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Bridging Global Norms and Local Action: UN Women's Transnational Advocacy Networks in Combating Gender-Based Violence in Indonesia

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Abstract

This research examines the role of UN Women's Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs) in addressing gender-based violence (GBV) in Indonesia during the 2020–2024 period, focusing on the 16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence campaign. GBV remains a persistent concern within Indonesia's policy landscape, and transnational advocacy has become increasingly influential in shaping national discourses. Drawing on the Transnational Advocacy Networks framework developed by Keck and Sikkink, this research analyzes advocacy strategies operating through information politics, symbolic politics, leverage politics, and accountability politics. By concentrating on a defined temporal scope and a single advocacy initiative, the study provides an empirically grounded examination of UN Women's advocacy practices in Indonesia. The research employs a qualitative methodology based on document analysis of UN Women publications, campaign materials, legal instruments, and reports produced by national institutions and civil society organizations. The findings indicate that advocacy activities predominantly operate through information and symbolic politics by producing and disseminating gender-related data and aligning campaign narratives with international gender equality norms. Overall, this research demonstrates that UN Women's transnational advocacy in Indonesia primarily contributes to norm diffusion and policy agenda-setting, while post-legislative accountability remains limited across institutional contexts and enforcement practices at national and local levels contexts.

KEYWORDS

gender-based violence; violence against women; un women; 16 days of activism; transnational advocacy networks.

Introduction

Gender-based violence (GBV) has become a major global concern as it reflects structural inequalities embedded in gender relations, transcending national borders and permeating social, cultural, political, and economic systems. GBV encompasses all forms of violence directed at an individual on the basis of their gender identity, including physical, sexual, psychological, economic, and technology-facilitated violence ([UN WOMEN, 2021](#)). While GBV can affect women, men, and non-binary individuals, empirical evidence consistently demonstrates that women remain the most vulnerable group.

Violence against women (VAW) constitutes a violation of human rights with far-reaching consequences for social, political, and economic well-being. According to WHO data, About 1 in 3 women—around 736 million—have experienced violence. In 2023, 140 women and girls were killed daily by partners or family members, totaling approximately 51,100 deaths worldwide ([United Nations Indonesia, 2023](#)). In Indonesia, Komnas Perempuan reported 289,111 cases of VAW in 2023, reflecting an upward trend over the years. This phenomenon underscores that VAW is not merely a domestic issue but a transnational concern requiring collective cross-border responses. The issue lies not only in the rising number of cases but also in the increasingly dehumanizing acts of perpetrators against victims, including cases that result in death. Komnas Perempuan's

data show that in the past 12 years, reported cases of VAW have increased nearly eightfold, with an additional surge of 63% during the Covid-19 pandemic ([KEMENKO PMK, 2020](#)). A subsequent report by Komnas Perempuan (2022) revealed that the majority of cases were not pursued legally, as they were often framed as “domestic disputes.” This reflects entrenched power imbalances between men and women, reinforced by social norms that tend to blame victims. Consequently, many women refrain from reporting the violence they endure due to social pressure, economic dependency, or insufficient legal protection.

The patriarchal system positions men as the dominant authority in both public and private spheres, while women are relegated to subordinate roles. Such dynamics exacerbate gender inequality and foster multiple forms of violence against women—physical, psychological, sexual, and economic. Cultural norms further perpetuate these practices, for example, through violence or even honor killings justified as protecting family reputation when women are perceived to have transgressed social expectations ([Sakina, 2017](#)). Although the Indonesian government has sought to combat discrimination and violence against women by ratifying international instruments such as CEDAW (Law No. 7/1984) and CAT (Law No. 5/1998), along with domestic regulations including the *Law on the Elimination of Domestic Violence* (Law No. 23/2004), implementation has faced serious obstacles. These include the persistence of patriarchal culture and the enforcement of Sharia-inspired local regulations that reinforce discriminatory practices. Within this context, UN Women has played a vital role as a global actor, supporting Indonesia through public campaigns, policy advocacy, and capacity-building initiatives aimed at advancing gender equality ([Maryam, 2012](#)).

In Indonesia, UN Women does not act independently but collaborates with national and local actors such as Komnas Perempuan, the Ministry of Women’s Empowerment and Child Protection (Kemen PPPA), and civil society organizations like Jakarta Feminist and Yayasan Pulih. In international relations literature, UN Women is often described in broad terms as a UN agency for gender equality, a view that obscures its concrete operational role in national advocacy (UN WOMEN, 2020). In Indonesia’s 2020–2024 16 Days of Activism campaign, UN Women acted as a transnational actor that linked global norms with local advocacy, consistent with the dynamics of Transnational Advocacy Networks ([Keck & Sikkink, 1998](#)). This position underscores UN Women’s function as a strategic intermediary connecting international standards such as CEDAW and the Beijing Platform for Action with state obligations and civil society agendas ([United Nations Indonesia, 2023](#)).

