

THE RESISTANCE TO THE SEXUAL VIOLENCE ERADICATION BILL IN INDONESIA 2012 – 2022

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Abstract

The study of sexual violence and its principle has been widely discussed. However, this study tends to focus more on different viewpoints regarding the Sexual Violence Eradication bill and examines why it took so long to be ratified. According to the current legal framework in Indonesia, protecting people from sexual violence solely includes the conviction of the perpetrators; no prevention efforts, handling, and the victim's recovery. Thus, the victim's rights were not fulfilled by existing law, whereas the Sexual Violence Eradication bill specifies more detailed provisions of sexual violence. However, the bill has its pros and cons, which come from a controversy between two contradictory opinions in understanding it. The pros tend to use a gender perspective and rely their support on the academic text of the bill. This gender perspective places significant attention on the experience of victims, especially women. The opposing party, meanwhile, tends to use a religious perspective, arguing that because the bill takes a gender perspective from the secular West, it invalidates Islamic traditions. Therefore, this research aims to explore the struggle to pass the bill. By conducting a qualitative content analysis, the researcher analyzed transcripts of press conferences, debates, academic papers, fact sheets, and key points, also meeting results from news sources and the parliament's official websites related to the Sexual Violence Eradication bill. The findings of this research indicate that cultural, economic, and political factors are the main reasons the Sexual Violence Eradication bill was delayed for almost 10 years.

Keywords: sexual violence, Sexual Violence Eradication bill, Indonesia

對於消除性暴力法案的阻力：印尼 2012-2022

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摘要

過往，性暴力的理論與研究被廣泛的討論，這篇論文專注在各種針對印尼的根除性暴力法案之見解，並且探究，為何這個法案花了漫長的時間才能獲得通過。以目前印尼的法律來說，對抗性暴力只有懲罰條款，並無防範性暴力、處理以及幫助性暴力受害者的恢復。因此，受害者的權利必須被保障，這需要根除性暴力法案的幫忙才能完整化。然而，這個法案在印尼有支持者也有反對者，支持者以性別觀點為出發點，注重女性受害者的遭遇，獲得廣泛學術界的認同。而反對者採取宗教觀念以及反對西方思想的立場，認為法案與傳統伊斯蘭教義或有抵觸。本篇論文討論這其中的辯論以及立法過程，以質化研究為主軸，分析新聞報導、研討會論文、學術辯論與作品、立法機關文件，最後結論為，根除暴力法案的延遲通過十年之久，是來自於文化、經濟以及政治因素。透過理解這項法案的延遲，我們可以更深入的理解印尼社會各種面向。

關鍵字：性暴力、根除性暴力法案、印尼

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INTRODUCTION

Background

Violence against women is a form of violence against human rights and crime that degrades human dignity, also included in gender discrimination. It is usually caused by gender equality and injustice, therefore must be eliminated by the State. Not only women, children, or even people with disabilities are also often become victims of sexual violence. However, until now, the victims still have to face difficulties in obtaining access to justice, truth, and remedies which are the responsibility of the State.¹

According to a recently adopted Council of Europe recommendation, domestic violence is the major cause of death and disability for women between the ages of 16 and 44.² Violence against women also crosses through racial, social, religious, age, ethnicity, sexuality, cultural, and geographic region, and it can happen to any woman, wherever in the world. This phenomenon is particularly common in low- and lower-middle-income countries and regions across the world. Across the MENA region, there is up to 60% of women say they have been harassed on the street, while around 65% of men report having perpetrated such acts.³

Moreover, according to both World Health Organization and United Nations statistics, 37% of women aged 15 to 49 who live in countries classed as “least developed” by the Sustainable Development Goals had experienced physical and/or sexual intimate partner abuse at some point in their lives, which intimate partner violence more often occurs than no-partner violence. Intimate partner violence has been reported by 22% of women in “least developed

¹ Atikah Rahmi, "The Elimination of Sexual Violence Bill: Prevention Effort and Access to Justice for Victim," *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research* 592 (2021).

² Susana T. Fried, "Violence against Women," *Health and Human Rights* 6 (2003).

³ Mala Htun and Francesca R. Jensenius, "Fighting Violence against Women," *Women & Equality* 149 (2020).

nations” in the last year, far higher than the global average of 13%. Men become the most common perpetrators of intimate relationships and sexual violence against women, they are responsible for up to 38% of all female murders worldwide. On the other hand, 6% of women say they’ve been sexually abused by someone who isn’t their partner.⁴

Over the past three decades, women’s organizations have created a paradigm shift in understanding and acting to end violence against women.⁵ Even though we know they do exist, it is still rare to find people who support acts of violence against women.

Sexual violence and sexual harassment have remained an issue of controversy in Indonesian society. Even worse, it is still considered normal by most people, even though its cases have often been heard in the ears of the Indonesian people. The number of sexual violence also keeps increasing and the pattern of cases is more complicated. Quoted from the official website of the National Commission on VAW, from 2015 to 2019 there were at least 35 women, victims of sexual violence per day, whereas, in 2019, there were 431,471 cases of sexual violence, an increase from the previous case of 406,178 cases. There were 2,521 cases of sexual violence in public places (i.e., workplace), while 2,988 cases occurred at the private level. (i.e., domestic violence).⁶

Previously, Indonesia has just one criminal code, the Penal Code of Indonesia 1982 (Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Perdana), which was enacted by our colonial authority and passed down to us. There has been an attempt to change the law, but no revision has been made yet. The National Commission on VAW has been drafting the Sexual Violence Eradication bill

⁴ World Health Organization, "Facts and Figures: Ending Violence against Women," Accessed March 31, 2022. <https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/ending-violence-against-women/facts-and-figures>.

⁵ Fried, "Violence against Women."

⁶ Rosania Paradias and Eko Sopyonyono, "Legal Protection for Victims of Sexual Harassmentl (Perlindungan Hukum Terhadap Korban Pelecehan Seksual)," *Indonesian Legal Development Journal (Jurnal Pembangunan Hukum Indonesia)* (2022).

since 2014, based on the need for legal protection for victims of various forms of sexual violence and to defend women's human rights. It amends provisions governing the rights of victims of sexual assault. However, while the bill's consideration was still ongoing, it cannot be utilized as a legal shield against acts of sexual violence.⁷ The bill was eventually enacted by the People's Representative Council in April 2022, ending an almost ten-year legislative process, and was signed by Joko Widodo, the President of Indonesia on May 2022.

Motivation

Violence against women is still very common around the world, some countries that are still attached to the patriarchal culture, view women as weak and inferior beings in comparison to men, and women are still seen as second-class citizens. Therefore, we could still see that the number of cases of sexual violence remains to increase every year.

Violence against women is indeed very inhumane, whereas those women have the right to pursue and be protected by human rights and fundamental freedoms in all aspects. However, not every country has a law that fully regulates crimes of violence against women.

By examining the variety of random young people in Indonesia, this paper is expected to have different answers and different perspectives towards the Sexual Violence Eradication bill in Indonesia and the reason(s) why did it take so long for the bill to be ratified.

Research Purpose

This research aims to explore the struggle to pass the Sexual Violence Eradication bill in Indonesia, also how it can eradicate and prevent sexual violence and also protect the victims.

⁷ Nina Nurmila, "Challenges to the Enactment of the Elimination of Sexual Violence Bill," *Journal of Gender Studies* 3 (2019).

This research is expected to bring awareness to the prevalence of sexual violence cases, not only in Indonesia but around the world.

Research Questions

This research will perform as a case study of the Sexual Violence Eradication bill in Indonesia, to find out the difficulties surrounding the bill, and how it can improve the protection of women across the country.

1. What are the Legal Provisions for the eradication of sexual violence and the protection of victims through the Sexual Violence Eradication bill?
2. What is the importance of the Sexual Violence Eradication bill?
3. Why did it take so long to pass the Sexual Violence Eradication bill?

Significance

Until now, there are still many victims and survivors of sexual harassment and sexual abuse in Indonesia who have been unable to come forward and report their experiences to the authorities. Yet, the ones who took the risk to report it, still struggle to seek justice has not been straightforward, they have had to deal with dominant patriarchal ideals and practices in the society. Moreover, because the types of sexual violence and victims' rights to comprehensive management, protection, and restoration are not specified, existing laws do not ensure that all victims of sexual violence are protected. Therefore, Indonesia urgently needs a law to prevent all types of sexual violence, deal with, protect, and rehabilitate victims, punish the perpetrators, and build a sexual violence-free environment.

Limit and Delimit

This research only uses Indonesia as a case study; therefore, it does not look at other countries cases. Moreover, due to the difficulties of contacting the member of the House which proved to be challenging, and getting critical information and data was unattainable, the researcher decided not to use an in-depth interview as the research methodology, and use content analysis instead. Despite the fact that it uses Indonesia as a case study, this research may be used as a model for other countries.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Sexual Violence Situation Around the World

The World Report on Violence and Health defines sexual violence as “any sexual act, attempted sexual act, or acts to traffic for sexual purposes directed against a person using coercion, harassment, or advances made by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work.”⁸ Sexual violence and rape can occur throughout all societies and affect people of all economic backgrounds. Also, the perpetrators were often men who are well-known to the victims, and they are usually intimate partners, trusted family, or family friends.⁹

According to the WHOMCS, between 6 and 59% of women have experienced sexual violence from their partners at some point in their lives. Other population-based studies from 39 countries find that between 0.3% and 39% of women report intimate relationship or non-intimate partner sexual violence at some time in their life, based on prevalence estimates.¹⁰ The prevalence estimates of lifetime intimate partner violence range from 20% in the Western Pacific, 22% in high-income countries and Europe, and 25% in the WHO Regions of the Americas to 33% in the WHO African region, 31% in the WHO Eastern Mediterranean region, and 33% in the WHO South-East Asia region. Women in low- and lower-middle-income nations are disproportionately affected by violence. The regions of Oceania, Southern Asia, and Sub-Saharan Africa have the highest prevalence rates of intimate partner violence among women aged 15-49,

⁸ Linda L. Dahlberg Etienne G. Krug, James A. Mercy, Anthony B. Zwi and Rafael Lozano, "Sexual Violence in World Report on Violence and Health," (Geneva: World Health Organization, 2002).

⁹ Colleen Ward, "The Attitudes toward Rape Victims Scale: Construction, Validation, and Cross-Cultural Applicability," *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 12, no. 2 (1988).

¹⁰ Rachel Jewkes Elizabeth Dartnall, "Sexual Violence against Women: The Scope of the Problem," *Best Practice & Research Clinical Obstetrics & Gynaecology* 27, no. 1 (2013).

ranging from 33% - 51%. The lowest rates are found in Europe (16–23%), Central Asia (18%), Eastern Asia (20%), and South-Eastern Asia (21%).¹¹

Sexual Violence Situation in Indonesia

Sexual violence is a form of violation of human rights, and it has been an issue that concerns our society for a long time, especially for women. Several laws and regulations do exist in Indonesia, that provides legal protection to victims of sexual violence. However, one of the issues with Indonesia's sexual violence laws and regulations is that these elements are still regulated by different laws, and no legislation that specifically regulates sexual violence in the country.

