

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MEDIA IN MULTI-TRACK DIPLOMACY: JAKARTA FEMINIST COMBATING VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN INDONESIA

Pincanny Georgiana Poluan^{1)*}, Firman Daud Lenjau Lung²⁾

¹⁾Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, Program Studi Pendidikan Jarak Jauh Ilmu Komunikasi, Universitas Pelita Harapan

²⁾Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, Program Studi Hubungan Internasional, Universitas Pelita Harapan

e-mail: pincanny.poluan@uph.edu^{1)*}, firman.lung@uph.edu²⁾

ABSTRACT

Violence Against Women (VAW), in its various forms, has become a global issue for many years; it is specifically considered a violation of human rights. With all the efforts of numerous institutions, like UN Women, VAW is still prevalent in many countries, including Indonesia. The obliviousness and never-ending occurrence of VAW in Indonesia seem to encourage some activists, both in and outside the country, to initiate movements with the help of digital media (specifically social media). One of the activist groups is Jakarta Feminist. A study shows that Jakarta Feminist is using social media to both disseminate activism information and mobilize actors. However, no study has discussed how that relates to their role as Track 6 in Multi-Track Diplomacy. This paper argues that, with its nature as a new media (emphasizes participatory culture), social media could support the implementation of MTD to abolish VAW issues in Indonesia, particularly looking at the growth of activism groups – Jakarta Feminist and/ or SEAFAM. Employing the desk research and observation methods, this paper aims to describe the role of social media in the implementation of MTD. This paper finds that social media plays a significant role as a supporting tool for Jakarta Feminist in performing their role as an activist group – Track 6. Moreover, through Instagram, Jakarta Feminist could generate power with and within their followers through educative content (Track 5) and dissemination of relevant information (Track 9). By doing so, they could hold a grassroots movement (Track 4) – Women's March, then influence the government's decision as Track 1.

Keywords: social media, Multi-Track Diplomacy, Violence Against Women, Jakarta Feminist, participatory culture.

1. Introduction

Violence Against Women (VAW), in its various forms, has become a global issue for many years; it is specifically considered a violation of human rights. This issue not only affects women in one country but also throughout the world; the estimates show that (globally) “30% of women over the age of 15 experience physical and sexual violence from their intimate partner during their lifetime” (Umam Noer, et al., 2021). Apparently, among those numbers, both physical and/or sexual violence does not only come from an intimate partner but also from a non-partner (*Violence against women*, 2021). In addition, there are still other forms of VAW that are sometimes overlooked, like discrimination or verbal abuse. Despite the form of abuse one's experiencing, VAW impacts more than just women's health; it also affects their ability to

earn income, dignity, and opportunity. Accordingly, this phenomenon is seen as a global issue as it relates to UN Foundation's Sustainable Development Goal 5 (SDG5) - their *global goal* to achieve gender equality (Green, 2018). Moreover, Putri and Satya Dewi (2018) even argue VAW has even been identified as a non-traditional security issue. That is because it challenges the well-being of people and states around the world that arise primarily out of non-military sources (*About Non-Traditional security*, 2022). Ultimately, this issue is prevalent and affecting women and girls in many countries up until now; one of them is Indonesia.

The issue of VAW (also known as Gender-Based Violence/ GBV) in Indonesia has developed since it first emerged in the country. However, this development does not necessarily lead to fewer to zero violations.

Indonesian women have experienced gendered violence since the Dutch colonial era in various forms, such as sexual abuse of women in plantation work or unequal relationships with Dutch men (McGregor & Loney, 2020, pp. 3-4). McGregor and Loney (2020) elucidate how both domestic and international developments forced Indonesia to put gendered violence into their national political agenda; this includes the enforcement of the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (p. 5). From that point, Indonesia starts to show improvement in handling the issues: the emergence of several women's rights groups and organizations to monitor VAW in the country (p. 5). Yet, the cases of GBV are still prevalent. Even worse, not everyone can gain the same information and knowledge about the issues of how to handle/ tackle them. To date, the Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection records 10.193 violence cases with 9.450 victims being women (KEMENPPPA, 2022). Additionally, the number of GBV cases even increased following the occurrence of pandemic COVID 19 (Perkumpulan Lintas Feminis Jakarta, 2021). Alas, as previously mentioned, these numbers are seen as only the tip of the iceberg because many remained unaware of how to report their cases. The phenomenon shows how Indonesia, on the one hand, enhances their course of action in dealing with VAW through the establishment of several institutions or CEDAW integration. But on the other hand, it does not stop the pervasiveness of VAW cases and even people's unawareness of it from happening.

The obliviousness and never-ending occurrence of VAW in Indonesia seem to encourage some activists, both in and outside the country, to initiate movements with the help of digital media (specifically social media). Jakarta Feminist is a group of activists who initiated several feminist movements to combat VAW in Indonesia; one of the well-known movements is the Women's March (Jakarta Feminist, n.d.).