As a *norm entrepreneur*, UN Women not only disseminates global norms on eliminating gender-based violence but also shapes national policy discourse by reframing such violence as a human rights violation requiring state action ([True & Mintrom, 2001](#)). Its interventions—through policy recommendations, SDG alignment, and gender mainstreaming—demonstrate a substantive role in advancing evidence-based commitments to address violence against women ([Davies & True, 2019](#)).

As a UN agency focused on gender equality, UN Women actively initiates global campaigns to raise awareness, build solidarity, and advocate for policy change. Among its flagship campaigns are *#HeForShe*, which engages men in the gender equality movement; *#GenerationEquality*, which emphasizes intergenerational collaboration; and *#OrangeTheWorld*, a global symbolic campaign to end violence against women. In Indonesia, one of the most prominent initiatives is the “16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence” (16 HAKTP), part of the global “Orange the World” campaign originally launched by *the Center for Women’s Global Leadership*

(CWGL) in 1991 and later adopted by UN Women in collaboration with women’s advocacy networks worldwide. This annual campaign runs from 25 November (International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women) to 10 December (International Human Rights Day), emphasizing that VAW constitutes a violation of human rights ([UN WOMEN, 2024](#)).

In practice, UN Women and its national partners adapt global symbols such as the color orange and the *#UNITE* hashtag into the local Indonesian context. This is manifested through digital campaigns, artistic performances, public discussions, and the active involvement of survivors in campaign narratives. The broader aim is to enhance public awareness, strengthen global solidarity, and pressure governments to take concrete action in eliminating VAW. In Indonesia, these efforts—through collaboration with Komnas Perempuan, Kemen PPPA, and civil society groups—have contributed to the passage of the Sexual Violence Crime Law (UU TPKS) in 2022, widely recognized as the product of collective advocacy efforts by women’s rights networks ([Dewi et al., 2023](#)).

Existing research on GBV and the role of UN Women often emphasizes UN Women as a central actor in advancing gender equality and implementing global campaigns such as *#MeToo* and *#HeForShe* ([Saputri \(2024\)](#), [Dewi et al. \(2023\)](#)). Other studies highlight its function as a UN body enhancing global capacity to empower women and eliminate discrimination ([Citaristi, 2022](#)). Meanwhile, scholarship on Transnational Advocacy Networks generally explores the significance of advocacy networks in addressing gender issues at the global level ([Eilstrup-Sangiovanni & Breen \(2024\)](#); [Ayoub & Stoeckl \(2024\)](#); [Johnson & Hestermann \(2019\)](#)), with only limited attention to regional or local contexts ([Bal \(2021\)](#); [Hassan & Rizzo \(2023\)](#); [Lang, 2009](#)). However, the interaction between global actors like UN Women and local actors is often described only descriptively rather than analyzed as a central focus.

While existing scholarship on Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs) has extensively examined processes of norm diffusion and agenda setting at the global level, fewer studies have systematically analyzed how distinct TAN strategies operate simultaneously within a single national advocacy context. Research on UN Women, in particular, tends to conceptualize the organization primarily as a normative actor or campaign initiator, offering limited insight into its role as a coordinating node within transnational advocacy networks and the differentiated outcomes of its advocacy strategies at the domestic level.

More specifically, prior studies have not sufficiently addressed how information politics, symbolic politics, leverage politics, and accountability politics interact in practice, nor how these strategies generate uneven results across different stages of the policy process. As a result, the question of why strong transnational advocacy and successful legislative outcomes do not consistently translate into sustained post-legislative accountability remains underexplored.

This research addresses this gap by examining UN Women’s transnational advocacy networks in Indonesia during the 2020–2024 16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence campaign. By systematically applying the TAN framework to a single advocacy initiative within a defined temporal scope, the study analyzes how different advocacy strategies are deployed, how they reinforce or constrain one another, and how structural and institutional factors shape accountability outcomes in the post-legislative phase.

Methods

This study adopts a qualitative research approach as the primary method to analyze social phenomena through inductive data analysis. This approach allows for an in-depth

exploration of advocacy practices within international networks addressing violence against women in Indonesia, particularly through UN Women's implementation of the 16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence campaign. The choice of methodology is justified by the fact that advocacy networks—engaging both global and local actors—require interpretive analysis to capture the complexity of interactions, collaboration, and the policy translation process, which cannot be adequately addressed through quantitative measurement (Lewis, 2015).

