaming is a form of social aggression and one of the forms of verbal bullying that has serious consequences for the victim (Schlüter, Kraag, & Schmidt, 2021). The most common effect is the rise of eating disorders such as anorexia and bulimia nervosa (Blythin, Nicholson, Macintyre, Dickson, Fox, & Taylor, 2020). This form of bullying also causes insecurity, depression, introversion, psychosomatic conditions, and others. Mental disorders may lead

Figure 11
Distribution of Frequency and Intensity of Receiving Body Shaming Comments



to the victim's desire to commit suicide (Fitriyah & Rokhmawan, 2019).

Body shaming, according to the journalists, aims to wreck the mental health of the target's. Although some journalists do not care about body shaming comments, this form of violence still causes emotional distress.

“Body shaming is actually a way to ruin my mental health. It does not mean that I do not think about it, I sometimes just choose not to respond,” said Wulan (20 September 2021 interview).

Body shaming tends to be experienced by journalists under the age of 30 and, as respondents get older, they experience this form

of violence less often. The effect of body shaming on a person also depends on their self-perception of their body. Someone who views the body positively by accepting and loving the shape and state of their body and is not ashamed to admit it is less likely to be affected by body shaming. They can actually counter the discourse by promoting body positivity (Zavattaro, 2011).

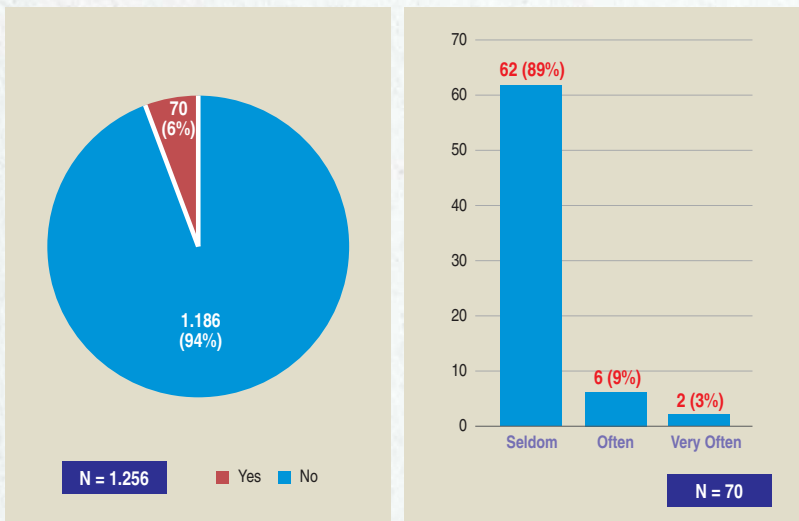
2. Litigation or Criminalization Related to Journalistic Work

The number of cases of litigation or criminalization related to journalistic work indicates that the threat of being criminally prosecuted remains the choice for many parties to respond to disputes over journalistic work. LBH Pers reported that throughout 2020, there were 10 criminalization cases against journalists (ICJR, LBH Pers, and IJRS, 2020). The results of this research also show that 70 respondents had experienced litigation or criminalization related to their journalistic work throughout their careers.

Cases of litigation or criminalization of journalists are suspected to be increasing due to the enactment of the Electronic Information and Transaction Law (UU ITE). The trend of reporting to the police has increased in the last 10 years. SAFEnet noted that from 2008 to December 2018, there were 16 attempts to criminalize 14 journalists and 7 media outlets (ICJR, LBH Pers, and IJRS, 2020). The articles used as the basis for criminalizing journalists are Article 27 Paragraph (3) of the ITE Law regarding insults and/or defamation and Article 28 Paragraph (2) of the ITE Law concerning hate speech, which has been known as the “rubber” [catch-all] articles (ICJR, LBH Pers, and IJRS, 2020).

Some police officers still use criminal law instruments, even though there is a Memorandum of Understanding between the Police and the Press Council on Coordination in the Protection of Press Freedom and Law Enforcement regarding Misuse of the Journalist Profession. Based on this understanding, if the police receive complaints from the public, they should encourage the involved parties to take gradual steps starting from using the right to answer, right to correct, complaint to the Press Council, and civil proceeding (ICJR, LBH Pers, and IJRS, 2020).

Figure 12
Distribution of Frequency and Intensity of Experiencing Litigation or Criminalization related to Journalistic Work



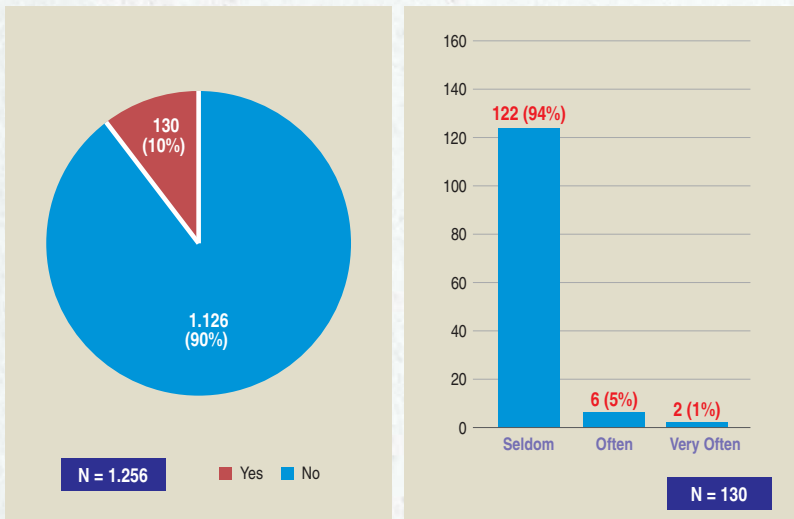
A total of 70 respondents (6%) had experienced litigation or criminalization related to journalistic work with varying frequencies. As many as 89% of the respondents said they seldom experienced it, 9% often, and 3% very often. Litigation or criminalization was

declared by the Press Council as a bad precedent for the press freedom system in Indonesia (Laeis, 2020).

3. Damage or Confiscation of Journalist's Equipment

Based on the data from LBH Pers, there were 413 cases of violence related to journalists over the last five years and in 2020 there were 117 cases. In the cases of violence, the damage of journalist's equipment is a form of violence quite often experienced by journalists (Kemitraan, 2021). This finding is in line with the results of the PR2Media survey. As many as 130 female journalists admitted that they had experienced the damage or confiscation

Figure 13
Distribution of Frequency and Intensity of Experiencing Damage or Confiscation of Journalist's Equipment



of journalist's equipment with varying frequency. The survey also shows that 94% of the respondents stated that they seldom, 5% often, and 2% very often, experienced this form of violence.

Confiscation of equipment is seen as part of activities that hinder journalistic activities. This action is a violation of Law No. 40/1999 (Article 18) which is subject to criminal punishment.

Activities that often accompany the damage or confiscation of journalist's equipment include intimidation, deletion of photos or videos, and persecution of journalists. The perpetrators of this form of violence include officials, sources, and supporters of certain figures (CNN Indonesia, 2020).

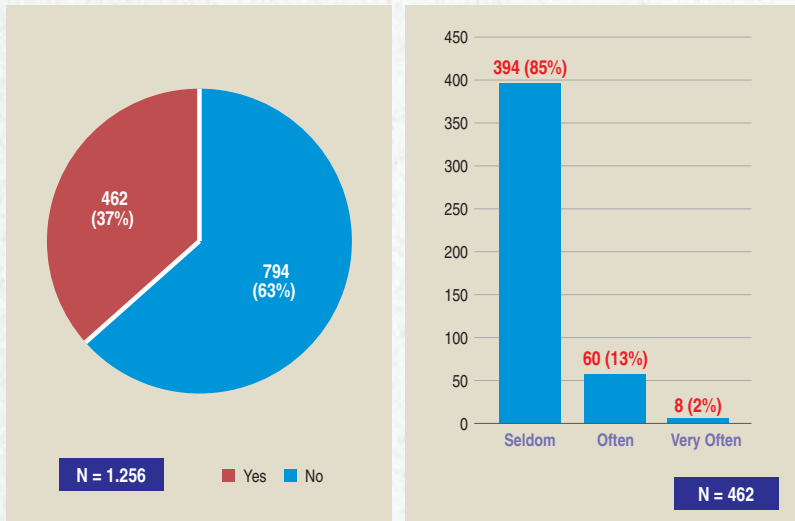
4. Verbal Threats or Harassments of a Non-Sexual Nature

Verbal harassment of a non-sexual nature is a form of verbal abuse. This form of violence takes various forms, such as yells, insults, shouts, insults, to death threats. This form of violence, from psychological perspective, can be more dangerous than physical violence (such as hitting, slapping, kicking, etc.), because the wounds caused tend to be invisible and require a lengthy process of treatment or healing, through a process of psychological consultation and assistance (Nuraryo, 2020).