This march was first done in the United States on Saturday, 21 January 2022 and they commenced this march in Indonesia as a response to that initial movement (Putri, 2019). Furthermore, Jakarta Feminist (Indonesia) also work together with Gantala Press (Philippines) and KRYSS Network (Malaysia) and build the Southeast Asian Feminist Action Network (SEAFAM) - a movement of solidarity to support and strengthen feminist work across Southeast Asia (SEAFAM, n.d.). Both Jakarta Feminis and SEAFAM utilize digital media, specifically social media, to share their identity and present themselves as well as their programs (which include Women's March) to all Indonesians and, even more than that, the world. By doing so, the goal – gender equality and peace – would be then achieved in Indonesia.

Activism, as exemplified above, reflects the role of one actor in Multi-Track Diplomacy (MTD). Through advocacy, they aim to create peace in Indonesia, specifically regarding the issue of VAW. There have been some discussions about the role of MTD in many traditional and non-traditional security issues (Effendi, 2013; Dewi, 2019; Firdaus, 2020; Aini, 2019), yet there are not many papers that have discussed particularly the significance of MTD in eliminating VAW. Whereas Putri and Satya Dewi (2018) indicate the contribution of each actor in MTD in fighting gender equality as a collective effort to preserve world peace. Although the issue itself is still prevalent in the Pacific, there still seems to be progress in handling the issue; therefore, more research regarding the VAW issue should be continued. Furthermore, the examples also somehow show that social media plays an important role in their efforts to eliminate VAW in the country. Social media makes it possible for some news to reach a much larger audience, hence persuading them to participate. Specifically, in this case of VAW, Fairbairn (2020) finds that social media acts as a tool to generate an online form of bystander intervention. Accordingly, this

paper argues that, on a larger scale, social media could support the implementation of MTD to abolish VAW issues in Indonesia, particularly looking at the growth of activism groups – Jakarta Feminis and/ or SEAFAM.

There has been an argument that says social media is a new track in MTD (Caucasus Edition, 2011). However, they also assert that “There is a need for rigorous studies of the impact of social media on conflict escalation and transformation, and the development of guidelines for more effective use of social media in peacemaking”. So far, we also find that not much research has been conducted focusing on this concern, specifically on the issue of VAW in Indonesia. Therefore, this research aims to fill the gap by answering the research question: What is the role of social media in Multi-Track Diplomacy? Also, this research intends to contribute to the discussion by giving a micro view of a particular social-cultural setting – VAW in Indonesia.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Multi-Track Diplomacy

It is essential to lay some principal understanding towards the development of diplomacy and conflict resolution as the primer conceptual framework for this paper. For the past decades, there had been numerous different attempts and approaches to addressing the discourse of conflict resolution that was deemed unsuccessful in promoting sustainable peace (Kumar, 1995). This was mainly because the midpoint between the complexity of issues – both within and between states (Mapendere, 2006; Bohmelt, 2010); and parties involved in the system (McDonald, 2012) did not meet. In the context of diplomacy, narrowing down stakeholders to a single ‘track’ had also failed to address conflict substantively which proof can be traced back until the Cold War ceased (Aksoy and Cicek, 2018; McDonald and Diamond, 1993). Up until the late 20th century, the role of state and government officials ranked the only primary resort of diplomacy – often known as the “Track 1”.

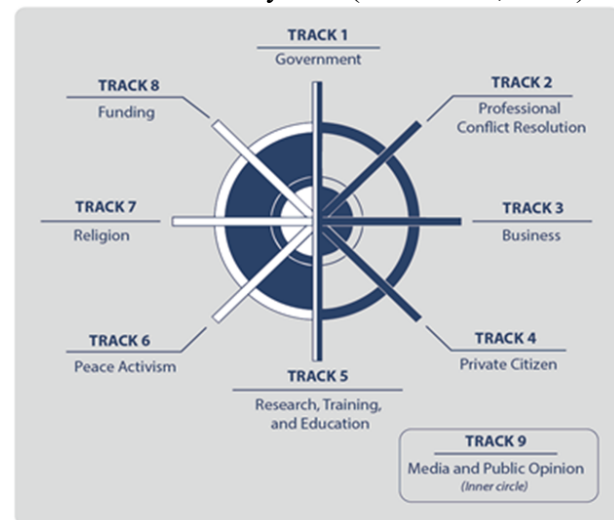
Those who are in favor of this track would argue that government officials’ interventions are “diplomatic ingredients that were essential for the peace process” (Mwanika, 2016, p.328) and “more likely to come to stable and effective outcomes” (Bohmelt, 2010, p.176).

Given the emergence of more complex global issues after the Cold War, particularly in the realm of non-traditional security, the proposition to conflict resolution shifted beyond Track 1 and eventually gave more prominence to field non-state actors and other professional institutions, such as the Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs), which are recognized as the “Track 2” in diplomacy (Kaye, 2007). The use of Track 2 diplomacy not only has complemented and filled the gap within the limitations of Track 1 that put too much emphasis on official relations (Landau, 2001; Kaye 2007) but also exerted significant influence in promoting institution-building and cooperation despite the challenges it faces due to the current development of international order (Feng, 2018). All in all, Track 2 does not serve as a substitute for Track 1 but the relation between these tracks indicates a “strong ... supportive mutual reinforcement as a generative feature of the regional diplomatic cooperation network” (Chen, 2021, p.16).