The unit of analysis focuses on the advocacy practices of UN Women in collaboration with local actors in Indonesia. Within this context, the state assumes a dual role as both facilitator and mediator between global norms and domestic actors. This unit of analysis is analytically significant for understanding how transnational advocacy operates within Indonesia's socio-political setting, particularly in relation to the 16 Days campaign.

Data for this study were collected through qualitative document analysis guided by systematic search and selection procedures. Sources include peer-reviewed academic literature, policy documents, government reports, campaign materials, and official publications issued by UN Women, Komnas Perempuan, relevant government agencies, and established civil society organizations. Documents published between 2020 and 2024 that directly addressed gender-based violence, transnational advocacy, or UN Women's activities in Indonesia were included, while opinion-based materials, duplicated sources, and documents lacking methodological clarity were excluded. Where inconsistencies in statistical or policy data emerged, priority was given to official institutional reports and peer-reviewed sources.

The scope of analysis covers the 2020–2024 period, selected to capture recent developments in the implementation of the 16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence campaign in Indonesia, including key advocacy and policy outcomes such as the enactment of the Law on Sexual Violence Crimes (UU TPKS) in 2022.

Data analysis was conducted thematically using the Transnational Advocacy Networks framework developed by Keck and Sikkink, focusing on information politics, symbolic politics, leverage politics, and accountability politics. This framework enabled a systematic assessment of how global gender norms are translated into domestic advocacy practices within the selected campaign context.

Result and Discussion

Transnational Advocacy Network

Conceptually, GBV is positioned as a transnational issue shaped by patriarchal structures, cultural norms, and state negligence in fulfilling its protective obligations. In Indonesia, gender violence is often trivialized as “domestic matters” or “family shame,” turning private spaces into zones of impunity that reinforce women's subordination.

Within the framework of international relations, the study

sees solutions through Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs), as described by Keck & Sikkink (1998). These networks of state and non-state actors cooperate across borders to diffuse norms, mobilize support, and push for policy change, especially in human rights. UN Women, as a central actor, collaborates with local partners such as Komnas Perempuan, the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, Jakarta Feminist, and SAFEnet, etc. Their joint efforts exemplify TANs' dynamics in practice.

The 16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence campaign serves as a concrete case of TANs' strategies:

1. Information Politics – producing and circulating data on GBV through research reports, statistics, and survivor narratives to legitimize the issue.
2. Symbolic Politics – employing global symbols like the color orange, survivor testimonies, or public art/film to build solidarity and raise awareness.
3. Leverage Politics – engaging public figures, media, or corporations to amplify pressure on state institutions and reach centers of power.
4. Accountability Politics – demanding state compliance with legal and normative commitments, such as enforcing the Sexual Violence Law (UU TPKS).

Yet, the campaign faces structural challenges. Tensions emerge between global discourses (e.g., “gender-based violence”) and local framings (e.g., “violence against women”), requiring culturally sensitive strategies. Moreover, national policy frameworks often lack a rights-based approach, and past advocacy for the Sexual Violence Bill faced resistance from political and cultural actors who perceived it as foreign.

Thus, the state must play more than a passive role; it should act as a facilitator and mediator, ensuring that transnational agendas are locally contextualized and inclusive. Effective coordination across sectors is crucial so that campaigns move beyond ceremonial symbolism toward structural social and policy transformation.

The study emphasizes the dynamics of transnational advocacy networks and the collaborative strategies between global and local actors. UN Women, as the international body dedicated to gender equality, serves as the facilitator of the global 16 Days campaign while partnering with Indonesian institutions such as the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (Kemen PPPA), Komnas Perempuan, and various civil society organizations. This campaign is not merely a symbolic moral appeal; rather, it functions as a strategic tool to raise public awareness and exert social pressure on policymakers. By focusing on these dynamics, the research aims to deepen the understanding of how international norms are translated, negotiated, and implemented at the local level, as well as how social campaigns act as instruments for localizing global norms on eliminating gender-based violence. Moreover, the study seeks to examine how power relations between global and local actors influence advocacy outcomes, creating both opportunities and constraints.