Based on data from LBH Pers (2020), verbal violence cases are the most common compared to other forms of violence (51 cases), such as persecution (24), digital attacks (12), coercion (22), confiscation/damage (23), criminalization (10), civil lawsuits (1), threats (12), obstruction of work (14), and detention (19) (Utama, 2021). The number of verbal harassment cases appears to be much higher, as indicated by the results of the PR2Media survey. A

total of 462 respondents (37%) had experienced threats or verbal harassments of a non-sexual nature, throughout their careers, with varying frequency. Of all the respondents, 85% stated that they seldom experienced it, while 13% often, and 2% very often.

Figure 14
Distribution of Frequency and Intensity of Experiencing Verbal Threats or Harassments of a Non-Sexual Nature



One of the most serious threats is related to death threats, which was experienced by Nita. She received a death threat while covering a story about fake paintings around the period of 2017–2018. The death threat came from the source.

“He said, ‘If Mbak Nita had come to my house, I would have already prepared a machete’. The threat was that he would kill me with a machete. That makes me have to be careful,” said Nita. (17 September 2021 interview)

Nita had also been verbally abused and harassed while reporting on the protest against a new church established in Sedayu, Bantul. The threat also came from one of the sources, who was a community leader.

“He forbade me to make a recording. He took a picture of me, then he said something like, ‘How come A (name of news magazine) is accusing us of being an intolerant village’. He kicked me out. But I had to confirm with him, I tried to explain, ‘Sir, my intention here is good, I am trying to make a confirmation,” said Nita (17 September 2021 interview).

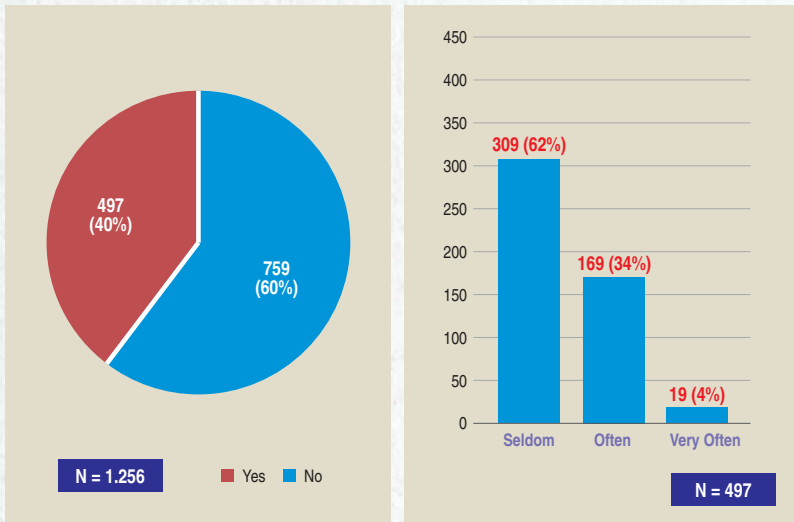
Wulan, a correspondent for a foreign media organization, has also experienced verbal harassment in the form of racist insults. The harassment occurred while doing a news reporting about the vaccine. Wulan has often been accused of being a “Chinese agent”. Unlike Nita’s case, Wulan received this harassment from a fellow journalist and a person whom Wulan knew. Wulan felt that she had to be mentally and spiritually prepared every time she wrote news related to China (20 September 2020 interview).

A number of journalists had also received expletives or insults, such as “stupid”. Verbal harassment is not only disturbing, but also has an effect on self-confidence.

5. Verbal Threats or Harassments of a Sexual Nature

This is the form of violence that ranks fourth in all forms of violence in the digital and physical domains most commonly experienced by 1,256 respondents.

Figure 15
Verbal Threats or Harassments of a Sexual Nature



A total of 497 respondents (40%) had experienced verbal threats or harassment of a sexual nature. This is even more concerning because 34% of them stated that they had often experienced this violence, 4% stated that they had experienced it very often, and 62% stated that they had seldom experienced it.

This finding cannot be separated from the larger context, namely the experience of women in Indonesia in general. According to the L’Oreal Paris survey in January 2021 (Harness, 2021), as many as 82% of women in Indonesia had experienced sexual harassment in public places, and 34% of women surveyed stated that they did not know what to do when the harassment occurred. The L’Oreal survey involving 1,498 respondents did not focus on verbal harassment but covered nine forms of harassment, ranging from verbal to physical (Pranita, 2021).

This verbal harassment of a sexual nature was the most frequent form of violence experienced by one of the informants, Yeni, a female journalist in a regency in Lampung Province.

“My experience as a journalist is more often with sexual harassments, such as those from fellow journalists. ‘You are beautiful, your body is gorgeous, wanna have a date?’ That is harassment, isn’t it? I often experienced that with my fellow journalists,” said Yeni (18 September 2021 interview).

Harassment from fellow journalists is often uttered as jokes, although for Yeni it was not a joke. She usually responds to harassments from fellow journalists by rebuking the perpetrator directly. Apart from fellow journalists, she also often received harassments from sources. In fact, Yeni usually wears a headscarf when she is on duty for reporting.

“One of the sources even asked me, ‘Will you marry me?’ Maybe they were simply joking, but I thought of it as harassment. ‘Just marry me, you will be my second wife. I’ll take care of all your needs later.’ That very often happened to me, not just once or twice. Maybe it was a joke, or not, I had no idea, I simply thought it was harassment,” said Yeni (18 September 2021 interview).

The frequency of verbal harassments of a sexual nature from fellow journalists is certainly a matter of great concern, because within the internal environment of the profession alone, female journalists have not been able to find a safe place, especially when they have to do a reporting and meet various people from many

backgrounds. The table below shows the relationship between verbal threats or harassment of a sexual nature and the age of the respondents.

Table 12
Verbal Threats or Harassments of a Sexual Nature and Respondent's Age

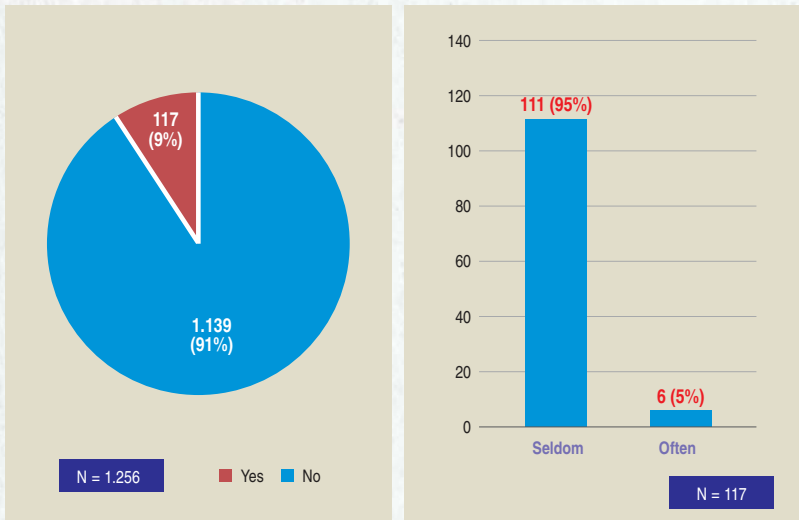
Respondent's Age		Have you experienced verbal threat or harassment of a sexual nature?		Total
		No	Yes	
20-25 years old	frequency	133	122	255
	%	52.2%	47.8%	100.0%
26-30 years old	frequency	166	172	338
	%	49.1%	50.9%	100.0%
31-35 years old	frequency	151	89	240
	%	62.9%	37.1%	100.0%
36-40 years old	frequency	123	58	181
	%	68.0%	32.0%	100.0%
41-45 years old	frequency	100	35	135
	%	74.1%	25.9%	100.0%
46-50 years old	frequency	61	16	77
	%	79.2%	20.8%	100.0%
> 50 years old	frequency	24	5	29
	%	82.8%	17.2%	100.0%
Total	frequency	758	497	1,255
	%	60.4%	39.6%	100.0%

This survey found, both in terms of percentage and number, female journalists who experienced verbal threats or harassments of a sexual nature the most were in the range of 26–30 years old (50.9% or 172 respondents).