According to data from the National Commission on Human Rights, there were at least 35 women victims of sexual violence per day, in other words, every two hours women experience sexual violence. DKI Jakarta has the most cases of violence against women (2,461 cases), followed by West Java with 1,011 cases, and East Java with 687 cases. This should be enough to put the focus on the government's response to cases of sexual violence against women.¹² These high numbers of violence against women are due to a lack of service-providing institutions, as well as the quality and capacity of institutional documentation, as well as the lack of institutions where victims can report their abuse, along with public distrust of available

¹¹ World Health Organization, "Devastatingly Pervasive: 1 in 3 Women Globally Experience Violence," Accessed April 26, 2022. <https://www.who.int/news/item/09-03-2021-devastatingly-pervasive-1-in-3-women-globally-experience-violence>.

¹² Yulanda Widya, "The Number of Violence against Women in Indonesia Increases Sharply, When Will the Sexual Violence Eradication Bill Be Passed? (Angka Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan Di Indonesia Meningkatkan Tajam, Kapan R UU Pks Disahkan?)," Accessed April 27, 2022. <https://yoursay.suara.com/kolom/2022/01/03/110314/angka-kekerasan-terhadap-perempuan-di-indonesia-meningkat-tajam-kapan-ruu-pks-disahkan>.

institutions or a feeling of inadequacy when reporting.¹³

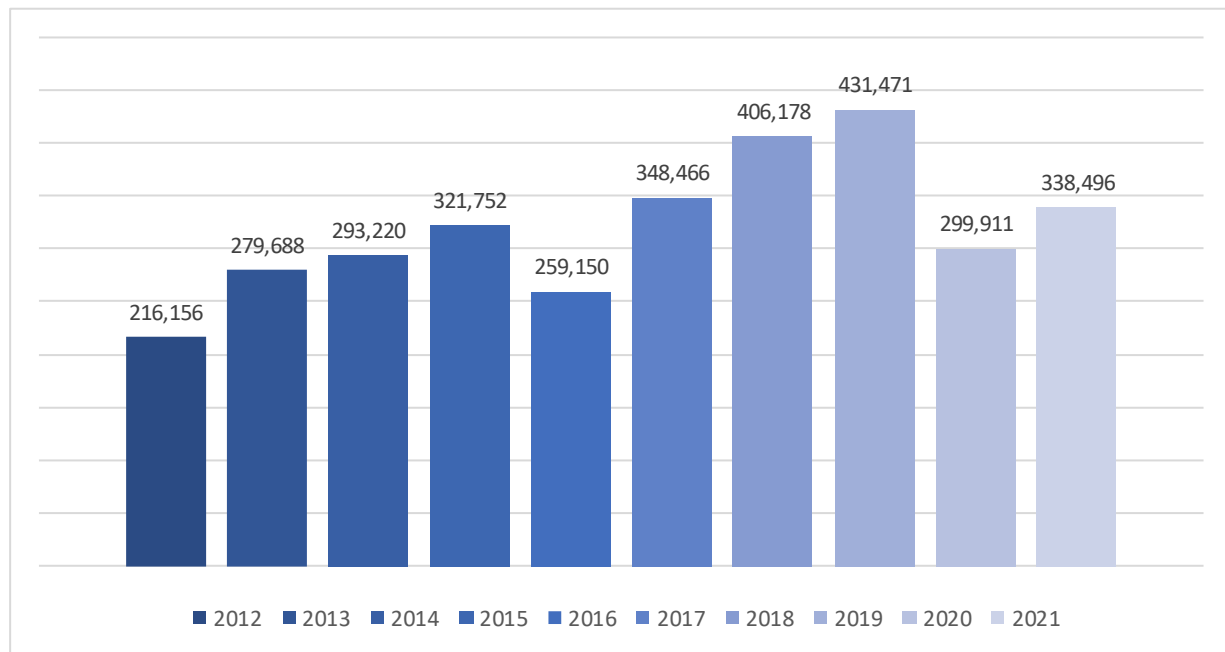


Figure 1. Number of violence against women cases in Indonesia

Source: The National Commission on VAW

As per the existing legal framework, the only way to protect women from sexual violence is for the perpetrators to be charged, but there are no prevention efforts, treatment, or victim rehabilitation. As a result, the laws that were established did not fulfill the rights of the victims. Thus, the Sexual Violence Eradication bill was proposed, which provides more specific aspects of sexual violence, such as prevention, treatment, and victim rehabilitation.¹⁴

Law-Making Procedure in Indonesia

In Indonesia, the House of Representatives has the authority to implement legislation. Every

¹³ Tobroni Faiq Subarkah Atiq Junaelis Alfianita, "The Urgency of Ratification of the Sexual Violence Eradication Bill on the Instrument for Enforcement of Women's Human Rights (Urgensi Pengesahan Ruu Pks Terhadap Instrumen Penegakan Hak Asasi Perempuan)," *Journal of legal studies (Jurnal kajian ilmu hukum)* 9 (2020).

¹⁴ Ade Adhari Apriza Putri, "Urgency Formalization of Sexual Violence Eradication Bill against Cyber Sexual Harassment in Digital Era," *Proceedings of the International Conference on Economics, Business, Social, and Humanities (ICEBSH 2021)* (2021).

bill is discussed by the House and the President before being approved by both parties. The bills may come from the House, the President, or the House of Regional Representative Council. This process is known as the preparation of the National Legislation Program. A bill must be submitted written to the House leaders, supported by an explanatory description and/or academic texts. Following the submission of the bill by the House, House leaders will inform and distribute the bill to all members of the House at the following Plenary Session. Leaders of the House of Regional Representative Council shall submit a draft bill to House leaders, along with an explanatory description and/or academic texts, as proposed by the House of Regional Representative Council. Once the bill is received by the House, House leaders will inform the date of the bill announcement at the plenary session to the House of Regional Representative Council. The Legislation Committee will invite members of the House of Regional Representative Council's complementary organs to discuss the bill. Once the bill has been passed, House leaders will send it to the President with a formal letter requesting that the President to choose a minister to represent him in the deliberations with House leaders and the House of Regional Representative Council.¹⁵

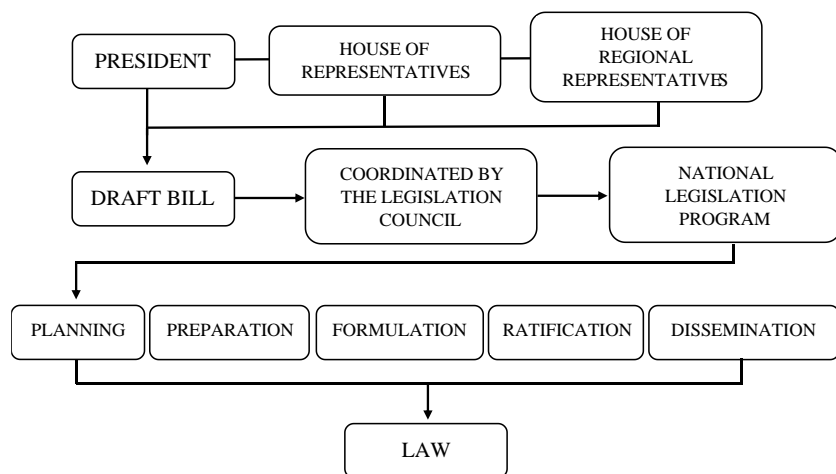


Figure 2. The process of making laws in Indonesia

¹⁵ The House of Representative of the Republic Indonesia (DPR RI), "Law-Making," Accessed May 4th, 2022. <https://www.dpr.go.id/en/tentang/pembuatan-uu>.

Indonesia's Sexual Violence Eradication Bill

The National Commission on VAW, together with other service provider agency partners, has requested the State to take action to provide comprehensive, long-term, and complete protection as well as rehabilitation for sexual violence victims. The Sexual Violence Eradication bill's priorities are to ensure that the State's obligation to protect citizens, particularly women, from sexual violence; to take action to prevent sexual violence; to provide a sense of justice for the victim and the community; to build a system for dealing with, protecting, and recovering from sexual violence victims; to encourage the society in creating a sexual violence-free environment.¹⁶ The Sexual Violence Eradication bill is also formed to fill the legal vacuum, for example by focusing an effort to take sides with the victims.¹⁷ This statement can be seen in Article 4 paragraph (1) of the bill.

The Sexual Violence Eradication bill's journey is represented in the table below.

Table 1. The Sexual Violence Eradication bill's journey

2012	The Sexual Violence Eradication bill proposed by the National Commission on VAW
2014	The National Commission on VAW drafted the Academic Paper and the formulation of the bill through a series of consultations
2016	The House of Representatives submitted the draft bill and academic text to the Legislation Body for priority entry into the National Legislation Program

¹⁶ Subarkah Atiq Junaelis Alfianita, "The Urgency of Ratification of the Sexual Violence Eradication Bill on the Instrument for Enforcement of Women's Human Rights (Urgensi Pengesahan Ruu Pks Terhadap Instrumen Penegakan Hak Asasi Perempuan)."

¹⁷ Gracia Putri Manurung and Agnes Kusuma Wardani, "Analysis of the Applicability of the Rkuhp and the Ruu-Pks in Regulating Sexual Violence (Analisis Keberlakuan Rkuhp Dan Ruu-Pks Dalam Mengatur Tindak Kekerasan Seksual)," *Lex Scientia Law Review* 3 1 (2019).

2017	The bill was stipulated as the 'initiative bill'. The President appointed a government representative in the discussion of the bill (Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection) as the leading sector
2019	There was still no decision, regarding the title, scope, and system of the bill
March 2020	The Eighth Commission of DPR returned the bill to the Legislation Body
June 2020	Indonesian Parliament excluded the bill from the 2020 Priority Bill
January 2021	The bill was included in the list of the 2021 Priority National Legislation Programs
September 2021	The bill name was renamed Bill on Sexual Violence Crimes
April 2022	The Sexual Violence Eradication bill has been ratified by the House of Representatives

The table above shows that it took around ten years for the Sexual Violence Eradication bill to be ratified. Even though the President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo has urged speedy deliberation on the bill, it had been delayed by strong resistance from conservative Muslim groups in Indonesia. These groups argue that the bill will legitimize consensual extramarital sex and LGBT relationships in an indirect way. According to the Islamist-leaning Prosperous Justice Party, which is the only one of nine lower house parties to oppose the bill, it is “not comprehensive” since it does not include “all crimes of immorality”.¹⁸

Though there are some weaknesses in the bill, such as it does not cover the particular

¹⁸ Erwida Maulia, "New Law in Indonesia Offers Hope in 'Sexual Violence Emergency'," *Nikkei Asia* 2022.

interests and needs of victims with disabilities and protection against cyber gender violence. Nevertheless, the government's decision to finally ratify the bill is a significant step forward. By ratifying the bill, it will become the first step in ensuring the safety of its citizens within their own country.¹⁹

The Sexual Violence Eradication Bill's Controversy

Since the beginning of the Sexual Violence Eradication bill proposed by the National Commission on VAW in 2012, there have been many misperceptions about the bill, such as the bill is considered to legalize abortion, pro-LGBT, and so on, which has made the ratification of the bill has been delayed for almost 10 years. Even until the bill was ratified, there were still many pros and cons from various parties. Moreover, some people still believe that the bill contradicts Indonesia's religious character, they alleged that religious values were ignored throughout the drafting of the bill.