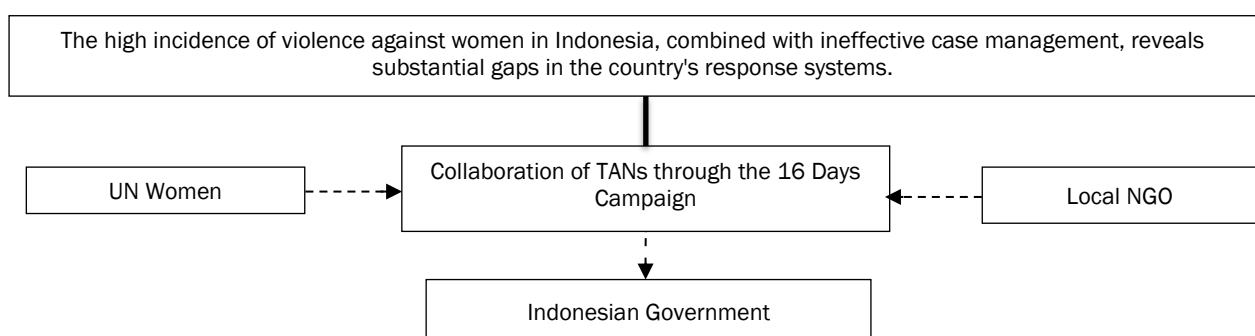


Figure 1. Conceptual Framework

Implementation of the 16 Days Campaign and Global–Local Collaboration

Within the Indonesian context, UN Women has served as a pivotal global actor in advancing collaborative strategies with national institutions and civil society through the annual *16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence* (16 HAKTP) campaign. Applying [Keck & Sikkink \(1998\)](#) framework on *Transnational Advocacy Networks* (TANs), four interconnected strategies emerge as central to advocacy efforts: *information politics, symbolic politics, leverage politics, and accountability politics*. These strategies illuminate how transnational feminist discourses are translated into local contexts, shaping both policy outcomes and cultural narratives on violence against women (VAW).

Multi-Level Coalition and Actor Collaboration

The campaign in Indonesia between 2020 and 2024 was driven by a multi-level coalition consisting of *UN Women, Komnas Perempuan, the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (Kemen PPPA), and local NGOs such as LBH APIK, Rifka Annisa, and the Jakarta Feminist Collective*. This coalition operationalized global feminist agendas through localized strategies that bridged transnational norms and domestic realities. The collaboration not only facilitated knowledge transfer but also enhanced the visibility of GBV as a systemic human rights concern across both public and private spheres. UN Women played a normative and technical facilitation role, providing international legitimacy, campaign toolkits, training, and data collection guidance. Local actors served as primary implementers, responsible for data collection, legal advocacy, and public mobilization ([UN WOMEN, 2024](#)). Beside that, Komnas Perempuan has the *Strategic Plan of the National Commission on Violence Against Women (2020–2024)* constitutes a five-year roadmap for eliminating gender-based violence, aligned with the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) 2020–2024 ([Komnas Perempuan, 2020](#)). It articulates the Commission's vision, mission, objectives, policy directions, priorities, and strategies, all of which are designed as

measurable and impactful programs to address urgent issues of violence against women and to advance the fulfillment of women's rights. This collaboration can be analyzed through the lens of four *Transnational Advocacy Networks* (TANs) strategies: *information, symbolic, leverage, and accountability politics*.

To better understand the multi-level dynamics of the 16 Days of Activism campaign in Indonesia, it is important to map the organizational units and outputs of the key actors involved. [Table 1](#) outlines the institutional structures of international, national, and local stakeholders, highlighting their respective contributions to policy development, service provision, legal advocacy, and grassroots mobilization. This mapping demonstrates the complementarity of global–national–local engagement in advancing gender equality and combating gender-based violence.

As mentioned earlier that between 2020 and 2024, the anti-gender-based violence (GBV) campaign in Indonesia unfolded through a multi-level coalition that connected global, national, and local actors. This coalition consisted of UN Women at the global level, Komnas Perempuan and the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (Kemen PPPA) at the national level, and local organizations such as LBH APIK, Rifka Annisa, and the Jakarta Feminist Collective (JFC). Together, these actors translated international feminist agendas into locally relevant strategies, bridging the gap between transnational norms and domestic realities. The coalition facilitated knowledge transfer, enhanced the visibility of GBV as a systemic human rights concern, and strengthened advocacy across both public and private spheres. UN Women played a normative and technical facilitation role by providing international legitimacy, campaign toolkits, training, and data methodology. Meanwhile, national and local actors functioned as primary implementers—documenting cases, conducting litigation, offering counseling, and mobilizing public support.