Female journalists aged 26–30 years old were the largest group of respondents in this survey. Unfortunately, they also received the highest percentage of verbal threats or harassments of a sexual nature. Based on these findings, stakeholders need to take steps to prevent and address this issue, so that this form of violence will not hinder their work or even discourage them from doing their jobs, considering “harassment is very disturbing, it makes them uncomfortable”.

6. Physical Assaults of a Non-Sexual Nature

Figure 16
Physical Assaults of a Non-Sexual Nature



A total of 117 respondents (9%) had experienced physical assaults of a non-sexual nature with varying frequency. 95%

of the respondents said they seldom experienced and 5% often experienced it.

Although the percentage is minor, this form of violence clearly cannot be ignored because it greatly interferes with journalism work. According to several informants, these non-sexual physical assaults were mainly experienced by journalists who cover issues considered risky, such as the environment and LGBTIQ. One of them was Nita, who had been intimidated by the Islamic Jihad Front (FJI) while covering an art exhibition and music performance in Bantul, Yogyakarta in 2016. FJI raided the event because they had heard information about LGBT-themed artworks (zines). FJI members questioned Nita in a threatening tone and took a picture of Nita, who at that time was the only female journalist there.

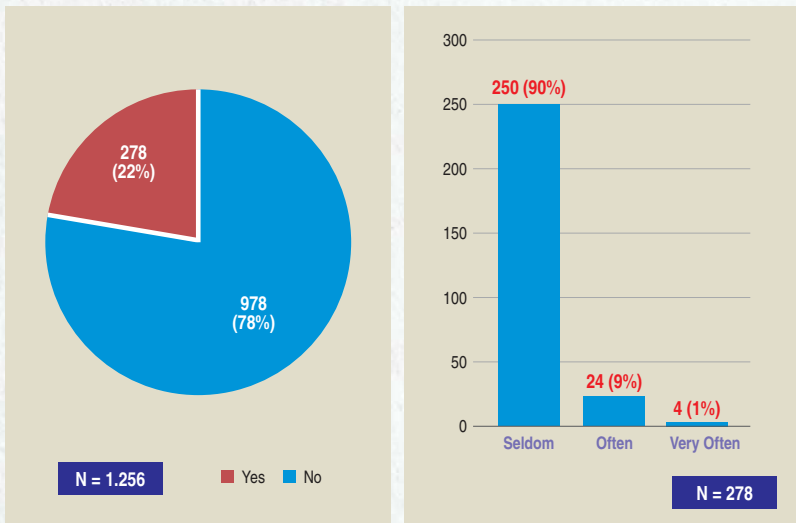
7. Physical Assaults of a Sexual Nature

This form of violence ranked tenth as the form of violence in the digital and physical domains most experienced by the respondents.

A total of 278 respondents (22%) had experienced physical assaults of a sexual nature with varying frequency. 90% of the respondents stated that they seldom, 9% often, and 1% very often experienced it.

As with physical assaults of a non-sexual nature, physical assaults of a sexual nature were also often experienced by journalists who cover issues that were considered a substantial risk, such as environmental issues and LGBTIQ. Nita had also experienced this form of violence when doing a reporting on illegal sand mining around Mount Merapi in 2017. A key source offered Nita to stay at his inn so she could obtain important documents and conduct interviews. Nita refused the invitation. Nita then asked the source

Figure 17
Physical Assaults of a Sexual Nature



to meet at a café so that she could still obtain the documents regarding the unlicensed sand mining.

When leaving the café, the source suddenly touched Nita’s nose. In a state of shock, Nita tried to block the hand of the source. On a different day, the source continued to send WhatsApp messages with the purpose of seducing her and asking her out. Nita reported the incident she had experienced to the editor, who then advised her not to meet the source. If additional interviews were needed, the editor suggested that a friend accompany Nita to meet the source.

It should be noted that environmental issues are topics of reporting that carry a substantial risk to the safety of female journalists. The Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) ranks environmental investigations in developing countries as dangerous,

second only to reporting on armed conflicts. CPJ states that being a “green journalist” is just as risky as being a war correspondent.

Table 13
Physical Assaults of a Sexual Nature & Respondent’s Age

Respondent’s Age		Have you ever experienced physical assault of a sexual nature?		Total
		No	Yes	
20-25 years old	frequency	189	66	255
	%	74.1%	25.9%	100.0%
26-30 years old	frequency	238	100	338
	%	70.4%	24.2%	100.0%
31-35 years old	frequency	182	58	240
	%	75.8%	13.8%	100.0%
36-40 years old	frequency	156	25	181
	%	86.2%	13.8%	100.0%
41-45 years old	frequency	113	22	135
	%	83.7%	16.3%	100.0%
46-50 years old	frequency	72	5	77
	%	93.5%	6.5%	100.0%
>50 years old	frequency	27	2	29
	%	93.1%	6.9%	100.0%
Total	frequency	977	278	1,255
	%	77.8%	22.2%	100.0%

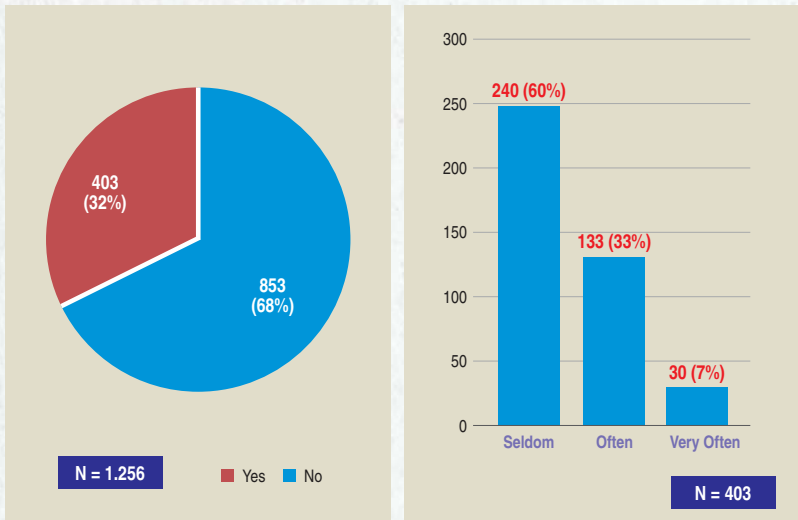
In terms of percentage and number, most of the female journalists who were targets of physical assaults of a sexual nature were in the range of 26-30 years old (29.6% or 100 respondents). It was the age group that made up the largest part of the respondents in this survey and it would be very detrimental to the press and

democracy in Indonesia if the physical assaults they experienced cannot be adequately addressed by the stakeholders.

8. Gender Discrimination in the Workplace

Gender discrimination in the workplace or office, namely the treatment of media organizations differently towards female journalists compared to male journalists based solely on their gender, is a form of violence that often escapes attention because it is considered “rooted,” both in Indonesia and Western countries (Melki & Mallat, 2016).

Figure 18
Gender Discrimination in the Workplace



A total of 403 respondents (32%) had experienced gender discrimination in the workplace with varying frequency. Of all the

respondents, 60% stated that they seldom, 33% of them often, and 7% very often experienced this form of violence.

The discrimination experienced by female journalists was, among others, discrimination in remuneration, reporting duties, and barriers to their career's advancement. One of the informants, Tari, said that she had experienced a discriminatory policy from her male superior.

At that time, Tari was still a junior in the office and was asked to come to work based on shifts (morning and afternoon). She and her co-worker, a male journalist, were asked to come to the office alternately by their superiors. Tari thought that she had to come to the office for the morning shift for one week, and the following week she could come in the afternoon. But in reality, Tari was always asked to come every morning and her male co-worker to come in the afternoon. When asked about it, her superior's answer was that women usually wake up early and men wake up later. This answer made Tari angry and offended.

“At that time, I strongly protested to my superior because I was offended. Why can't women wake up at noon? It should be alternated. This week I come in the morning, and the following week I can come in the afternoon,” said Tari (17 September 2021 interview).

For women in Indonesia in any profession, this discrimination is a practice of injustice that has long been experienced and is sometimes considered “normal”. For example, according to a survey conducted by the International Labor Organization (ILO) in July 2020, female workers in Indonesia received 23% lower wage than men (Majni, 2021).