It was not until the mid-1990s that Professor McDonald and Diamond coined the term Multi-track Diplomacy (MTD) to accommodate the intricate yet inevitable relations of the stakeholders in peacebuilding (McDonald and Diamond, 1993). Acted as the main avenue for stakeholders to cooperate, MTD extends further recognition to non-state actors while still taking into account the essential role of government officials to negotiate in myriad issues (Raboin, 2014; Christmas, 2012). In short, McDonald and Diamond stretched what was used to be a two-track approach into 9 full-on tracks that correspond to one another (Figure 2.1), including:

1. **Government**
 Peacebuilding and conflict resolution activities that are approached formally by the government and its institutions (e.g., executive, legislative, and judicial institutions).
2. **Professional Conflict Resolution**
 Non-state actors that are involved in peacebuilding. As mentioned earlier, track 2 could be the intermediaries between conflicting actors.
3. **Business**
 A track that focuses on how economic activities could alleviate disparity and - eventually - promote peace.
4. **Private Citizen**
 Citizen Diplomacy: how the role of citizens (individually or in a group) can enforce peacekeeping through various activities.
5. **Research, Training, and Education**
 This track comprises people who are experts in the academic, research, and training field whose work revolves around peacemaking programs. They focus on researching vital gaps in conflict resolution (negotiation, diplomacy, etc.) and ensuring the curriculum involves peacebuilding study.
6. **Peace Activism**
 The activist groups whose work is focused on fighting for specific fields. (Human Rights, environment, etc.)
7. **Religion**
 Religious leaders with a handful of followers mean they have a crucial impact on peacebuilding. Not only that they can influence their followers, but their presence can also reduce conflict intensity.
8. **Funding**
 Funder, mainly philanthropists, who facilitate the tracks with the necessary support in funding to help them running.

9. **Media and Public Opinion**
 The heart of the tracks that ensure the system is working effectively using traditional and/or new media.
 Each of the tracks will always be interconnected and dependent to one another – with communication, Track 9, serves as the center of the MTD system (McDonald, 1993).



I · M · T · D Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy

Figure 2.1 - Source:

<https://imtdsite.wordpress.com/about/what-is-multi-track-diplomacy/>

2.2. The Role of Multi-Track Diplomacy in Violence Against Women

Even though women's full involvement in the peacekeeping process has been the ultimate goal addressed by the adoption of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, the world still faces challenges to create a proportional inclusion of women in peacebuilding activity both formally and informally (Dayal and Christien, 2020). Notwithstanding the necessity—as mentioned by Marie O'Reilly, Andrea Ó. Súilleabháin, and Thania Paffenholz in UN Women Report—

“If the goal of a peace process is only to end violence, then women — who are rarely the belligerents — are unlikely to be considered legitimate participants. If the goal is to build peace, however, it makes sense to gain more diverse inputs from the rest of society” (2015, p.37), women's

discrimination in general and VAW, in particular, are still considered taboo in various parts of the world (Gurrieri et al, 2016; Heidari and Mardhani-Hamoooleh, 2016). This is when MTD is vital in inscribing its influence to eradicate VAW to a large extent in developing countries (Putri, 2018). Putri also attested that “although not engaged in one program simultaneously, it can be seen that the whole tracks in MTD are actively responding to VAW issues in Pacific (2018, p.213). In line with this approach, Turner (2018) believes that the more women’s involvement in as many tracks as possible within the MTD, the higher chance the world gets to achieve just and sustainable peace.

VAW has been addressed extensively through the action of a multitude of activist institutions and movements from global scopes, such as the UN Women’s End Violence Against Women Campaign (UNiTE campaign), to regional levels such as SEAFAM in Southeast Asia, to national and local scope. However, there is only a handful of research and literature that have delved into the use of activism in MTD to address violence against women (VAW). This is going to be one of the entry points of this paper to connect peace activism (Track 6) and its influence among other MTD tracks in VAW.

2.3. The Use of Social Media in the Feminist Movement

In the case of Violence Against Women (VAW), social media acts as a double-edged sword. Unfortunately, the number of VAW cases is still increasing even with the proliferation of social media in this digital era. 56% of 14.000 girls and young women from across 31 countries said that they faced more harassment online than in the street (Sanusi, 2021). Social media, which has a new structure of technology, offers its users the ability to actively participate, get involved, and be seen and heard (O’Reilly, 2005 as cited in Marres, 2017; Beer & Burrow, 2013 as cited in Marres, 2017;

Jenkins, 2016). It facilitates society to become active contributors in many aspects of life. Moreover, social media also enables users to interact with one another, even with those whom they have not met before. However, as mentioned above, it also somehow facilitates abusers to abuse women in a rather new form. This type of abuse that is communicated through social networking sites is also known as online abuse (Watson, 2022). Some studies have discussed some forms of common online abuse: “... misogynistic, frequently includes violent threats and dismisses female contributions to online discussion” (Watson, 2022); or psychological violence (Omar Bali, et al., 2021). On the other hand, despite all this, there have been many studies that discuss how impactful social media is in mitigating VAW.