Information politics-Evidence as a Political Instrument

Information politics entails the production, validation, and

Table 1. Mapping Actors

Actor	Organizational Units	Key Outputs	References
UN Women Indonesia	Country Office units: <i>Ending Violence Against Women, Women's Leadership & Participation, Partnerships & Advocacy</i>	Technical and financial support, policy alignment with international norms, advocacy toolkits, regional and national reports	UN Women (2011);UN WOMEN (2024) .
Komnas Perempuan	Sub-Commissions on Monitoring, Research & Studies, and Education	CATAHU annual reports, policy recommendations, education modules, advocacy campaigns	Komnas Perempuan (2023a); (Peraturan Presiden (Perpres) Nomor 65 Tahun 2005 Tentang Komisi Nasional Anti Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan, 2005) (Peraturan Presiden Republik Indonesia 186 Tahun 2024 Pemberdayaan Perempuan Dan Perlindungan Anak, 2024); (Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak (Kemen PPPA), 2024)
Kemen PPPA (MoWECP)	Deputies for Gender Equality, Women's Protection, Child Protection, and Gender Mainstreaming	National action plans, regulatory frameworks, SAPA 129 helpline, data management, inter-ministerial coordination	(Peraturan Presiden Republik Indonesia 186 Tahun 2024 Pemberdayaan Perempuan Dan Perlindungan Anak, 2024); (Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak (Kemen PPPA), 2024)
SAFEnet	Divisions on Litigation, Policy Advocacy, and Community Education	Free legal aid, strategic litigation, policy briefs, annual gender-based violence reports, especially online report or cyber harassment.	(Pohan et al., 2025)
Rifka Annisa	Service Unit (shelter, counseling), Education & Training, Research & Advocacy	Crisis center services, community-based research, educational modules, advocacy at local–national levels	(Setiawan, 2004)
Jakarta Feminist Collective (JFC)	Flexible working groups (Advocacy, Media, Campaign Mobilization)	Digital feminist campaigns, public demonstrations (e.g., Women's March), online educational content, coalition-building	Jakarta Feminis (2022);(Hermanto, 2022) .

circulation of knowledge to shape public discourse and influence institutional decision-making. Within this domain, UN Women operates as a global norm entrepreneur, producing reports that conceptualize gender-based violence (GBV) as a structural violation of human rights (UN WOMEN, 2024). At the national level, Komnas Perempuan institutionalizes CATAHU as a monitoring instrument that generates systematic data on patterns and forms of violence. The 2023 report documented 289,111 cases of violence against women, reflecting a numerical decrease from previous years while simultaneously exposing a sharp rise in state-perpetrated violence (176%) and violence in public spheres (44%) (Komnas Perempuan, 2023a). These findings underscore the enduring prevalence of intimate partner violence and the growing encroachment of GBV into political and institutional arenas.

The Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (Kemen PPPA) records cases of gender-based violence through the Simfoni-PPA system. By 2022, over 25,000 cases had been documented, increasing to 27,000 by 2024. While this demonstrates Kemen PPPA's capacity to consolidate information, reliance on service-based reporting likely leaves many cases unrecorded. This underscores the need for additional measures to identify and address unreported incidents, providing a more comprehensive understanding of gender-based violence in Indonesia (KEMEN PPA, 2024). Local civil society organizations further diversify and enrich this knowledge infrastructure. Meanwhile, the Jakarta Feminist Collective's Femicide Report 2024 identified 204 cases across 38 provinces, framing femicide not as isolated acts but as structural manifestations of systemic gender inequality (Elhasni, 2023). These data reveal the multilayered nature of information politics in Indonesia, combining global legitimacy, national authority, and local immediacy. Local NGOs, through documentation and advocacy, make gender-based violence visible as both a personal and structural human rights issue. However, reliance on service-based reporting likely undercounts cases, highlighting the need for strategies that capture the full scope of GBV.

Beside that, narratives of violence against women continue to expand, with digital and online spaces emerging as increasingly significant sites of abuse. Online Gender-Based Violence (OGBV) has therefore become a critical focus of contemporary advocacy efforts, particularly through the strategic use of empirical data. Reports from SAFEnet indicate a marked increase in OGBV cases, rising from 677 reported incidents in 2021 to 927 cases in 2023. In parallel, data from Komnas Perempuan demonstrate that gender-based violence accounts for approximately 73 percent of all cases occurring in the public sphere (Rahmat & Santoso, 2025).

These empirical findings are mobilized as advocacy instruments to prompt governmental recognition and policy responses. However, the effectiveness of such data-driven advocacy is highly dependent on the capacity to influence institutional behavior and policy implementation. Structural constraints—including regulatory fragmentation, entrenched patriarchal norms, and algorithmic bias embedded within digital platforms—cannot be adequately addressed through empirical evidence alone, particularly when the objective is substantive legal reform or strengthened law enforcement mechanisms (Hukumu et al., 2025).

Within this context, UN Women's information politics strategy has been effective in enhancing both domestic and global awareness of gender-based violence, especially in the digital domain. Nevertheless, to generate more systemic and cross-border pressure, future advocacy efforts must move beyond awareness-raising by integrating locally produced data with broader transnational advocacy networks, thereby strengthening leverage over state and non-state actors.