Another example is shown by the study of the Research Center for Population of LIPI in June 2020 regarding the impact of the pandemic on employment, which shows that young people (15-24 years olds) and female workers were most vulnerable to job loss and unemployment (LIPI's Research Center for Population, 2020). In fact, according to LIPI Research Center for Population, young people and female workers were the main targets for optimizing the achievement of Indonesia's demographic bonus.

Thus, discriminatory practices against female workers, regardless of their profession, will have a negative impact on the country and the sustainable development targets it strives to achieve.

Furthermore, the table below shows the relationship between gender discrimination in the workplace and the respondent's most recent level of education.

Table 14
Gender Discrimination in the Workplace and Respondent's Most Recent Level of Education

Respondent's Most Recent Level of Education		Have you ever experienced gender discrimination in the workplace?		Total
		No	Yes	
High School/ equivalent	frequency	96	38	134
	%	71.6%	28.4%	100.0%
Diploma	frequency	57	26	83
	%	68.7%	31.3%	100.0%
Undergraduate	frequency	639	312	951
	%	67.2%	32.8%	100.0%
Postgraduate	frequency	67	27	88
	%	61.0%	30.7%	100.0%
Total	frequency	853	403	1,256
	%	67.9%	32.1%	100.0%

In terms of percentage as well as in number, female journalists with undergraduate education background were the most frequent targets of gender discrimination in the workplace (32.8% or 312 respondents), which was also the largest group in terms of educational background in this survey (951 respondents).

Observers of employment and gender issues argue that the practice of oppressing women's labor rights is the result of the perpetuation of a patriarchal culture in the employment sector in Indonesia (Yasmin et al., 2020). This trend is also true in the context of the working environment of female journalists in general: low remuneration, weak policy bargaining position, and difficulty in getting promotions.

In the majority of news media organizations in Indonesia, most of the female journalists are in the lowest editorial level of the organizational structure, generally working as field journalists. As for those who have succeeded in occupying strategic positions, such as editor-in-chief, they face the challenge of working in a male-dominated environment. This low structural position weakens advocacy efforts at media organizations when acts of violence occur in the digital and physical domains. Female journalists still find it difficult to build a career and are often assigned to cover topics considered "female" issues, or issues included under the soft news category (Sutarso, 2021).

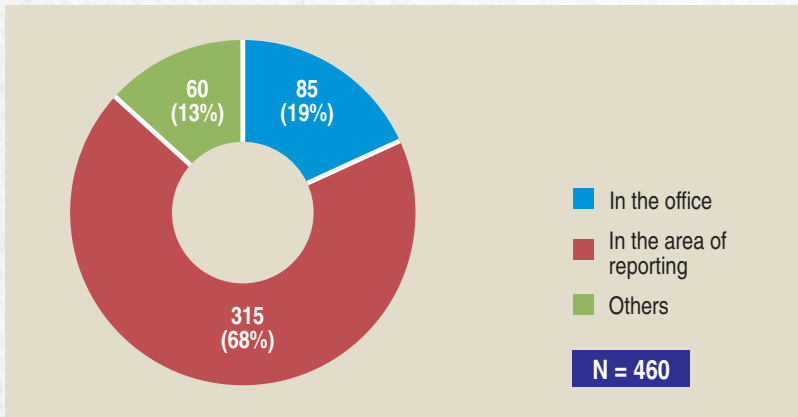
In fact, research on the leadership of female journalists in media organizations in 2021 show that there is a counter-narrative to the discourse that says that female journalists are weak (Perhimpunan Pembangunan Media Nusantara, 2021). The quantitative and qualitative research found that, "The stigma of incompetence, sensitivity, emotionality, and easily frustrated that has been attached to female leaders is not true." It can be said

that these stigmas arise due to the strong patriarchal culture that practices gender discrimination, not because of the competence or character of female journalists themselves.

9. Locations of Violence

As a profession that reveals information (including hidden facts) to the public and deals with many parties from various backgrounds, journalists are at risk of experiencing violence when doing their work. The table below shows that reporting location was the most frequent scene of violence in the physical domain.

Figure 19
Locations of Violence in the Physical Domain



Based on the answers received (N=460), violence in the physical domain mostly occurred in the area of reporting (68%). However, 19% of the respondents experienced violence in the office, which is of course a more urgent problem. Other answers include on the road, journalist basecamps, vehicles, and more.

Violence in those places can be of a sexual or non-sexual nature, which had been exemplified by the cases described in various forms of violence before.

Regarding violence in the office, this certainly carries a greater urgency than violence in the area of reporting, because the office is the internal environment of the journalists. In its various forms (ranging from verbal sexual harassment to discrimination related to remuneration and career), office violence is perpetrated by fellow journalists and their superiors, who are mostly male.

Based on the stories of the informants, fellow journalists usually make verbal sexual abuse, which is considered by the perpetrators to be “just a joke”. According to the informants, these jokes often occurred and were acknowledged because of the strong patriarchal culture. As a result, sexual jokes that led to the “objectification” of the female tend to be accepted as something natural.

Meanwhile, the informants stated that the violence perpetrated by their superiors was usually in the form of policies or regulations that discriminated against female journalists—simply because they were female.



**MAPPING OF WAYS TO
ADDRESS VIOLENCE AGAINST
FEMALE JOURNALISTS**

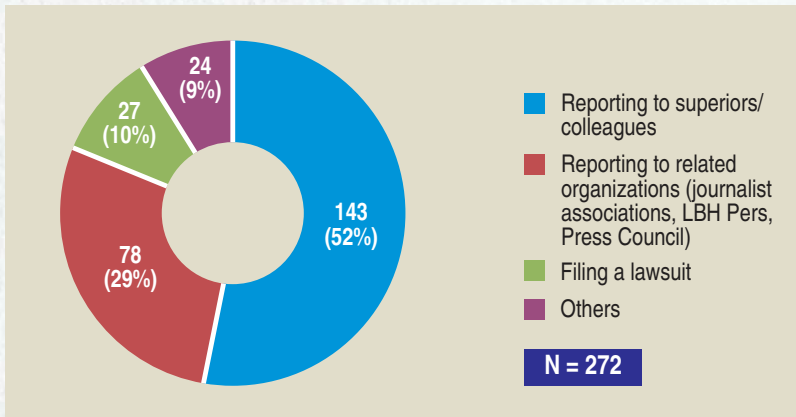
Violence against female journalists is a violation of human rights. Some of these acts of violence are even capable of causing deep trauma, as told by many informants in this research. Various approaches have been taken by those female journalists themselves, even by the media and journalist organizations. This chapter will identify the methods used by individuals, media organizations, and journalist organizations in dealing with violence against female journalists.

Protection of female journalists from acts of violence is inherent to the role of the state, which, as the institution of the highest authority, maintains a coercive means (Giddens, 1985) so that the discourse on methods of protecting female journalists against acts of violence cannot be separated from the role of the state. Therefore, this chapter also identifies various laws and regulations that can be utilized as a “legal protection” to protect women from acts of violence, both in online and offline settings.

1. Responding to Violence at the Individual Level

Female journalists have different ways of responding to violence. The results of a survey conducted by PR2Media showed that 52% of respondents had reported to their superiors/colleagues, 29% had reported to journalist organizations such as AJI, PWI, LBH Pers, and the Press Council, 10% had filed lawsuits, and 9% had pursued an independent resolution in response to the violence.

Figure 20
How Female Journalists Responded to Violence



a. Reporting to Superiors or Colleagues

Based on data obtained from the survey, 143 female journalists (52%) had reported to their superiors or colleagues. This response was the answer that was selected by the most respondents. The data suggest that reporting to a superior or colleague is considered as the best way for female journalists to respond to violence (Adriana, 2021).

During in-depth interviews conducted by the research team, several informants said that they had opted to report the violence they had experienced to their superiors. Violence generally occurs either due to professional issues arising from their being journalists, or due to gender. One of the informants, Nita, shared her experience in reporting the harassment she received from a source. This incident happened when she was reporting on illegal sand mining in 2017-2018. The source who committed the harassment touched Nita's shoulder and cheek, and even offered her a place

to stay. When she returned to the office to submit the results of her reporting, Nita immediately reported the incident to the editor.

Rita, a female journalist from Papua, also made reports to her superiors when she experienced violence. Rita received several harassments from the source, an official of a State-Owned Enterprise (BUMN). After the interview, Rita was not allowed to go by the source. Worse, Rita was then seduced and her body was touched by sources. This incident had traumatized her and she was not willing to re-interview the harasser.