The pros and cons of the Sexual Violence Eradication bill one of which comes from a conflict between two contrary views. The people who support tend to take a gender perspective, focusing their arguments on the academic text of the bill, which specifically declares that the bill was drafted based on women's perspective (feminist legal theory). The experience of victims, particularly women, is the focus of this gender perspective. Meanwhile, in contrast, the people who are against the bill tend to use a religious perspective. They assume that the bill is not in accordance with Indonesia's religious standards by adopting a secular Western gender perspective, and the root of the problem is simply because of sexual violence that has occurred in the past is not because of gender inequality, malfunction of family institutions instead, so the

¹⁹ Sharyn Davies, Alegra Wolter, and Dédé Oetomo, "Questioning Intent: The Indonesian Government Is Not Committed to Eliminating Sexual Violence," *Society & Culture* (2021).

solution should be to return to religious norms.²⁰

According to Lidwina Inge Nurtjahyo, a professor from the University of Indonesia, one of the difficulties to the ratification of the Sexual Violence Eradication bill is the Indonesian people's low literacy culture. She explained that they mostly gain their knowledge by listening and watching, however, if the content is unreliable, they are not willing to confirm it by reading.²¹

Another major challenge in the ratification process was ideological differences among the House members, which made it difficult to pass and ratify the bill. Apart from that, the Sexual Violence Eradication bill is often used by political parties to improve their electability, for example, by raising false issues about the bill's contents in order to win public sympathy.²²

Furthermore, according to an Islamic State University professor, those who opposed the Sexual Violence Eradication bill are conservatives who believe the bill would allow consensual extramarital sex. They are surprisingly assertive and then use social media to propagate misinformation about the bill. They also recruit young people, influence them, and counter-narrative by using various media to criticize progressive ideas.²³

Summary

Sexual violence has been an issue that concerns our society, particularly among women.

²⁰ Ahmad Badrut Tamam, "The Sexual Violence Eradication Bill in the Perspective of Masalah Mursalah (Rancangan Undang-Undang Penghapusan Kekerasan Seksual (Ruu Pks) Dalam Perspektif Masalah Mursalah)," *Proceedings of Annual Conference for Muslim Scholars* 3, no. 1 (2019).

²¹ Almira Khairunnisa, "The Pks Bill Has Not Been Passed, What Are the Obstacles? (Ruu Pks Tak Kunjung Disahkan, Apa Yang Jadi Hambatan?)," Accessed May 7th, 2022. <https://lpmopini.online/ruu-pks-tak-kunjung-disahkan-apa-yang-jadi-hambatan/>.

²² Dwiko Rynozza Nur Rachman, "Indonesia Sexual Violence Emergency, When Will the Pks Bill Passed? (Indonesia Darurat Kekerasan Seksual, Kapan Ruu Pks Di Sahkan?)," Accessed May 7th, 2022. <https://bemu.umm.ac.id/id/berita/indonesia-darurat-kekerasan-seksual-kapan-ruu-pks-di-sahkan.html>.

²³ CNN Indonesia, "Professor of Uin Reveals Why the Pks Bill Is Difficult to Pass (Guru Besar Uin Ungkap Alasan Ruu Pks Sukar Disahkan)," *CNN Indonesia* 2020.

Even though Indonesia has laws and regulations that give legal protection to the victims of sexual violence, it was not enough since there was still no legislation that specifically regulates sexual violence in the country, and there was still a high increase in sexual violence cases. Thus, in 2012, The National Commission on VAW, with other service provider agency partners, asked the State to take action to provide comprehensive, long-term, and complete protection as well as rehabilitation for sexual violence victims. However, not everybody agreed with their proposal and opposed the ratification of the bill. There have been many misperceptions and controversies about the bill ever since. The table below is used to illustrate arguments from both sides (pros and cons).

Table 2. Reasons for supporting/rejecting the bill

Reasons	Pros	Cons
Cultural and Religion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the importance of women’s right reshaping the stereotype of the Muslim society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> considered adopting western values considered contrary to the religious character of the nation
Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> so far, the case settlement often brings more harm rather than a favor to the victims there is no penalization system for certain types of sexual violence so far 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> other bills that are considered more important some articles of the bill are considered to legalize deviant sexual intercourse
Social and Economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> families and victims get support for the recovery process from the state 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> considered not to support intimacy in marriage

Finally, after the bill went through around 10 years process of discussion, included in and excluded from Priority National Legislation Programs, in April 2022, the Sexual Violence

Eradication bill has finally been ratified by the House, and signed by the President in May 2022.

METHODOLOGY

This paper is aimed to understand The Law on Sexual Violence Crimes (Law No. 12/2022) in Indonesia and the reason it took so long to be passed. Previous scholars who have researched sexual violence against women and its criminal laws, theories, hypotheses, and arguments are included in the literature review. By doing a qualitative content analysis, the researcher tries to discover data that either supports or refutes previous scholars' claims, resulting in the development of new theories, arguments, and hypotheses. Data is gathered from various websites, including J-STOR, and others, also a checklist is utilized to assure its reliability and validity. This research contributes to a better understanding of the difficulties surrounding the Law on Sexual Violence Crimes until it was finally enacted. The following part will go through using the content analysis approach as well as how to gather and analyze data.

Research Design

Content analysis is commonly used by researchers to help understand the underlying themes that are utilized to describe an event. The particular perspective or point of view from which parties opposed the ratification of the law can be determined using text analysis.²⁴

The researcher uses qualitative content analysis as the design for this research. The purpose of qualitative content analysis in this study is to yield more insightful underlying reasons and standpoints of parties that support or opposed the law. By following a one-shot case study of the treatment which is from the beginning the bill was proposed and then observing the public opinion as a result of this event, the researcher is able to draw upon applicable data to analyze.

Therefore, the researcher separated the collected data into two parties – pro and cons – to

²⁴ Norman Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*, 1 ed. (Routledge, 2003).

deeply observe how the Indonesian parliament deal with those two parties. According to the research purpose of this study, there are three research questions as follows:

1. What are the Legal Provisions for the eradication of sexual violence and the protection of victims through the Sexual Violence Eradication bill?
2. What is the importance of the Sexual Violence Eradication bill?
3. Why did it take so long to pass the Sexual Violence Eradication bill?

Data Sources

The data used to address the research questions are sourced from the internet. The range of dates set is chosen from the time when the bill was first proposed until it was enacted. This paper will collect data regarding the Indonesia Government, Indonesia’s House of Representatives, The National Commission of VAW, sexual harassment, and sexual violence cases in Indonesia. However, the researcher only used the 2016 to 2022 time period due to of lack of data on the internet ranging from 2012 to 2015, one of the reasons is that it was only 2016 when the news media started writing about the bill and its struggle. The only event in 2012 was the Sexual Violence Eradication bill proposal by the National Commission on VAW, then they drafted the Academic Paper and the formulation of the bill in 2014. Sources and breadth for these factors will be defined by the following table. For in-depth data showing the construction of the database established for data analysis, see Appendix A.

Table 3. Data sources

<i>FACTOR</i>	<i>SOURCE(S)</i>	<i>TIME PERIOD</i>
Cultural and Religion	Indonesia Open Parliament, CNN Indonesia, Institute for	2016 – 2022
Politics		

Social and Economy	Criminal Justice Reform*	
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*For the directory of each source, see Appendix A.

Data Collection

A checklist was utilized to collect data for this research’s purposes, to ensure that the data gathered was reliable and valid. Documents for data collection were gathered from official government documents and news articles. The data come from online sources provided by the Indonesian parliament; the House of Representatives where document records of the journey of the Sexual Violence Eradication bill were available. These data were filtered based on references to or statements of the following terms; *sexual violence*, *sexual violence in Indonesia*, and *the Sexual Violence Eradication bill*. The analysis utilized data that adhered to this checklist. Other data were collected from transcripts of press conferences, debates, academic papers, fact sheets, and key points, also meeting results from news sources and the parliament’s official websites, and saved in an archive.

A total of 165 pieces of data were collected. CNN Indonesia news articles included 110 pieces of data, whilst Institute for Criminal Justice Reform news articles provided 20 pieces, along with the Indonesia Open Parliament website with 35 pieces of data. After sorting this data, the researcher found there to be a total of 3 unrelated pieces of data and 2 repeated pieces of related data. This left a total of 160 pieces of codable data for the researcher to analyze. An outline of the data collected can be seen in Table 4 below.

Table 4. Raw data collected

Raw Data	
Data Input	165 pieces

Data from Indonesia Open Parliament	35 pieces
Data from CNN Indonesia	110 pieces
Data from ICJR	20 pieces
Invalid data	5 pieces
Total Data Analyzed	160 pieces

Data were analyzed and divided into three major factors that pertain to the qualitative approach. These factors include public mobilization, a well-stated problem, and a clearly defined event. The interpretation of these factors is covered in Chapter 4, Data Analysis.

DATA ANALYSIS

The researcher has discovered three key themes using the data collection process mentioned in the Methodology chapter. Data were gathered through online sources made available by the Indonesia Open Parliament, in form of documents and meeting records, as well as transcripts, also news articles from CNN Indonesia and Institute for Criminal Justice Reform. Data from 2016 to 2022 with the keyword ‘sexual violence’ and ‘sexual violence eradication bill’ were collected data.

This paper establishes the argument that this event should not be viewed as a single event, but rather as a continuation of the Sexual Violence Eradication Law’s implementation. In this context, the government extension becomes clear and reasonable from the perspective of Indonesia’s national interest. In order to finish a thorough analysis, the following section of this chapter will look at several types of factors and individuals who were significant to the event.