Symbolic Politics: Narratives, Hashtags, and Collective Identity

Symbolic politics translates complex structures of oppression into recognizable symbols and narratives that mobilize solidarity. Globally, UN Women's "Orange the World" campaign uses orange as a unifying color of hope and action (UN WOMEN, 2024). In Indonesia, symbolic politics has taken distinctive digital and cultural forms. Komnas Perempuan and its allies have launched campaigns with hashtags such as #GerakBersama ("Move Together"), #AkuPeduli ("I Care"), and #TemaniAku ("Accompany Me"), emphasizing collective agency and survivor-centered solidarity, and #StopKekerasan (Komnas Perempuan, 2024). Civil society coalitions promoted #AmanSetaradanDihormati ("Safe, Equal, and Respected"), embedding dignity and equality as moral anchors of the campaign (Yayasan CARE Peduli, 2020).

Grassroots groups localize symbols through narrative storytelling. LBH APIK amplifies survivor testimonies to break silence and stigma. Rifka Annisa integrates human-centered stories into community workshops, translating abstract rights into lived realities. JFC combines feminist activism with hashtags linked to its Femicide Report, transforming lethal violence into a powerful symbol of systemic patriarchal impunity (Maulida, 2024).

In the context of Online-Based Gender Violence (OGBV) in Indonesia, UN Women Indonesia has employed symbolic advocacy through campaigns such as #OrangeChallenge and #WTFMedia, which aim to connect local survivors with international advocacy spaces (UN Women, 2023). The #OrangeChallenge campaign channels viral data and narratives into regional Southeast Asian campaigns, and UN Women, together with its partners, has leveraged this momentum to formulate policy recommendations directed at the central government. Nevertheless, the translation of symbolic narratives into concrete institutional policies remains a significant challenge. Accordingly, symbolic campaigns require a clear linkage between public emotional resonance and structured policy agendas (Castillo-Esparcia et al., 2023).

While global visibility and transnational solidarity constitute key strengths of *symbolic politics*, their capacity to drive substantive policy change depends on their integration with other advocacy strategies, particularly *leverage politics* and *accountability politics*. In the absence of clearly defined policy advocacy pathways, symbolic actions tend to function merely as entry points rather than as instruments of sustained structural change (Islami, 2021).

Evaluation findings indicate that while symbolic campaigns in Indonesia have increased public awareness, they have not yet resulted in meaningful institutional or regulatory change. No formal policies have directly emerged from viral hashtag-based mobilization, leaving structural constraints—such as platform algorithmic governance and entrenched patriarchal norms—largely intact. Although hashtags function as technopolitical tools that expand campaign reach and foster collective identity across social and spatial boundaries, their impact remains uneven. Persistent digital divides, particularly in rural and remote areas, continue to limit the inclusiveness and transformative capacity of such symbolic advocacy.

Leverage Politics: Mobilizing Power and Institutional Change

In Indonesia, this strategy has been pivotal in elevating gender-based violence (GBV) from a symbolic advocacy issue to a concrete matter of legislative reform. At the international level, UN Women situates Indonesia within global normative frameworks such as the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)*. Through the treaty monitoring process, Indonesia is regularly assessed on its compliance, with persistent gaps in addressing sexual and gender-based violence being highlighted. Such global scrutiny generates external pressure, allowing advocates to frame GBV

not only as a domestic concern but also as a benchmark for Indonesia’s credibility in fulfilling international human rights obligations (UN WOMEN, 2021).

A critical outcome of this multi-level leverage was the adoption of Law No. 12/2022 on Sexual Violence Crimes (UU TPKS). The law represents a watershed moment in Indonesia’s gender policy, as it expands the legal recognition of sexual violence, imposes obligations for prevention, and guarantees survivors’ rights to recovery and protection. Scholars argue that this outcome reflects the cumulative effect of long-standing mobilization by women’s organizations, sustained advocacy by Komnas Perempuan, institutional support from Kemen PPPA, and the legitimating influence of global frameworks such as CEDAW (Siregar & Prihatini, 2024).

Nonetheless, the passage of UU TPKS also exposes the limitations of leverage politics. While the law is progressive in scope, its implementation has been hindered by cultural resistance, institutional fragmentation, and regulatory delays. Triantono et al. (2023) note that survivor protection mechanisms remain weak, while Nurisman (2022) highlights uneven law enforcement practices and the absence of comprehensive derivative regulations. These findings suggest that while leverage politics has secured significant legal advances, their durability depends on continued oversight, adequate resource allocation, and structural transformation within state institutions.