Rita's response was to report the incident to her editor. The media organization where she works was one that paid adequate attention to the welfare of its journalists. When Rita was asked to re-interview the harasser, the editor then asked another reporter to accompany her. In addition to the harassment case, Rita was also involved in a case with a personnel of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), which resulted in her being "visited" by several TNI personnel. The newspaper where Rita work for provided Rita with protection by mediating both parties. The misunderstanding was finally resolved between Rita and the TNI personnel.

Yeni, a female journalist working for a media company in Lampung, had more or less experienced the same thing. Because she felt she had been harassed by her source, Yeni reported the unfortunate incident to her editor-in-chief. Although her superior did not recommend reporting the case to the authorities, the editor-in-chief where Yeni worked supported her to call out the harasser directly or write it down in an article.

From the stories of the three informants, we can draw illustrations of how a media organization should respond in such situations. Although they have not fully provided protection to their journalists, the three female journalists should at least feel safe

and comfortable to express the violence they have experienced. Unfortunately, the PR2Media study and the survey by AJI Indonesia found that many harassment cases against female journalists were actually committed by their own superiors. Violence from superiors is mainly in the form of discrimination and physical sexual assault. Superiors, who are supposed to provide a sense of security and protection, have become a threat to female journalists in their workplace. Power relationships are also a determining factor why female journalists choose not to report cases of violence. Female journalists feel that they do not have the ability to express the violence they have experienced (Adriana, 2021).

The results of the International Women's Media Foundation survey on violence against female journalists in the United States and several countries show that 29% of female journalists were afraid to report the violence they experienced to their superiors. They were afraid of reprisals from the harasser and of losing their job. Other reasons included feeling that the matter was not urgent enough to be reported, the assumption that the problem would not be resolved, lack of knowledge of where to report and to whom, limited time and energy, inconvenience to report, worrying about being labelled as a troublemaker, and wariness of the negative experiences of others who had reported. In addition, further reasons that arose include fear of missing out on promotion, believing that the confidentiality of their reports would not be guaranteed by media organizations, having trust issues with people around them, worrying about punishment from a related party, and not wanting others to know (Ferrier, 2018).

Media organizations should naturally be safe working spaces for female journalists. Media owners, editors-in-chief, and editors in any media organization are obliged to convey a positive impact

on the safety of journalists. It is the duty of media organizations to ensure the safety of those working for them, including freelance journalists. Guarantees for their safety must be present not only when female journalists are doing their reporting but also in the newsroom (Chocarro, 2020).

It should also be recognized that female journalists face an additional layer of risk because of their identity as women. Media organizations have a responsibility to ensure a working environment that protects female journalists from threats that can come from anywhere, including from colleagues.

b. Reporting to Journalist Organizations

The second most common response to violence, after reporting it to superiors and colleagues, was to report it to organizations such as PWI, AJI, LBH Pers, and the Press Council. Of the 272 female journalists' respondents who answered questions related to how they responded to violence, 30 respondents (29%) reported the violence to journalist organizations.

Reporting to journalist organizations is one way that can help female journalists respond to violence. Journalists' organizations are deemed to be a safe haven for journalists in solving problems, especially related to issues of violence and code of conduct.

Journalists are not obliged to join any journalist organizations, but they have the right to join journalist organizations according to their conscience. Journalist organizations are also categorized as press organizations, as stipulated in the Press Law No. 40/1999 Article 5 Paragraph 1, which states, "press organizations are journalists' organizations and press company organizations". One of the reasons for establishing a journalist organization is to fight

for the rights and voice the interests of journalists, whether in disputes with the government, companies or outside parties (Hill in Sulistyowati, 2004).

In terms of reporting violence to a journalist organization, Rita had also done this to AJI Papua, when she was “visited” by the TNI personnel. So far, AJI Papua has provided protection for journalists in Papua who have been subjected to violence, such as threats and destruction of journalist’s equipment. Several violent incidents involving journalists in Papua, one of which was the case of vandalism of AJI Papua Chairperson’s car, had also been accommodated and its resolution facilitated by AJI Papua.

Nita had also reported to AJI, specifically because the case was related to activities involving AJI, such as the case in 2020 when AJI held a discussion at AJI Yogyakarta office with an artist from Vietnam and then received terror from someone claiming to be a staff at the immigration department. It didn’t stop there, the next day, Nita found that her Facebook account had been hacked after uploading a status related to the terror incident at the AJI office.

The terror and hacking incident happening to Nita prompted AJI Yogyakarta to hold emergency discussions with other organizations such as LBH Pers. One of the concrete steps taken by AJI in protecting female journalists is to jointly find a strategy for them once they get assaulted.

Building good relationships with other organizations had also helped Nita to respond to the violence she faced. When her Facebook account was hacked, Nita asked for help from an NGO that focused on the information sector. With the help of the NGO and a friend who worked at Facebook, Nita managed to regain control of her Facebook account in less than a week.

c. Filing a Lawsuit

The third most selected response by female journalists to violence was to file a lawsuit (10%, n=27). This figure shows there were not many female journalists who opted to resolve cases of violence they had experienced through legal means.

There are various reasons behind why female journalists, who have been targets of violence, do not proceed to file a lawsuit. Among other things, because they feel that this legal process is futile and a waste of energy, also concerned that their lawsuit could damage the relationship between media organizations and sources, and even fear that they would get a counterclaim from the harasser in the future.

In fact, legal protection for journalists has been regulated in the Press Law No. 40/1999 Article 8, which states “in carrying out their profession, journalists get legal protection” (Setiawan, 2020). This shows that journalists are an important profession in democratic life. Journalists have the task of carrying out the functions of the press, namely, a source of information, education, entertainment, and social control. Journalists do not only report on an event, but also make historical records that have occurred in Indonesia.

However, the lengthy legal process that must be followed and the costs and time that must be incurred have made many journalists prefer not to file a lawsuit.

In the case of violence against female journalists in Indonesia, the following are some of the reasons why female journalists do not file a lawsuit. Research findings conducted by AJI in 2020 stated that 70% of perpetrators of violence were state officials (CNN Indonesia, 2021). This was also stated by LBH Pers in their report, that most acts of violence against journalists were carried out by

members of the police (Saleh & Sukarno, 2021). The data explain why there are not many journalists who opt to file lawsuits for the violence they have experienced, because the police are considered as one of the perpetrators of the practice of violence.

d. Solving the Issue Independently

Another response that emerged from the respondents' answers was by solving the issue independently, which included dealing with it themselves, by calling out the perpetrator directly, conducting discussions, launching counterattacks, telling relatives about the case, and writing an article (9%, n=24). Female journalists also have the ability to deal with violence in their own way. These methods are chosen because they minimize the risks that could damage their career and the organizations they work for.

Apart from the reasons related to the impact on their career and their future, female journalists choose to solve it independently because they view the media organizations where they work cannot provide adequate protection. This finding was obtained through in-depth interviews with Yeni and Dian, two informants in this research. Large and well-established media organizations tend to be more capable of protecting their journalists. However, the same cannot be said with smaller media organizations, with a more limited audience. This was admitted by Yeni, who had to face the sources who had harassed her by herself whilst reporting. When she reported the incident to the editor-in-chief, Yeni was asked by her superior to rebuke the harasser directly. Media organizations and editor-in-chief cannot do much because some of them think that legal settlement or mediation can only be carried out by large media organizations.

“I once told the editor-in-chief, and he said, ‘Just write it down. You should be angry with the harasser, don’t be silent if you are treated like that’. We are not big media company, maybe the treatment would have been different had I worked for a big media company,” said Yeni (18 September 2021 interview).

Dian, a female journalist working in Padang, West Sumatra, also resorted to direct rebuke. At that time, Dian felt harassed when a male journalist colleague had given her the key to his hotel room. Full of anger, Dian immediately called out the fellow journalist and threw the table at him. Dian admitted that at that time, she was so angry that she couldn’t control her emotions.

Dian’s actions exemplified one of the attitudes female journalists can choose when they are harassed. Dian’s passion for reading feminist books had broadened her knowledge of gender equality. Dian became increasingly aware of the importance of women’s safety and security when working in an industry dominated by men.

The two experiences of female journalists mentioned above explain that female journalists need to have the courage to defend themselves, even though the methods vary. Other respondents chose to express their resistance more leniently, because they did not want to prolong the problem.

It can be said that each case of violence experienced by female journalists is unique, because there are various internal (self) and external factors (company support and the surrounding environment) that influence it.