Cultural and Religion Factor

The discussion of the Sexual Violence Eradication bill was controversial. Some parties, including the National Commission on VAW, believe that this policy would be able to suppress cases of sexual violence and protect. However, there are not a few parties who reject the bill being passed. The rejection of the bill comes from conservative groups who still assume that the bill legalizes adultery. The conservative groups began to show their attitude in 2017, after losing

the judicial review of Articles 284, 285, and 292 of the Criminal Code. These three articles regulate crimes against morality.²⁵

Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) have asked a number of community groups to not look back on the Sexual Violence Eradication bill. Activist Gusdurian Inayah Wahid said the bill was a regulation to ensure the security of victims of sexual violence.²⁶

Of the nine factions in the House during this period, it can be said that the discussion of the Sexual Violence Eradication bill was hampered by the Prosperous Justice Party, which the only faction was against the ratification of the bill. In the parliament, the discussion of the bill is not only about sexual violence, but they also linked it to the issue of adultery and same-sex relations. Member of the Eighth Commission from the Prosperous Justice Party faction, Iqbal Romzi, questioned the crime against sexual violence in the form of marital rape, he relates it to the religious argument that the wife is obliged to serve her husband (meaning that it is not included as violence if it happens in marriage). Another opinion is that the Deputy Chairman of the Eighth Commission of the House from the National Awakening Party faction, Marwan Dasopang once linked the bill with homosexual relationships.²⁷

According to the Prosperous Justice Party faction of the House, the Sexual Violence Eradication bill was not based on religious values. Meanwhile, the proponents and a number of NGOs consider that the bill was drafted in favor of women as victims, which clearly considers religious values. Bukhori Yusuf, a member of the Legislation Body of the House, from the party, claimed that religion was the system most suited to regulating sexuality from the beginning. At the House's Legislation Body Public Hearing Meeting with the National Commission on VAW,

²⁵ ICNN-CR-005

²⁶ ICNN-CR-002

²⁷ ICNN-CR-003

he stated, “I don’t listen to the logic that is based on religious values, which is the basis for thinking in constructing this idea and bill.”²⁸ Bukkhhori pointed to the example of adultery, which is said to have eluded the logic of religion since it does not directly result in a victim of a crime. Adultery, in his opinion, is an act that has been classified as a crime since before the time of the Prophet. He went on to say that in the case of adultery, God had stated the prohibition of the act as well as related things like violence. So, he continued, “Religion strictly regulates the framework of the logic specified in the bill, but religion is not included at all.”²⁹

Nina Nurmila, a professor of gender studies and Islamic studies at the State Islamic University Sunan Gunung Djati, claimed that conservative groups that continued to believe the bill legalized adultery were responsible for the bill’s rejection. Nina said, “This conservative group that opposes gender equality is quite aggressive and good at spreading rumors about the bill on social media.”³⁰ According to the National Commission on VAW, the Sexual Violence Eradication bill’s main debate issues during 2019 frequently clashed with morality discourse inside a religious context. This was found from the monitoring of various fake news related to the bill on social media, public discussions from one of the factions who refused, to the discussion session of the Eighth Commission of the House’s working committee with the government.

However, it revealed that the faction is not against all the materials of the bill. Member of the Legislation Body of the House, Mulyanto, emphasized that the material rejected by the faction from the bill was because it did not contain articles on sexual deviation and adultery.³¹

²⁸ ICNN-CR-005

²⁹ ICNN-CR-005

³⁰ ICNN-CR-008

³¹ ICNN-CR-009

In the discussion of the Sexual Violence Eradication bill, the National Commission on VAW has also never targeted the area of free sex behavior. “We met several times with the Indonesian Women’s Ulema Conference, Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama, and various religious leaders to ensure that there are no articles that are explicitly stated or signify that which is forbidden by religion for sure,” said the Commissioner of the National Commission on VAW, Iman Nahe. Although the Sexual Violence Eradication bill does not contain offenses criminalizing adultery committed consensual, sanctions for free sex have been regulated in the criminal law.³²

Finding one

There is an argument from the traditional and religious community in Indonesia regarding the Sexual Violence Eradication bill that granting women the right to define consent would lead to adultery. Logically, women have the basic human right to decide how to live their life. It takes men to conduct adultery and blaming women for the behavior against the traditional/religious value is already misleading. This argument against the Sexual Violence Eradication bill even went further to accuse women’s self-determination as being the cause of instability in society. Then, any attack against women must be defined by men’s point of view and any protection of women’s body rights is the slope to adultery. It is a very absurd argument but become the legitimacy of the anti-bill movement.

Social and Economy Factor

³² ICNN-CR-001

The pandemic was indeed where the situation becomes disadvantageous for all of society, not only about physical health but also about domestic violence against women and children. The National Commission on VAW noted that more violence was committed by people who had a relationship with the victim, along with the increasing use of digital platforms, allegedly cyber gender-based violence (online) also increased.

From the study of COVID-19 and women, the National Commission on VAW found the number of reported cases in the March-end of October 2020 period was 1,459 cases. This case is both violence against women and girls. “This number turns out to be close to the number of reported cases in the 2019 Annual Records. In the Annual Records, there are 1,419 reported cases. Even though these were cases for 12 months, while the COVID-19 study was only specified for 8 months,” said Bahrul Fuad, commissioner of the National Commission on VAW to CNNIndonesia.com. Judging from the form of violence, the highest number was sexual violence (405 cases) and psychological violence (225 cases). However, Bahrul noted that some of the victims had experienced not just one act of violence but also many ones.

“We can see that there are multiple issues. In fact, COVID-19 is the main reason why policies, such as Indonesia large-scale social restrictions, work-from-home, and distance learning, Wives who previously could travel now also choose to stay at home. Then there is intensive interaction, transmission fears, and everything builds up to lead to conflict,” he explained.

According to the report, women face heavier burdens; the extra responsibility of accompanying kids to study at home is placed on top of housework. He also claimed that societal and cultural constructs that view women as the servants of their husbands worsen the situation. Bahrul also said that as of October 2020, the reports of cyber gender-based violence had reached

659 cases. Whereas in the 2019 Annual Records, this institution ‘only’ received reports of 281 cases. In other words, there is a 300 percent increase, even though it has not yet reached the end of the year.

He believes technological advances and the increased use of digital media platforms are one of the causes of gender-based violence. The increase in those cases is also supported by the lack of knowledge and understanding of digital platform users about the impact of their uploads. Bahrul also saw that the victims, who were mostly young people, were not aware of the risks of uploading their private photos or videos. “Many cases reported to the National Commission on VAW in the form of cyber gender-based violence by boyfriends and former spouses, are quite high. Some are threats to publish private photos or videos, some have even been publicized,” he added.³³

On September 3, 2021, the Minister of Education, Research Culture, and Technology of the Republic of Indonesia issued Ministerial Regulation No. 30 of 2021 regarding the Prevention and Handling of Violence in Higher Education. For the record, this kind of regulation has also been issued in the Higher Education Environment under the Ministry of Religion, viz. the Decree of the Director General of Islamic Education Number 5494 of 2019 regarding Guidelines for the Prevention and Overcoming of Sexual Violence in Islamic Religious Universities.³⁴

The implementation of this rule, however, has lots of pros and cons, since it supports the idea that consent might be the reason behind sexual violence. Those who opposed argued that the state had legalized adultery by accepting the concept of consent. The debate then continued on the Sexual Violence Eradication bill. A number of members of the Legislation Body of the House

³³ ICNN-SE-008

³⁴ IICJR-SE-006

recommended the removal of articles that contained the words “disliked” or “with consent,” and so on, and changed the definition of sexual violence to include all forms of sexual activity that are against social, religious, and cultural norms.

Rejection of this concept of consent is deceptive and could be harmful because an act referred to as sexual violence must clearly be caused by the lack of consent. The concept of consent is accommodated to ensure the protection of the integrity of the human body. Of course, we clearly agree that all humans do not have rights over other humans, right? Every individual has the right to choose whether to have sex, and this is how the idea of consent is looked at. To be able to engage in sexual relations, consent from the other person is needed, and the approval must also be “freely given” when the agreement is obtained from pressure, deception, threats, coercion, or power relations, then consent is not attained. Free consent, however, in certain circumstances, cannot always be given, for example, in the case of an unconscious person, as well as to minors under the age of 18, a special group whose age maturity has not been able to give consent.

When a sexual relationship is carried out not based on consent, then there is a violation of the integrity of the human body which is protected by the state and the state’s legal structure ought to forbid such a violation, even beyond the boundaries of legal relationships, such as marital relations. We can all agree that even in marriage, each individual still has integrity in their own body, and marriage is certainly not a method of “buying” another person’s sexuality, that is also why forced sexual intercourse in marriage is prohibited. This is addressed by the law of forced sexual intercourse in marriage (Art. 46 of the Law on Elimination of Domestic Violence, Art. 288 of the Criminal Code).

The state-guaranteed safety of individuals may likely suffer if the concept of consent is omitted from the legal sexual violence definition. In view of this perspective, marriage is offered to be a solution. Marriage, in contrast, is not a guarantee that sexual violence will not occur, the National Commission on VAW's 2021 Annual Record reported that throughout 2020 there were 57 cases of forced sexual intercourse by partners in households, and in 2019, the number of cases reached more than a hundred reports. With the elimination of this concept of consent, all victims who are involved in "illegal" relationships will be defined as perpetrators. The victim's involvement in a non-marital relationship will be condemned, rather than looking into the issue of consent, because it is much easier to claim that adultery has occurred than to prove that there was no consent, or in this case, sexual violence has occurred.

The main goal of the Sexual Violence Eradication bill discussion should be to provide comprehensive rights strengthening for the victims. The victim's rights must be protected, starting with the legal requirements, and extending to their right to the best medical care and recovery.

The state must establish a special mechanism to protect victims' rights given how broad their rights are, including those related to rehabilitation. This scheme is a fund that the state receives through non-tax revenue and financial criminal fines to be processed and provided for the program to fulfill the rights of victims. It can take the form of a Victim Trust Fund or a Crime Victim Assistance Fund and does not absorb the State Revenue and Expenditure, it is a scheme that demands that the state handle its non-tax revenues for victims of criminal acts, including victims of sexual violence.

This is pretty important because compensation schemes for victims and the provision of services for victims must be developed in a better direction. For the record, according to the

report from the Witness and Victim Protection Agency, throughout 2020, the agency's assessment of restitution was around 7 billion rupiahs, whereas the amount granted by the court's decision was only 1.3 billion rupiahs. More worrisome still, the execution of restitution for victims is even less than 10% of what the court imposed, which is only about 101 million rupiahs.

The effectiveness of restitution raises several records, one of which is the difficulty of seizing the perpetrator's assets for restitution payments to the limited assets that can be confiscated from the perpetrator of sexual violence are closest people to the victim, because of this dynamic, the restitution decided to order of the perpetrator in some cases will also burden the victim financially, including the possibility that the perpetrator comes from a different country.

It is obvious that the financing of services, victim support, and recovery must be developed. The government needs to come up with innovative ways to govern leisure while also supporting victims' healing. According to data from the HIV/AIDS Research Center at Atma Jaya University from 2020 regarding "Analysis of the Costs and Impacts of Violence Against Women in Six Cities/Regencies of Indonesia," specifically Bener Meriah Regency, Batam City, Surakarta City, Maros Regency, Ambon City, and Belu Regency, local governments allocated between 86 thousand rupiahs to 223 thousand rupiahs (5.60 USD to 14.53 USD) per victim in one year for the provision of programs to deal with violence against women in all of the study.

Allocations from the State and Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budgets would certainly be drastically reduced as a result of the above cost requirements. Although this amount is a burden on the government, it should be increased when measured against the overall state

income. For the record, according to information from the Ministry of Finance, non-tax state income in 2021 was 452 trillion rupiahs or 151.6% of the 298.2 trillion rupiahs objective for state revenue and expenditure.

From non-tax state revenues, the Victim Trust Fund scheme or Victim Assistance Fund can be acquired, then processed to offer services and recompense for victims. The Witness and Victim Protection Agency or other service organizations can receive this funding, all the way down to the regional level of government service. Additionally, these funds may be donated to victims to make up for expenditures or losses suffered, including paying victims' compensation.