As previously mentioned, social media enables community involvement which means users can generate their content (no longer just an audience) as long as they are a part of a certain platform (specifically, Instagram). This, then, provides a platform for women to voice their voices by telling their stories. In addition, with the help of the algorithm, it is very possible for a story from a survivor to go viral (reach out to people) and, hence, be heard (de Meco & Mackay, 2022; *Gender Equality, Women’s Rights and Impact of Social Media Communications*, 2022; Simons & Morgan, 2017). Wanless and Berk (2021) emphasize the ability of social media to be an echo chamber where a user is exposed to mostly similar content with their pre-existing views and preferences, thus positioning and boosting provocative content (p. 116). They explain that “an online echo chamber is a digital space where content reflecting a specific point of view reverberates, exposing those within it ...” (pp. 115 -116). This also leads to another positive impact that according to Simons and Morgan (2017), social media encourage journalists to cover more stories related to VAW issues because it plays a key role in their sourcing practices (pp. 1213-1214). Accordingly,

some argue that social media thus has become a primary and promising tool to diminish VAW because, as mentioned above, it enables users (who are inside the echo chambers) to be encouraged to participate in the spread of persuasive messaging (Kangere, et al., 2017; Martam, 2016; Stabile, et al., 2020; Wanless & Berk, 2021). To exemplify this, social media is mostly used to raise public awareness through campaigns, encourage social movements also spark activism around the world, particularly feminist movements like the women's march (Stabile, et al., 2020; Kangere, et al., 2017; WHO, 2009; Fairbairn, 2020). Particularly, the most well-known activism in Indonesia in this regard is Jakarta Feminist. Annisa (2021) asserts that "the use of social media for feminist activism has increased in decades"; also known as digital feminist activism. She also explains that Jakarta Feminist is using social media to disseminate activism information and mobilize actors. More on the activities of this group as peace activism will be discussed in the fourth chapter.

Based on the above discussion, social media seems to have a significant impact on mitigating Violence Against Women (VAW), particularly in the rise of social movements in some countries (including Indonesia). Other than that, it has been argued that Multi-Track Diplomacy (MTD) has the potential to help eliminate VAW, although not much study has been conducted. In accordance with that, knowing that social media has such an impact, this paper wants to bridge the gap between social media and Multi-Track Diplomacy in the case of VAW. We aim to discuss the role social media plays in MTD.

3. Research Method

This scientific paper utilized a qualitative research method that focused on desk research and observation. Given the scope of this research that revolves around social media usage, the use of desk-based research and its recent development that has leaned towards collecting data indirectly via the internet (Bassot, 2022) is highly pertinent.

We mainly delved into academic journals along with books, datasets, and reports from recent years. Observations were also done as part of the research method to sustain this study in analyzing people's roles and actions through social media.

This is in line with Walshe et al. (2011) who argue that "observational methods are useful for understanding what people do – their roles, actions, and behavior - ..." (p. 1049). Therefore, we looked through several Instagram accounts: @jakartafeminist, @womensmarchjkt, @womensmarchindo, @womensmarch, and @seafamnetwork and their posts ranging from 2017 up to the present. Regarding the data analysis, the result of the desk research became the precept to further examine the observation's outcome.

4. Results and Discussion

This chapter will present and critically reflect on the gathered data with the help of the theory of Multi-Track Diplomacy (MTD). Referring to the focus of this research, we will begin with the discussion of Jakarta Feminist and its role as Track 6 in MTD, which will also explain their use of Instagram.

4.1. Jakarta Feminist as Track 6

One of the tracks that are included in Multi-Track Diplomacy is peace activism – Track 6. Activism builds peace through advocacy. In other words, its effort in peacemaking is actualized through a set of activities or campaigns in terms of human rights, the environment, and social and economic justice regarding certain policies taken by the government (Dewi, 2019; Aini, 2019). In the context of this research, the activism that is emphasized is in terms of human rights and equality, particularly women's right to freedom from violence. Dewi (2019) mentions some of the activities or campaigns that are run by the activists: protest, education, advocacy, rules, support, and/ or supervision. With the help of social media, Jakarta Feminist, as a group of

activists, is performing its prominent role as Track 6 in combating VAW.