It is undeniable that the violence they experience often causes negative impacts, such as trauma and prolonged fear. Reporting it to their superiors or taking legal action, according to them, would

not solve the problem, it could even backfire for female journalists. Not only were their careers threatened, but the threat of losing their lives also loomed over them (Interview with Tari, 17 September 2021). Overcoming violence by telling family or close friends could also be done so that it would not traumatize the victim further in the long term.

“If I tell others, I’m worried that it will backfire on me. For example, if I tell person A, who is a male, ‘I just received a post like this (a picture of a male genitalia) yesterday,’ I’m afraid he will do the same thing to me in the future. So it would actually embarrass me if I told that to other people of the opposite sex. So, if it was not too serious, I’ll just keep it to myself,” said Tari (17 September 2021 interview).

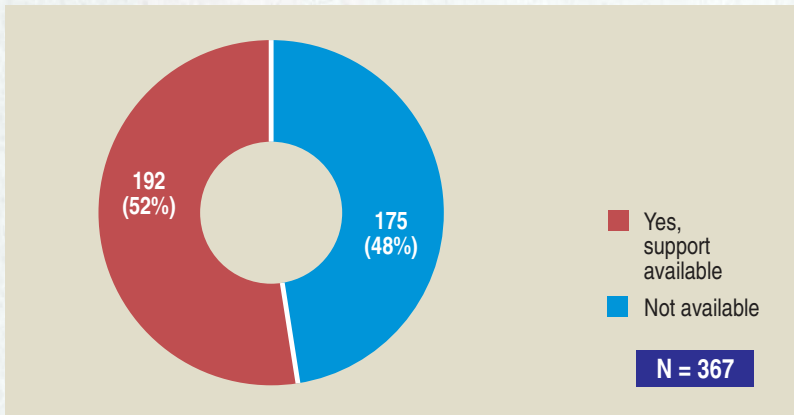
The various coping strategies used by female journalists in dealing with the violence they experience clearly illustrate how women are still second-class citizens. The struggles they face are layered because as journalists they must be able to maintain professionalism and their code of conduct. Then, as women, they have to work in a public space dominated by men. In this case, what female journalists need is security. They will not have a sense of security if the industry and system still turn a blind eye to this widespread practice of violence. This anxiety was later expressed by Luviana, a senior female journalist, in a focus group discussion (FGD)¹.

¹ As a follow-up to this research, PR2Media held a Focus Group Discussion involving various stakeholders: journalists, representatives of journalists’ organizations, representatives of media associations, and representatives of the Press Council on 13 October 2021.

“There was a journalist from *The Jakarta Post* who have been victims of harassment by sources. But that happened a long time ago, and was not reported, because if it was reported, later it was possible that the person concerned would be fired. It keeps happening over and over again. In fact, the world is changing but the media has not changed. So I think this problem is very outdated indeed. The media must admit that violence exists. That’s important. If you don’t admit it, the things that have been suggested by all of you will not be able to be carried out. Acknowledge that violence does exist, and admit that violence must be resolved immediately,” said Luviana (online FGD on 13 October 2021).

2. Responding to Violence at the Media or Journalist Organizations Level

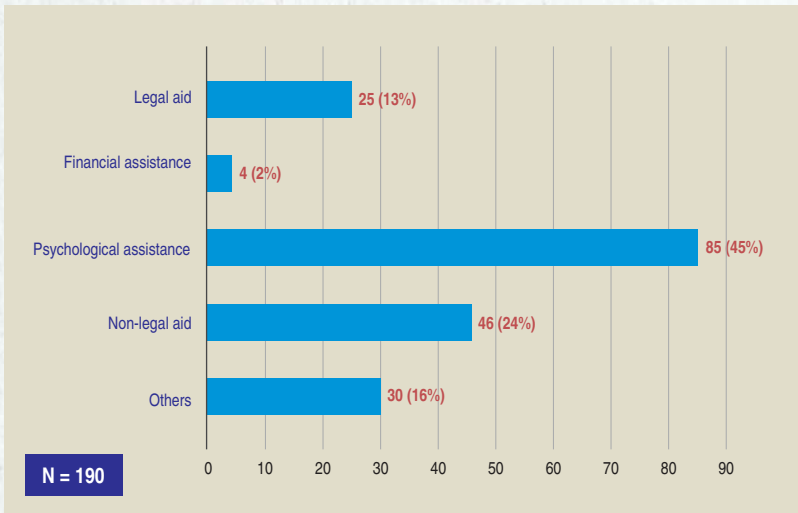
Figure 21
Assistance or Support from Media Organizations



Media organizations and journalist organizations play an important role in protecting female journalists from acts of violence. Based on the responses included in the survey, most of the respondents had not received support from the company when they experienced acts of violence. Most respondents (52%) stated that they had received assistance or support from the company/organization, but 48% of respondents stated that they had not received any assistance and support from the company/organization when experiencing violence.

Furthermore, for journalists who received support or assistance from media organizations, the majority were in the form of psychological assistance (45%), followed by non-legal aid (24%), legal aid (13%), and financial assistance (2%).

Figure 22
Forms of Assistance and Support from Media Organizations



As explained in the previous section, media organizations and journalist organizations must provide the needed support to female journalists once they experienced acts of violence. According to the guidelines for handling cases of violence issued by the Press Council, companies are at the forefront of protecting journalists (and especially female journalists) from violence. However, not all press companies have adequate resources to provide assistance to journalists to deal with acts of violence.

In addition, it should be noted that as of the writing of this report, the Press Council has not published written guidelines for media organizations once female journalists experience violence.

In general, the forms of support provided by media organizations in protecting their journalists can be divided into three forms. *First*, legal protection. Large media organizations that have adequate resources are considered to be able to provide legal aid if their journalists experience violence, especially when the violence hinders the journalist's work. *Second*, provision of advice or recommendations. This is the most common way, especially when dealing with important sources. When the editor or editor-in-chief receives a report on sexual violence, for example, as has been described in the previous section, they provide several suggestions, such as to keep silent or conduct interviews accompanied with other journalists. *Third*, rebuke the perpetrating sources directly. This is done when the source's actions have threatened the work of the journalists, and even have prosecuted the journalists. The editor-in-chief will directly rebuke them that the work of journalists is protected by Law No. 40/1999 on the Press.

However, there are also examples of cases, as described previously, in terms of violence perpetrated by superiors, there is no significant effort from the company's management because the

perpetrators are their own superiors. In fact, in a training session that was a follow-up to this research, one participant from West Papua Province said that after she had refused to be asked out on a date by her (male) superior and told her colleagues about it, she was the one who ended up being fired from her company. She admitted that she was very disappointed because as a young journalist who wanted to gain a lot of knowledge and experience about journalism, her desire was actually blocked by her own superior whom she considered as her mentor.

Journalist organizations also have an important role in protecting female journalists from acts of violence. As has been told about the response of female journalists, most of them have reported the violence they experienced to journalist organizations. Those journalist organizations provide support in the form of, for example, designing a strategy if the journalist concerned is subjected to further acts of violence. From the stories conveyed by the informants in this research, it can be concluded that journalist organizations had been quite helpful for the female journalists in dealing with cases of violence. Journalist organizations need to continue to work together with media organizations to improve the safety of female journalists and to promote gender equality in the workplace.

3. Responding to Violence at the State Level

At the level of regulation or legislation, one of the main problems that make it difficult to resolve acts of violence against women is the absence of a single, capable regulation to resolve issues of violence and discrimination experienced by women, or specifically female journalists. Although Indonesia has a National Commission on Violence against Women (Komnas Perempuan) based on

Presidential Decree No. 181/1998, which was later reinforced by Presidential Regulation No. 65/2005, the nature of this commission extends only to providing recommendations. On the other hand, regulations regarding crimes and acts of violence against women are spread out in various forms of regulations and laws, such as Law No. 40/1999 on the Press, the Criminal Code (KUHP), Law No. 39/1999 on Human Rights, and Law No. 13/2003 on Manpower or Law No. 7/1984 on Ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, and the latest is Law No. 19/2016 on Information and Electronic Transactions. All this has undermined efforts to protect female journalists from acts of violence. PR2Media's research in 2016 found that regulations in the field of communication are not integrated, even overlapping, thus making it difficult for parties to build a healthy, democratic communication ecosystem (Rahayu et al., 2016).