This scheme has also been implemented by several countries and international organizations. The best-known, for example, is the provision in Article 79 paragraph 2 of the Rome Statute that allows the International Criminal Court (ICC) to order the transfer of money and other assets obtained through fines or redemption. Hence, the Trust Fund for victims is an institution that seeks, manages, and distributes Trust Fund for victims. This Trust Fund scheme itself in Indonesia has been known from the Presidential Regulation No. 88 of 2011 concerning Trust Funds, however, it was not specified and did not relate to the victim recovery scheme regulated in numerous laws.³⁵

Finding Two

Indonesia is a developing country with a large population in rural areas and faced a series of economic challenges. In recent years, Indonesia has gone through waves of economic problems caused by COVID-19 and the following lockdown and global recessions. Under the COVID-19

³⁵ IICJR-SE-004

crisis, women's rights are in an even worse plight. Social economic factors, including economic hardship, medical problems in the rural area, an extra burden for women, and domestic violence, all in all, made women's status worse. Furthermore, the Sexual Violence Eradication bill was somewhat omitted by Indonesian society. This brought the delay and a serious and meaningful discussion of the rightful law.

Political Factor

The Sexual Violence Eradication bill has come a long way. The bill was initially proposed by the National Commission on VAW in 2012, following the emergency conditions for sexual violence against women and children in Indonesia. The National Commission on VAW pushed the House to make legal protection regarding sexual violence for about four years. It was only in May 2016, the National Commission on VAW was asked to submit an academic text to the Legislation Body of the House.

Since then, the majority of factions in the Legislation Body of the House agreed to include the Sexual Violence Eradication bill in the 2016 Priority National Legislation Program. Regarding the government regulation on child protection (which was currently being drafted by the government at that time) the Great Indonesia Movement Party's legislator thinks that it is better for legal protection in the form of legislation. Legislator of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, Esti Wijayati, said that as many as 70 members of the House signed an urging that the Sexual Violence Eradication bill is included in the 2016 Priority National Legislation Program. Moreover, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle's politician, Rieke Diah Pitaloka, stated that the discussion of the Sexual Violence Eradication bill can be carried out

across commissions. Sexual violence does not only concern the issue of children which is usually handled by the Eighth Commission, but also human rights which are part of the Third Commission of the House.³⁶

At the beginning of the discussion, there were nine definitions of sexual violence in the Sexual Violence Eradication bill, which are sexual harassment, forced contraception, forced abortion, rape, forced marriage, forced prostitution, sexual slavery, sexual torture, and sexual exploitation. Member of the Eighth Commission of the House, TB Hasan Ace Syadzhily, said that the government will examine the articles in the bill, which have the potential to have multiple interpretations, and will be included in the Problem Inventory List.³⁷ After the Problem Inventory List is compiled, the discussion will be carried out in two stages, namely the discussion between the factions in the working committee of the bill, followed by the discussion between the working committee of the House and the government.

The discussion of the Sexual Violence Eradication bill continued until 2018. At that time, the Eighth Commission of the House invited a number of elements of society to solicit opinions. However, at the end of 2018, the House decided that the bill would be postponed until the end of 2019.

During that time, there was a rejection of the bill, for once, came from an online petition on the *change.org* site initiated by Maimon Herawati. She claimed it was considered to support adultery, due to a lack of specification regarding sexual activity that violates religious regulations. In the discussion at that time, a member of the Eighth Commission of the House from the Great Indonesia Movement Party, Rahayu Saraswati Djojohadikusumo said that there

³⁶ ICNN-P-001

³⁷ ICNN-P-002

were various parties who were invited to discuss, ranging from religious leaders, academics, psychologists, to medical personnel.³⁸

The pattern of the political situation that occurred ahead of the presidential election (2019) really influenced the public's tendency to conclude the substance of the Sexual Violence Eradication bill and was easier to provoke.

However, in 2019, the chairman of the House at that time, Bambang Soesatyo confirmed that the Sexual Violence Eradication bill would not be passed by the House during that period. He stated the House, and the government was not able to finalize the bill, which had been in discussion since 2017, due to the limited work time. "I have coordinated with the head of the working committee, however, because the time is short, and there are still many issues that have not been resolved, so we have decided to postpone it," said Bambang Soesatyo. He also stated that the discussion of the Sexual Violence Eradication bill would be discussed again during the House tenure in the 2019 – 2024 period.³⁹

Minister of Political, Legal and Security Affairs, Mahfud MD, stated that his party supports the DPR to immediately ratify the Sexual Violence Eradication bill. According to her, the bill is a way out of various problems experienced by women in Indonesia.⁴⁰

The meeting on the evaluation of the 2020 National Legislation Program was marked by the protests from a number of factions in the House. They strongly demanded that the discussion of the Sexual Violence Eradication bill must be continued. Nurul Arifin, a member of the House's Legislation Body from the Party of Functional Groups, stated that she would disagree if

³⁸ ICNN-P-004

³⁹ ICNN-P-010

⁴⁰ ICNN-P-012

the Sexual Violence Eradication Bill were to be repealed once more. She urged to continue the bill's discussion, and the House needs to make sure it won't entirely withdraw from the National Legislation Program.

However, Marwan Dasopang, the deputy chairman of the House's Eighth Commission, said that the factional lobbying in the Eighth Commission had caused all of the factions to reach a deadlock, which made it difficult to discuss the bill. Since the last National Legislation Program period, disagreements have arisen regarding the bill's title and definition of sexual violence. The regulations for the penalty are also still up for debate. "We will withdraw the bill and at the same time propose a new bill, namely the Bill on Elderly Welfare," said Marwan. He also claimed that the Eighth Commission would be more focused on finalizing the Disaster Management bill since it was authorized as an initiative by the House after Indonesia faced a non-natural disaster brought on by the COVID-19 pandemic.⁴¹ In addition to the COVID-19 pandemic delaying the discussion of the Sexual Violence Eradication bill, it has not been ratified due to the pros and cons that have developed in society. Fundamentalist parties like the Islam Defenders Front accused that the bill would legalize homosexuality (LGBT) and adultery.

A total of 17 offices of the Legal Aid Institute under the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation held a People's Assembly to urge the House and the government to immediately ratify the Sexual Violence Eradication bill.⁴² The People's Assembly urged the House to include the bill in the 2021 Priority National Legislation Program because they felt that the government was not committed to resolving the sexual violence cases in Indonesia.

⁴¹ ICNN-P-013

⁴² ICNN-P-032

In early 2021, the Sexual Violence Eradication bill is included in the list of 2021 Priority National Legislation Program. 33 bills for the 2021 National Legislation Program and 246 bills for the 2020 – 2024 National Legislation Program were approved at the House’s Plenary Meeting on March 23, 2021.⁴³ The Sexual Violence Eradication bill was included as one of the 33 bills. The House’s chairman, Puan Maharani, asserted that the bill’s inclusion demonstrated the state’s support for the issue facing women.

In Mid-2021, the expert team for the Legislation Body of the House suggested that the word ‘eradication’ in the title of the Sexual Violence Eradication bill to be removed. A member of the team, Sabari Barus, proposed that the title of the bill will be changed to Bill on Sexual Violence Crimes. “The word ‘eradication’ in the title seems abstract because eradication means disappear completely, and it is an impossible thing to do. We are using the Bill on Sexual Violence Crimes,” said Sabari at the House’s Legislation Body meeting on August 30, 2021.⁴⁴ Soon after the bill was renamed to Bill on Sexual Violence Crimes, the Coalition of Anti-Sexual Violence Civil Society revealed that up to 85 articles were omitted. According to their research, the law contained 128 articles as of September 2020; however, by August 2021, only 43 articles remained.⁴⁵ The original version of the bill contained nine different types of sexual violence: rape, forced prostitution, forced contraception, forced abortion, forced marriage, forced contraception, forced contraception, forced contraception, and forced contraception. The new draft, however, only described four types of sexual violence: forced contraception, forced sexual contact, forced sex, and sexual exploitation. After its amendment, the bill also seems to be more focused on the legal action part rather than on the initiatives to eradicate sexual violence.

⁴³ ICNN-P-035

⁴⁴ ICNN-P-038

⁴⁵ ICNN-P-039

The reason for eliminating the five types of sexual violence from the bill was later made public by the expert team of the House's Legislation Body. According to Sadari, the Penal Code of Indonesia 1982 already regulated the five different types of sexual violence, hence they were eliminated in the bill's amendment.⁴⁶

Two factions, the Party of Functional Groups and the United Development Party, urged that the decision about the bill's status be delayed, according to Willy Aditya, head of the working committee on the Sexual Violence Eradication bill of the Legislation Body of the House. The decision was previously set to be decided on November 25, 2021. He explained that the two factions had sent an official letter demanding a postponement so they could examine the bill. He said that the bill has not been approved as the House's initiative bill by all nine of the House's factions, nonetheless, only four factions have agreed.⁴⁷ The four factions are the National Democratic Party, the National Awakening Party, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, and the Great Indonesia Movement Party. Meanwhile, five other factions, namely the National Mandate Party, Prosperous Justice Party, United Development Party, the Party of Functional Groups, and the Democratic Party, are said to be holding out as well. Therefore, the bill which has been proposed since 2012, is threatened to be rejected if the majority of the factions oppose it.

The Sexual Violence Eradication bill was finally approved by the majority of factions in the House's Legislation Body on December 8, 2021, making it one of the House's initiatives bills.⁴⁸ A total of six factions agreed that the bill would become an initiative bill. Meanwhile, the United Development Party faction concurred that the title of the proposed regulation would be

⁴⁶ ICNN-P-040

⁴⁷ ICNN-P-061

⁴⁸ ICNN-P-064

modified to also include nonviolent sexual crimes like sexual deviation. While only the Prosperous Justice Party rejects the entire bill, more specifically, Al Muzzammil Yusuf, one of the members of the faction believes that the bill can legalize adultery. In a plenary meeting, Supratman Andi Agtas, Chairman of the Legislative Body of the House, stated, “I convey that there are seven factions that agree and one faction asking to postpone it does not mean agreeing to ask to be postponed, and one faction that said it opposed.”

Nevertheless, a week later, Willy Aditya, the head of the working committee of the Sexual Violence Eradication bill, asserted that the failure to submit the bill to the plenary meeting was due to the House’s Deliberative Body did not schedule the discussion of the bill to be brought to the House’s Plenary Meeting in 2021, because the House will be in recess from December 17, 2021, to January 10, 2022. The bill would thus be reconsidered the following year.⁴⁹

The Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting (SMRC) survey showed that the majority of the Democratic Party and the Prosperous Justice Party were the ones who rejected the Sexual Violence Eradication bill the most. The findings were from the survey that used two methodologies: an in-person survey from December 8 to December 16, 2021, and a by-phone survey from January 5 to January 7, 2022. For in-person surveys, the population in this survey in 2062 respondents with the right to vote randomly. With this sample size, the survey’s margin of error was calculated to be 2.2% at the 95% confidence level. For the by-phone survey, 1249 respondents were randomly selected proportionally by province. The survey’s 95% confidence level error margin was +/-2.8%. The survey revealed that respondents’ level of familiarity with the Sexual Violence Eradication bill's development was increasing. The percentage increased to

⁴⁹ ICNN-P-070

24% in March 2021, 36% in May 2021, and 39% in January 2022 among people who were knowledgeable of it.