Based on the observations, Jakarta Feminist has held many programs to achieve their goal – promoting feminist values to attain gender equality in Indonesia. They initiated the first Women’s March in Indonesia, involve in an international community – SEAFAM, and even establish a public service agency to facilitate victims of VAW. As previously mentioned, social media like Instagram promotes participatory culture (O’Reilly, 2005 as cited in Marres, 2017; Beer & Burrow, 2013 as cited in Marres, 2017; Effing et al., 2011; Jenkins, 2016). This brings society to the fact that, nowadays, their political participation (specifically in influencing or shaping governmental policy) has changed – no longer a one-way interaction (Bennett, 2008; Kliger-Vilenchik, 2017). Bennett (2008) asserts that they have the capacity to investigate issues of public concern, provide feedback to the leader, circulate information, produce their own content, and mobilize toward civic or political goals. Accordingly, Instagram enables Jakarta Feminist to show their existence, including their programs, to society. Moreover, it is made possible for them to also raise awareness of and even encourage community involvement in their programs; hence their goal is achieved.

Jakarta Feminist has been exposing their ideas and information through their personal Instagram account. They started their account in 2017, namely @jakartafeminist, and have gained up to 33.800 followers to date (Figure 4.1.1).

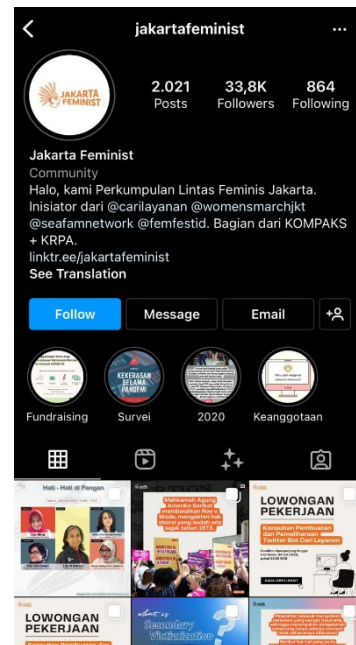


Figure 4.1.1 The account of @jakartafeminist. Screen grabbed on June 25, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple

Other users can identify all their programs immediately from the bio; they mention that Jakarta Feminist is the initiator of @carilayanan, @womensmarchjkt, @seafamnetwork, and @femfestid. By doing so, other related accounts become accessible to all followers or non-followers; thus, the exposure is boosted. In a way, Instagram helps them market their programs so that more people are aware of them – a strategic marketing tool (Martam, 2016). According to the observation data, there are several mostly posted content on this Instagram account that can be categorized into (1) education, (2) general information, and (3) others; all of them still promote the same value – Violence Against Women. Especially the first category, some examples are the history of Hari Kartini (Figure 4.1.2), an introduction to intergenerational trauma (Figure 4.1.3), and facts about sexual violence in Indonesia (Figure 4.1.4).



Figure 4.1.2 @jakartafeminist post about Hari Kartini. Screen grabbed on June 25, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple



Figure 4.1.3 @jakartafeminist post about intergenerational trauma. Screen grabbed on June 25, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple



Figure 4.1.4 @jakartafeminist reels about sexual violence. Screen grabbed on June 25, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple

Instagram provides multimodality in its platform to provide its users with a place to express themselves through pictures, videos, captions, etc. (Jewitt, 2013). As a result, Jakarta Feminist can design their educative content in a way that is more interesting, visually – colorful, using illustrative images, etc. Furthermore, every post can even stimulate and facilitate discussion among other users (both followers and non). This shows the manifestation of Jakarta Feminist's role as Track 6 in MTD yet with a chance to reach more people and even interact with them.

Besides education, protest is also another form of peace activism that is conducted by Jakarta Feminist. As mentioned, they initiated the first Women's March in Indonesia which took place in Jakarta; as a response to the protest in the United States. They denote that they are a part of the Women's March in the United States by using the same display picture (shown in Figure 4.1.5 and 4.1.6).



Figure 4.1.5 Women's March US Display Picture. Screen grabbed on June 26, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple



Figure 4.1.6 Women's March Indonesia Display Picture. Screen grabbed on June 25, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple

This event was held in 2017 and has become their annual event up until now. Again, one way to encourage participation in this annual event is by utilizing Instagram. That is, Jakarta Feminist create an individual account for Women's March Jakarta to distribute information regarding the technical procedure, testimonies, also reminders. Figure 4.1.7 shows an example of their content.



Figure 4.1.7 Content of @womensmarchjkt. Screen grabbed on June 28, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple

The growth of this account is significant, in which they have reached over 15.300 followers (Figure 4.1.8). The development of this protest is presented in the increased number of participants – it grew from only 400 to more than 8000 participants each year (*Apa itu women's march?*, n.d.).



Figure 4.1.8 number of followers of @womensmarchjkt. Screen grabbed on June 28, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple

As researchers mention, Instagram can spark activism around the world and encourage social movements (Stabile, et al., 2020; Kangere, et al., 2017; WHO, 2009); this then helps Jakarta Feminist succeeding the protest, in terms of engaging more participants.