The absence of laws that specifically protect women from violence is considered a major weakness in addressing violence against female journalists. Many parties² have been eagerly waiting for the ratification of the Draft Law on the Crime of Sexual Violence³, because the said law is considered to be able to provide adequate legal protection for Indonesian women (not just journalists) when they experience sexual violence, starting from reporting all the way to the judicial process.

² Notes from the online FGD with various stakeholders (13 October 2021) conducted by PR2Media as a follow-up to this research.

³ In September 2021, the Eradication of Sexual Violence Bill (RUU PKS) changed its name to Sexual Violence Crime Bill (RUU TPKS) after the Indonesian House of Representatives could not agree on the bill during the 2014-2019 term due to the rejection from the Prosperous Justice Party and religious organizations that deemed the bill as a mean to legalize adultery.

There are several existing laws and regulations that can be referred to as legal support for the state and its citizens to protect women from acts of violence. This sub-section below will describe laws and regulations related to efforts to protect women from violence, both in digital and physical domains.

a. Constitutional Guarantee for Citizens' Rights

When female journalists experience violence or discrimination in the workplace, then their rights have been violated. Therefore, it is important to examine the laws that protect the rights of citizens in general, and women's rights in particular. In this case, the state constitution acts as the highest legal rule in which all legal rules under it must refer to and must not conflict with the constitution, as well as being a mandate for state administrators. The rights guaranteed in the constitution are the obligations of the state to implement them, including in protecting the rights of women as citizens.

The state constitution, namely the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, has basically provided guarantees for the rights of citizens who are basic in nature (Chapter XA Article 28 of the 1945 Constitution). Article 28A states that everyone has the right to maintain their life and well-being. Article 28D Paragraph (1) states that everyone has the right to recognition, guarantee, protection and fair legal certainty as well as fair treatment and equal treatment before the law. The right in the field of communication which acts as an important reference for media workers and every citizen is regulated in article 28F, which states that everyone has the right to communicate and obtain information to develop their personal and social environment, and has the right to seek,

obtain, possess, store, process, and convey information using all available channels. Then, Article 28G Paragraph (1) states the right of every person to the protection of themselves, their family, honor, dignity, and property under their control, as well as the right to a sense of security and protection from the threat of fear to do or not do something that is part of human rights; while Article 28G Paragraph (2) guarantees the right of everyone to be free from violence or degrading treatment. Article 28I Paragraph (2) states that “Everyone has the right to be free from discriminatory treatment on any basis and is entitled to protection against such discriminatory treatment” (Djauhari et al., 2014).

From the description of the articles in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia above, it can be concluded that the constitution guarantees the human rights of its citizens, and it is the duty of the state to enforce them. Philosophically, rights always presuppose the obligations of other parties, and if that right is stated in the state constitution, it is the obligation of every state administrator to enforce it.

The protection of human rights was then strengthened through Law No. 39/1999 on Human Rights and Law No. 7/1984 on Ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. As a product of the 1998 reform legislation, Law No. 39/1999 provides protection for the basic rights of women. This is specifically referred to in Article 3 Paragraph (2) and Paragraph (3), Article 29 Paragraph (1), Article 30, Article 45, and Article 49 Paragraph (2). These articles mainly provide guarantees for the rights of individual citizens from discriminatory treatments, personal protection concerning dignity and honor, threats of fear and to safety, and recognition of women’s rights as human rights. Meanwhile, Law No. 7/1984 on Article 2 of its

Attachment stipulated the mandate to make appropriate legislation and other follow-up steps, including sanctions deemed necessary, namely those that prohibit all forms of discrimination against women.

Table 15
Protection Based on Law No. 39/1999 on Human Rights

No.	Referenced Article
1.	<p>Article 3 Paragraph (2) “Everyone has the right to recognition, guarantee, protection and fair legal treatment as well as legal certainty and equal treatment before the law.”</p> <p>Article 3 Paragraph (3) “Everyone has the right to the protection of human rights and basic human freedoms, without discrimination.”</p>
2.	<p>Article 29 Paragraph (1) “Everyone has the right to the protection of their personal, family, honor, dignity and property rights.”</p>
3.	<p>Article 30 “Everyone has the right to a sense of security and peace and protection against the threat of fear to do or not do something.”</p>
4.	<p>Article 45 “Women’s rights in this law are human rights.”</p>
5.	<p>Article 49 Paragraph 2 “Women have the right to get special protection in the performance of their work or profession against things that can threaten their safety and or health with regard to women’s reproductive functions.”</p>

b. Protection of Female journalists from Violence

Law No. 40/1999 on the Press is the main legislation to refer to when it comes to the work of journalists, including female journalists. All kinds of violence experienced by female journalists whilst carrying out their journalism work can refer to this law.

This guarantee can be seen, for example, in Article 4 Paragraph (1) (freedom of the press is guaranteed as a human right of the citizens), Article 4 Paragraph (2) (no censorship, banning, or broadcasting permit removals), Article 4 Paragraph (3) (guarantee on the national press to seek, obtain and disseminate ideas and information); and Article 4 Paragraph (4) (right to refuse). Article 8 of Law No. 40/1999 strengthens Article 4, by stating that in carrying out their profession, journalists receive legal protection.

Although the articles above are not specifically intended to protect female journalists, they can be used to prevent acts of violence experienced by journalists when carrying out their duties in the field. Article 18 states that anyone who intentionally violates the law and takes actions that hinder the implementation of Article 4 Paragraphs (2) and (3) can be sentenced to two years or a fine of Rp500,000. However, it must be admitted that the implementation of this article has not been properly enforced. One of the reasons for this is the media's dependence on the government state/regional budgets (APBN/APBD).

The director of LBH Pers, Ade Wahyudin (Madrim, 2020), for example, stated that media companies had indeed provided inadequate support for their journalists when facing cases due to concerns of losing advertising revenue, especially if the case was related to the central or local government. This is because most of the revenue of media companies in the local regions still comes mainly from advertising and paid promotions from local governments (Madrim, 2020).

Wahyudin's comments above were primarily directed to the case of Tuti Nurkhomariyah, a journalist for Rakyat Merdeka Online (RMOL) who was intimidated by the Governor of Lampung, Arinal Djunaidi. As *Voice of Indonesia* wrote, Nurkhomariyah continued to

be afraid to conduct reporting at the Lampung Governor's Office for fear of intimidation by the governor (Madrim, 2020).

Nurkhomariyah said, "[The Governor] said, you should report only the good news. Moreover, you wear the hijab, so you should just listen and obey. Or else you will soon return to the Almighty."

This intimidation could be interpreted as verbal abuse that led to trauma. However, only a few media organizations provide protection for journalists who experience acts of violence whilst working. Large-scale media organizations are considered to be more capable of providing assistance or advocacy to journalists who experience violence whilst working (Dian, 17 September 2021 interview).

To protect journalists from violence, the Press Council issued Press Council Regulation No. 1/Peraturan-DP/III/2013 on Guidelines for Handling Cases of Violence against Journalists. The regulation states the principles and steps for handling cases of violence against journalists. The regulation also mentions the responsibilities of each party, which includes press companies, professional organizations, and the Press Council. It is stated in the regulation that press companies are the most important party that must provide protection to journalists, whilst professional organizations have an obligation to assist journalists and their families as long as they are related to cases. The obligation of the Press Council as stated in the regulation is more of a coordinating function, including with law enforcement. The interesting thing in the regulation is that a company must include in the work contract the obligation to provide legal and safety protection, both for those who are its employees and others.

Law No. 40/1999 does provide guarantees for journalists whilst carrying out their work, however, other forms of violence experienced

by women, for example, sexual violence and discrimination in the workplace or during reporting, as many have reported in interviews and this survey, have not been regulated in the law. Therefore, this should be supported by other laws and regulations. This can be referred to in the Manpower Law, the Criminal Code, and the ITE Law.

Protection of women in the workplace or company can be referred to in Law no. 13/2003 on Manpower. This law provides guarantees for matters relating to discriminatory treatment that is often experienced by women in the workplace. In addition, the Manpower Law also provides protection for workers from actions that have the potential to degrade their dignity and worth.

For female journalists, this rule can be used to fight acts of violence, whether sexual or non-sexual. Article 86, for example, states that every worker is entitled to protection for safety, morals and decency, as well as treatment that is in accordance with their dignity as a human being.