At the grassroots level, civil society actors employ complementary leverage strategies. LBH APIK advances strategic litigation to establish legal precedents that expand access to justice for survivors. Rifka Annisa pursues horizontal leverage by conducting inter-provincial trainings to strengthen capacities in marginalized regions, thereby localizing the benefits of legal reform. The Jakarta Feminist Collective (JFC) widens the scope of advocacy by building

cross-sectoral alliances with student groups, labor unions, and LGBTQ+ movements, situating GBV within broader struggles for equality and social justice. Taken together, these strategies demonstrate that leverage politics in Indonesia has moved beyond symbolic action to produce substantive institutional reforms. However, as Kurniadi (2024) argues in his study of child protection under UU TPKS, the law’s effectiveness is undermined by low public awareness, insufficient services, and entrenched social stigma. Thus, while advocacy networks have been successful in embedding GBV within Indonesia’s legislative framework, the long-term impact of these achievements depends on sustained accountability and the consistent translation of legal provisions into practical protection for survivors.

Accountability Politics: From Commitment to Implementation

In Indonesia, this approach has been essential in ensuring that international treaty ratifications and the enactment of Law No. 12 of 2022 on Sexual Violence Crimes (UU TPKS) move beyond symbolic achievement. Implementation, however, has been uneven. Komnas Perempuan observed that by 2023 only two of the seven implementing regulations required under the law had been enacted, thereby constraining its operational effectiveness (Komnas Perempuan, 2023b). While Kemen PPPA pledged to expand UPTD PPA service units, structural limitations—particularly in budget allocation and geographic coverage—have curtailed their impact.

Beside that, in the context of the Sexual Violence Crime Law (UU TPKS), accountability politics is realized through multi-level mechanisms. Oversight by state institutions ensures checks and balances, while community and family participation highlight accountability as a shared responsibility beyond the state.

At the same time, social movements and advocacy—exemplified by the #KawalSetelahLegal campaign—sustain

Table 2. A Brief Outline of TANs Strategies in the 16 HAKTP Campaign in Indonesia (2020–2024)

Year	Information Politics	Symbolic Politics	Leverage Politics	Accountability Politics
2020	National survey on GBV conducted; 9,500 formal complaints recorded; data integrated into UN Women reports	Launch of #16DaysID hashtag campaign; 3.2M social media engagements; public awareness workshops in 12 provinces	Policy dialogue with Ministry of Women Empowerment; proposal for expanding shelters submitted	Baseline accountability report published; 15% of provinces have GBV monitoring systems
2021	Gender audits of 50 local institutions; 11,000 cases documented; evidence used in parliamentary briefings	Nationwide public art installations; #StopKekerasanPerempuan trending in Jakarta; 4.5M engagements	High-level conferences with parliamentarians; pilot implementation of online reporting systems	Annual progress report shows slight increase in reporting (up 8%); 20% provinces with monitoring systems
2022	Expansion of GBV data collection to online harassment; 12,500 cases reported; inclusion of rural areas data	Social media campaigns reach 6M; virtual storytelling for survivors launched; local cultural festivals integrated	Advocacy for amendment of UU No. 23/2004; international best practices shared; 18% increase in budget allocation for shelters	Accountability report highlights gaps in rural reporting; training programs for police and health workers initiated
2023	Comprehensive national survey with regional disaggregation; 14,200 cases reported	Hashtag campaigns maintain visibility (#EndGBVNow); engagement peaks at 7.3M; school-based awareness programs	Parliamentary endorsement for legal amendments; cross-ministerial workshops; engagement with ASEAN networks	Progress report shows improved reporting and services; 35% provinces with fully operational monitoring systems; public hearings held
2024	Data integration into global UN Women database; preliminary analysis of long-term trends; 15,000 cases documented	Sustained social media presence; nationwide rallies; collaboration with mass media; 8M engagements	Continuous advocacy for policy enforcement; international peer exchange; recommendation for national GBV strategy	Accountability report evaluates implementation; national early intervention programs scaled up; ongoing monitoring of law enforcement compliance

public pressure through education, victim documentation, and monitoring of judicial barriers, thereby compelling the state to remain responsive and victim-centered (Mukarramah, 2024).

Civil society organizations have further illuminated these accountability gaps. LBH APIK critiques delays in police case handling, Rifka Annisa underscores insufficient recovery and counseling services, and the Jakarta Feminist Collective (JFC) highlights systemic impunity through femicide data. Collectively, these interventions emphasize that legislative commitments alone are insufficient without enforcement mechanisms, survivor-centered services, and cultural transformation (Triantono et al. (2023) ;Nurisman (2022).