“This awareness has increased compared to the March 2021 survey, which was 24%,” said SMRC’s program manager in an explanation of the results of the online survey. The level of support for the bill has varied among individuals who are knowledgeable of it. The percentage reached 57% in March 2021, 64% in May 2021, and 60% in January 2022. Since March 2021, the majority has consistently supported the bill, he claimed.

The Democratic Party and the Prosperous Justice Party had the greatest rates of opposition to the bill, according to SMRC, if the respondents were elaborated based on the majority of the party. In specifics, the majority of the National Awakening Party agreed with 84% of the statement, while the Great Indonesia Movement Party disagreed with 27% of it and did not respond with 2%; the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle 71% agreed, 24% disagreed, and 5% did not respond; the Party of Functional Groups 54% agreed, 33% disagreed, and 13% did not respond. The majority of the National Democratic Party 73% agreed, 11% disagreed, and 16% did not respond; the Prosperous Justice Party 37% agreed and 63% disagreed; the United Development Party 51% agreed and 49% disagreed; the National Mandate Party 100% agreed; the Democratic Party 37% agreed, 51% disagreed, and 11% did not respond; others 42% agreed, 45% disagreed and 13% did not respond.⁵⁰

Finally, the Sexual Violence Eradication bill was given the green light to become an initiative bill on January 18, 2022, during the House’s Plenary Meeting. The plenary meeting was attended by 305 of the 575 board members, of which 77 board members were physically

⁵⁰ ICNN-P-075

present and 190 members were present virtually.⁵¹ After hearing from each faction in the House and the head of the plenary meeting, Puan Maharani, the decision to pass the bill was made. She then requested the approval of the in-attendance council members. Yet, there was still one faction that opposed to give approval, the Prosperous Justice Party.

Thence, the Sexual Violence Eradication bill is intended to be implemented by April 5, 2022, according to the government together with the Legislation Body of the House. The chairman of the House's Legislation Body, Supratman Andi Agtas hoped that the bill could be passed before the House's next recess period, from April 16 to May 16, 2022.

At last, the House of Representatives officially ratified the Sexual Violence Eradication bill into law at the 19th Plenary Session for the Fourth Session of the 2021 – 2012 trial year. 311 members of the council were present at the meeting for the bill's ratification; 51 of them were there in person, while the remaining 225 participated remotely. The Sexual Violence Eradication bill consists of 93 articles and 12 chapters which contain 9 types of sexual violence. The head of the working committee of the bill, Willy Aditya, stated that the bill would give law enforcement officials legal protection that was not already provided by the Penal Code of Indonesia 1982.⁵² In the meantime, three civil society organizations—the Center on Child Protection and Well-Being, the Indonesian Judicial Research Society, and the Institute for Criminal Justice Reform—provided several significant remarks on the Law on Sexual Violence Crimes, which is heralded as a breakthrough in Indonesia's approach to the issue of sexual violence.

Finding Three

⁵¹ ICNN-P-080

⁵² ICNN-P-083

Democracy in Indonesia has its problem. It is not efficient and it sometimes went in the wrong direction when some tasks must be dealt with. The Sexual Violence Eradication bill is one of the example. For 10 years long, the parliament of Indonesia fell into an endless debate about the bill. The logrolling system delayed the urgent needs of the bill. Meanwhile, there were a series of political-economic crises in Indonesia occupying the parliament's attention. Political factor in this delay of the bill is one of the most important reason and could be the most crucial reason for the delay. As a matter of fact, not only the Sexual Violence Eradication bill, but also other important bills have been delayed. It is the consequence of an inefficient political institution.

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

In Indonesia, there are an increasing number of cases of sexual violence every year, especially sexual violence against women. However, the existing laws are considered to be inadequate to ensure victims' rights protection and legal protection. The Sexual Violence Eradication bill therefore urgently necessitated ensuring the fulfillment of victims' rights by emphasizing that it is the state's duty to protect those who have been exposed to sexual violence. The ratification of the bill has been delayed from the first time it was proposed in 2012 until early 2022.

The key findings that arise from the data analysis are distinguished into three parts under a qualitative content analysis. The first factor, Cultural and Religion factors have mainly discussed that rejection of the bill comes from conservative groups, specifically the Prosperous Justice Party, one of the nine Indonesia House Representative's most influential factions, who still assume that the bill legalizes adultery, which is against the Muslims dogma and also against the Eastern culture.

The Social and Economy factor, on the other hand, explained the National Commission on VAW found an increasing number of reported sexual violence cases in the March-end of October 2020 period, which was the pandemic time, one of which was caused by the economic factor of the family. Furthermore, this section also examined the Victim Trust Fund, which is one of the reasons for the Sexual Violence Eradication bill to be ratified, so that the costs to give the victims full rights protection, starting with the legal requirements, and extending to their rights to the best medical care and recovery can be allocated directly to them.

Last but not least, political factors may have led to the almost ten-year delay in enacting the Sexual Violence Eradication bill, a factor that is no less relevant than the others. At first, as many as 70 members of the House signed an urging that the Sexual Violence Eradication bill is included in the 2016 Priority National Legislation Program. Thenceforth, the articles of the bill that could be misconstrued will be examined by the government to be added to the Problem Inventory List, then continued by the discussion between the factions in the working committee of the bill, and between the working committee of the House and the government later. However, for some reason, its discussion had been extended until 2018, and at the end of the year, the House agreed to postpone the bill until the end of 2019. Since then, the bill has repeatedly been in and out of the House's National Legislation Program due to opposition from some parties. When the bill was finally approved by the majority of the factions in the House's Legislation Body at the end of 2021, it has once again been rejected and said that it would be reconsidered the following year.

The Sexual Violence Eradication bill was finally approved by the 311 council members who were present when the House officially ratified it on April 2022.

Although passing Law No. 12/2022 on Sexual Violence Crimes was a major step forward in the right direction, it was really only the beginning of the journey toward achieving equality and protecting human rights. From that point on, through socialization, people might learn about and become familiar with this law. So, it is important for groups that are vulnerable to becoming victims, such as those in schools and universities, to be visited and receive socialization, not only as a discourse and a formality from the government. Moreover, Art. 26 of the Law on Sexual Violence Crimes which mandates that victims be accompanied by assistants at all steps of the judicial process who are skilled in handling victims with a human rights perspective and gender

sensitivity, and who have taken training on handling cases of sexual violence, will help victims' companions, law enforcement officers, and integrated service unit officers develop their capabilities.

APPENDIX A

Table of the Database Established for Data Analysis on Sexual Violence Eradication bill

<i>110 items</i>				
Master URL	https://www.cnnindonesia.com/			
Ref. No.	Title	Date Published	Source	Item URL
ICNN-P-001	Baleg DPR Sepakat Dorong RUU Penghapusan Kekerasan Seksual	18 May 2016	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3ASHOBn
ICNN-P-002	Perppu Perlindungan Anak & RUU Kekerasan Seksual akan Sejalan	20 May 2016	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3aKanX9
ICNN-P-003	Demi Lindungi TKW, Perempuan Desak RUU Kekerasan Seksual	19 May 2018	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3z5GA18
ICNN-SE-001	DPR Dituntut Segera Bahas RUU Penghapusan Kekerasan Seksual	18 Nov. 2018	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3yBFU5m
ICNN-CR-001	Komnas Perempuan: RUU PKS Bukan Pro-Zina	2 Feb. 2019	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3yHA2HR
ICNN-P-004	Komisi VIII DPR Sisir Pasal-Pasal Multitafsir di RUU PKS	5 Feb. 2019	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3PrLjTu
ICNN-CR-002	Inayah Wahid: RUU PKS Bukan Berarti Pro Zina dan LGBT	6 Feb. 2019	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3z8ACA1
ICNN-P-005	RUU PKS Mendadak Jadi 'Bola Panas' saat Pilpres	7 Feb. 2019	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3Puc21U
ICNN-P-006	Pemerintah Targetkan RUU PKS Disahkan Agustus 2019	23 Feb. 2019	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/2GFohcs

ICNN-CR-003	MUI Kaji RUU PKS Agar Bisa Cegah Pernikahan Sejenis	25 Mar. 2019	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3z9iI04
ICNN-P-007	Rhoma Irama Sebut RUU PKS Legalkan Zina dan LGBT	31 Mar. 2019	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3P4ORLH
ICNN-P-008	Pembahasan RUU KUHP dan PKS di DPR Diperpanjang	25 Jul 2019	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3zaKdq6
ICNN-SE-002	Demo Tolak RUU PKS, Puluhan Emak-emak Mulai Datangi DPR	20 Sep. 2019	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3B10zTc
ICNN-P-009	Bikin Tim Perumus, DPR Pastikan RUU PKS Tak Disahkan Sekarang	26 Sep. 2019	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3aEFSll
ICNN-SE-003	RUU PKS, Para Wanita Demo DPRD di Bandung dan Palembang	26 Sep. 2019	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3OabPQi
ICNN-P-010	Waktu Pendek, Ketua DPR Tunda Pengesahan RUU PKS	26 Sep. 2019	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3c6jGAY
ICNN-P-011	Yohana Pesan RUU PKS, Menteri PPPA Gusti Ayu Jawab Nanti	25 Oct. 2019	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3c5suqL
ICNN-P-012	Mahfud: Pengesahan RUU PKS Jalan Keluar Masalah Perempuan	20 Dec. 2019	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3cbV0Hn
ICNN-P-013	Komisi VIII DPR Tarik RUU PKS dari Prolegnas Prioritas 2020	30 Jun. 2020	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3yPvL5w
ICNN-P-014	Dalih DPR Cabut RUU PKS: Picu Polemik di Antara Perempuan	01 Jul. 2020	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3AZVVF0
ICNN-P-015	Baleg DPR Klaim	01 Jul. 2020	CNN	https://bit.ly/3OekMli

	Bakal Ambil Alih Pembahasan RUU PKS		Indonesia	
ICNN-P-016	PDIP Bantah Pencabutan RUU PKS dari Prolegnas 2020	01 Jul. 2020	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3O8aYj1
ICNN-P-017	Selain RUU PKS, DPR Cabut 16 Draf Lain dari Prolegnas 2020	01 Jul. 2020	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3clM4iU
ICNN-P-018	PDIP Sebut Pembahasan RUU PKS Terancam Mundur ke 2021	01 Jul. 2020	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3IGpRrM
ICNN-P-019	Riwayat RUU PKS di DPR: Sarat Kecurigaan, Mengulur Pembahasan	02 Jul. 2020	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3RBkVbS
ICNN-P-020	Nasdem Kecewa RUU PKS Dicaput dari Prolegnas Prioritas 2020	02 Jul. 2020	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3uPekAP
ICNN-P-021	Daftar 16 RUU yang Dicaput dari Prolegnas, Termasuk RUU PKS	02 Jul. 2020	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3cfkrrw
ICNN-P-022	Komnas Perempuan Sebut RUU PKS Janji Semua Capres di 2014	02 Jul. 2020	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3z8cKML
ICNN-P-023	VIDEO: Komisi VIII: RUU PKS Bukan Prioritas	02 Jul. 2020	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3ID2uPX
ICNN-P-024	RUU PKS Dicaput dari Prolegnas, Sejumlah Anggota DPR Protes	02 Jul. 2020	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3uR7wT0
ICNN-P-025	Cabut RUU PKS, DPR Dinilai Tak Peka Korban Kekerasan Seksual	03 Jul. 2020	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3uRK745
ICNN-P-026	Pimpinan Komisi	04 Jul. 2020	CNN	https://bit.ly/3cajYH3