Table 16
Protection Based on Law No. 13/2003 on Employment

No.	Referenced Article
1.	Article 6 Every worker/laborer has the right to receive equal treatment without discrimination from the employer.
2.	Article 76 (1) Female workers/laborers who are less than 18 (eighteen) years old are prohibited from being employed between 23.00 to 07.00. (3) Employers who employ female workers/laborers between 23.00 and 07.00 are obliged to: a. Provide them with nutritious food and drinks; and b. Uphold the principles of morality and safety whilst at work.
3.	Article 86 (1) Every worker/laborer has the right to obtain protection for: a. Occupational health and safety; b. Morals and decency; and c. Treatment in accordance with human dignity and values.

Every act of violence is basically a criminal act. The Criminal Code (KUHP) provides protection against acts of violence, both sexual and non-sexual. In this case, the Criminal Code does not recognize sexual harassment as it only contains crimes of morality (*misdrijven tegen de zeden*) which include, among others, rape and sexual abuse. Law enforcement against perpetrators of sexual violence/harassment against women is regulated in the Criminal Code, namely: Damaging morals in public (Articles 281, 283, 283 bis); Adultery (Article 284); Rape (Article 285); Murder (Article 338); Obscenity (Articles 289, 290, 292, 293 (1), 294, 295 (1)) (Anggoman, 2019; Johny, 2011).

Regarding violence in the digital domain, there is a Law on Information and Electronic Transactions, namely Article 27 Paragraph (1) on prohibition of the distribution and/or transmission of content that violates morality, and Paragraph (4) on extortion/threats. Article 29 of the same law prohibits any individual from sending messages containing threats of violence or intimidation that are intended personally.

Of the several laws and regulations that can be referred to protect female journalists from violence, indeed there is not one that specifically refers to women as journalists. This makes it difficult for female journalists because of the many laws to refer to. On the other hand, although the Press Council has provided guidelines for handling cases of violence, nothing has been specifically addressed to violence experienced by women. In addition, there are no sanctions for companies, which incidentally are the vanguard according to the guidelines, if they cannot fulfil the rights of journalists as outlined in the guidelines.

In responding to violence against women, Komnas Perempuan notes that the existing regulations have not been able to be

enforced properly because they still contain provisions that refer to the Criminal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code, for example, regarding the necessity for [a reporting party to have] two witnesses. This is very difficult when in certain cases, such as rape, there are no witnesses other than the victim. In addition, the Criminal Code, which has been in force in Indonesia since 1948, does not yet contain the broad terminology of sexual violence. The Criminal Code only regulates an extremely narrow scope of sexual violence, only limited to rape, molestation, and unpleasant acts. Therefore, sexual violence remains difficult to prosecute (Djauhari et al., 2014).

In addition, the difficulty in law enforcement against violence experienced by women is because in many cases presented in surveys, interviews, and FGDs, the perpetrators are state officials, making the law more difficult to enforce.

5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings of this study have shown an alarming condition, namely from 1,256 female journalists surveyed, 1,077 respondents (85.7%) had experienced violence throughout their journalistic career. Of this number, 70.1% of respondents experienced violence in both digital and physical domains, 7.9% of respondents only experienced violence in the digital domain, and 7.8% of respondents only experienced violence in the physical domain. Meanwhile, only 179 respondents (14.3%) never experienced violence at all.

Of the 16 forms of violence (in the digital and physical domains) that were investigated in the questionnaire, the most common form of violence experienced by the respondents was offline body-shaming comments (59%), followed by online disturbing/harassing comments of a non-sexual nature (48%), online body-shaming comments (45%), offline threats or harassments of a sexual nature (40%), offline non-sexual threats or harassments (37%), online disturbing/harassing comments of a sexual nature (34%), gender discrimination at work (32%), online misinformation/defamation (28%), online abuses related to ethnicity/religion/race (22%), and physical assaults of a sexual nature (22%).

Respondents exhibited different ways of responding to violence. The most common way for respondents (52%) is to report to their superiors or colleagues, to related organizations (29%), and file lawsuits (10%). Other responses were to solve the problem independently, such as through confrontation, direct rebuke, discussions, counterattacks, recounting to relatives, and writing articles.

The impact of violence on journalists is also very diverse, both in personal and professional terms. This depends on three main factors, namely the form of violence, the intensity of the violence, and the condition of the journalist (including the support system

around them). Given the many influencing factors, this research cannot state what forms of violence are currently the most urgent one faced by Indonesian female journalists, because it is urgent to find a solution for each one of them. In addition, the impact of various forms of violence on female journalists also depends on the intensity of the violence and the condition of the journalist concerned. It can be said that each case of violence has a unique context, so the approach to dealing with it varies.

For example, although female journalists experience little sexual violence physically and wiretapping or hacking, the impact of this can then be so profound for the victims that they can experience severe stress and have to consult a third party such as a psychologist. The causes of violence also vary. Non-sexual violence in the digital domain tends to arise from the journalist's reporting. Reporting that is investigative or critical in nature, and that threatens the interests of the sources or institutions, usually encourages non-sexual violence to happen, even results in death threats. On the other hand, sexual violence is more determined by the individual characteristics of the sources and the ignorance of the perpetrators (generally fellow journalists) about the limits of norms that should not be violated.

Based on these findings, this research intends to propose several recommendations that should be carried out as a continuous collaboration from various stakeholders: journalists (both female and male), journalist associations or communities, media organizations including editorial staff and their management, media regulators, associations of media companies, the government, and the wider community, especially news sources.

First, to conduct various types of training for female journalists so that they are more responsive and resilient in preventing or

addressing violence in both digital and physical domains. The training for female journalists is in accordance with the most common recommendation submitted by respondents regarding the support of tools and assistance that can prevent or overcome violence. Considering the various forms of violence, this training also needs to be varied or contain various materials according to the needs that arise from various forms and contexts of violence in the digital and physical domains. This training includes knowledge (such as related regulations and the concept of protection for journalists and women) and practical skills (such as techniques to avoid violence and steps to address violence when occurred).

Second, to prepare a comprehensive but practical module for the training mentioned above. That way, not only participating female journalists will benefit, but also those who cannot attend the training can also use this module as reading material that can be used for self-learning. This module is the second most common recommendation by respondents regarding the support of tools and assistance expected to prevent or address violence.

Third, to conduct campaigns on the issue of violence against female journalists, both for various stakeholders and the public in general. These various stakeholders include media regulators (Press Council, Indonesian Broadcasting Commission, Ministry of Communication and Information, Commission I of the Indonesian House of Representatives), journalist associations (such as AJI and PWI), associations of media companies (such as the Indonesian Cyber Media Association, the Indonesian Private Television Association, and the Union of Press Organizations), and journalists in general. Through this campaign, it is hoped that there will be strong awareness from various stakeholders about the high and varied cases of violence against female journalists. By doing so,

it is hoped that this study will be able to act as a reminder that creating comfortable and safe working conditions for female journalists is very important and requires concrete, tangible steps from stakeholders to prevent and overcome them, both in the form of regulation and non-regulation.

In terms of regulation, this research notes that there are no adequate existing regulations that can protect female journalists from various types of violence that could potentially happen to them. One of the possible steps to take is by formulating a standard operating procedure made by the Press Council and other stakeholders for media organizations in the event of violence against female journalists.

Meanwhile, in terms of non-regulation, psychological assistance for female journalists who are victims of violence needs to be carried out by various stakeholders: media organizations, journalist associations, associations of media companies, and other organizations.

Furthermore, the awareness of the general public, whether they are sources or otherwise, on the need to respect female journalists needs to be enhanced. The importance of the work of female journalists in a democratic society and journalism activities, which are protected by Law No. 40/1999 on the Press, also needs to be advocated.

In addition to the practical recommendations as presented in this research, another recommendation is the need for further research on collaborative movements to prevent and address violence against female journalists. Such a research is important to see whether the various practical recommendations offered here are indeed able to create conditions that are more comfortable and safe (violence-free) for Indonesian female journalists.

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This book contains research reports (surveys and in-depth interviews) conducted by PR2Media in August-September 2021, followed by a focused group discussion (FGD) with stakeholders on 13 October 2021.

The national-scale survey found that out of 1,256 female respondent journalists, 1,077 respondents (85.7%) had experienced violence during their journalistic career, both in the digital and physical domain.

Indonesian female journalists experience violence, with various forms and impacts on victims. Violence against female journalists tends to be widespread and poses a major threat to the journalism practice and press freedom in Indonesia.

Based on the results of this research, PR2Media publishes modules and conducts training on how to prevent and overcome violence against female journalists.

This series of activities, with the support of USAID and Internews, is PR2Media's contribution to create a safer ecosystem for female journalists.

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