Moreover, Three key factors account for the limited effectiveness of accountability politics in Indonesia. First, there is weak alignment between international legal frameworks and national standards. Second, the absence of effective sanctioning and enforcement mechanisms undermines compliance with existing policies. Third, cultural and political resistance continues to normalize digital violence against women. These challenges are further compounded by regulatory fragmentation among the Electronic Information and Transactions Law, the Pornography Law, and the Law on the Crime of Sexual Violence, which complicates legal enforcement. Moreover, women in remote areas face restricted access to support services due to the concentration of financial and technological resources in urban centers (Iqbal & Cyprien, 2021).

Under these conditions, UN Women's accountability strategy has succeeded in securing formal and normative commitments but has fallen short of achieving structural implementation. To prevent state accountability from remaining confined to international rhetoric, stronger domestic accountability networks are required, involving civil society actors, digital platforms, and state institutions. Thus, accountability politics in Indonesia reveals a dual reality: while significant progress has been achieved through legal reform, the effectiveness of these commitments ultimately depends on continuous monitoring and the consistent translation of legal provisions into practice (see table 2).

Challenges and Barriers of the 16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence Campaign in Indonesia.

Although the 16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence campaign in Indonesia has contributed to the adoption of important policies such as Law No. 12/2022 on Sexual Violence Crimes (UU TPKS), its implementation continues to face significant structural and cultural barriers.

First, there has been a delay in the issuance of implementing regulations. As of 2023, only two out of seven derivative regulations of the UU TPKS have been enacted, thereby limiting the operationalization of services (Mukarramah, 2024). Second, institutional capacity remains weak. The Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (Kemen PPPA) and local Integrated Service Centers for the Empowerment of Women and Children (UPTD PPA) face shortages of human resources, limited budgets, and insufficient inter-agency coordination, leading to unequal access to survivor recovery services (Pratiwi et al., 2024). Third, patriarchal culture and stigma exacerbate these obstacles. Many survivors are reluctant to report cases due to fear of stigmatization, while some community groups reject the UU TPKS on the grounds that it contradicts religious or moral norms (Nurliyantika & Jannah, 2023). Fourth, public awareness remains limited, particularly outside major urban areas. Barriers in literacy and digital infrastructure reduce the campaign's outreach, while online gender-based violence is difficult to address due to weak regulations and insufficient digital security (Yusuf et al., 2025).

In sum, the analysis indicates that the most consequential

challenge is the persistent gap between legal frameworks and implementation, as documented in policy reviews and official reports discussed earlier. This structural constraint, followed by limited institutional capacity, cultural resistance, low public participation, and unresolved challenges in addressing technology-facilitated violence, suggests that

—without stronger accountability, oversight, and survivor-centered services—the campaign risks remaining largely symbolic.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that UN Women's transnational advocacy networks during the 2020–2024 16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence campaign played a significant role in linking global gender norms with local advocacy practices in Indonesia. Through qualitative document analysis, the research shows how transnational advocacy functioned as a conduit for norm diffusion and agenda-setting, positioning gender-based violence as a human rights issue within national policy and public discourse.

Empirically, the findings indicate that information politics and symbolic politics were the most effective dimensions of advocacy. The systematic production and circulation of gender-based violence data, combined with the localization of global campaign narratives, contributed to increased visibility, public awareness, and the normalization of rights-based framings of violence against women. These strategies strengthened the discursive and normative foundations of advocacy but were limited in their capacity to directly alter institutional behavior.

Leverage politics produced the most tangible outcome through the enactment of Law No. 12 of 2022 on Sexual Violence Crimes (UU TPKS). This legislative development reflects the cumulative effect of sustained pressure from transnational norms, national human rights institutions, and local civil society organizations. The passage of the law illustrates how transnational advocacy networks can translate international commitments into formal domestic legal frameworks.

However, the study also demonstrates that accountability politics remains the weakest component of transnational advocacy in the Indonesian context. The implementation of UU TPKS has been constrained by delayed implementing regulations, fragmented legal and institutional coordination, uneven enforcement across regions, and persistent challenges in addressing technology-facilitated violence. These findings reveal a continuing gap between formal legal commitments and their realization in practice.

Based on these empirical findings, the study suggests that the effectiveness of transnational advocacy in combating gender-based violence depends on the strengthening of domestic accountability mechanisms. This includes improved coordination among state institutions, more inclusive participation beyond urban centers, and the expansion of accessible, survivor-centered services. Without these measures, the localization of global gender norms risks remaining symbolic rather than producing sustained structural change in the protection of women's rights in Indonesia.

Author contributions

The first author was responsible for the conceptualization of the study, data collection, data analysis, and the drafting of the original manuscript. The second and third authors contributed through critical review and substantive editorial revisions, providing academic guidance to improve the clarity, coherence, and analytical depth of the manuscript. All authors

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