	III Sesalkan RUU PKS Dicabut dari Prolegnas		Indonesia	
ICNN-SE-004	Gerakan Perempuan Tuntut DPR Kembalikan RUU PKS ke Prolegnas	06 Jul. 2020	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3RAUT8w
ICNN-SE-005	FOTO: Gerak Perempuan Tuntut Pengesahan RUU PKS	07 Jul. 2020	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3yKFo55
ICNN-P-027	VIDEO: Jalan Berliku RUU Penghapusan Kekerasan Seksual	25 Jul. 2020	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3Pv6LHf
ICNN-P-028	Diah PDIP Sebut Kasus Gilang Jarik Jadi Bukti Urgensi RUU PKS	06 Aug. 2020	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3O4HAiT
ICNN-P-029	Urgensi RUU PKS di Tengah Marak Kasus Pelecehan Seksual	08 Aug. 2020	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3RBhTEw
ICNN-CR-004	Korban Gilang Fetish Jarik Berharap RUU PKS Segera Disahkan	09 Aug. 2020	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3P9eb3d
ICNN-SE-006	Suara Korban, Suara Tuhan di Kasus Pelecehan Seksual	11 Aug. 2020	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3AMd19w
ICNN-P-030	NasDem Desak Pengesahan RUU PKS usai Jokowi Teken PP Kebiri	04 Jan. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3yCFn3g
ICNN-P-031	Komnas Perempuan Sederhanakan Naskah RUU PKS	15 Aug. 2020	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3Ph7egI
ICNN-P-032	LBH Gelar Sidang Rakyat, Desak Pemerintah Sahkan RUU PKS	02 Oct. 2020	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3IN1nNG
ICNN-SE-007	Bintang Emon:	05 Nov. 2020	CNN	https://bit.ly/3O7GxJF

	Laki-laki Baik Tak Takut Sahkan RUU PKS		Indonesia	
ICNN-SE-008	Kekerasan dan Potret Suram Perempuan Indonesia di Era Pandemi	26 Nov. 2020	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3caRuwV
ICNN-P-033	BEM Universitas Andalas Tolak RUU PKS Masuk Prolegnas 2021	27 Nov. 2020	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3vdoUSr
ICNN-P-034	Tolak Sikap BEM, FH Unand Dukung RUU PKS Masuk Prolegnas 2021	30 Nov. 2020	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3RuGDhD
ICNN-CR-005	Guru Besar UIN Ungkap Alasan RUU PKS Sukar Disahkan	12 Dec. 2020	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3z89UYj
ICNN-SE-009	Kepala Sekolah Cabul Surabaya, Komnas Perempuan Desak RUU PKS	04 Mar. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3z1WCLN
ICNN-SE-010	Hari Perempuan, Simpulan Bandung Desak Pengesahan UU PKS	08 Mar 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3uQ9jI8
ICNN-P-035	RUU PKS Masuk Prolegnas 2021, Sinyal Perlindungan Korban	26 Mar. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3clIqFK
ICNN-P-036	PKS Ungkit Agama di RUU P-KS, Komnas Sindir Kubu yang Gemetar	30 Mar. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3O87jBN
ICNN-P-037	Pemerintah Desak DPR Sahkan RUU Penghapusan Kekerasan Seksual	22 Jun. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3O3LByQ
ICNN-P-038	RUU PKS Diusulkan Ganti	31 Aug. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3cjrUpm

	Nama, Tanpa Kata Penghapusan			
ICNN-P-039	KOMPAKS: RUU PKS Ganti Nama Jadi TPKS, 85 Pasal Hilang	03 Sep. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3IN10mg
ICNN-P-040	DPR Ungkap Alasan Hapus 5 Jenis Kekerasan Seksual di RUU PKS	07 Sep. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3ASJV8y
ICNN-P-041	Beda Definisi Kekerasan Seksual di RUU PKS dan RUU TPKS	07 Sep. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3OezI9b
ICNN-P-042	Daftar Pasal RUU PKS yang Hilang Usai Diubah Jadi RUU TPKS	07 Sep. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3z8Of2f
ICNN-P-043	Tuai Kritik, Baleg DPR Sebut RUU TPKS Masih Draf Awal	08 Sep. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3Ru9TVA
ICNN-SE-011	RUU PKS Ganti Judul, Hak Korban Dinilai Dikesampingkan	08 Sep. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3oadpa4
ICNN-P-044	DPR Didesak Jelaskan Aturan Rinci Soal Kekerasan Seksual	08 Sep. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3Ptq9t
ICNN-P-045	YLBHI Soroti DPR Hapus 5 Kekerasan Seksual di RUU TPKS	08 Sep. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3RDvZoT
ICNN-P-046	RUU PKS Diganti, Definisi Pemerkosaan Dinilai Jadi Samar	09 Sep. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3uOKuw6
ICNN-P-047	DPR Klaim RUU TPKS Mudahkan Aparat Usut Kekerasan Seksual	10 Sep. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3AScCCg
ICNN-P-048	Komnas Perempuan Minta 6 Penyempurnaan	10 Sep. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3O9mr1T

	RUU TPKS ke Baleg DPR			
ICNN-SE-012	VIDEO: Jalan Terjal RUU Penghapusan Kekerasan Seksual	11 Sep. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3PvChVs
ICNN-P-049	VIDEO: RUU PKS Yang Tak Kunjung Beres	11 Sep. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3Pn3fyQ
ICNN-P-050	Sempurnakan RUU PKS, DPR Siapkan Kunker ke Brasil-Ekuador	30 Sep. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3IFOhla
ICNN-P-051	DPR Didesak Perjelas Definisi Kekerasan Seksual di RUU TPKS	08 Oct. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3uLE2WI
ICNN-P-052	DPR Didesak Masukkan Pasal Lindungi Perempuan dan Anak di RUU TPKS	03 Nov. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3o1rnem
ICNN-P-053	DPR Putuskan Nasib RUU TPKS Akhir November	09 Nov. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3RzHuxj
ICNN-P-054	PDIP Usul RUU Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual Pakai Kata 'Pencegahan'	16 Nov. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3P6xVUV
ICNN-P-055	Gerindra Usul RUU TPKS Beri Sanksi Berlapis Pelaku Kekerasan Seksual	17 Nov. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3Pa0sJh
ICNN-P-056	Panja Klaim RUU TPKS Tak Muat Frasa Sexual Consent	17 Nov. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3P45p6u
ICNN-P-057	Panja Klaim RUU TPKS Tak Legalisasi Seks Bebas dan LGBT	18 Nov. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3z6ekyN
ICNN-P-058	Kekerasan Seksual di Dunia Digital	23 Nov. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3z2qcBU

	Disebut Bakal Masuk RUU TPKS			
ICNN-CR-006	Soroti Kawin Kontrak, Puan Komitmen Sahkan RUU TPKS	24 Nov. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3ARPcgE
ICNN-P-059	Ketua Panja Sebut Golkar dan PPP Minta Tunda Penentuan Nasib RUU TPKS	25 Nov. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3o4ZlyE
ICNN-P-060	Maju Mundur Pengesahan RUU Kekerasan Seksual di Tangan DPR	26 Nov. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3c2Tt6i
ICNN-P-061	Lima Fraksi Alot, RUU TPKS Terancam Kandas	27 Nov. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3Ob44JM
ICNN-P-062	Panja Targetkan Draf RUU TPKS Dibawa ke Paripurna DPR 15 Desember	02 Dec. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3Pan8cr
ICNN-P-063	Ketua Panja RUU TPKS: Semoga Ada Titik Cerah	03 Dec. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3O5OBLc
ICNN-CR-007	VIDEO: Komnas Perempuan: RUU TPKS Tidak Melegalkan Seks Bebas	07 Dec. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3yD3MWl
ICNN-P-064	Baleg Setujui RUU TPKS Jadi Inisiatif DPR, PKS Menolak	08 Dec. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3IKU4WM
ICNN-P-065	RUU TPKS: Pelaku Kekerasan Seksual Digital Dipenjara 4-6 Tahun	08 Dec. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3o3j8lu
ICNN-CR-008	Ketua Komisi X DPR soal Ramai Kasus Pencabulan Santri: Sahkan RUU TPKS	10 Dec. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3uNNhG5
ICNN-P-066	RUU TPKS Batal Dibahas di	15 Dec. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3z5aXrI

	Pariwisata DPR Besok			
ICNN-P-067	Baleg Klaim Sudah Lobi Agar RUU TPKS Disahkan Jadi Inisiatif DPR	16 Dec. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3P8FomC
ICNN-P-068	Komnas Perempuan Kecewa DPR Batal Sahkan RUU TPKS di Pariwisata	17 Dec. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3O7Hm5e
ICNN-P-069	6 Fakta RUU TPKS Gagal ke Pariwisata: Ditolak PKS hingga Kendala Teknis	18 Dec. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3Pl2ZQU
ICNN-P-070	Tak Ada Hati DPR Sahkan RUU TPKS	20 Dec. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3yG10j9
ICNN-P-071	Peta Dukungan Fraksi di DPR pada RUU Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual	21 Dec. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3IBmzGj
ICNN-SE-013	Masyarakat Sipil Demo DPR Desak Pengesahan RUU TPKS	22 Dec. 2021	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3aBBLXs
ICNN-P-072	Puan Jamin RUU TPKS Jadi Inisiatif DPR Disahkan di Rapat Pariwisata	05 Jan. 2022	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3RBd3H0
ICNN-CR-009	Respons Jokowi, PKS Kukuh Pasal Zina dan Penyimpangan Seks di RUU TPKS	05 Jan. 2022	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3z5MP8v
ICNN-P-073	VIDEO: Jokowi Minta RUU TPKS Segera Disahkan DPR	05 Jan. 2022	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3uJB9FS
ICNN-P-074	Yasonna Buka Suara Usai Disentil Jokowi soal RUU TPKS	06 Jan. 2022	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3Ob2yHA
ICNN-P-075	SMRC: Massa PKS dan Demokrat	10 Jan. 2022	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3o2hU6J