Violence Against Women is now seen as a non-traditional security issue which threatens world peace. Therefore, Jakarta Feminist try to bring their activism further – beyond its national scope; they initiate and participate in Southeast Asia Feminist Action Movement (SEAFAM). Similarly, SEAFAM has their own social media accounts. Their account with the most followers is Instagram (@seafamnetwork) – 385 in total (Figure 4.1.9). SEAFAM was just recently launched, which is in 2020.

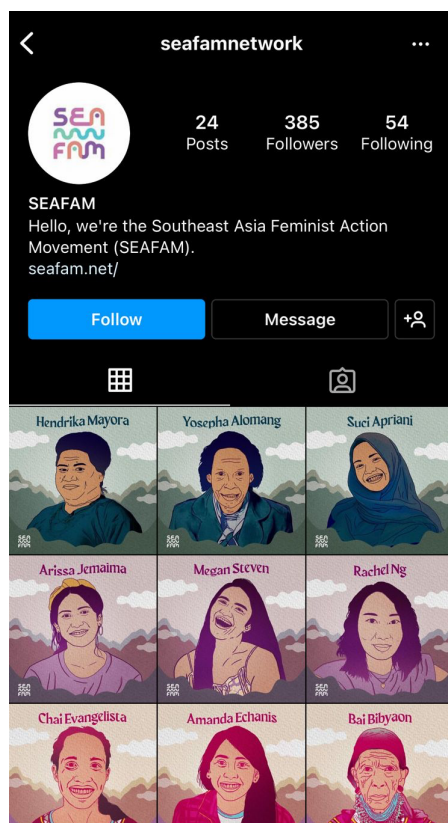


Figure 4.1.9 Number of followers of @seafamnetwork. Screen grabbed on June 28, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple

According to the observation data, SEAFAM is still trying to raise awareness and engage people, so that they can perform their role in the coming days. They started

their account by socializing their goals, purposes, and their members (Figure 4.1.10); interestingly, it is presented in three different languages (Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines). Other than that, they are now focusing on telling inspiring stories from various women with a very appealing visual (Figure 4.1.11). With the help of Instagram's nature, this might encourage their followers to support by producing their content and circulating information. Moreover, the fact that Jakarta Feminist mention the SEAFAM account on their bio can be a way to boost their exposure.

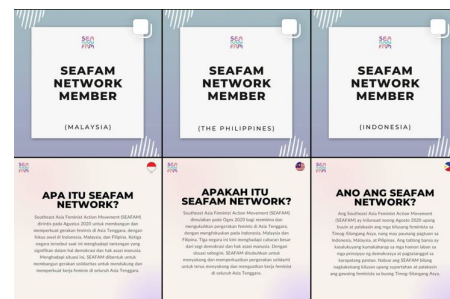


Figure 4.1.10 Initial posts of @seafamnetwork. Screen grabbed on June 28, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple



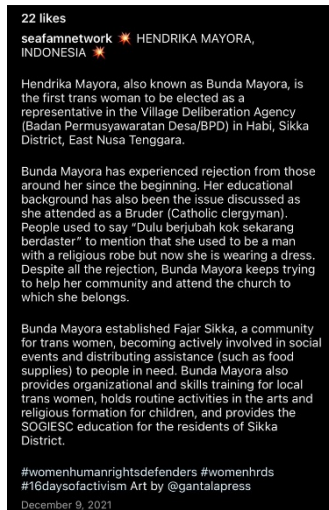


Figure 4.1.11 Inspiring stories by @seafamnetwork. Screen grabbed on June 28, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple

Ultimately, Jakarta Feminist shows how they perform their role as Track 6 to eliminate VAW in Indonesia by conducting the abovementioned peace activism. They educate, inform, organize protests, and even participate in an international activist community. Nonetheless, this group of VAW activists does not run only on their own. In fact, social media, particularly Instagram, enables involvement from the society to support activists like Jakarta Feminist. Furthermore, the utilization of Instagram is also intense, in which they created one account for each program while still conveying the same messages.

4.2. Activism in Social Media and Other Tracks

The existence of peace activism in social media, as exhibited by Jakarta Feminist and presented in the previous section, has impacted other tracks in Multi-Track Diplomacy in various ways. Based on the observation, there are three tracks which are significantly impacted – Track 5, 4 and 1. Although along the way, several other tracks are still somehow enhanced, yet not as significant as the three.

Track 5, namely research, training, and education, emphasizes the learning process which involves educational institutions (schools and universities) and

think tanks (Dewi, 2019). Their role in peacemaking is manifested in some activities, ranging from research and analysis of situations, and case studies, to seminars or workshops. Another activity that relates more to educational institutions is giving scholarships. Instagram has the capacity to reach more people and advocate gender equality (*Gender Equality, Women's Rights, Impact of Social Media Communication*, 2022). Therefore, Jakarta Feminist's existence in social media supports the implementation of these programs or activities in a way that helps the dissemination of information; this also then relates to Track 9. In many posts, the Jakarta Feminist team notifies their followers about any upcoming seminars (Figure 4.2.1), workshops, forum discussions, and even scholarship opportunities (Figure 4.2.2). As an example, on their Instagram, Figure 4.2.3 depicts that they posted a poster about a public forum to converse about research conducted by Aliansi Jurnalis Independen (AJI) and PR2Media (topic: Gender Discrimination in Media Organization).