	Terbanyak Tolak RUU TPKS			
ICNN-P-076	Puan Maharani Putuskan Nasib RUU TPKS di Sidang Perdana DPR Hari Ini	11 Jan. 2022	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3z60EDW
ICNN-P-077	Puan Janji Sahkan RUU TPKS Jadi Inisiatif DPR Pekan Depan	11 Jan. 2022	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3PpyWr4
ICNN-P-078	Puan Klaim Enggan Terobos Mekanisme, Hati-hati Bahas RUU TPKS	12 Jan. 2022	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3ID7wvz
ICNN-P-079	PKS Usul RUU TPKS Disahkan Berbarengan RKUHP	13 Jan. 2022	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3Ry1kJk
ICNN-P-080	RUU TPKS Disetujui Jadi Inisiatif DPR	18 Jan. 2022	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3PotHZj
ICNN-P-081	Wamenkumham Target DIM RUU TPKS Tuntas Sebelum Reses DPR	02 Feb. 2022	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3o5TysR
ICNN-SE-014	Demo DPR, Buruh Perempuan Serukan Pengesahan RUU TPKS	08 Mar. 2022	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3cfbwXa
ICNN-P-082	Baleg DPR Targetkan Rampung Bahas RUU TPKS 5 April	24 Mar. 2022	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3Paef2B
ICNN-CR-010	Pemerintah Usul RUU TPKS Tak Atur Pemerksaan dan Aborsi	01 Apr. 2022	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3PacUZA
ICNN-SE-015	Survei: 65,3 Persen Warga Setuju RUU TPKS Segera Disahkan	04 Apr. 2022	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3z3CmdE
ICNN-SE-016	RUU TPKS: Kekerasan Seksual	04 Apr. 2022	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3AUPraN

	Berbasis Elektronik Didenda Rp200 Juta			
ICNN-P-083	Poin-poin Penting UU TPKS yang Disahkan DPR	13 Apr. 2022	CNN Indonesia	https://bit.ly/3yIx0TM

<i>20 items</i>				
Master URL	https://icjr.or.id/			
Ref. No.	Title	Date Published	Source	Item URL
IICJR-P-001	Perjalanan Menanti RUU PKS	12 Jan. 2022	ICJR	https://bit.ly/3DQSZpn
IICJR-P-002	Perjalanan RUU PKS	30 Aug. 2021	ICJR	https://bit.ly/3r6fxBu
IICJR-P-003	Pembahasan RUU PKS Harus Tetap Jadi Prioritas	01 Jul. 2020	ICJR	https://bit.ly/3C4xC9i
IICJR-P-004	Pasca RUU TPKS	07 Apr. 2020	ICJR	https://bit.ly/3BEkDK5
IICJR-P-005	Masih Terdapat Catatan Penting atas Substansi RUU TPKS	04 Apr. 2022	ICJR	https://bit.ly/3SpLccs
IICJR-SE-001	Mekanisme Restitusi dan Pengaturan Victim Trust Fund dalam RUU TPKS	31 Mar. 2022	ICJR	https://bit.ly/3UAhrHQ
IICJR-SE-002	ICJR Rekomendasikan Kewajiban Menginformasikan dan Mempertimbangkan Restitusi untuk Korban, Serta Jaminan Mekanisme Victim Trust Fund dalam RUU TPKS	30 Mar. 2022	ICJR	https://bit.ly/3UBQ0NP
IICJR-P-006	ICJR serukan cabut Pasal 27 ayat (1) UU ITE, Atur Pidana KBGO dalam RUU TPKS, dan Pastikan Perlindungan	29 Mar. 2022	ICJR	https://bit.ly/3Sscv66

	Korban KBGO			
IICJR-SE-003	Anggota DPR Dukung Victim Trust Fund dalam RUU TPKS	28 Feb. 2022	ICJR	https://bit.ly/3UMNq82
IICJR-SE-004	ICJR dan IJRS Dukung Masuknya Mekanisme Victim Trust Fund Korban dalam RUU TPKS	07 Feb. 2022	ICJR	https://bit.ly/3SwJPJ6
IICJR-P-007	ICJR, IJRS, dan PUSKAPA Catat Janji DPR	16 Dec. 2021	ICJR	https://bit.ly/3LUICJP
IICJR-P-008	Perjalanan UU TPKS	11 May 2022	ICJR	https://bit.ly/3SzHGfX
IICJR-P-009	RUU PKS Harus Dibahas	02 Feb. 2019	ICJR	https://bit.ly/3RpEQt3
IICJR-SE-005	Menuju Penguatan Hak Korban dalam RUU PKS	12 Jun. 2017	ICJR	https://bit.ly/3LERcMi
IICJR-SE-006	Konsep Konsen Adalah Benteng Perlindungan Bagi Korban Kekerasan Seksual	29 Nov. 2021	ICJR	https://bit.ly/3Sd6ieG
IICJR-SE-007	Kasus Kekerasan Seksual oleh Kepala P2TPA Lampung Timur	06 Jul. 2020	ICJR	https://bit.ly/3RagiYG
IICJR-SE-008	ICJR: Dalam Kasus Kekerasan Seksual, Penyintas Adalah Prioritas	08 Nov. 2018	ICJR	https://bit.ly/3DQKQb2
IICJR-P-010	Melihat Posisi DPR dan Pemerintah Atas RUU PKS	13 Dec. 2017	ICJR	https://bit.ly/3fee756
IICJR-P-011	Sidang Paripurna DPR RI 12 April 2022	12 Apr. 2022	ICJR	https://bit.ly/3Si6sBC
IICR-P-012	Apresiasi Proses yang Berjalan, Masih Terdapat Catatan Penting untuk Pembahasan Lanjutan	04 Apr. 2022	ICJR	https://bit.ly/3r75nk6

Master URL				
https://openparliament.id/				
Ref. No.	Title	Date Published	Source	Item URL
I-OP-001	Laporan Singkat (25 Oktober 2016)	25 Oct. 2016	Indonesia Open Parliament	Lapsing 25-10-16.pdf
I-OP-002	Laporan Singkat (12 Januari 2017)	12 Jan. 2017	Indonesia Open Parliament	Lapsing 12-1-17.pdf
I-OP-003	Laporan Singkat (19 Januari 2017)	19 Jan. 2017	Indonesia Open Parliament	Lapsing 19-1-17.pdf
I-OP-004	Laporan Singkat (Rapat Panja) (31 Januari 2017)	31 Jan. 2017	Indonesia Open Parliament	LapsingRP 31-1-17.pdf
I-OP-004	Laporan Singkat (Rapat Badan Legislasi) (31 Januari 2017)	31 Jan. 2017	Indonesia Open Parliament	LapsingRBL 31-1-17.pdf
I-OP-005	Laporan Singkat (11 September 2017)	11 Sept. 2017	Indonesia Open Parliament	Lapsing 11-9-17.pdf
I-OP-006	Laporan Singkat (23 Januari 2018)	23 Jan. 2018	Indonesia Open Parliament	Lapsing 23-1-18.pdf
I-OP-007	Laporan Singkat (29 Januari 2018)	29 Jan. 2018	Indonesia Open Parliament	Lapsing 29-1-18.pdf
I-OP-008	Laporan Singkat (31 Januari 2018)	31 Jan. 2018	Indonesia Open Parliament	Lapsing 31-1-18.pdf
I-OP-009	Laporan Singkat (3 Oktober 2018)	3 Oct. 2018	Indonesia Open Parliament	Lapsing 3-10-18.pdf
I-OP-010	Laporan Singkat (25 Oktober 2018)	25 Oct. 2018	Indonesia Open Parliament	Lapsing 25-10-18.pdf
I-OP-011	Laporan Singkat (18 Juli 2019)	18 Jul. 2019	Indonesia Open Parliament	Lapsing 18-7-19.pdf
I-OP-012	Laporan Singkat (19 Agustus 2019) (Tertutup)	19 Aug. 2019	Indonesia Open Parliament	Lapsing 19-8-19.pdf
I-OP-013	Laporan Singkat (26 Agustus 2019)	26 Aug. 2019	Indonesia Open	Lapsing 26-8-19.pdf

	(Tertutup)		Parliament	
I-OP-014	Laporan Singkat (3 September 2019) (Tertutup)	3 Sept. 2019	Indonesia Open Parliament	Lapsing 3-9-19.pdf
I-OP-015	Laporan Singkat (2 Februari 2021)	2 Feb. 2021	Indonesia Open Parliament	Lapsing 2-2-21.pdf
I-OP-016	Laporan Singkat (29 Maret 2021)	29 Mar. 2021	Indonesia Open Parliament	Lapsing 29-3-21.pdf
I-OP-017	Laporan Singkat (24 Agustus 2021)	24 Aug. 2021	Indonesia Open Parliament	Lapsing 24-8-21.pdf
I-OP-018	Laporan Singkat (25 Agustus 2021)	25 Aug. 2021	Indonesia Open Parliament	Lapsing 25-8-21.pdf
I-OP-019	Laporan Singkat (30 Agustus 2021)	30 Aug. 2021	Indonesia Open Parliament	Lapsing 30-8-21.pdf
I-OP-020	Catatan Rapat (30 Agustus 2021)	30 Aug. 2021	Indonesia Open Parliament	Catrap 30-8-21.pdf
I-OP-021	Laporan Singkat (1 November 2021)	1 Nov. 2021	Indonesia Open Parliament	Lapsing 1-11-21.pdf
I-OP-022	Catatan Rapat (1 November 2021)	1 Nov. 2021	Indonesia Open Parliament	Catrap 1-11-21.pdf
I-OP-023	Laporan Singkat (16 November 2021)	16 Nov. 2021	Indonesia Open Parliament	Lapsing 16-11-21.pdf
I-OP-024	Laporan Singkat (17 November 2021)	17 Nov. 2021	Indonesia Open Parliament	Lapsing 17-11-21.pdf
I-OP-025	Laporan Singkat (8 Desember 2021)	8 Dec. 2021	Indonesia Open Parliament	Lapsing 8-12-21.pdf
I-OP-026	Naskah Akademik RUU TPKS	10 Feb. 2017	Indonesia Open Parliament	Academic Paper.pdf
I-OP-027	Naskah Akademik dan Naskah RUU TPKS	30 Sept. 2020	Indonesia Open Parliament	Academic texts and draft.pdf
I-OP-028	Laporan Pengawasan DPR RI RUU Usulan	29 Mar. 2021	Indonesia Open Parliament	Audit report.docx

	Badan Legislasi			
I-OP-029	Lembar Fakta dan Poin Kunci Catatan Tahunan Komnas Perempuan Tahun 2020	5 Mar. 2021	Indonesia Open Parliament	Fact Sheet and Key Points.pdf
I-OP-030	Daftar Rapat DPR RI 2015 – 2019, 2021	-	Indonesia Open Parliament	Meeting lists 2015-2019, 2021.xlsx
I-OP-031	Bahan Rapat RUU TPKS	8 Dec. 2021	Indonesia Open Parliament	Meeting Materials.pdf
I-OP-032	Laporan Rapat DPR RI 2014 – 2019, 2021 – 2022	-	Indonesia Open Parliament	Meeting report 2014-2019, 2021-2022.docx
I-OP-033	Seri Kertas Kebijakan RUU PKS	Jun. 2017	Indonesia Open Parliament	Policy Paper.pdf
I-OP-034	Siaran Pers Pengesahan RUU TPKS	12 Apr. 2022	Indonesia Open Parliament	Press conference ratification of the bill.pdf
I-OP-035	Naskah RUU TPKS	-	Indonesia Open Parliament	Draft bill.pdf

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