Figure 4.2.1 Information about the upcoming seminar by @jakartafeminist. Screen grabbed on June 28, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple



Figure 4.2.2 Information about scholarship @jakartafeminist. Screen grabbed on June 28, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple



Figure 4.2.3 Information about public discussion @jakartafeminist. Screen grabbed on June 28, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple

AJI does not have their own Instagram account, while PR2Media's account is only followed by 130 persons. That is, being promoted by Jakarta Feminist might help them in reaching more people, not only more in quantity but also more precisely

targeted people. Li, et al. (2021) discuss how social media enables its users to build a social network from shared interests and values. Hence, their content is effectively exposed to a group of people (or followers of Jakarta Feminist) who share the same interests and values – eliminating Violence Against Women (VAW). The same applies to the other type of content, like scholarship opportunities. The more exposure, the more awareness they can raise, and, finally, the more participants join the program.

The explanation above about activism in social media (Track 6) and how it also affects other tracks (like Track 5) shows the influence it brings to Track 4 – private citizens. Track 4 emphasizes citizens' contributions to development and peace activities (Dewi, 2019). As previously mentioned, the growth of participation in Women's March is significant. This depicts the success of Jakarta Feminist (with the help of social media) in generating both power with and within. Brown (2020) asserts that those with power with/ within believe that power expands when shared with others. In other words, shared power grows out of collaboration. Through their use of social media, they can persuade society to actively participate in this collaboration – Women's March, for instance. Other than that, power within can help people to realize their capacity and self-worth. Jakarta Feminist has been trying to break the stigma and encouraging citizens to speak up through their posts. To exemplify, together with Brawijaya University (Track 5), they educate their followers about secondary victimization (Figure 4.2.4) to assure every victim of the importance of speaking up. In other words, social media allows them to reach more people and convince them that they can do so – power within.

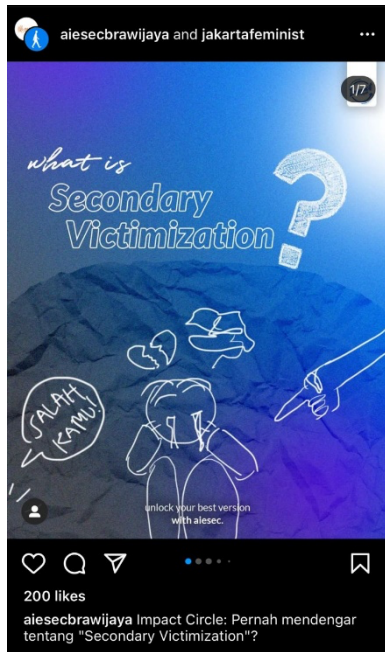


Figure 4.2.4 Collaboration post by Brawijaya University and @jakartafeminist. Screen grabbed on June 28, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple

Finally, besides the Women's March, Jakarta Feminist successfully produced a research report current situation regarding VAW in Indonesia during the pandemic. The data is taken through an online survey on their Instagram account (Figure 4.2.5). Again, Instagram features make it possible for them to not only reach more people but also allow other users to actively participate.

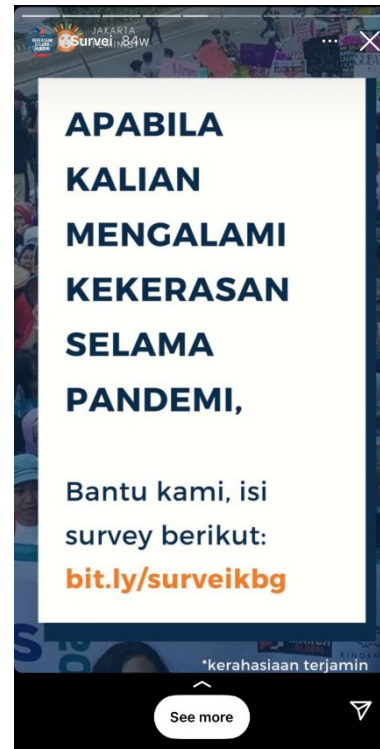


Figure 4.2.5 Online survey by @jakartafeminist. Screen grabbed on June 28, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple

The high influence of Jakarta Feminist can also be depicted in its relations with Track 1. The best example of this interaction can be seen In Indonesia, through the journey of Track 1 – which is represented by government officials, in enacting the Law of Sexual Violence Crimes (UU TPKS) that remained as a bill proposal (RUU) for over than 6 years. In the course of these 6 years, Jakarta Feminist along with other feminist movements did not cease to not only guard the dawdling process of the law but also help giving substantial input to the bill. Through social media, Jakarta Feminist kept promoting the importance of a law that is siding to the holistic safety of the victims, instead of holding them liable (Figure 4.2.6). Jakarta Feminist also promoted numerous activities prior to the implementation of the RUU PKS in order to compel the government to legalize the bill (Figure 4.2.7).

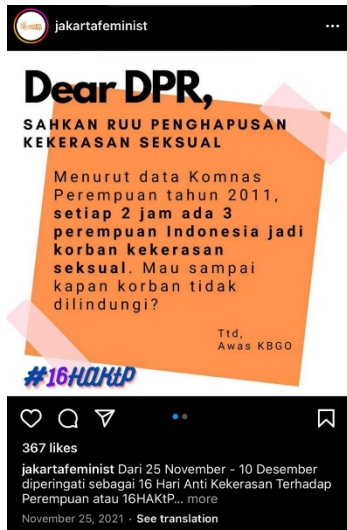


Figure 4.2.6 Online Petition & News by @jakartafeminist. Screen grabbed on June 28, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple



Figure 4.2.7 Seminar Info by @jakartafeminist. Screen grabbed on June 28, 2022, from Instagram Application for Apple

In a broader lens, this interaction depicted a crucial relation between activism and government officials, particularly in the context of legislating law in a democratic country. The bottom-up approach has been deemed to be more successful in creating a transformative law than a coerced top-down enforcement (Marat, 2016). In this case, the Jakarta Feminist and its social media bombardment served their purposes well as Track 6 to “mobilize their fellow disadvantaged group members and gain broader societal support for their cause” (Kutlaca et al, 2020, p.1). Jakarta Feminist managed to gather public society endorsement by promoting “Power With” and “Power Within”, as mentioned in the previous discussion, and influence government’s decision to accelerate the enforcement of RUU TPKS.

4.3. Relations & Scope

At this point, we can see how even though MTD has always been illustrated as a well-rounded and inclusive system, there will always be a gap between the role of tracks in addressing various conflicts. Different issue might require a different approach that involves different stakeholders. This might not necessarily be a bad thing, since tracks’

dynamics have been proven extremely helpful in achieving holistic solutions, especially in the realm of VAW (Putri, 2018). What needs to be taken into account is how effective each track has contributed to providing the most thorough response. This will hinder stalemate amongst stakeholders.

This part of the discussion will further argue that social media has significantly helped broaden the relations of each track in MTD and their influence cross-level in addressing VAW. Given the fact that the MTD consists of stakeholders from various parties with different yet intersecting interests, Track 6 has become the perfect intermediary to create grassroots movement and direct its power to parties surpassing them – a relation that even though possible but seemed to be distant within and across the MTD (Umar, 2015). With that being said, at the local level, Jakarta Feminist with the help of its Instagram as the medium to disseminate information and awareness had successfully promoted a bottom-up approach to suppress VAW at the national level.

Interestingly, the role of social media also expanded Jakarta Feminist's range to collaborate with the regional feminist movement in Southeast Asia along with Malaysia and the Philippines under the SEAFAM (Annisa, 2021).

This network of activists would be more vigorous to achieve collective outcomes bound by similar backgrounds and issues, despite their contrast in various technicalities (Bennet, 2003). Based on the discussion, we would argue that SEAFAM enables Jakarta Feminist and other national movements to work in two-way influence. This network does not only act as the "shelter" for local activism groups, but it also has the power to intervene and bring around the pressuring issue of VAW to stakeholders both nationally, regionally, and globally.

5. Conclusion

The objective of this research was to investigate the role of social media, specifically Instagram, in Multi-Track

Diplomacy (MTD). In doing so, we were looking closely at activism by Jakarta Feminist (with the help of social media) in combating Violence Against Women (VAW) in Indonesia. Below the result will be explained, followed by suggestions for further research.

After observing the online activities of Jakarta Feminist along with doing desk research, it is fair to conclude that social media, particularly Instagram, plays a significant role as a supporting tool for Jakarta Feminist in performing their role as an activist group – Track 6. Instagram works two ways: 1) it facilitates Jakarta Feminist to produce their content in more interesting and engaging ways; 2) it also allows society (both followers and non-followers) to actively participate in the programs (like giving comments, circulating information, joining survey, and even participating in protest – Women's March). The power of Instagram helps Jakarta Feminist to reach more people and even persuade them to contribute. That is, they become more influential in which they do not only affect their role as activists but also on other tracks like Track 5, 4, 1, and 9. Through Instagram, Jakarta Feminist could generate power with and within their followers through educative content (Track 5) and dissemination of relevant information (Track 9). By doing so, they could hold a grassroots movement (Track 4) – Women's March, then influence the government's decision as Track 1.

The focus of this research is on Jakarta Feminist as an activist group for Violence Against Women. In that sense, further research is needed to display another perspective by expanding the focus and analyzing another activist movement in Indonesia or even in other countries. Also, further study with different data collection methods will also be needed to deepen the analysis. For instance, qualitative interviews will be very beneficial in gaining a deeper understanding of activism in social media.

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